

Corrigendum

Burgess, Zoë Jane Viney (March 2024) **Exploring Gender and Class in the Amateur Film Collection of Wessex Film and Sound Archive (WFSA) 1895-1950.** *University of Southampton, Doctoral Thesis*, pp.322

<https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/489183/>

In the above thesis by Burgess, the following text on page 16 has been corrected from:

“Nancy M (née Cornick and later, Moore) Bealing (1917- 29 December 2014)”

to:

“Annie Louise (née Tullett) Bealing known as ‘Nancy’ (1918-2014)”

August 2025

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University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Department of Film

**Exploring Gender and Class in the Amateur Film Collection of Wessex Film and Sound
Archive (WFSA) 1895-1950**

DOI [enter DOI]

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2024

University of Southampton

Abstract

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Department of Film

Doctor of Philosophy

Exploring Gender and Class in the Amateur Film Collection of Wessex Film and Sound Archive (WFSA) 1895 to 1950

By

Zoë Jane Viney Burgess

This thesis focuses on gender and class in the amateur film collection of Wessex Film and Sound Archive (WFSA) between 1895 and 1950. It provides a timely insight into regional amateur filmmaking practice, that contributes to rethinking how women's film history is written, moving beyond pioneers and prominent professionals towards recognising women in everyday film culture and towards providing evidence of amateur filmmaking practice as a vehicle for social mobility. Through a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative methods, I bring oral history interviews in consideration with questionnaires, combine textual analysis with demographic data and interpret print sources and ephemera alongside extant reels of film. This methodological innovation provides concrete statistical data on the demographic composition of the collection. Revealing for the first time, a more accurate sense of the gender and socio-economic status of filmmakers.

Using WFSA and its collection as a representative sample, I demonstrate that the work of women amateur filmmakers is consistently overlooked in archives because of entrenched patriarchal shaped practices. I evidence how the diversity of female interactions in amateur film within this sample calls for a reappraisal of the linguistic framing around amateur practice, demanding a departure from the authorial model and instead acknowledging the more democratic features of practice and fluidity of interactions. Furthermore, I identify that the disparity in cost of cine equipment by gauge before 1950 had considerable bearing on who engaged in filmmaking and with what technology. With new evidence suggesting access was not necessarily limited to the wealthy upper classes.

My work constitutes a significant contribution to the field of amateur cinema studies, and more specifically to understanding women amateur filmmakers in the UK. It offers a series of original findings including: 1) addressing the absence of substantial prior investigations into the filmmakers or films housed within the WFSA collection; 2) the dataset from which my analysis is drawn supports the argument for deployment of innovative new approaches to regional filmmaking populations; 3) my approach has uncovered more than nine additional women filmmakers, whose work was not visible or acknowledged before this research was undertaken; 4) my empirical dataset maps the work of over two hundred filmmakers active in this regional collection, the first population analysis for such a regional archive; 5) I pioneer the development and application of a collection survey method that takes a holistic approach to understanding filmmaking populations whilst drawing on the strengths of case study centred discussion.

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Note on Film Titles

As archival objects, many of the films and collections mentioned in this thesis have names that do not translate readily to MHRA style and therefore I have endeavoured to make a distinction between archive objects (the film itself) and archival records (the entry created within the catalogue).

Citations in footnotes for films and collections of films will be included as follows:

Collection level entries are included as:

‘[AV reference number] [Collection title] | [Archive name] | Collection’

Item level entries:

‘[AV reference number] [Item title] | [Archive name] [Date] | Film’

In text references will, where possible, will be given as such:

Film Name (date)

These in-text references will be accompanied by a footnote that gives the full details as described above.

Citations for archival records (the entry created within the catalogue) for a collection of films are given as:

‘[AV reference number] [Collection title] | [Archive name] | Catalogue Entry’

Citations for archival records (the entry created within the catalogue) for single film items are given as:

‘[AV reference number] [Item title] | [Archive name] | Catalogue Entry’

Given the disputed nature of the attribution of many of the items discussed in this thesis, I have chosen to not name the director as dictated by MHRA style.

Note on use of Numbers

Date ranges for events and activities are given according to MHRA style guidelines separated by 'and' or 'to'. Date ranges for a person's life (date of birth and date of death) are provided e.g., 23 September 1898- 14 December 1942).

Where statistical evidence is discussed, numbers are provided as figures, elsewhere they follow MHRA style guidelines.

Time stamps for films are provided as (hh:mm:ss) e.g., (00:20:03).

Film gauges are provided as numbers throughout e.g., 9.5mm, 16mm, 8mm.

Notes on use of Names

I have taken the decision to use the shortened full name (Forename, Surname at death) of women identified in this thesis. I do not refer to women by their surname only, as has become customary in a widely adopted authorial model as I believe this contributes to the continued elision of women's work.

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Zoë Jane Viney Burgess

Title of thesis: Exploring Gender and Class in the Amateur Film Collection of Wessex Film and Sound Archive (WFSA) 1895-1950

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself.
7. None of this work has been published before submission
8. Signature: Date: March 2024

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to give thanks for the unwavering support and guidance from my supervisors Dr Malcolm Cook and Professor Shelley Cobb, who have inspired and motivated me during my research. They have provided a safe space for asking silly questions (of which, I have had many), encouraged me as I stepped out of my comfort zone and pushed me to reach my potential. Also, to Dr Mike Hammond, who worked with me on shaping the nucleus of an idea before I was able to begin working on my research.

My colleagues at WFSA have been considerate supporters of my research, in particular I would like to thank Heather Needham, whose advocacy for film and sound in the general melees of the archive has given me hope that we can do better and can amplify more voices.

Thank you to my two far more educated and experienced friends, Dr Sara Carr and Dr Gemma Halliwell. You have been my cheerleaders and supported me as I (finally!) took the plunge and started this research, I couldn't have done it without your advice and motivation.

Finally, to my husband Simon and son James and to my wider family, who have put up with me and my amateur filmmaker witterings over the past few years with very few complaints. I am very grateful to you all for sticking with me on this journey.

Definitions and Abbreviations

Term	Definition
ACW	<i>Amateur Cine World</i> (magazine)
ATS	Auxiliary Territorial Service (historic term, Second World War era women's service)
AV	Suffix used by WFSA's CALM catalogue to denote that an item is 'Audio Visual'.
BAAC	British Association of Amateur Cinematographers (organisation)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation (organisation)
BEM	British Empire Medal (honour)
BFI	British Film Institute (organisation)
CALM	Digital catalogue used by WFSA, that provides a hierarchical structure for records and meets ISADG standards
EAFA	East Anglian Film Archive (organisation)
FAF	Film Archive Forum (organisation)
FAUK	Film Archives UK (organisation)
FIAF	International Federation of Film Archives (organisation)
HALS	Hampshire Archives and Local Studies (organisation)
HCC	Hampshire County Council (organisation)
HRO	Hampshire Record Office (organisation)
IAC	Institute of Amateur Cinematographers (organisation)
ISADG	General International Standard Archival Description (international standard providing guidelines for creating archival descriptions)
ISCO-08	International Standard Classification of Occupations (classification system)
MBE	Member of the British Empire (honour)
NWFA	North West Film Archive (organisation)
RGS	Royal Geographical Society (organisation)
R.N	Royal Navy (organisation)
SHUK	Screen Heritage UK (BFI led project)
TNA	The National Archives (organisation)
UEA	University of East Anglia (organisation)
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment (historic term, First World War era volunteer unit for women)
WFSA	Wessex Film and Sound Archive (organisation)
WI	Women's Institute (organisation)
WRVS	Women's Royal Voluntary Service (organisation)
YFA	Yorkshire Film Archive (organisation)

Chapter 1 Does it Matter That it was Made by a Woman?

“Women were both ‘there’ and ‘not there’”¹ is a phrase coined by Jane Gaines in her discussion of women’s work in early film history, and it is a phrase that I continue to return to throughout this thesis, as having relevance to women amateur filmmakers up to 1950. Having watched hundreds of films during the course of this research and through my work as a Film Curator at WFSA, I noticed how the names of the same few female filmmakers always surfaced and I wasn’t sure why. Was it that these were the only women in the collection? Was their work the ‘best’? Were they the most prolific? Was it that they filmed subjects most often required for contemporary viewing? I didn’t have a straightforward answer, but I knew that these women were not the only females represented in the collection, there were others, but as an individual (and as an archive) there wasn’t a comprehensive understanding of who they were in statistical or real terms.

Through a systematic collection survey, I have been able to expand our awareness of the filmmakers’ whose work is present in the archive, by considering those records with clear attributions but also asking questions of other records where attribution could be drawn into question. During this research I have identified the work of an additional 9 autonomous women filmmakers and many more women active in cine clubs. These discoveries indicate that women’s filmmaking labour has been masked at collection level by up to 50%, a significant elision of female participation that is the result of a complex matrix of factors. Even before a film reaches an archive it is subject to the authorial influence of its producers (Who labelled the film can? Whose names appear as on-screen credits?) and its custodians (Are they his/her films? Or is there an oral tradition that says whose films they are?). In my own experience, even women who were actively recording life with their cine cameras downplayed their output. Annie Louise (née Tullett) Bealing known as ‘Nancy’ (1918-2014), whom I interviewed in 2010, spoke to me about her husband’s filmmaking in very deferential terms and referred to her own output as ‘just one film’. It transpired that she had indeed produced one large reel of film – but it was an edited reel, shot on at least twenty different occasions over several years. Her husband had produced many more films,

¹ J Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press], 2018), p. 4.

and she defined herself in relation to his output despite her own sustained cine use. As Bell points out, women's work in film is often fragmented and episodic.² In the case of amateur filmmaking, episodes quite often reflect the inverse of a woman's working life (if she had one), with a greater output during child-rearing years. In this thesis I argue for a move away from industry-defined notions of authorship in the non-professional sphere and for the development of a specifically amateur lexicon that reflects the experiences of men and women participants with parity, shifting the focus away from patriarchally defined topographies and towards the acknowledgment of women's fragmented involvement in amateur cinematography.

1.1 Reclaiming women's work

'But does it matter that it was made by a woman?' was a question I was asked in September 2022 when I attended a large public screening event on behalf of the archive at which we were projecting a variety of locally shot film content, some of it produced by women amateurs. As part of my introduction on this occasion, I would talk about 'new' discoveries and the identification of women's contributions to films, and in particular Beryl (née Godden) Turner's contribution to the family films produced under the attribution of her husband, Alan Turner. I had many conversations that day – it was a large country fair and was teeming with people, many of whom visited the archive's pop-up cinema tent with curiosity. There were countless positive engagements with *Colourful Romsey* (1948)³ the colour film with added soundtrack that we screened, but amongst the discussions this one conversation stayed with me. The man whose words I use above, could not comprehend that gender could make a difference to our experience of an amateur film. Even in the absence of a female amateur aesthetic⁴ gender does matter, it matters greatly.

This gentleman's reaction, in addition to speaking to the challenges facing amateur film exhibition practices, further highlighted to me the need to identify and elevate women's involvement in filmmaking activities in the WFSA collection. Women amateur filmmakers in

² Melanie Bell, *Movie Workers: The Women Who Made British Cinema* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021), pp. 8, 102.

³ 'AV260/1 *Colourful Romsey* (1946-1957) | WFSA | Film'.

⁴ Paul Frith and Keith Johnston, 'Beyond Place: Rethinking British Amateur Films Through Gender and Technology-Based Perspectives', *Screen*, 61, 1 (2020), pp. 131–36 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/hjaa008>>.

the UK have received increased academic attention since 2012, when Norris Nicholson and Motrescu-Mayes first put down markers for women's work at the Screen Studies conference held that year. Norris Nicholson's paper drew attention to the burgeoning corpus of visual material produced by women that was, and continues to 'emerge from freshly identified and accessible non-fiction archive materials'.⁵ Motrescu-Mayes similarly drew on archival sources to highlight how women amateurs shaped colonial identity through film.⁶ Norris Nicholson and Motrescu-Mayes were not alone in identifying this niche, with others around this time including Francis Dyson⁷ highlighting the hitherto overlooked contributions of women's work to amateur collections. The gradual re-emergence of women's work produced in non-professional contexts from this date onwards echoes Gaines' view that the reclamation of women's film work is 'a never-ending process'⁸ and bolsters arguments sustained by archival sciences that records are 'always in a process of becoming'.⁹ It is significant that this moment of re-emergence coincides with an increase in the availability of digitisation equipment in archives.¹⁰ Thus, as the doors of archives are metaphorically thrown open by new digital ontologies, films as records are in a process of becoming over and over again. They become new films, reproduced digitally independent of their analogue carrier and they become newly accessible, transcending the geographical limitations of their storage facilities. As these records become anew, they present and transform opportunities for research and engagement.

From 2014 the East Anglian Film Archive (EAFA), through project funding, was able to deliver a large-scale cataloguing programme of women's films from the Institute of Amateur Cinematographers' collection, publishing in 2015 details of this work and the one hundred

⁵ Heather Norris Nicholson, 'Seeing Differently- Women's Amateur Film Practice in Britain's Cine Era', in *Screen Studies Conference 2012* (University of Glasgow, 2012).

⁶ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Amateur Films and the Silent Migration of Female Colonial Identities', in *Screen Studies Conference* (University of Glasgow, 2012).

⁷ Francis Dyson, 'Challenging Assumptions about Amateur Film of the Inter-War Years : Ace Movies and the First Generation of London Based Cine-Clubs' (University of East Anglia, 2012)

[<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.658707>](http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.658707).

⁸ Jane Gaines, 'Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory', *Cinema Journal*, 44.1 (2004), 113–19 (p. 115) [<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3661177>](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3661177).

⁹ Sue McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', *Archival Science*, 2001, 335 (p. 335). Quoted in Michelle Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', *Reconstruction: Studies in Contemporary Culture*, 16.1 (2016), 6 (p. 6).

¹⁰ FIAF First published its 'Choosing a Film Scanner' guidance in 2012 'FIAF Digital Statement: Recommendations for Digitization, Restoration, Digital Preservation and Access', 2012 <<https://www.fiafnet.org/pages/E-Resources/Digital-Statement.html>>; and observed by Frith and Johnston.

and forty-two women filmmakers identified.¹¹ Building on work first mentioned at 'Screen' in 2012, 2018 saw the publication of *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities*, by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson.¹² this text established firm foundations upon which further work on woman amateurs could draw. In 2018 and 2019 work was co-ordinated through the Film Archives UK (FAUK) network to survey regional archives and known women filmmakers, the findings published in 2020 contributing to a number of publications¹³ and leading to the AHRC funded 'Women in Focus' collaboration between University of Maynooth and University of East Anglia from 2021.¹⁴

1.2 Understanding (in)visibility

Before I embarked on this doctoral research I had been working for several years with the regional film and sound collection at WFSA, and the further I delved into the collection and the more knowledge I accumulated, I realised how little I knew about the women amateur filmmakers in the archive – even in very simple (statistical) terms. Having watched hundreds of films, the same few names always appeared; it was only the women we already knew about that continued to surface. These women, the nuggets of gold left in the pan; possessed weightier catalogue entries abundant with biographical detail and clear unambiguous attribution. The lighter catalogue entries – with patchier biographies, ambiguous or even incorrect attributions simply floated off back into the semi-anonymity of the catalogue. I found the same to be true of those filmmakers I perceived to be from non-traditional backgrounds, I possessed pockets of knowledge on certain filmmakers through chance rather than through any systematic means. For example, the work of hotel porter Frederick Frank A Veal ('Fred') (13 December 1895 - March 1972) – whose work in 1930s Southampton captured the hustle and bustle at the busy dockside Southwestern Hotel.¹⁵

¹¹ EAFA, 'TNA Project Cataloguing of the Institute of Amateur Cinematographers Women Film-Makers' Films', 2015, p. 1 <http://www.eafa.org.uk/documents/TNA-Project_Women-Filmmakers_Research-Guide_pm-31-7.pdf>.

¹² Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Heather Norris Nicholson, *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

¹³ Stephanie Hill and Keith Johnston, 'Making Amateur Filmmakers Visible: Reclaiming Women's Work through the Film Archive', *Women's History Review*, 2020 <[https://doi.org/Hill, S. and Johnston, K. \(2020\) 'Making Amateur Filmmakers Visible: Reclaiming Women's Work through the Film Archive', WoDOI: 10.1080/09612025.2019.170354.](https://doi.org/Hill, S. and Johnston, K. (2020) 'Making Amateur Filmmakers Visible: Reclaiming Women's Work through the Film Archive', WoDOI: 10.1080/09612025.2019.170354.)>; Frith and Johnston.

¹⁴ Irish Film Institute, 'New Research Funded by the Irish Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council UK', 2021 <<https://ifi.ie/2021/08/the-invisible-women/>>.

¹⁵ 'AV180/15 | Veale Films: Events in 1937 (Southampton Museum Films) (1937) | WFSA | Film'.

Veal's biography charts a very clear upward social trajectory and while remaining ostensibly working class he was able to acquire and use an expensive 16mm cine camera. What then of the other filmmakers in the collection whose work has gone unnoticed, unacknowledged or unnarrativised?¹⁶ Having been born and raised in the Southampton area in a working-class family, I was particularly keen to surface the work of women and lower income filmmakers and felt a sense of responsibility as a film curator to expand existing knowledge of the collection to allow work from these groups to become more visible.

1.3 **Towards a model for cine-engagement**

There is a critically informed assertion in amateur cinema studies that amateur populations and practice are heterogenous in nature – this, however, stands in contradiction to the aphorism and tacit belief that all amateur filmmakers were wealthy, upper-class men. My thesis seeks to challenge this belief, suggest new approaches to regional collections and a shift in the amateur lexicon.

To fully appreciate the contribution that women have made to amateur film collections and to effectively comprehend how this impacts the forward trajectory of female visibility, there is a need to modify the lexicon that describes amateur practice; a shift in the nomenclature can more effectively reflect the many levels of engagement that are in evidence in such collections. Here I argue for the application of a model for 'cine-engagement' that acknowledges the fragmented and often uncategorised activities that take place in production and consumption of film in amateur contexts. This term recognises the multiplicity of interactions or spectrum of experiences of both autonomous women filmmakers¹⁷ and those working in cine club environments. Cine-engaged women could interact with amateur media production and consumption practices in a multitude of ways, but because of formally instituted patriarchal mechanisms their work has largely been marginalised within hierarchical systems of control. The application of the term and recognition of the implications of levels of cine-engagement, has the potential to elevate the manifold contributions of women amateurs and allow their participation to be

¹⁶ Jane Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2018), p. 127.

¹⁷ Sometimes referred to elsewhere as 'lone workers'.

considered with parity alongside more formally recognised industry-informed (and typically, male occupied) roles.

1.4 The ‘typical woman amateur’

Through a critical evaluation of the notional ‘typical woman amateur’ I represent that the proliferation of this misleading and problematic trope evidences systemic unconscious bias. This gendered bias is manifest in the treatment of extant films even before they reach the care of an archive. Moreover, archival cataloguing is weighted towards a model of authorship aligned to film industry norms, therefore prioritising women’s work where attribution is offered without ambiguity and conversely, obfuscates the work of others.

This model of industry-informed authorship can, in some cases, be accurately mapped against amateur practices. For example, in the case of cine clubs that actively sought to replicate roles and terminology applied in professional film production, and in instances of lone workers where it is clear from both filmic and contextual sources that they acted alone. However, if we acknowledge as I do in this thesis that amateur production and consumption were heterogeneously experienced by cine-engaged individuals, it can be argued that the term ‘filmmaker’ is unhelpful in identifying who was involved in a film’s production and is very much governed by how we define what it means to be an amateur ‘filmmaker’. Is a filmmaker the person who owns the camera? The person who holds the camera? The person who stage-manages the profilmic space? The person who writes the scenario? The person who edits the film? The person or people who willingly appear on screen? The term generally applies to the person with the strongest authorial control.¹⁸ In practice, unless we subscribe absolutely to industry defined standards outlining the director as the ‘filmmaker’ is it very challenging to use the term accurately when discussing many amateurs’ work. This therefore highlights the need for an alternative lexicon in which to frame amateur practice taking into account the matrix of overlapping and interconnected activities that the pastime entailed.

¹⁸ Defined as ‘producer, director, cinematographer or writer’ in Frith and Johnston, p. 131.

1.5 The social gaze

Cine-engaged women were not a homogenous group, and as such their interactions evidence an array of experiences and varying degrees of commitment. Some women used cine as a device for social mobility which they deployed to navigate society as part of a process of finding and making themselves, of social attainment and assimilation. Women using cine in this way had specific motives and intentions; and they weren't all the same – there was a wide range of backgrounds among them; but their lives were characterised by a greater degree of volatility than those using cine in more conventional ways. These women stepped away from the family-oriented gaze,¹⁹ reflected their wider social interactions and moved towards a more *socialised* gaze. Their cine use could draw them into the proximity of the people seen on screen. It could facilitate acceptance into a social set, contribute to shaping personal identity and it could enable onward assimilation as communal viewing practices fed into a cycle of social acceptance. Similarly, the collective endeavours of cine-engaged participants in club environments could enjoy the end-to-end experience of film production and exhibition. Through collaborative working, individuals could engage with those aspects of the process which they found most appealing. Furthermore, as this thesis demonstrates, cine clubs and societies provided women with further opportunities for social mobility through the development of new skills, interactions outside of their peer group and the prestige and recognition of having one's work publicly exhibited.

1.6 Economy and access

I argue that cine clubs have hitherto been subject to the same generalised assumptions as the wider filmmaking population. Discussions are often hampered by a presumption of homogeneity: documented members were predominantly male, therefore female membership is assumed to be minimal. The cine clubs in evidence in WFSA have been found to comprise at least 30% women, a statistic based on print and filmic sources. Promising as these figures appear, we know that women are statistically less likely to be mentioned in formal club records and therefore there is the potential that many other female members

¹⁹ Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, 'The Family Gaze', *Tourist Studies*, 3.1 (2003), 23–46
<<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797603040529>>.

were actively engaged in club life but whose involvements have not been recorded. Amateur cinema discourse frequently bolsters its argument against the prohibitive costs of amateur filmmaking, and it is this pillar of belief around which much discussion of exclusivity takes place. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, cost was not always prohibitive to participation. In fact, the cine club movement, which sought of its members a small subscription fee brought filmmaking activities into the reach of a far more diverse range of participants than is often recognised. The polyvocal creative spaces identified in the WFSA collection demonstrate a high proportion of women members working in occupations outside of the home, many in clerical support and service roles; in such communal environments the ‘typical woman amateur’ mentioned above is almost entirely absent. Access to cine equipment through club environments eliminated the perceived problem presented by cost. Indeed, evidence described in this thesis demonstrates that the exorbitantly expensive rhetoric proliferated in amateur cinema discourse is in many ways a ‘fallacy’,²⁰ with 9.5mm equipment sampled throughout the 1922 to 1950 period predominantly falling between the daily and weekly wage amounts of an average skilled tradesperson.²¹ The cost of 9.5mm equipment compares favourably with its more expensive 16mm counterpart which could cost up to four times as much.²² This disparity in cost is not insignificant – and requires more scrutiny in the context of amateur filmmaking in this period in terms of how affordability impacted those engaged in filmmaking activities and how this is (or is not) borne out in regional film collections. Marjorie Rose (née Walder) Glasspool (1902-1993) was a domestic servant working in the home of a wealthy coal merchant and mine owner.²³ However, details of her background were not recorded during the accession of her collection into WFSA and it was assumed that the large house seen on-screen in her footage was *her* family home. Labouring under this misconception allowed Marjorie Glasspool and her work to be subsumed into the ‘typical woman amateur’ assumption, preventing an accurate analysis of her work and personal circumstances. As a user of 9.5mm film, she is one of only a handful of WFSA filmmakers identified as working in an elementary occupation – the lowest paid and ascribed the lowest skill.²⁴ Analysis of

²⁰ Percy W Harris, June 1932 ‘*Home Movies and Home Talkies*’, p. 11.

²¹ See Appendix D

²² Based on a sample of equipment costs 1922-1950 taken each year for 16mm, 9.5mm and 8mm equipment.

²³ Mr Clement Davies (b.15/09/1864 – d.07/05/1957)

²⁴ According to the ISCO-08 classification system

amateur filmmakers' gauge choices during this period holds the promise of unlocking a greater understanding of amateur practice than can be achieved through textual analysis alone.

1.7 Challenging the amateur/professional binary

My findings signal the need for a more granular approach to film gauge analysis. Marjorie Glasspool was active as a filmmaker in the 1930s and the use of narrow-gauge stock at this time determined that a filmmaker was an amateur rather than a professional. However, the broad technological determinism that defines the amateur/professional binary cannot be applied diachronically throughout this entire period. I argue for the adoption of the liminal term 'non-professional' for works produced in the early period (pre-1922) by those functioning outside of the formal system with a view to elevating their work out of the confusion that their not-quite-professional status carries. This re-situating positions a raft of producers within a wider chronology of media technologies; whilst also serving to begin a reclamation of women's work.

This thesis uses as a case study the regional film collection of WFSA to problematise the notion of the amateur/professional binary in the early years of the twentieth century. I challenge the widely held principle that all film produced outside of a studio context in the early period (before 1922) was amateur in nature. I argue that a move away from the amateur/professional binary categorisation of pre-1922 films is needed to fully appreciate the breadth of contributors to regional film collections, in doing so I introduce the work of one of the UK's earliest known female non-professional filmmakers Louisa Laura (née Butler) Gauvain (Lulie) (1880-1945). I also posit that Louisa Gauvain's film *Plaster of Paris* (1913)²⁵ is analogous for the treatment of amateur women filmmakers more widely. I suggest that the power relations crystallised in *Plaster of Paris* serve to demonstrate how patriarchal society permitted the creative freedom of women amateur filmmakers within a culturally defined suite of pre-sets and how the resultant creative products have been subsequently suppressed by the same masculine system.

²⁵ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) | WFSA | Film.

1.8 The case for continued archival excavation

A large proportion of the discussion here necessarily focuses on the methodologies employed and problems encountered in surfacing women's work in the WFSA collection. This draws upon the archival excavation called for by Gaines in her 2018 work that indicated a need to accumulate empirical knowledge of film collections (and filmmakers) alongside an assessment of the on-screen space. This approach, which draws on profilmic and extra-filmic elements also brings into focus the materiality of the archive and the films that it holds. Inviting a reappraisal of the structural conditions in which archive records, as surrogates of the extant films, contributes to what can now be thought of as an 'archival turn'.²⁶ This methodology asks us to enquire: 'what is history' and 'is the archive history?' In short, the archive is not history, and it becomes increasingly clear as scholars explore the structural elisions found within archival praxis that in order to work with extant records, the framework itself has to be deconstructed, reevaluated and critiqued. My research articulates the wrestle between the knowable and the unknowable, it grapples with archival inflections of records and submits them to a contextual augmentation that elevates female amateurs out of obscurity. Rather than offering the outcomes of this thesis as a complete and finished product, the application of this methodology signals the need for ongoing excavations. These excavations necessarily reflect our own priorities in the present day as historians, but we should also be mindful of how elisions by definition are challenging to identify; it can be hard to find something if you are not sure of its existence and do not know what you are looking for. This research highlights the manifold benefits of deploying such a methodology to the feminist analysis of film.

We now know from the WFSA collection that gender was not a barrier to participation in amateur film related activities for women, but that it did have far-reaching consequences for the recognition of an individual's labour. It is apparent from a number of examples in WFSA that incorrect attribution can obfuscate our understanding of who was involved in the production of a film collection, and this is typically more apparent where there is a financial

²⁶ Michelle Caswell, *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2021), p. 15 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003001355>>.

reliance on a family's patriarch. The examples of Nancy Bealing whose husband was far more prolific than her,²⁷ Louisa Gauvain whose work was masked behind a genitive pronoun,²⁸ Violet (née Helm) Horton (31 May 1883 - 14 April 1959)²⁹ and Dorothy (née Parsons) Lindfield³⁰ who worked together with their husbands on film production demonstrate that being a woman did not preclude them from cine-engagement, but that it could result in an exclusion from the formal record. Women amateur's work in WFSA has been frequently obscured, sometimes completely, behind a male attribution.³¹ It is the case that across the spectrum of female cine-engagement little precedence has been given to their input in the finished work. Female autonomous filmmakers are fewer than their male counterparts, yet cine-engaged women have been found to be present in far greater numbers than previously thought. These women have not been newly imagined or surmised from conjecture, they have been identified through a new ontology of archival praxis, one which calls for an increased level of scrutiny in record analysis and a multilateral revaluation of contextual sources.

Historically, amateur filmmaking has always been a spectrum of experiences; from the lightest touch cine-engaged 'snapshotters' to the 'serious amateur'.³² Today, is no different, the linguistics of how we frame the content and the producers has shifted – it jars to think of ourselves as 'filmmakers', yet participatory media today is endemic and bound up in a matrix of 'fast-changing cultural practices'.³³ Despite the many technological differences between cine-engaged women in the 1895 to 1950 period and women producing content today, there is a very clear sense that both sit on a continuum of participatory media engagement. There are several clear areas of learning to take from the findings of this study, that can influence the future visibility of female producers of content. This includes the need to incentivise regional film archives to actively collect locally produced digital born content from women and other under-represented groups. Additionally, women of all ages should be encouraged to submit content to regional archives and be provided with full and

²⁷ 'AV5 Bealing Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

²⁸ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) | WFSA | Film.

²⁹ 'AV104 Horton of Minstead Films | WFSA | Collection'.

³⁰ 'AV1119 Lindfield Films | WFSA | Collection'.

³¹ Hill and Johnston, pp. 5–6.

³² R Stebbins, *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure* (Montreal and Kingston: McGillQueen's University Press), p. 3.

³³ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Susan Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures* (London: Rout, 2019), p. 10 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315396149>>.

accurate attribution at the point of accession; contributors should also be made fully cognisant of how their contribution could be used in the future. Technology should be central to our discussion on content, context and form and can inform not just our understanding of how such practices have developed over time, but also influence how we actively collect and archive new and representative content. The technology does matter, it is foundational and to truly articulate the diverse perspectives within the archive the interdependency of materiality and film content must be acknowledged.

The findings of this thesis have the potential to improve and inform professional archival practice. The methodology deployed in this thesis has highlighted multiple areas where processes in regional film archives could be modified to improve the future visibility of women and lower income filmmakers. In the first instance, it is apparent that structured and timely collection of demographic data at the point of accession could have a significant positive effect on the future identification of filmmakers by gender and background. Asking the right questions at the right time, in a systematic and consistent way, has the potential to remedy the hitherto piecemeal and *ad hoc* collection of such data that is typically communicated to archives in a more narrative way by depositors.

This implementation of routine data collection will lead to the accumulation of new knowledge about individual accessions, highlighting both the work of underrepresented filmmakers, but also enhancing the quality of data available about other filmmakers. Inviting structured dialogue with depositors may also encourage further accessions, through the depositor's own collections or in their role as advocates for the archive. When so much of the value in amateur film is associated with the context surrounding a film's production, it is a significant oversight that this type of qualitative data is not systematically collected.

Lastly, echoing the findings of the *Invisible Innovators*³⁴ report, women's work in this collection and others like it could gain increased visibility through the selection and application of appropriate key words. These should be included in text searchable fields on the public facing catalogue for all items. Inclusion of relevant gender specific terminology would combat the long-standing elision of women's work. Implementation of such changes will grow public awareness of women's involvement in amateur filmmaking, and it will

³⁴ Stefanie Clayton, Keith Johnston, and Melanie Williams, 'Invisible Innovators', 2020
<<http://www.eafa.org.uk/documents/invisible-innovators-final.pdf>>.

increase direct external engagement in the form of casual cataloguer users, academic researchers, local and family historians who will benefit from improved search terms. These measures will also provide opportunities for highlighting filmmakers and their work in the ongoing activities of the archive, in screenings, outreach activities and contemporary collecting initiatives.

1.9 Research questions

This thesis poses a series of key questions, which have informed the direction of the research at significant milestones. In this thesis I ask:

- What is the demographic (and especially, gendered) composition of the region's known amateur filmmaking populace?
- What impact did the socio-economic status of women amateur filmmakers have on their involvement in filmmaking activities?
- How does the collection of WFSA contribute to the construction of a regional collective amateur filmmaking identity?

This thesis aims to analyse the impact of filmmakers' gender and socio-economic status on their output and to provide a timely insight into regional amateur filmmaking practice. It will contribute to rethinking how women's film history is written, moving beyond pioneers and prominent professionals to recognise women in everyday film culture. It will provide evidence of amateur filmmaking practice as a vehicle for social mobility and looking to the future, will inform archival practices. These aims have been achieved through the application of a mixed methodology that involved reviewing and digitising films, establishing attribution of film items, construction of filmmaker case studies, and the creation of an empirical filmmaker dataset.

1.10 Chapter overview

Chapter 2 outlines the feminist archival methodology deployed in this project and inspired by Gaines' call to action, locating this regional study within a wider transdisciplinary context. My approach synthesises quantitative and qualitative methods and positions the archive as a key component of the study. Therefore, I draw not only on film scholarship but the

discipline of archival sciences. Archival science is based on four foundational concepts 'record, provenance, value, and representation'.³⁵ These cornerstones of archival studies serve to provide a frame of reference as I introduce WFSA, the local authority governed regional film archive that is the focus of this thesis. Formed in 1988, WFSA operates alongside Hampshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) at Hampshire Record Office (HRO) sharing hierarchical cataloguing software procured for the wider HRO collections. I explore the importance of terminology in the research process and outline the conventions that I deploy in relation to gender and how this is expressed in written sources. Through establishing a consistent, transparent, and unambiguous naming convention I consider how women's histories have been obfuscated by normative patriarchal systems and values. I describe how this study was designed to draw together qualitative approaches (oral histories, questionnaires, newspapers, periodicals, paper archival sources, film text analysis), which are routinely deployed in the discipline, and quantitative methods which occupy a smaller, though influential niche within film. One of the key intentions and subsequent outcomes of this research has been to provide an empirical dataset that will stand up to scrutiny and allow us to ask the who, what and when. Through standardising the language used when recording key metadata on filmmakers, and through the application of the ISCO-08 International Standard Classification of Occupations (hereafter 'ISCO-08'36) I have built and populated a first of its kind dataset on an amateur filmmaking populace.

Chapter 3 'Laying a Foundation' seeks to explore the existing scholarship on amateur filmmaking and uses the record for Alfred West's AV4/1³⁷ as a springboard for discussing some of the wider questions that emerge around amateur practice, acknowledging that amateur filmmaking in this period was a complicated spectrum of experience. A seminal work in this area is the 1995 text '*Reel Families*' written by Patricia Zimmermann, wherein the author constructs a thorough 'history of the discourse of amateur film'.³⁸ Zimmermann's work wields heavy sway over scholarship since and many consider her work as a keystone of modern amateur scholarship with her discussion on the emergence of technologies and the evolution of Anglo-American practice central to much subsequent critical discussion. She

³⁵ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 10.

³⁶ The numerical values generated by the coded system are sometimes referred to as 'SIC' codes.

³⁷ AV4/1 *Alfred West: Masonic Ceremony, Foundation Stone St Matthew's Church (1902) / WFSA / Film*.

³⁸ Patricia R Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

cites the unique societal circumstances present in the late nineteenth century, in which new technologies developed as troubling existing notions of work and leisure and of the public and private spheres. I consider the work of Chalfen³⁹ on amateur photography, wherein his application of the term 'snapshot', and designation of the 'home mode' of production has significant influence upon theorisation of filmmaking in non-professional contexts. Chalfen draws into his argument specific brand-oriented terminology to categorise aspects of cine-engagement, indicating at this very early stage that consumerism and financial affordability were intrinsic to how amateur practice was conceptualised. I explore the paucity in amateur scholarship specific to UK contexts between 1995-2012 and draw on Norris Nicholson's more recent 2012 work '*Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977*' wherein British amateur filmmaking is given a distinct identity.⁴⁰ Across many of the key texts cited in this thesis, scholars grapple with the question of how to categorise amateur filmmaking behaviours, the plurality of practice across a range of locations and sites of production means that while the term 'amateur filmmaker' is often applied with a broad brush, what this could mean for each individual varied immensely.

In this chapter I also build the context for the development of regional film archives in the UK, drawing upon key historical moments such as the Brighton conference of 1978.⁴¹ From this time onwards there was an identified need to unify the work of emerging regional archives in the UK, with the Film Archive Forum (FAF), established in 1987 with a view to 'fostering an informal network of British moving image archives'.⁴² I consider how these regional archives have come to form a national jigsaw; where each piece can be viewed in isolation, with the pieces together forming part of a larger whole. I posit that the fragmented nature of archive emergence has led to an uneven development of archival practice and application of standards, even where organisations have clear high-level cataloguing policies. I consider a number of key research projects that have been

³⁹ Richard Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987).

⁴⁰ Heather Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977' (Manchester University Press, 2012).

⁴¹ Jan-Christopher Horak, 'Constructing History: Archives, Film Programming, and Preservation', *Journal of Film Preservation*, 102 (2020), 27–36 (p. 31) <<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2405318876?accountid=13963>>.

⁴² Frank Gray and Luke McKernan, 'A Short History of the UK's Film Archives', 2013 <<http://www.filmarchives.org.uk/about/history/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

undertaken with regional archives in recent years using gender as a focus, including the influential '*Invisible Innovators*' project between the University of East Anglia and EAFA.⁴³

In Chapter 4 'Taken by my wife', I argue that a move away from the amateur/professional dichotomy of pre-1922 films is needed to fully appreciate the breadth of contributors to regional film collections that include both women and film exhibitors. I argue that the application of the amateur/professional binary oversimplifies a complex configuration of production origins that fails to adequately interrogate technology used, intended audience and pecuniary motivations. There is a tendency to view technology as deterministic, identifying 35mm film stock as exclusively professional, and narrower gauges as amateur – but this model is flawed in diachronic analysis. I describe how there are no pre-1922 substandard gauges present in WFSA, suggesting that the early film collection of WFSA holds no true amateur films or filmmakers, only the work of non-professionals using 35mm film. I posit that based on technological developments (so often cited in amateur film scholarship) cine amateurism could be said to have developed in waves in the pre-1922 period, correlating with the ebb and flow of technological filmmaking developments.

I consider the case of filmmaker Louisa Gauvain as a means of highlighting female engagement with early amateur filmmaking, expressions of gendered labour and the changing role of women in quasi-professional contexts. Louisa Gauvain's 1913 work *Plaster of Paris* predates one of the earliest documented women amateur filmmakers by eight years – tentatively placing her as one of the first female amateurs. My intention here is not to assign pioneer status, but rather to indicate that Louisa Gauvain's existence and proven involvement in the production of amateur film as early as 1913 signifies that women *could* function in an amateur context before 1921. This exploration highlights the challenges that discriminatory recording practices present to constructing a woman's biography from archival sources, resulting in biographies that are necessarily imperfect - chronologies solidified into tangible webs of probable happenings. I argue that Louisa Gauvain's film *Plaster of Paris* (1913) is analogous for the treatment of amateur women filmmakers more widely, suggesting that the power relations crystallised in *Plaster of Paris* demonstrate the patriarchal control exerted over women and their work, which limits their activities and how

⁴³ Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 3.

they are acknowledged. The space that Louisa Gauvain's camera occupies exists only because of a series of societal pre-sets: her marriage to Henry Gauvain, her forfeit of her own career on marriage and her role in the hospital hierarchy.

In Chapter 5 I seek to apply a 'gendered interrogation'⁴⁴ of the WFSA collection and evidence that there are many more women amateur filmmakers present in the archive than previously believed,⁴⁵ demonstrating that women amateurs, much like the wider filmmaking populace, are not a homogenous group.⁴⁶ My exploration of women amateurs' work in this collection critically deploys the results of my empirical methodology⁴⁷ alongside qualitative methods to 'challenge reigning theoretical paradigms'⁴⁸ presenting a cohesive dataset that evidences a far greater number of women amateurs active in this regional collection than previously known. I have located evidence of 16 women amateur filmmakers in the WFSA collection, an increase of over 50% on those who were readily apparent at the outset of my collection survey – thus, more than half of the women identified in this study were 'invisible'⁴⁹ before my research was undertaken. The initial 7 filmmakers were the only women whose name and gender would have been apparent to users of the catalogue, before a further 9 were located through my archival research. Furthermore, I contend that analysis of women amateurs' work is hampered (in many cases, necessarily so) by case study methodologies in the discipline where there is a tendency to think of all women amateurs under one homogenous 'type'. I categorise this misleading/unhelpful/confusing trope through the expression the 'typical woman amateur'. This widely held understanding of all women amateurs as conforming to a type, in fact serves to misrepresent a filmmaking populace that is far more diverse than previously believed. Subscribing to the notion of the 'typical woman amateur' as representative of all women amateurs fails to consider the very essence of amateur practice as a heterogenous experience.

⁴⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 12.

⁴⁵ As discussed of UK archives more widely by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Charles Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960* (University of California Press, 2014), p. 274.; Vicki Callahan, *Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), p. 5.

⁴⁷ Similar to that deployed by Bell, p. 214.

⁴⁸ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 3; Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 11.

A number of key structural factors contribute to these women being self-evident in archive collections. Women from wealthy families and those who have status due to marriage or family profession are more likely to have their films attached to their names than women of other classes and marital status.⁵⁰ In essence, these women's films are more likely to remain extant and find their way into an archive as a direct result of a middle and upper-class tendency to historicise family memories. These women are statistically more likely to meet the gendered ancestral expectation to archive the family memory – to record and collect domestic scenes, and community experiences and thus uphold 'a sense of cross-generational family identity'.⁵¹ Moreover, the greater visibility of these women in archive collections stems from the application of clear unambiguous attributions at the point of accession, with statistically more 'typical women amateurs' being single or widowed at the time of their death than those from other backgrounds.⁵² The 'typical women amateurs' identified in this study (Dorothy Cicely Lavinia Bacon (29 December 1906 - August 1998) and Lady Edith Mary (née Palmer Howard) Congleton (7 April 1895 - 1979) among them) evidence lives of relative financial stability and abundance, they also provide a wealth of archival evidence that records participation in public life. As a result of their lives lived in the public sphere, there are a far greater volume of primary sources documenting them compared to those from other backgrounds. Marjorie Glasspool as a working-class woman leaves barely any archival footprint, she is defined by her extant films, birth, death and marriage records alone. As a result of this scarcity of information her work has been overlooked, under researched and misunderstood and it is the stories of women such as her that are missing from the overall picture of women amateur filmmakers. The 'typical woman amateur' is present in regional film archives, and she is more in evidence than women from other backgrounds; but this is not to say that she is alone in the collection; she sits amongst workers, doctors, philanthropists, technicians, chemists, and domestic servants.

Chapter 6 outlines how cine use could act as a tool for social mobility⁵³ deployed by women amateur filmmakers to navigate society. I explore how women using cine in this way had

⁵⁰ 93.75% of women identified in this study, with films extant in WFSA were widowed or single at the time of death see Table 4 for details.

⁵¹ Liz Gloyn and others, 'The Ties That Bind: Materiality, Identity, and the Life Course in the "Things" Families Keep', *Journal of Family History*, 43.2 (2018), 157–76 (p. 73) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0363199017746451>>.

⁵² See Table 4.

⁵³ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 8.

specific motives and intentions; fuelled by their individual circumstances the two case studies examined in this chapter evidence how their positionality gave rise to unique modes of practice. I suggest that a woman may well fit the mould of the 'typical woman amateur' at one point in her life, yet her biography may evidence lifestyle characteristics far divergent from what might be expected of that same 'typical' figure.

The women discussed in this chapter certainly meet some of the key criteria of the 'typical woman amateur' but distinguishing them is a biographical mutability; a fluidity or destabilising element that means their lives are necessarily more complicated or complex. The women discussed, Audrey Alma (née Humphries) Granville Soames (16 July 1900 - 1990) and Doris (née Craven-Ellis) Campbell (18 May 1909 - 28 September 2006), forged financial stability for themselves through strategic social navigation and paid employment. They demonstrate adaptive capabilities not necessarily evident in the biographies of the 'typical woman amateur' and suggest that cine is more likely to be deployed in this manner by women in paid employment or those whose economic pressures were more demanding.

I explore how Audrey Granville-Soames' cine use manifests as a commoditised aspirational practice that she was able to engage with because of her upward social trajectory. Through close textual analysis read alongside archival biographical traces, I observe how cine use provided a means of transitioning into a social set wherein the recording and screening of films facilitated a cycle of social acceptance. Audrey Granville-Soames' agency and authorial control over her on-screen participants and social superiors, provided her with a clearly delineated function within the social space and in turn, contributed to her self-representation. Doris Campbell's use of film similarly worked to contribute to a sense of identity, establishing the power of film in shaping quasi-political experiences, as well as demonstrating the spatial freedom given to amateurs who were often granted unrestricted access to events because of their camera. These women's cine use was part of a process of finding and making themselves, of social attainment and assimilation. Where both the present moment, and the re-experience of the lived moment are central to the process. I postulate that these modes/practices/behaviours, unlike the 'family gaze',⁵⁴ have a distinctly extra-familial function that sit somewhere between a form of kinship and the

⁵⁴ Haldrup and Larsen.

community mode⁵⁵ of production – a more *social gaze* that while predicated upon a notion of spatial or social distance draws the filmmaker into the proximity of the bodies seen on screen, and into their continued attention as their performances are projected back to them.

In Chapter 7 I deconstruct the trope of the ‘serious’ female amateur. As I have already established, amateur cinema discourse has traditionally positioned amateur filmmaking as a ‘feminized cultural practice’,⁵⁶ an assertion that is based on a combination of contemporary marketing rhetoric aimed at women and the site of production being located within the private sphere of the home. Despite this topography, women filmmakers remain in the minority within regional film collections. The serious woman is, on the one hand more visible than her female peers because she and her work are accompanied by a corpus of contextual information and on the other, less visible than her serious male peers as a direct consequence of her gender and an entrenched association with the private sphere of the home. There are layers of presumption and generalisation effecting our understanding and assessment of women amateurs and their work, and the trope of the serious amateur contributes to denigrating the work of less engaged, less prolific, or less technically proficient women. In this chapter I explore the ‘serious’ woman amateur as a valuable trope, that recognises the specialisation of skills and contributes to wider discussions around gendered filmmaking, authorial control, and feminist archival praxis.

I draw upon established critical notions of seriousness developed by Stebbins⁵⁷ (and then Craven⁵⁸) who are keen to recognise the ‘careerist character’ of the serious amateur and ascribe to them a tendency to chase pecuniary benefit. I contend that this characteristic is covertly gendered and does not chime with the two case studies considered in this chapter, Eda Isobel Moore (16 April 1908 - 19 August 1995) and Emma Louisa (née Cox) Fritchley (1902 - 28 October 1994). The stipulation that seriousness accompanies careerist pecuniary aims fails to recognise the different relationships to paid and unpaid labour that men and

⁵⁵ T Slootweg and others, ‘Home Mode, Community Mode, Counter Mode: Three Functional Modalities for Coming to Terms with Amateur Media Practices In’, in *Changing Platforms of Mediated Memory Practices: Dispositifs, Generations and Amateurs*, ed. by J. Aasman, S., Fickers, A. and Wachelder (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), p. 205.

⁵⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. xvii.

⁵⁷ R Stebbins, *Amateurs: On the Margin between Work and Leisure* (Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 1979), p. 260.

⁵⁸ Ian Craven, *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), p. 13.

women have; but also calls into question the interrelationship between financial status and seriousness. When seriousness is synonymous with an excess of leisure time and wealth; it is no coincidence that the serious filmmakers which we can readily identify, originate from moneyed backgrounds. This visibility occurs as a direct result of the characteristics ascribed to serious filmmakers and doesn't necessarily mean that lower income filmmakers are not present in the archive, just that they and their work are not deemed 'serious' and therefore not visible. In the case of women amateurs, the intersection of gender and class doubly impact their visibility. The two examples explored in this chapter are located within financially stable middle-upper class environments.

The serious women amateurs in WFSA originate from stable, financially elite backgrounds from economically mobile families on an upward trajectory. These women and their work demonstrate common features that have enabled me to categorise them as 'serious'. This includes the sustained and consistent use of editing, a history of attending or hosting public screenings of their work, a willingness to be recognised for their artistic endeavours, their organised and systematic approach, their extensive extant collections, their lifelong commitment, and their technical proficiency.

Many of the female amateurs surfaced in this research are knowable through precious few archival traces, which when pieced together, contribute to an outline of their personal chronologies. In the case of the serious female amateur, there are often more contextual sources present and, in some cases, I argue, a complete blueprint and a foundation upon which we historians might construct an imagined superstructure. These features are distinctive from many other women in the collection where extant evidence and contextual data is scarce or non-existent. The serious woman amateur is knowable through, not only her films, but the equipment she used and retained, the ephemera she collated and stored and an oral historical tradition giving voice to her practices. In addition, the work of the serious woman amateur is more visible because she operates in public.

The serious female amateur is more likely to receive scholarly attention than other female amateurs, since their work aligns more closely with industry accepted notions of what it means to be a filmmaker and what a 'film', as a creative product, should be. As I explore in the early part of this thesis, the lexicon of professional cinema is often applied

unquestioningly to amateur practice. As a result, we consider that the 'filmmaker' is usually the director, holding authorial control and typically receiving the most credit for the work. As a result of this inherited terminology and being held to this 'absolute [professional] standard',⁵⁹ I observe how amateur film scholarship often prioritises the work of individuals with more serious intentions or with professional aspirations, over the work of others including those with fewer extant films or films covering largely family-oriented content.

Scholarship around the serious amateur aligns these filmmakers with professional aspirations and the chasing of pecuniary benefit, however I posit that there is no evidence that any of the serious women amateurs in WFSA turned professional during their lifetime. Both Eda Moore and Emma Fritchley took steps to challenge their positions in the patriarchal capitalist order through their activities and interactions in the public sphere, however, they (and other women like them) come up short when compared to their male counterparts because they did not professionalise their practice. The fact that they achieved as much as they did, is a testament to how much harder they had to work than their male counterparts to be recognised.

In Chapter 8 I consider the archival elision of women active in cine clubs formed from the late 1920s onwards, locating women involved in the social phenomenon where individuals from all walks of life were drawn together into 'devoted arm[ies]',⁶⁰ with a passion for film that extended beyond the cinema-going norm. Activities and practices mobilised in these environments could galvanise community spirit and transform film from something to be consumed, into a product of communal endeavour. These societies encouraged dedication from their membership, inciting them to labour fastidiously in their leisure time, to develop and hone their skills and to do so with flair and enthusiasm.

My primary research using the WFSA collection evidences 30 women in the 4 clubs considered in this thesis and suggests that it was common for up to 33% of cine club members to be female. These findings are at odds with the assumption (both archival and academic) that cine club environments were overwhelmingly male social practice spaces. These same presumptions of homogeneity hamper our critical understanding of the roles that women could play in such contexts, and is in part a result of club tendencies to replicate

⁵⁹ Craven, p. 13.

⁶⁰ Clarence Winchester, *The World Film Encyclopedia*, ed. by The Amalgamated Press Ltd (London, 1933), p. 422.

industry standard hierarchical structures, giving precedence to a handful of key roles whilst excluding other below the line roles.⁶¹ I argue, that overreliance on certain sources has led to an obfuscation of women's contributions and in fact, clubs were sites of multi-generational polyvocal exchange encompassing a multiplicity of interactions or spectrum of experiences that I categorise as 'cine-engagement'.

The formation of societies upon structurally formal lines explored in the case of the Bournemouth Film Club, indicates a move towards the institutionalisation of amateur filmmaking, which brought with it an almost automatic marginalisation of women's work. In many cases, club mechanisms themselves bear closer comparison to regional community organisations than they do to professional film industry production companies. It is this in-betweenness, the sense of straddling the professional and the semi-private realms that results in a minimising of female contributions and ultimately positions the extant films under a male auspice.

Cine club participation was not just about the production of films; club life was integral to many people's everyday lives, and the social experience of communal viewing was a large proportion of that experience supplementing other purely social activities, such as dances and tennis matches. The performative aspect of club life mimicked cinema-going and industry norms with curated programmes of film punctuated by intervals and supplemented by live musical accompaniments,⁶² in addition to a club's production schedule. The broad range of activities that took place in a club environment could draw on the full potential of members' expertise, whatever area that might be in. To fully understand the nature of cine-engagement – particularly for women in club environments – I argue that a comprehension of the full matrix of activities is vital.

My research has shown that women in cine clubs were more likely to work outside of the home, in remunerative employment, than autonomous women filmmakers; my findings demonstrate that 66% of female club members did so, with an additional 33% undertaking unpaid domestic work.⁶³ I posit that cine clubs were particularly successful in encouraging participation from the lower middle-class and working-classes⁶⁴ bringing together disparate

⁶¹ Bell, p. 2; Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 71.

⁶² Tuesday 05 April 1938, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 7.

⁶³ 66.6% to be exact (10 women), and 33.3% (5 women)

⁶⁴ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 29.

groups who would have been unlikely to mix in other circumstances. Thus, there were opportunities for social mobility; to interact with those outside ones' own sphere, to engage in an aspirational practice otherwise out of financial reach, to forge an upward social trajectory and to learn new skills.

As communal spaces of learning, with formally recognised systems of governance, cine clubs were able to position themselves as a respectable leisure time activity allowing the organisations to manifest as safe spaces for unmarried women and men to interact outside of the workplace. With women's roles in cine club environments defined according to established prevailing gender norms, many found themselves having to negotiate between the public and private spheres. These women had to navigate a complex terrain of patriarchal control, with slippages, unevenness and hypocrisy contributing to their experience of these environments. Cine clubs exemplify how amateur practice could uncomfortably straddle public and private life. On the one hand positioned as cine's idealised user (in the home, the mother) and on the other, having this role stripped away from them by the formal institutional structures that club life imposed. As a result, many women active in the semi-public club spaces faced being consigned to subsistence and caring activities more aligned with the private sphere of the home. The system asked women to participate, and then (using Gaines' analogy) pulled the rug from under them.⁶⁵ Some women were permitted more freedom to step away from these traditional patriarchally defined roles but, even in these cases their work has been subject to obfuscation as a direct result of systems in which they operated.

Despite a natural alignment of women with the private sphere of the home (and therefore amateur filmmaking), women amateur filmmakers remain the minority in extant collections, this is true of both cine clubs and works produced autonomously. While cine marketing sought to appeal to women in the home and mothers as family archivists, the perception of amateur practice uncomfortably straddled public and private life; inviting female participation through the promotion of normative patriarchal values but restricting their activities and limiting how far their work could be acknowledged outside the context of

⁶⁵ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 12.

production i.e., on the film can, by descendants, or in the archive. In the public sphere women's 'natural'⁶⁶ memory building abilities held less value.

Without exception, the final custodians of the club collections discussed in this thesis were all prominent male members of the societies, this prominence in amateur club works mirrors a tendency towards auteurism as seen in the film industry and has led to a disproportionate visibility of male participants. Available evidence on cine clubs reflects film industry practices, indicating that women were more commonly involved in ancillary⁶⁷ and supporting roles and these were not always acknowledged in on-screen credits or in written sources. I posit that reliance on documentary sources puts the recognition of women in undefined or ancillary roles at risk and that women's labour and involvement should be considered valid, even when formal nomenclature describing their activities is absent.

1.11 The elision of women's filmmaking labour

This thesis considers that women's amateur filmmaking labour has been subject to significant elisions, perpetrated over many decades by patriarchal mechanisms within and outside of the archive. The women whose work is presented here are offered as evidence that continued archival excavations are always justified, as records in a continual process of 'becoming' become anew with each fresh look. I posit that the women of WFSA provide a lens through which other regional film archives might reevaluate their own collections, contributing to the groundswell of work that recentres the practice of women filmmakers in amateur contexts.

Shifting away from a diachronic application of terminology and tailoring our approach for pre-1922 and post-1922 practices and behaviours we may begin to recognise the nuances that characterise a diverse and variegated practice. Through encouraging self-reflexivity, we can begin to acknowledge, and challenge, the tendency to lean on collections where a wealth of detail already exists at the expense of women who, through reasons of social (and economic) status are less likely to be represented in archival documents. In this work I seek to draw attention to this disparity - this tendency - and to invite methodologies that

⁶⁶ Zoe Margaret Irving, 'Gender, Work and Employment', in *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*, ed. by D Robinson, V. Richardson (Red Globe Press, 2020), pp. 242–61 (p. 245).

⁶⁷ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 33.

problematising this ‘easy’ scholarship. I invite scholars to more rigorously question archivists – to ask not for the women about whom they already know, but to consider about whom they know less.

I challenge scholarly generalisations anchored to the fallacy of amateur practice as exclusionary by dint of cost. My evidence demonstrates that for all but the very lowest earners, cine use was within reach for the duration of the 1920 to 1950 period. This thesis, rather than revealing a whole raft of overlooked working-class women filmmakers considers that challenging our perceptions can and will only lead to a greater understanding of the diverse range of perspectives that the amateur archive holds. The inclusion of cine-engagement in the amateur lexicon can enhance our understanding of women amateurs and the ways in which they contribute to the practice of filmmaking. This spectrum of experience encompasses those activating a social gaze to achieve mobility, the ‘point and shoot’ (and maybe the ‘typical woman amateur’) and the serious amateur, but also provides the opportunity to validate the experiences of women hitherto overlooked in the canon. These women, whose experiences might compare unfavourably to the absolute standard upheld by the professional world might be found holding the camera during shared family experiences or as members of cine clubs enmeshed in activities as broad and diverse as their membership base. These women’s work, if taken together serve to add colour to the regional filmmaking identity, evidencing a wealth of variegated practice that is far more diverse than is popularly assumed.

Chapter 2 Methodology

This study deploys a pragmatic analysis of records within the WFSA collection to highlight the work of women filmmakers and those from lower income backgrounds, whilst offering insight into the challenges of navigating legacy archival practice and wider issues of attribution as it relates to gender. This systematic approach has highlighted a number of widespread issues at work in the archive and proliferated through its public facing apparatus – the catalogue. While the evidence presented here is very site specific, it is increasingly apparent that through application of industry standard catalogue processes and accession procedures women's work is systematically obscured and elides full credit. The research model described in this thesis, could present opportunities for other regional film archives to reappraise their holdings if not to influence archival practice, but simply to improve knowledge of filmmakers within their respective collections.

The archive is a key component of this study, and thus drawing on the feminist film work of Gaines and Callahan is relevant throughout. Tangentially influential is the discipline of archival studies wherein it is argued by Caswell that archival science theory is neglected in the deployment of archives as sites of research in the humanities, and that this elision itself stems from an embedded gendering of the discipline.⁶⁸ Archival science is based on four foundational concepts 'record, provenance, value, and representation'.⁶⁹ According to Yeo records are 'persistent representations of activities, created by participants or observers of those activities or by their authorized proxies',⁷⁰ and in the case of WFSA the records are physical films of which there are copies in various formats, and entries into the catalogue at item and collection level.

'Provenance' in the context of archival science 'insists on the importance of the context of the record, even over and above its content',⁷¹ it locates records (hereafter in the WFSA context the 'Item' or 'Collection') in the context of a collection – a site specific configuration e.g., the work of a filmmaker or the films produced by a company. This concept does not

⁶⁸ Caswell, 'The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.'

⁶⁹ Caswell, 'The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 10.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Yeo, 'Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations', *The American Archivist*, 70.2 (2007), 315–43 (p. 334) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40294573>>.

⁷¹ Caswell, 'The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 7.

quite hold true in WFSA where on-screen content is prioritised over cohesion to the original structure of the collection. This is because of a geographical collecting remit that gives precedence to the lived environments and their histories over the histories of the films' producers. Provenance (in the wider discipline) has typically focused on the creators of records, but more recent arguments in the field have sought to expand this definition to include the subjects of records,⁷² which in the case of film is particularly productive in recognising the work of multiple creators of a single record (the husband-and-wife team or the cine club, as examples). 'Value', as another of the foundational concepts of archival science allows archivists to make 'appraisal decisions' at the point of accession, attributing 'their value in representing some important aspect of the past', this attribution of value is subject to a multitude of circumstantial factors,⁷³ and is acknowledged as a contributing factor that hinders the visibility of women amateur filmmakers.⁷⁴ As a researcher an archivist, and a woman I am reminded that the attribution of value in the accession process corresponds similarly with the impartiality and bias that my own subjectivity brings to this study. As Wreyford and Cobb reiterate, there is a need to 'interrogate one's own bias' and acknowledge that 'self-conscious reflexivity has become an essential part of any feminist research'.⁷⁵

The fourth cornerstone of archival studies is 'representation', more 'traditionally known as archival description, representation is the process by which archivists produce descriptive metadata'.⁷⁶ How the record is described through this process of representation has a material impact on how the record is found, interpreted and used. This thesis will deploy this terminology alongside the work of Gaines and Callahan to provide a feminist analysis of the collection.

WFSA was formed in 1988, as part of a move by Hampshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) to consolidate the disparate and fragmented film and sound holdings that the county had accumulated. At this time, Hampshire Record Office (HRO) was located in Castle Avenue

⁷² Bastian quoted in Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 7.

⁷³ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 8.

⁷⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 15.

⁷⁵ Natalie Wreyford and Shelley Cobb, 'Data and Responsibility: Toward a Feminist Methodology for Producing Historical Data on Women in the Contemporary UK Film Industry', *Feminist Media Histories*, 3.3 (2017), 107–32 (p. 3) <<https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2017.3.3.107>>.

⁷⁶ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 9.

in Winchester and the newly formed film and sound collection became the responsibility of recently appointed Film Archive Manager, David Lee. The collection grew from a nucleus of deposits at a time when film scholarship was awakening to the notion of a vanishing celluloid past⁷⁷ hastened by the material decay of collections, but also a sense of those having been involved in creating our early film history- slipping away. There was an urgency to collect and conserve, thus, when David Lee took up his post in c.1987, he did so with gusto; actively pursuing leads that might bring film into the collection through (almost) any means. He attended trade fairs, house clearances, rummaged through skips and rubbish tips, he attended community groups, spoke at specialist events, on TV, in the national and local press. He formed and cemented formal relationships with local broadcasters, appealed on local radio and offered 'home movie days' where local people could attend - cinefilm in hand – to receive expert advice on what they held, and there was always the prospect that the films would make welcome additions to the collection. The collection as it stands in 2020, was a reasonable size regional repository and as part of periodic review the most recent archive audit indicated an extent of over 38,000 items. In 2017 the cinefilm collection comprised of around 12,000 items (see Figure 1 and Table 1).



Figure 1: WFSA Cinefilm Infographic [Credit: WFSA]

⁷⁷ Charles Musser, 'Historiographic Method and the Study of Early Cinema', *Cinema Journal*, 44.1 (2004), 101–7 (p. 101) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3661175>>; Richard Abel, 'History Can Work for You, You Know How to Use It', *Cinema Journal*, 44.1 (2004), 107–12 (p. 107) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3661176>>; Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, pp. 15, 136.

Table 1: WFSA Cinefilm Collection	
Composition	
Film Gauge	Quantity (items)
16mm	8859
8mm	1571
Super 8mm	1163
9.5mm	521
35mm	515

In addition to the cinefilm holdings, there are around 16,000 sound items and more than 10,000 tapes in a multitude of formats. Given the chronological scope of this thesis, the initial sample of items deemed to be of interest automatically focused the study on the 12,000 cine items.

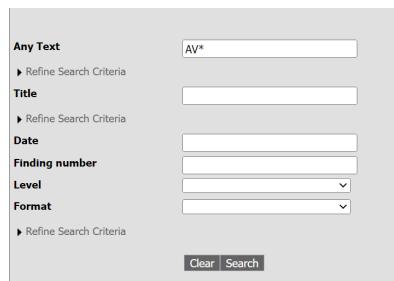
2.1 About the catalogue

WFSA uses a collection management system procured for the wider HRO collections. The CALM catalogue is a database that provides a hierarchical structure for records and meets General International Standard Archival (ISADG) standards. The system provides consistent authority terms and a web-based interface for remote public access, it is using this public interface that this study has been completed. CALM, as deployed by HRO, is not designed specifically for film archives and therefore there is some inconsistency in how certain film specific data is recorded. Typically, available fields that carry through onto the public interface include: 'title', 'date', 'description', 'physical description', 'extent', 'format' and 'admin history'.

To elaborate on where these inconsistencies surface in the recording of film items - the 'physical description' field is the designated home for all the information that describes the film as a physical object including original format (gauge), colour, duration, sound and more occasionally the medium on which the viewing/access copy is available. Similarly, the 'description field' must carry the burden of credits, production, cast, keywords, genre, location, and a full description of the film's on-screen content. Having said this, these

subsets of information are not routinely applied across the whole collection, in fact, they were only introduced in 2010 as sub-headings to meet the export requirements for a British Film Institute (BFI) funded project, *Screen Heritage UK* (SHUK) and only for work that was newly catalogued as part of that project. Since 2010, most new film cataloguing has adopted these sub-headings. Most notably, even with the inclusion of the enhanced subset of film specific metadata, there is no provision for either gender-based data or fields that might provide socio-economic data such as occupation.

The public interface allows users to search the catalogue using a range of fields, but the functionality of this feature is limited. The ‘format’ field appears to provide the options to filter the search by physical format and, one would think, allow users to filter by film gauge for example, – but, as mentioned above this data is predominantly nested within the ‘physical description’ field amongst colour, sound and duration data and therefore is not indexed by the search field used by the public. As a result of the manuscript focused structure of the catalogue it becomes challenging to locate film material by film gauge alone. Searches by keyword are more productive, and indeed using the prefix ‘AV’ followed by a wildcard (*) allows for a broad search of the WFSA holdings, which can be narrowed by date if necessary. It is from this starting point that the collection survey carried out for this thesis began; with a collection-wide search returning all results from 1895 to 1960.



The image is a screenshot of a web-based search interface. At the top left is a label 'Any Text' followed by a text input field containing 'AV*'. To the right of this is a link '► Refine Search Criteria'. Below this is a 'Title' label with an empty input field and a '► Refine Search Criteria' link. Next is a 'Date' label with an empty input field and a '► Refine Search Criteria' link. Then is a 'Finding number' label with an empty input field. Following that is a 'Level' label with a dropdown menu showing 'Item' and 'Collection'. Below that is a 'Format' label with a dropdown menu showing 'Any format' and 'Physical format'. At the bottom of the search area are two buttons: 'Clear' and 'Search'.

Figure 1: Screen grab of the CALM catalogue search interface 08/03/2022 [Credit: WFSA]

2.2 Method choices

The basis of this thesis is a data led collection survey; a systematic interrogation of exported catalogue entries, sorting and grading of metadata with the purpose of accentuating gaps in knowledge and allowing for the application of comparable terms where these might be

absent. The survey began with a list, with an exported inventory of AV⁷⁸ items with dates spanning 1895 to 1960.

The diachronic parameters of this study were originally proposed to span from 1920 to 1950, however a wider search timeframe was deemed appropriate to ensure those practicing in the field in the immediate temporal proximity would be picked up. It is also appropriate to include entries from the 1895 to 1919 period as it assists in a regional definition of both the 'amateur' and the 'professional', as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. There are several justifications for this quantitative approach. The creation of a list provides an empirical dataset to evidence answers to some of the key research questions in this study:

- How many women filmmakers reside within the WFSA collection?
- How many filmmakers from lower income backgrounds are present?
- How does archival process effect visibility of these groups?

Furthermore, the application of a collection survey sought to avoid making generalised assumptions based on anecdotal testimony or irregular sampling. The findings of this thesis are based on a synthesis of quantitative and qualitative methods reflecting Wreyford and Cobb's assertion that 'feminist history is only complete with elements of both',⁷⁹ and echoing Johnston's most recent approach.⁸⁰

2.3 Collection survey

The collection survey was conducted in four phases which allowed for a systematic appraisal of each collection level entry. Collections/items (records) were required to meet a specific criterion to be progressed to the long list. This included the following: items were required to be film items or access copy derivatives, they had to have a date falling between 1895 and 1960 and they had to have 'amateur' status.

The phases, in brief, comprised:

⁷⁸ 'Audio Visual' the prefix preceding each film or sound item finding number within WFSA

⁷⁹ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Keith Johnston, 'Back into Focus: Women Filmmakers, the Amateur Trade Press and 1960s British Amateur Cinema', *Gender and History*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12702>>.

- Phase 1 -Extrapolation of relevant entries.
- Phase 2 -Eliminating ‘out of scope’ items.
- Phase 3 -Standardising entries and addressing anomalies.
- Phase 4 -Developing a grading matrix.

This approach allowed for the filtering of 5,617 records down to a long list of 321 filmmakers and a short list of around 60 filmmakers. The group of 60 filmmakers form the major focus of this study, with case study profiles being built around each filmmaker. The long list was shared with WFSA to facilitate outreach to depositors and has been used to gather high level quantitative data.⁸¹

Shortlisting and depositor questionnaire

In the early stages of this research a good working relationship with WFSA was fostered to enable access to depositors for gathering contextual information on collections and filmmakers within the archive. Formal ethical procedures were strictly adhered to in the creation of a filmmaker/depositor questionnaire⁸² which was disseminated to interested depositors following an initial contact from WFSA. Only a very small proportion of depositor contacts were returned with less than 10 getting in touch to indicate interest in being involved in the project. This is quite possibly a result of outdated contact details remaining on file for the depositors. Of these ten, only 5 completed the questionnaire and 2 took part in recorded interviews.

Questionnaire development

The depositor questionnaire⁸³ was devised to establish clarity in several key areas:

- The path to accession
- Basic biographical data on filmmakers
- Enhanced questions around the filmmaker’s: perceived disadvantage, living conditions, location, occupation, occupation category based on ISCO-08 major groups, education, consumption of newspapers/magazines, international travel, home ownership, if cine equipment was bought or borrowed, production of colour films and acquisition of film stock.

⁸¹ The method deployed for the collection survey is described in full in Appendix A.

⁸² See Appendix C for questionnaire.

⁸³ See Appendix C.

- Economic information on the filmmaker's parents and wider family
- Details around filmmaking activities

The questionnaire was devised with a keen awareness that 'class' is a construct based on a matrix of 'factors of differentiation'.⁸⁴ The headings included in the questionnaire became key areas for development within the filmmaker profiles and a standardised system for classifying occupation was introduced - ISCO-08.

2.4 Adopting the ISCO-08 system

The ISCO-08 International Standard Classification of Occupations (hereafter 'ISCO-08'⁸⁵) is an internationally recognised standard index of occupations as adopted by the International Labour Organisation in 2008, and replaces an earlier version as adopted in 1988. The system is widely recognised by governments and authorities as a key tool in classifying occupations. It 'provides a system for classifying and aggregating occupational information obtained by means of statistical censuses and surveys, as well as from administrative records'.⁸⁶ It utilises four hierarchical tiers (Figure 3) to categorise occupations, at the top (and therefore, the broadest groupings) are the ten major groups (Figure 4), within these there are forty three sub-major groups, which are subsequently comprised of one hundred and thirty minor groups which are in turn split into four hundred and thirty six unit groups.⁸⁷ The groups are organised in such a way that an occupation is assigned a code according to the 'skill level and skill specialisation required for the job', that corresponds to the group within each tier.

⁸⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, 'What Makes a Social Class? On The Theoretical and Practical Existence Of Groups', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1987), 1–17 (p. 3) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41035356>>.

⁸⁵ The numerical values generated by the coded system are sometimes referred to as 'SIC' codes.

⁸⁶ ILO, 'International Standard Classification of Occupations Methodology Parts 1-4', 2008 <<https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco08/index.htm>> [accessed 28 October 2020].

⁸⁷ ILO.

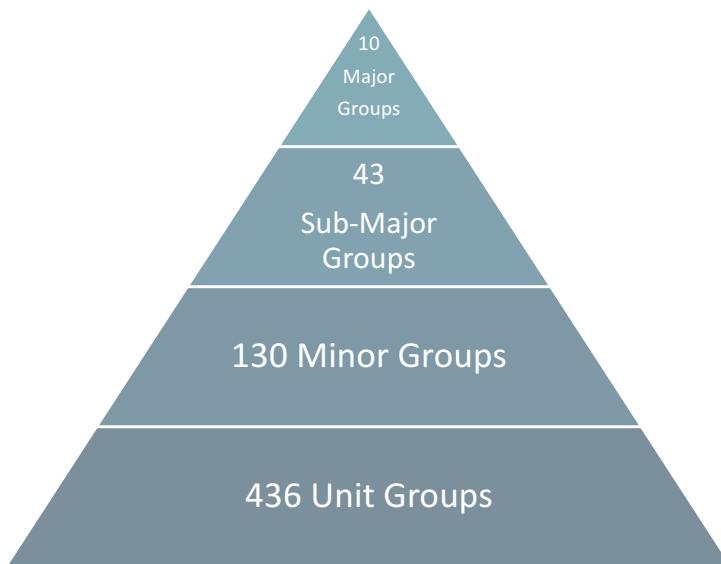


Figure 3: ISCO-08 Hierarchy of occupational groups

This study applies the ISCO-08 group structure to each of the filmmakers (as well as the filmmaker's father *and* mother if she is known to have worked), assigning both a Major Group number and a specific four-digit occupation code that was matched as closely as possible to the equivalent position in the 1895 to 1950 period. This system was chosen over other classification methods because occupation is one of the most consistently available identifiers found for filmmakers involved in this study.

Ahead of ISCO-08 classification, each filmmaker's status was recorded as one of the following:

- Unemployed – no income
- Unemployed – financially independent
- Unemployed – financially dependent on spouse/family
- Unemployed – worked in the home
- Employed

As a result, the ISCO-08 classifications have been used in conjunction with 'unemployed' categories to gather a picture of employment levels and means. More crucially, it allowed for the (unpaid) work of women to be acknowledged with parity.

Figure 4: ISCO-08 Major Groups



Justifying use of ISCO-08

Compilation of the filmmaker long-list and short-list unearthed several historiographic challenges (as detailed in Appendix A), some of which indicated that standardisation of terms would be necessary to compare records or individual filmmaker circumstances. Gender was one area that allowed a standardisation of terms to be applied, occupation provided a similar opportunity and in fact, where a named filmmaker was visible in the collection it was possible to ascertain and log occupational data for 51% of the 321 filmmakers. Therefore, occupational data provides an effective index for interpreting filmmaker backgrounds. Moreover, in around 38% of cases, filmmaker parental occupational data was also logged enabling a mapping of social mobility between generations.

Limitations of ISCO-08

There is little doubt as to the usefulness of this occupational logging system, it facilitates a mapping of filmmaker occupational data on a scale that has yet to be replicated with any other amateur filmmaking populace. Yet, there are flaws. In application and interpretation of this system, there is a need to maintain awareness that occupation isn't necessarily commensurate with 'class' and that different types of 'capital' constitute our understanding

of the construct of class itself.⁸⁸ Occupation can provide an indication of suggested socio-economic status – but it must be viewed alongside other factors, which is where the additional contextual questionnaire data has a role to play in this study. Furthermore, as socio-economic background links heavily with status (rather than social class), which could be acquired, it is pertinent to keep this distinction in mind.

Film texts

Evidence for filmmaking practice resides in multiple locations, not least of all the film text itself. As Curator of Film at WFSA, I have watched several thousand of the films within the collection since 2010 but have not undertaken a detailed viewing of all the short-listed collections for this study largely due to the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent restricted access to collections. However, I have been able to view a good proportion of the film content and where this has not been possible, I have relied upon item level catalogue entries which in many cases provide shot by shot descriptions. There is a clear route to develop this work further, as time allows.

2.5 Building context

Outline filmmaker profiles were initially compiled from a range of WFSA linked data sources; namely catalogue entries and film texts. Contextual data has been layered onto this foundation creating fuller narrative case studies drawing on a wide variety of genealogical sources accessed via Ancestry.com.⁸⁹ Thus far, the methodology described has focused on the development of filmmaker profiles. A further strand of work developed during this study sought to trace amateur practice in a number of ways that included an affordability survey and a sample of marketing materials.

I have described how the ‘class’ of filmmakers could be determined through an examination of a matrix of contributory factors, yet even with the knowledge of a filmmaker’s personal circumstances there remained the question of how accessible cine equipment was for these filmmakers. Whatever their gender or socio-economic situation it became necessary to develop an understanding of how filmmakers accessed cine equipment throughout the

⁸⁸ Bourdieu, p. 4.

⁸⁹ See Appendix B for itemised list of sources.

period. An inventory of over 270 equipment listings was made for items where purchase value was noted; this was compiled using sources from regional and national press, and included private classified ads, formal advertisements and editorial. For consistency I created a yearly log of costs for each film gauge - 9.5mm, 16mm and then later 8mm equipment including cameras, projectors and complete cine 'outfits'.⁹⁰ For each entry the gauge of equipment was logged, as well as whether it was new or second hand and where it was being sold.

I have mapped this data against the average wages of a skilled tradesperson as approximated by the National Archives (TNA) in their 2017 currency converter.⁹¹ The online tool utilises historical records to provide an accessible calculator, that references the wages of a skilled tradesperson at five-year intervals, against the relative cost of various commodities. The converter posits itself as a 'general guide to historical values', rather than as an exact tool, but is helpful in this instance to provide an indicator of income. The skilled tradesperson has been deemed a helpful demographic profile on which to base the affordability sample in this study, with the caveat that this occupational profile could earn more than some people, and less than others. For the purpose of this study the rates of pay have been converted into their lowest common denominator (old pence, d).⁹²

Key term usage

Another supplementary part of the methodology addresses the use and application of a number of key terms in contemporary publications. There are several pertinent questions that these surveys aimed to address:

- How was the term 'amateur' applied in relation to cinematography/or cinema exhibition in the 1895 to 1922 period?
- How often (and in what contexts) were the terms 'camera', 'cine-camera' and 'amateur' used in contemporary press between 1895 and 1950?

Terms surveyed and logged include 'amateur', 'camera', 'cine', 'cinematograph', 'cine-camera', 'Pathé', 'Cine-camera', 'Kodak', 'Pathéscope' 'Pathé-Baby' and 'Cine-kodak'.

⁹⁰ Generally taken to include camera, tripod, and projector - but not limited to.

⁹¹ 'National Archives: Currency Converter 1270-2017', 2017 <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>>.

⁹² See Appendix D

According to the publication and focus of each survey the parameters were modified. The following publications formed part of this exercise:

- *The British Journal of Photography* (surveyed from 1895 to 1923)
- *Kinematograph Weekly* (surveyed from 1904 to 1915)
- *The Times*
- *The Mirror, the Daily Mirror, The Sunday Mirror* -surveyed from 1903 to 1950
- *The Mail*

The results of these keyword searches shed light on both the adoption of certain language at points in time and facilitated a mapping of product marketing during the period. This will be discussed at various stages during this thesis.

Identifying the gaps

The methods deployed during this study have been devised with a very specific collection-based focus; the collection survey that was conducted has provided a raft of quantitative data that has been consolidated and built upon by qualitative sources that were correct at the time of writing. Yet, there are a range of factors that render this dataset unstable; indicating that we may never achieve a 'definitive dataset' and that we should consider that this does 'not invalidate overall discernible patterns.'⁹³ These instabilities, rather than being taken as reasons to doubt the reliability of the data should be viewed as opportunities for further study.

Nameless filmmakers

There are approximately 13 filmmakers whose work resides in the collection of WFSA for whom there is no firm attribution – no definite name given in connection with the film text, or a surname given in general terms e.g., 'AV1090 Higgins' or 'AV143 Unknown Frenchman'. In these cases, research is almost entirely reliant upon the content of the film text, examination of which could not be completed within the scope of this study. The weighted grading matrix prioritised catalogue records where a full name was present. There are questions to be asked around why such filmmakers' names have been lost – establishing if the films in question are 'found' films, disassociated from their producers or if the archival process itself has proliferated established norms amongst its contributors: are certain

⁹³ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 11.

portions of society more likely to archive their family's historical records than others?⁹⁴ Have such films been more democratically named – by not including the film name of just one individual? Some of these matters are addressed in Chapter 8. Thus, there are many potential avenues for exploring the work of these 'unknown' filmmakers from an entirely film text-centric model.

Where names are unclear

In addition to films from unknown filmmakers, there are challenges presented where a name is not given in full. For example: F S Stay (AV1413), where initials and a surname alone are included, and no other supporting contextual information is present either in the item or collection level entry. There are some instances in the collection survey where further contextual research has enabled the full identification of such filmmakers, but there are many more instances where this has not been possible.

What has not been collected or retained

During the course of the collection survey and subsequent interview with the former Archive Manager, David Lee, it became apparent that the archive's geographical remit has influenced the retention of whole collections of film. In the earliest years of WFSA when archival shelf space was less of a concern, deposits from filmmakers were more likely to be accessioned as a cohesive collection according to provenance and not substantially broken up for reasons of perceived value. If, for example, a filmmaker's collection contained a mix of locally shot cine film, overseas holidays, local Pathé newsreel and animations, it is likely that everything, but the animations, would be accessioned. This scenario became less likely as time progressed and storage concerns became more pressing – with holiday films, and Pathé items more likely to be excluded from the accession. In such instances, it is apparent that no consistent record was made to document rejected items. Despite the overwhelming precedence given to provenance and collection cohesion in archival sciences more generally,⁹⁵ film collections are typically more vulnerable to be divided on the basis of 'value'. To recall one of the four cornerstones in archival science, Caswell reminds us that:

⁹⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, p. 144.

⁹⁵ Caswell, 'The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 7.

'Value is not an objective quality that exists outside of context, but rather is inextricably linked to the mission and policies of the particular archival repository for which the archivist works, the training and philosophy of the archivist and the repository, the political, historical, and cultural milieu in which the archivist works, and the archivist's professional ethics and personal values'.⁹⁶

In other words, the decision to assign value to a record is based on the discretion of the collecting policy of the archive and the views of its staff. It is apparent that the 'value' appraisal of film items (i.e., deciding if the *film text* is of historic value) takes precedence over collection cohesion (i.e., keeping a filmmaker's corpus of film together) in the accession of film items. It therefore becomes necessary to highlight this assignation of value and ensure that 'the politics of knowledge production [is made] transparent'⁹⁷ when discussing individual filmmaker's work.

The depositor questionnaire used in this study specifically included '*Did the filmmaker make more films than those deposited with WFSA?*' as a question, in order to determine if collections were divided at accession. As of 2022 the archive will typically only accession film items that have direct locational relevance, to the exclusion of all else.

2.6 Getting the words right

There are several key conventions to establish at the outset of this thesis, and one of these concerns how gender is conveyed through nomenclature. How records are represented (to use the correct terminology determined by the archival sciences) in the catalogue, has a direct impact on the visibility of women and lower income filmmakers. In the case of male filmmakers this is straightforward and conforms to patriarchal norms, however, this is not the case for women filmmakers. Tracing women in archive records can be problematic (as discussed in Chapter 4), and part of this struggle comes down to established naming conventions applied during the process of creating a *representation* of the record.⁹⁸ The process of creating a representation of a record, usually takes the form of a written description which is logged in the catalogue,⁹⁹ and this text in turn is the mechanism

⁹⁶ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 10.

⁹⁷ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 9.

⁹⁹ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 9.

through which the item is located and subsequently used.¹⁰⁰ While objectivity is usually intended in the process of representation there is an inescapable sense that ‘description is always story-telling - intertwining facts with narratives, observation with interpretation’.¹⁰¹

It would be preferential to utilise the surnames of filmmakers at the point that a film was made but given the complexity of the marital relationships of the women in this study and the uncertainty that exists around the exact production dates of many of the films it would be prohibitively challenging to record this with any degree of accuracy. Furthermore, the WFSA catalogue entry generally records the filmmaker’s surname at death. The adoption of surname only in referencing filmmakers in this thesis has been decided against simply because many filmmaking teams shared the same surname. For clarity, the following conventions will be utilised:

- Women’s names will be given in full on first mention, in natural order. Maiden names will be given in parentheses, and married names will follow in order of marriage. Nicknames or ‘known as’ names will be given in parentheses at the end of the name. For example, Audrey Alma (née Humphries) Rivers Sloane-Stanley Granville-Soames; Audrey was born Humphries and went on to marry three times.
- Subsequent name mentions will adopt a shortened version that includes first name, followed by surname at death e.g., Audrey Granville-Soames.
- Where an honorific is known that denotes a station or position other than marriage, it will be provided in the full versions of the name eg. full name: Dr Margaret Envys (née Wood) Kaines-Thomas (‘Peggy’), short version: Margaret (née Wood) Kaines-Thomas. Honorifics denoting marital status (Miss, Mrs, Ms) will not be routinely included unless there is an absence of other information e.g., Mrs M Durrell – first name unknown and unable to identify in records.

2.7 ‘Cine-engagement’ and amateur filmmaking

The application of filmmaking terminology attempts to distinguish between those who were heavily involved and those who may have taken a lesser role in the process. In many cases it

¹⁰⁰ Caswell, “The Archive’ Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.’, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Verne Duff, Wendy; Harris, ‘Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings’, *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 276 (p. 276).

has not been possible to definitively outline the exact involvement of each individual in the filmmaking process and therefore the term ‘filmmaker’ is used with a broad-brush to indicate probable participation. In some instances, particularly in relation to cine club membership, there is scant evidence linking named individuals to tasks outside of their credited roles. Therefore, the terminology is applied more loosely e.g., ‘cine-engagement’ or ‘involved in filmmaking activities’, serving to capture a spectrum of experiences as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Outline achievement of this method

The key findings of the collection survey described in this methodology indicate that there are 16 confirmed women filmmakers within the short-listed sample, following collation of evidence from supporting sources. This is compared to only 7 whose names appeared unambiguously at collection level, and whose presence was readily apparent at the point that the data was harvested from the CALM catalogue. In short, at face value there appeared to be only 7 women filmmakers within the sample – but as a result of further research an additional 9 have been identified. This is an obfuscation of over 50%. It seems unlikely that this ratio of visible/invisible women filmmakers is directly scalable across the whole collection, but it raises some important questions about how archival practice contributes to the elision of women’s filmmaking labour.

Chapter 3 Laying a Foundation

Amateur cinema studies: foundations

Within the holdings of WFSA is a film: *Masonic Ceremony, Foundation Stone St Matthew's Church* (hereafter *Masonic Ceremony*),¹⁰² which forms part of a collection of films by the filmmaker Alfred John West (1857-1937). The collection was part of a nucleus of films around which the archive was formed in the late 1980s. The film was shot on 35mm nitrate and was brought into the regional film archive through a chance interaction between the archive manager and the BBC.¹⁰³ The film is four hundred feet long and lasts 00:04:30. The title of the film was provided at the point of accession, and the genre of the film is recorded erroneously in the WFSA catalogue as 'amateur'. The catalogue entry at the time of writing provides a detailed, shot-based description of the film and is supplemented by contextual data sourced from local press and from a descendent of the filmmaker.

The supporting contextual information¹⁰⁴ allows identification of a date for the recorded event, but also a full 'cast' list for those who are likely to be seen on screen. Alfred West, to whom this work is attributed, is considered a pioneer filmmaker – he was quick to experiment with the new medium and his earliest efforts date from 1897. Based on viewings of this film and the metadata held within the catalogue we might consider a series of key questions: how do we know who was an amateur rather than a professional filmmaker, what can we learn from individual films, and what can we deduct from how the catalogue records for film items are formed and can it inform our understanding of gender and class?

This chapter uses the record for Alfred West's *Masonic Ceremony* as a springboard for discussing some of these wider questions, acknowledging that amateur filmmaking in this period was a spectrum of experience. A range that encompassed the serious amateur who filmed, edited, developed, and screened their films; the semi-professional amateur who may have started at home but then turned professional, to the star of the cine club fiction or the spouse holding the camera. It was not a homogenous experience. The shape, form,

¹⁰² AV4/1 Alfred West: *Masonic Ceremony, Foundation Stone St Matthew's Church (1902)* / WFSA / Film.

¹⁰³ R. Baldwin, 'Alfred West F.R.G.S' (University of East Anglia), p. 2 <<https://dac3uk.org.uk/BaldwinThesis.pdf>>.

¹⁰⁴ Provided in the 'Admin History' field.

and content of the record for *Masonic Ceremony*, broadly encompasses much of what contemporary scholarship grapples with in the field of amateur film practice, and it deserves mention by virtue of its appearance in the nascent stages of cinema – in the pre-1922 period when the concept of the filmmaker, both amateur and professional, was formed. This chapter will consider existing scholarship around the Anglo-American development of amateur practice; gender within amateur cinema studies, feminist film analysis and archival practice; it will also broach the overarching question of how we frame the work of the amateur.

3.1 Anglo-American development of amateur practice

When beginning to think about an approach to capturing the gender and socioeconomic status of amateur filmmakers in the WFSA collection, there is a modest (but growing) selection of scholarship to draw upon with some of the seminal amateur cinema texts straddling Anglo-American experience. The last twenty-five years of study in the field has brought about flurries of activity – pockets of research that broach topics as diverse as the cruising holiday¹⁰⁵ and the theoretical discourse of amateur cinema.¹⁰⁶ However, despite the efforts of media historians,¹⁰⁷ geographers,¹⁰⁸ anthropologists,¹⁰⁹ feminists¹¹⁰ and archivists¹¹¹ those seeking a guiding principle in how to begin to interpret a collection of amateur archive films, may be left wanting.

In her 1995 text *Reel Families*, Patricia Zimmermann¹¹² constructed a ‘history of the discourse of amateur film’. Discussed as a medium so fluid that it could ‘facilitate the expression of diverse opinions’, her claim that it lays dormant and unseen occupying ‘the

¹⁰⁵ Heather Norris Nicholson, ‘Floating Hotels: Cruise Holidays and Amateur Film-Making in the Inter-War Period’, in *Moving Pictures/Stopping Places: Hotels & Motels on Film*, ed. by Marcus A Doel David B Clarke, Valerie Crawford Pfannhauser (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*.

¹⁰⁷ Slootweg and others.

¹⁰⁸ Heather Norris Nicholson, ‘Looking Beyond the Moving Moments: Adaptation, Digitization and Amateur Film Footage as Visual Histories’, in *The Adaption of History. Essays on Ways of Telling the Past*, ed. by D. Raw, L., and Tutan (London: Jefferson and London, McFarland & Company, 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, ‘Eroticizing the Empire: Voyeurs, Imperial Fetishes and Colonial Amateur Films’, in *The Erotic – Exploring Critical Issues Conference* (Prague, Czech Republic, 2011).

¹¹⁰ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*

¹¹¹ Claire Watson, ‘Babies, Kids, Cartoons and Comedies: Children and Pathéscope’s 9.5mm Home Cinema in Britain’, in *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema.*, ed. by I Craven (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), pp. 65–92.

¹¹² Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*.

unsightly, sprawling underside of more traditional film histories' attests to the plurality of amateur practice, and how it has been viewed in a wider historiographical context.

Zimmermann asserts the unseen, hidden, nature of amateur film historiography when she observes how 'the history of amateur film parallels, imitates, circumvents and occasionally disrupts traditional film history'.¹¹³ She presents Anglo-American amateur filmmaking as a challenging and multifaceted phenomenon; it is neither one thing nor another and this is largely due to the individualist nature of practice and the social landscape that gave rise to it- factors, which this thesis will evidence in the WFSA collection in relation to gender and class.

Charting the rise of the practice, largely anchored in US experience, Zimmermann suggests that a confluence of cross-societal technological advancements and social change provided the perfect environment for its development in the late nineteenth century. She notes how the rise of 'pictorialism' had a direct impact on how the amateur and professional were construed. At this time society was concerned with re-evaluating its approach to art; what it considered to be art, its creators, and the works that it produced. An influx of new technologies (roll film, the hand camera, the treadle sewing machine to name but a few) not only agitated the notion of art, but also served to disrupt the boundaries between public and private and between work and leisure. Increased industrialisation led to a corresponding rise in leisure time, with a more socially mobile middle class who could afford to utilise their 'spare' time to productive ends. In the same way that middle class women welcomed the sewing machine into their homes¹¹⁴ so too the camera invited a blurring of boundaries between concepts of labour and creative leisure. Zimmermann reflects that during this period 'the amateur constituted spontaneity';¹¹⁵ the ability to function independently off-the-clock and at will contributed to forms of amateurism as a 'vehicle of upward mobility,[and] success'¹¹⁶ a fact borne out in the case studies considered in this thesis.

¹¹³ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, pp. i–x.

¹¹⁴ Nancy Page Fernandez, 'Creating Consumers : Gender, Class and the Family Sewing Machine', in *The Culture of Sewing : Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking*, ed. by Barbara Burman, Dress, Body, Culture, 1st edn (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 157–68 (p. 157) <<http://www.bloomsburycollections.com/book/the-culture-of-sewing-gender-consumption-and-home-dressmaking/ch9-creating-consumers/>>.

¹¹⁵ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 9.

¹¹⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 7.

Often referenced in scholarship in the field is Chalfen's *Snapshot Versions of Life*.¹¹⁷ His thesis is centred around the 'snapshot'; hastily taken imagery produced in masses by amateurs in the twentieth century. Included under the umbrella term of 'snapshot' are both still photographs and moving images. Chalfen is ambitious in the scope of his work, describing how he aims to capture the 'cultural dimensions of amateur photography'.¹¹⁸ Both Chalfen's *Snapshots* and Zimmermann's *Reel Families* provide ample groundwork for subsequent Anglo-American study, which Tepperman went on to develop in his 2014 work *Amateur Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*. This work positions itself in a complementary way adjacent to Zimmermann's *Reel Families* and takes the opportunity to unpick some of the principal issues arising from it.

Not until Norris Nicholson's 2012 *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977* was British amateur filmmaking given a distinct identity. It is worth noting here, that while Anglo-American studies of amateur film are intrinsically linked, there is justification for broadening how the field is analysed and discussed. Amateur practice in the UK is both similar and distinct from its American cousins. Since *Reel Families*, multiple authors have attempted to make sense of amateur film practice. Norris Nicholson observes how a considerable body of 'scholarship [...] charts some of the distinctive strands within Britain's amateur cinema'.¹¹⁹ Such diversity is a consequence of a practice that is 'inscribed with freedom'.¹²⁰ It is carried out by individuals; therefore, it is only natural that such freedoms bear out a variety of practice.

Norris Nicholson introduces her 2012 work by pointing out that there is 'no systematic critical study that yet deals with the emergence of amateur film practice in Britain'.¹²¹ The fact that so much time elapsed between *Reel Families* and *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice* is suggestive of the fragmented and 'disparate interest in non-professional cinema'.¹²² Norris Nicholson hints that what work had been undertaken tended to fall

¹¹⁷ Chalfen.

¹¹⁸ Chalfen, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 14.

¹²⁰ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 5.

¹²¹ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 16.

¹²² Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 16.

outside of what we might consider 'film scholarship', with studies being published by sociologists, historians, archivists, archaeologists, and other non-film based scholars.¹²³

3.2 Interrelationship between film text, film object and context

It is apparent in the emergent years of amateur film scholarship (the 1980s to 1990s) that few studies had been undertaken that specifically focused on amateur filmmaking practice and as a result many of the authors discussed here draw upon works from fields indirectly linked with film, most taking an interdisciplinary approach that allows exploration of the interrelationship between film text, film object and context. Chalfen's *Snapshots*, for example, stems from an interest in photography and the formation of memory. His survey-based study introduces the concepts of 'the home mode of pictorial communication',¹²⁴ 'Kodak culture'¹²⁵ and 'Polaroid people'.¹²⁶ Most often referenced and perceivably the most pertinent of these concepts is the *home mode*. To use Chalfen's own words this mode is 'a pattern of interpersonal and small group communication centred around the home'.¹²⁷ It is not surprising that this mode is most often cited by amateur film scholars, as it clearly conceptualises a realm of content and practice that is relevant to much amateur film material. In addition to identifying an overarching mode, Chalfen goes on to alliteratively label a further two areas of understanding that he observes in his study that speak to the context of film production. 'Kodak Culture' and 'Polaroid people' are less convincing terms, which are somewhat constrained by their brand referencing -however, they do signal important areas for focus within the home mode. 'Kodak Culture' is used to 'refer to whatever it is that one has to learn, know, or do in order to participate appropriately'¹²⁸ and 'Polaroid People' aims to 'provoke an inventory (or environmental "topography") of specific people, places, and things that regularly appear in the photograph collection'.¹²⁹

It is unclear in Chalfen's findings if the contributory factors constituting each term automatically denote participation by a particular class of producer – would 'Kodak Culture',

¹²³ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 15.

¹²⁴ Chalfen, p. 2.

¹²⁵ Chalfen, p. 9.

¹²⁶ Chalfen, p. 11.

¹²⁷ Chalfen, p. 8.

¹²⁸ Chalfen, p. 10.

¹²⁹ Chalfen, p. 11.

for example, encompass lower income participants using other (cheaper?) brands of cine equipment? At launch, the Cine-Kodak was significantly more expensive than the Pathé Baby-Cine, thus, it is fair to inquire: would 'Pathé culture' differ from 'Kodak culture'? In laying down these terms, Chalfen has attempted to classify some of the entities at play in amateur snapshot practice and output. His people/culture terms resonate in the way that they seek to capture the environmental context for production. Chalfen's adoption of nomenclature is based on an extensive examination of photographic collections and is combined with a photographer questionnaire, a similarly structured questionnaire has been deployed during the course of my research.¹³⁰ While the collections examined in Chalfen's study are geographically confined to North America, the concepts he proposes are widely applicable. There is a sense that this nomenclature could be useful for discussing the many roles that amateur filmmakers occupied during the course of their involvement with cine, with some refinement for the specificities of movie making.

3.3 What makes an 'amateur filmmaker'?

The question of how to categorise amateur filmmaking practice is not straightforward to answer. The plurality of practice across a range of locations and sites of production means that while the term 'amateur filmmaker' can be applied with a broad brush; what this meant for each individual varied immensely. As explored throughout this thesis – involvement in cine production could take many forms; some of which are more readily deemed 'valid' than others. Cine clubs provide examples of clearly demarcated roles aligned with industry norms e.g., camera operator, screen play writer etc. In addition, cine clubs usually had clearly defined organisational roles and in the four clubs analysed during this study such roles were predominantly filled by men.¹³¹ Outside of clubs and societies, involvement in cine did not come with a fixed designation. Married couples worked together to film their activities, but often only the husband's name is present in the catalogue - for example the sole attribution for the collection AV1119 lies with Herbert Lindfield (1906-1986), yet on examination of the film content it becomes clear that he is

¹³⁰ Chalfen, p. 3. See Appendix A for questionnaire and aggregated findings

¹³¹ Georgina Elodie (née De Coninck) Grey (1902-1998) was Hons Secretary for Bournemouth Amateur Film Society (Friday 18 July 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p.2)

seen regularly on screen and that he and wife, Dorothy, alternated filming responsibilities. History has minimised Dorothy (née Parsons) Lindfield's contribution to the filmmaking process – as far as is known, she may have 'only' held the camera. By the same standard, Vera Dorothy (née Maskey) Lyons (1912-2000) may 'only' have been an actor in Bournemouth Film Club's *The Broken Swastika* (1932)¹³² and *Retribution* (1941).¹³³ Enrico Arturo Guidotti (1891-1977) received a directing credit for the same cine club yet may have never touched a camera; his contribution to the filmmaking process automatically assumes precedence yet all the roles and activities above constitute active roles in cine production. This thesis seeks to highlight and validate these experiences.

The acknowledged existence of such a wide gamut of cine-engagement is apparent in Tepperman's 2014 work *Amateur Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960* which yields several overarching concepts that are applicable to practice in the UK as much as in the US. Like other scholars working with amateur film, Tepperman remarks on the qualities of the practice and its 'nebulous'¹³⁴ nature and is not the first to apply the term 'porous' to it in a way that suggests a multidirectional ebb and flow.¹³⁵ His work marries concern for the film object, with consideration of production context. Tepperman identifies amateur films as 'singular and ephemeral artifacts',¹³⁶ by which he could be taken to mean that an extant film is a physical object, uniquely enigmatic and simultaneously redundant in the absence of a viewing apparatus. Exposed in a fleeting moment to capture an event that cannot ever occur again. Even other versions of the 'same' content are not the same, they are separate objects recreated as copies or prints of the uniquely singular film object -points noted by Streible quoted in Gaines¹³⁷ and compared, by Enticknap, to Theseus' mythical ship.¹³⁸ The film object is ephemeral in its physical presence (it will eventually degrade), but also in so much as its physicality captures past moments that cannot be relived. Tepperman goes on to state that 'Amateur films are born out of a time of 'mass reproducibility and [are] at risk of disappearing'.¹³⁹ Celluloid acetate, like many other materials, degrades over time

¹³² AV14/4 Torrens Films: *The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSAA / Film.

¹³³ AV14/10 Torrens Films: *Retribution* (1931) | WFSAA / Film.

¹³⁴ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 20.

¹³⁵ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 44.

¹³⁶ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 274.

¹³⁷ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 71.

¹³⁸ L D G Enticknap, *Moving Image Technology: From Zoetrope to Digital*, Film and Media Studies (Wallflower, 2005), p. 187.

¹³⁹ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 274.

hastened either through maltreatment or dereliction of care. At the point of exposure, the film stock itself is fragile and vulnerable to mistreatment. A filmmaker must master the skill of handling the stock, and once they have successfully transported the stock through the sequence of exposure, development, editing, and screening - they then become custodians of a single film object. While the object is one item, it sits now in the context of overabundance.¹⁴⁰ Just as technology provides a vehicle for memorialising the past, it also serves to baffle those sifting and sorting through a glut of extant film material. Families and archivists have *so much* to sort through, how do they choose? Can they keep everything? The inevitable answer is no, and archivists therefore are forced to undertake an evaluative process, which appraises items by *value*.¹⁴¹

Tepperman comments on the ability of amateur films to hold 'individual traces of experience [...] shaped by pragmatic imagination'.¹⁴² One reel of film was held in one cine camera and was held by individuals as it was exposed frame by frame. The film can be sited in a context that is anchored in personal narratives. A product of, and subject to, the local and societal vagaries that constitute any one moment of personal experience. Even when the subject matter is not considered personal or domestic, it is shaped by the author of its existence, *her* viewpoint, *his* perspective. Tepperman goes on to capture the problematic dichotomy that exists between the film as an archival object, the context of its production and the context of its retrieval. The individualist nature of practice that maps 'traces of experience'¹⁴³ affirms that amateur filmmaking cannot be addressed as a homogenous movement. It is problematic to categorise and 'can't be subsumed (or dismissed) under one activity, social group, or aesthetic philosophy'.¹⁴⁴ Scholars recognise this multiplicity, yet there is a tendency to overlook the more fragmented facets of cine-engagement.

3.4 The challenge of the amateur/professional binary

How do we differentiate between 'professionals' and 'amateurs' in amateur film collections? This is a question that Zimmermann, amongst others, wrangles, though no

¹⁴⁰ Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, pp. 17, 134, 138.

¹⁴¹ Caswell, 'The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 8.

¹⁴² Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 274.

¹⁴³ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 274.

¹⁴⁴ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 20.

single answer arises from her *Reel Families* text. Like others before her (and since), Zimmermann turns to the origins of the term amateur, which various sources cite as:

‘one who cultivates and participates (in something) but does not pursue it professionally or with an eye to gain’¹⁴⁵

The interpretation of the term deserves further scrutiny in the context of this study and will be considered in more detail in Chapter 4 but it is useful to examine the approaches taken by others. Expressed simply, Zimmermann states that ‘professionalism suggests performing a task for financial return, and amateurism indicates doing something for pleasure, for the sheer love of it’¹⁴⁶ and therefore goes on to claim that ‘the difference between professional film and amateur film, then, marks a social distance sustained through the specialisation of technique’.¹⁴⁷ Explained in such a way, it seems obvious if you do something to make money - if partaking in it has transactional value (as was the case for Alfred West’s *Masonic Ceremony*), then you are a professional. If you do something purely for the joy it brings, then you would be considered an amateur. This is problematic, not least because amateur cinema and amateur practice do not simply float about as processes for people to participate in – a system of interconnected circumstances have a part to play in shaping this definition, that elevate the interpretation above the binary approach applied here, including: technology, economy, motive, intention, and temporality. Chapter 4 will suggest a challenge to this binary approach. Amateur filmmaking has solid, tangible results: concrete objects that solidify an abstract societal construct and that can hold evidence for the context of their production. There is an argument that filmmakers could be categorised independently of their films – can a *professional* produce an *amateur* film, can an *amateur* produce a *professional* film? West’s *Masonic Ceremony* is a good example of this, as a known professional whose works bear little resemblance to what we might think of as ‘professional’ works.

Notwithstanding her etymological adoption of the term amateur, Zimmermann goes on to observe that in its earliest years amateur film was ‘defined in economic and technological

¹⁴⁵ “‘Amateur’ Dictionary Entry”, *Cambridge Dictionary*, 2021
<<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/amateur>> [accessed 11 May 2021].

¹⁴⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 2.

terms'.¹⁴⁸ Acknowledging the parameters of the practice in such a way suggests that our compulsion to historicise (and label) what we see as a cohesive subset of film history might be detracting from the empirical evidence.¹⁴⁹ From a twenty-first-century standpoint 'amateur' feels like the most appropriate way to describe an early twentieth-century practice that falls outside of a professional studio system, but what did reality resemble in the early period between 1895 and 1922? How did filmmakers view themselves? Did they assign clear nomenclature to their practice, or was this ascribed by the industry? Was this prescribed by the technology one used, or by the subject matter that one filmed, or the reason that you filmed it, or where you intended to screen it? These are questions that are addressed in Chapter 4.

3.5 A burgeoning field: amateur cinema studies

3.5.1 The serious amateur

Zimmermann, in her *Reel Families* text said that there was a 'hierarchicalisation of amateur film ideology',¹⁵⁰ which is crystallised in the concept of the 'serious' amateur. I have briefly mentioned this notion, a concept that can in some cases be usefully applied to describe the features common in amateurs at one end of the spectrum of experience. Often characterised as the most technically able, ambitious, and committed these filmmakers have a higher likelihood of turning professional, frequently ape industry conventions in their work and as I will discuss in Chapter 7, are more likely to be considered as having 'value'. The notion of the serious amateur was first introduced as a general cultural term by Stebbins and was further developed in relation to filmmaking practices by Craven.¹⁵¹

The concept has been usefully discussed in the field by others including Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman.¹⁵² The perspective developed by Stebbins, as it relates to the practices of amateur filmmaking, is founded on the idea that dedicated amateurs form a specific subgroup within the broader community of amateur filmmakers. In simpler terms, committed enthusiasts occupy one end of the spectrum, while the casual 'point-and-shoot'

¹⁴⁸ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁰ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 55.

¹⁵¹ Craven.

¹⁵² Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*.

amateurs are at the opposite end. Tepperman later characterised this type of practice using the term 'advanced amateur'.¹⁵³ In Chapter 7 I consider how at an ideological level, the concept of seriousness serves to denigrate the work of less visible women.

3.5.2 A continuum of participatory media and cultural practice

While this thesis focuses on amateur media practice before 1950, Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson in their *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures* consider the diachronic and synchronic¹⁵⁴ continuum of amateur experience from the very earliest adopters of the Birtac, to present day YouTube creators and observe that within the field there is an inherent 'definitional instability'.¹⁵⁵ As others have noted, and as I point out in Chapters 7 and 8, now and in the past 'amateur media continues to be assessed against professional media-making standards'.¹⁵⁶ Aasman's considerable work in the field broadly considers the production of amateur media as cultural practice and expands the diachronic limitations that many studies adopt through discussion of practice as it has changed over time.¹⁵⁷ Others including Burgess and Green take this discussion further into the present digital moment.¹⁵⁸

3.5.3 Amateur film on the move

A facet of amateur filmmaking practice is the holiday film, also known as the 'travelogue'. A broad range of scholarship has emerged that concerns itself with these film products and the cultural process that gave rise to them. Prolific in this area is Norris Nicholson¹⁵⁹ who describes how 'Holiday footage confirms [...] that amateur interest often extended far

¹⁵³ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, pp. 47–66.

¹⁵⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁵ Foreword, unpaginated Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*.

¹⁵⁶ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Susan Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 4 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315396149>>.

¹⁵⁷ Susan Aasman, 'Home Movies: A New Technology, A New Duty, A New Cultural Practice', in *Private Eyes and the Public Gaze. The Manipulation and Valorisation of Amateur Images*, ed. by Sonja Kmec Viviane Thill (Trier: Centre national de l'audiovisuel Luxembourg, 2009), pp. 47–54; S Aasman, 'Smile, Wave or Blow a Kiss. Home Movies and Tele-Technologies from the Hearth', in *Tourists and Nomads. Amateur Images of Migration*, ed. by S Kmec and V Thill (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2012), pp. 161–169.

¹⁵⁸ J Burgess and J Green, 'The Entrepreneurial Vlogger: Participatory Culture beyond the Professional–Amateur Divide', in *The YouTube Reader*, ed. by Pelle Snickars, Patrick Vanderau, and The YouTube Reader (Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, 2009), pp. 89–108.

¹⁵⁹ Heather Norris Nicholson, 'At Home and Abroad with Cine Enthusiasts: Regional Amateur Filmmaking and Visualizing the Mediterranean, ca. 1928–1962', *GeoJournal*, 59.4 (2004), 323–33; Heather Norris Nicholson, T Cresswell, and D Dixon, 'Telling Travellers' Tales: Framing the World in Home Movies, c.1935', in *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity*, ed. by D. Cresswell, T. and Dixon (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), pp. 47–68 amongst others; Norris Nicholson, 'Floating Hotels: Cruise Holidays and Amateur Film-Making in the Inter-War Period'.

beyond the mere ‘picturing’ of places [and that] holiday experiences sometimes so predominate in the films, that any inclusion of setting seems largely incidental.’¹⁶⁰ This focus on the ‘people’ is what draws the most scholarly discussion, yet conversely, holiday films are most likely to be excluded from regional film collections in the UK, on the basis they do not meet geographically defined collection criteria. In Chapter 6 I explore the social function that cine could play for women in various settings, and as part of this analysis introduce the work of Audrey Granville-Soames who, it can be noted experienced with her peers the ‘relicensing [of] memories in a particularly intense manner, via a series of transformations marking connections between memory visualisation and identity’.¹⁶¹ Giving voice to what is an underlying tenet of much of my research, Norris Nicholson observes how holiday film ‘material from the period often discloses more about the person in charge of the camera than the people and places framed by his or her viewfinder.’¹⁶² Holidays and travel provided the perfect opportunity for cine enthusiasts to start shooting and as a result critical analysis of this area of practice is abundant with scholarship, with writings from Kerry,¹⁶³ Chambers,¹⁶⁴ Schneider,¹⁶⁵ Geiger¹⁶⁶ and others drawing case studies into wider cultural debate.

3.5.4 Archaeological and technology-based approaches

In addition to the sociological and anthropological interpretations of amateur practice a variety of studies have taken place that take a media archaeological approach with van der Heijden¹⁶⁷ and others leading in these explorations. Through interactions with the material

¹⁶⁰ Heather Norris Nicholson, ‘Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain’s Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950’, in *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema*, ed. by I Craven (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 93-127.: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), pp. 93–127 (p. 95).

¹⁶¹ Norris Nicholson, ‘Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain’s Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950’, p. 95.

¹⁶² Norris Nicholson, ‘Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain’s Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950’, p. 95.

¹⁶³ Matthew Kerry, ‘The Changing Face of the Amateur Holiday Film In Britain as Constructed by Post-War Amateur Cine World (1945–1951)’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 34.4 (2014), 511–27
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2014.941584>.

¹⁶⁴ C Chambers, ‘Capturing Ireland: The Travelogues of JJ Tohill’, in *Tourists & Nomads: Amateur Images of Migration*, ed. by Kmec eds, S., and V Thill (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2012), pp. 57–65.

¹⁶⁵ A Schneider, ‘Home Movie-Making and the Swiss Expatriate Identities, in the 1920s and 1930s’, *Film History*, 15.2 (2003), 166–76; A Schneider, ‘Homemade Travelogues : Autosonntag – a Film Safari in the Swiss Alps’, in *Virtual Voyages : Cinema and Travel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), VIRTUAL VO, 157 – 173.

¹⁶⁶ J Geiger, ‘Color, Tourism, and the “American Pacific”: Amateur Views’, in *Anglo-American Imperialism and the Pacific*, ed. by K Keown and others (New York: Routledge, 2013); J Geiger, ‘Kodachrome and the 1930s World Tour’, in *Paper Presented to the ‘Colour and the Moving Image’ Conference (Sponsored by Screen* (Bristol, UK, 2009).

¹⁶⁷ Tim van der Heijden and Mirco Santi, ‘Thinkering with the Pathé Baby: Materiality, Histories and (Re)Use of 9.5mm Film’, *NECSUS_European Journal of Media Studies.*, 11, 2022, 94–125
[https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/19196.\); Tim van der Heijden, ‘From Kinora to Small-Gauge: An](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/19196.)

realities of cine film and the instruments of amateur practice scholars have considered the aesthetics of cine film,¹⁶⁸ the temporality of practice¹⁶⁹ and the craftsmanship entailed in the activity.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, there is an area of scholarship which is entirely focused on the technology, as both an aspect of discourse and as a practical evolution.¹⁷¹ This thesis, draws on aspects of an archaeological approach in so far as much as the extant reels are able to offer clues to the filmmaker and their practice. In Chapters 1, 5 and 6 I reference the work of Nancy Bealing, whose work had been referred to in reductive terms as 'just one film'. Examination of the reel itself revealed over two hundred shots and a similar number of edits, giving voice to an entirely contradictory narrative that, without the application of such a mixed methodology, would have remained unacknowledged.

3.5.5 Place-based study

Amateur cinema discourse has a tendency towards engaging case studies as a methodology of choice. This approach serves as a valuable model for exploring amateur practice, particularly in light of the geographical dispersal of film archives within the UK and the ways in which scholars engage with them. Koeck and Roberts'¹⁷² collection of essays is an interdisciplinary anthology that features place-based analysis from Norris Nicholson and Shand, amongst others.¹⁷³ Others have embarked upon investigation of archives formed upon thematic basis, as is the case with Burton.¹⁷⁴

Experimental Media Archaeological Approach to Early-Twentieth Century Home Cinema', in *Documenting Media Archaeological Experiments* (Belval: Luxembourg Center for Contemporary and Digital History (C2DH), 2019).

¹⁶⁸ G Edmonds, 'Why Old Film Looks Old. The Role of Technology in Forming Film Aesthetics', in *At 'Moving Image and Institution. Cinema and the Museum in the 21st Century'* (Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, 2011).

¹⁶⁹ Sarah Lauß, 'Travelling Together On Aspects of Temporality in Early Amateur Film', in *Notions of Temporalities in Artistic Practice*, ed. by Batista Anamarija (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), pp. 135–51

<<https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/59619/1/9783110720921.pdf#page=136>>.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Tepperman, 'Mechanical Craftsmanship: Amateurs Making Practical Films', in *Useful Cinema*, ed. by Charles Acland and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 289–314.

¹⁷¹ L Czach, 'Polavision: Edwin Land's Quest for a New Medium', *The Moving Image*, Fall (2002), 1–24; Philipp Dominik Keidl, 'Toward a Public Media Archaeology: Museums, Media, and Historiography', *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists*, 17.2 (2017), 20–39

<<https://doi.org/10.5749/movingimage.17.2.0020>>.

¹⁷² *The City and the Moving Image Urban Projections*, ed. by Richard Koeck and Les Roberts (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁷³ Heather Norris Nicholson, "Old World Traditions ... and Modernity" in Cunard's Transatlantic Films, c. 1920–35: Making Connections between Early Promotional Films and Urban Change', in *The City and the Moving Image*, ed. by Richard Koeck and Les Roberts (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 21–35; Ryan Shand, 'Visions of Community: The Postwar Housing Problem in Sponsored and Amateur Films BT - The City and the Moving Image: Urban Projections', ed. by Richard Koeck and Les Roberts (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), pp. 50–68 <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230299238_4>.

¹⁷⁴ A Burton, *The British Co-Operative Movement Film Catalogue* (Flick Books, 1997); A Burton, "Amateur Aesthetics and Practices of The British Co-Operative Movement in The 1930s", in, *In Kapstein, Nancy*, 1997, pp. 131–143.

Amateur cinema scholarship is most prevalent within western society, with the American experience being particularly well represented in the field. Archive centred study features heavily, with Gomes,¹⁷⁵ Davidson,¹⁷⁶ Kribs,¹⁷⁷ Ishizuka and Zimmermann¹⁷⁸ all using regional archives as the focus for their work. Others chart the American amateur experience through their interactions with organisational collections including Kirste,¹⁷⁹ Lipman¹⁸⁰ and Balint.¹⁸¹ Explorations in amateur cinema can be plotted across the globe in Australia,¹⁸² New Zealand,¹⁸³ Yugoslavia,¹⁸⁴ the Dutch East Indies,¹⁸⁵ India¹⁸⁶ and many more locations besides.

3.5.6 Cine clubs

Cine clubs, as communal sites of production and consumption of film have naturally attracted a reasonable amount of attention within the field. Norris Nicholson devotes a whole chapter to cine clubs, their appearance development and function,¹⁸⁷ and Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman include within their *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures* discussion of the social development of the cine club movement.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁵ M Gomes, 'Working People, Topical Films, and Home Movies: The Case of the North West Film Archive', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 235–248.

¹⁷⁶ S Davidson, 'The Florida Moving Image Archive', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K. and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 92–97.

¹⁷⁷ M Kribs, 'The Oregon State Historical Society's Moving Image Archives', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 249–254.

¹⁷⁸ Patricia R Ishizuka, K. and Zimmermann, 'The Nederlands Archive/Museum Institute', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 142–147.

¹⁷⁹ L Kirste, 'The Academy Film Archive', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 209–213.

¹⁸⁰ R Lipman, 'The Stephen Lighthill Collection at the UCLA Film & Television Archive', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 272–274.

¹⁸¹ R Balint, 'The Visual Orchestration of History: Péter Forgács, "Private Hungary" and the Audiovisual Archive', in *Paper Presented at Saving Private Reels Presentation Appropriation and Re-Contextualisation of the Amateur Moving Image Conference* (Cork, Ireland, 2010).

¹⁸² A Danks, 'Domesticating The Archive: Re-Presenting The Australian Home Movie', in *Paper Presented at Saving Private Reels Presentation Appropriation and Re-Contextualisation of the Amateur Moving Image Conference* (Cork, Ireland, 2010).

¹⁸³ Vicki Callahan, 'The New Zealand Film Archive/Nga Kaitiaki o Nga Taonga Whitiwhia'. In, in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 231–234.

¹⁸⁴ G De Cuir Jr., *Yugoslav Ciné-Enthusiasm: Ciné-Club Culture and the Institutionalization of Amateur Filmmaking in the Territory of Yugoslavia from 1924-68*, in *Beyond Propaganda: A Historical and Political Instrumentation of the Romanian Film*, ed. by Viorella Manolache (Sibiu: Editura Techno Media, 2011).

¹⁸⁵ Patricia R Ishizuka, K. and Zimmermann, 'Home Away from Home: Private Films from the Dutch East Indies', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 148–162.

¹⁸⁶ D Brunow, 'Amateur Home Movies and the Archive of Migration: Sandhya Suri's 'I for India (UK, 2005)', in *Tourists and Nomads. Amateur Images of Migration*, ed. by S Kmec and V Thill (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2012), pp. 153–160.

¹⁸⁷ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977'.

¹⁸⁸ Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, pp. 20–21.

Other scholars have gone further, including Ryan Shand, in whose work cine clubs receive significant attention. Shand's 2007 PhD thesis considers the structure and format of clubs and how they operated.¹⁸⁹ In his 2008 publication Shand proposes the use of the 'community mode' to reflect modes of production with communal spaces, including cine clubs.¹⁹⁰ He touches on other aspects of club life in oral histories, which provide a useful insight into the club environment.¹⁹¹ Dyson uses Ace Movies (a London based cine club) as a case study for wider discussion of amateur film during the interwar years,¹⁹² and Stone similarly homes in on a single club in her essay on San Diego Amateur Movie Makers.¹⁹³ Women's role in UK-based cine clubs is considered at various points throughout Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson's 2018 work¹⁹⁴ and the continuance of filmmaking clubs into the present day is discussed by Cuzner.¹⁹⁵

Within WFSA, examples of fiction filmmaking are limited to the activities of cine clubs. Amateur fiction film has received an increasing amount of scholarly attention in the past decade with Shand,¹⁹⁶ Craven¹⁹⁷ and others contributing to the analysis of this largely overlooked facet of amateur practice. Edmonds posits that 'amateur fiction films are frequently disposed of because films in general are disposed of. The people throwing them away do not know if they are unique examples of outstanding amateur fiction films or just yet another copy of a Mickey Mouse cartoon'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹ R Shand, 'Amateur Cinema: History, Theory and Genre (1930–80' (University of Glasgow, 2007) <<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/id/eprint/4923>>.

¹⁹⁰ R Shand, 'Theorizing Amateur Cinema: Limitations and Possibilities', *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists*, 8.2 (2008), 36–60.

¹⁹¹ R Shand, 'Charting Changing Amateur Production Practices: Testimonials of Moviemaking Enthusiasts', in *Changing Platforms of Mediated Memory Practices: Dispositifs, Generations and Amateurs*, ed. by J. Aasman, S., Fickers, A. and Wachelder, 2018 <[¹⁹² Dyson.](https://doi.org/Shand, R (2018) Charting Changing Amateur Production Practices: Testimonials of Moviemaking Enthusiasts in A asman, S., Fickers, A. and Wachelder, J. (2018) (eds) Changing Platforms of Mediated Memory Practices: Dispositifs, Generations and AmaAvailable at: 10.5040/9781501333262 [Accessed: 12/10/2020]>.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

¹⁹³ M Stone, "'If It Moves, We'll Shoot It': The San Diego Amateur Movie Club', *Film History*, 15.2 (2003), 220–37.

¹⁹⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson.

¹⁹⁵ Daniel Cuzner, 'The Hidden World of Organised Amateur Film-Making BT - Video Cultures: Media Technology and Everyday Creativity', ed. by David Buckingham and Rebekah Willett (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), pp. 191–209 <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230244696_10>.

¹⁹⁶ R Shand, 'Amateur Cinema Relocated: Localism in Fact and Fiction.', in *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema*, ed. by I Craven (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 93–127.: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), pp. 156–81.

¹⁹⁷ Ian Craven and Ryan Shand, *Small-Gauge Storytelling: Discovering the Amateur Fiction Film.*, ed. by I Craven and R Shand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

¹⁹⁸ G Edmonds, 'Historical, Aesthetic, Cultural: The Problematical Value of Amateur Cine Fiction', in *Small-Gauge Storytelling: Discovering the Amateur Fiction Film.*, ed. by R.) Craven, I. (co-ed. Shand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 1–15 (p. 41).

3.6 Amateur cinema studies and gender

3.6.1 Women amateur filmmakers

At the outset of this research only a handful of scholars had published or conducted work on women amateur filmmakers, this number has grown in the intervening period, signalling the field as a key area for development in amateur cinema studies and demonstrating the timely nature of my own research. In the formative years of amateur cinema scholarship

Zimmerman began to unpack 'how gender interpenetrates the power relations between camera, camera subject and location', with her 1996 publication following shortly after the seminal *Reel Families*, and maintaining as that text does, an Anglo-American focus.¹⁹⁹

Motrescu-Mayes has been a significant contributor to scholarship on women amateur filmmakers with gender appearing as a focus in her work as early as 2001.²⁰⁰ Marion Norris Gleason (a filmmaker) of Kodak 'babies on the lawn' fame, received scholarly attention in 2002²⁰¹ and Buckingham, Pini and Willett touch on issues of gender.²⁰² The most significant tranche of scholarship on female amateurs in the UK began to develop after 2012 with Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson laying substantial ground work on gendered practice in this context.²⁰³ *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities* sought to consider issues of gender within amateur filmmaking in a UK context.

Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson posit that up to the point of writing women's contribution to filmmaking in the UK had largely been neglected or forgotten and sought to begin to address this oversight with their text through opening up discussions and avenues for enquiry. Drawing on extensive experience and knowledge of women operating in colonial contexts they engage case studies in discussion of class, access, and mobility. There is also an attempt to dispel negative assumptions of the naïve filmmaker who 'didn't know what she was filming'; on the basis that simply taking up a camera and filming

¹⁹⁹ Patricia R Zimmerman, 'Geographies of Desire: Cartographies of Gender, Race, Nation and Empire in Amateur Film', *Film History*, 8.1 (1996), 85–98 (p. 96) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3815218>>.

²⁰⁰ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, "Home Movies on Freud's Couch. An Exploration of Spontaneous Performance, Gender and Latent Meaning in Amateur Films", in *Northeast Historic Film's Symposium*, 2001.

²⁰¹ D Swanson, 'Inventing Amateur Film: Marion Norris Gleason, Eastman Kodak and the Rochester Scene, 1921', 2003, 126–136 <<http://www.stored.org/stable/3815505>>.

²⁰² David Buckingham, Maria Pini, and Rebekah Willett, "Take Back the Tube!": The Discursive Construction of Amateur Film and Video Making', *Journal of Media Practice*, 8.2 (2007), 183–201 <https://doi.org/10.1386/jmpr.8.2.183_1>.

²⁰³ Motrescu-Mayes, 'Amateur Films and the Silent Migration of Female Colonial Identities'; Norris Nicholson, 'Seeing Differently- Women's Amateur Film Practice in Britain's Cine Era'; Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Women, Personal Films and Colonial Intimacies', *Close Up: Film and Media Studies*, 1.2 (2013), 37–49 <https://unatc.ro/cercetare/reviste/CloseUp_Vol1_No2_2013.pdf#page=39>.

demonstrated a foresight inherent in the pastime, yet often overlooked. This text is, to date, by far the most comprehensive study of women amateur filmmakers in the UK. It takes an anthropological approach to the subject matter and locates ‘women’s recreational visual practice within a century of profound societal, technological and ideological change’.²⁰⁴ This publication is hugely influential and has shaped the landscape of scholarship on UK women amateurs.²⁰⁵ That said, around the time that their text was in development there was a groundswell of activity that homed in on gendered amateur practice. The *Cataloguing of the Institute of Amateur Cinematographers Women Film-Makers Films*²⁰⁶ project, supported by the National Archives, strategically aimed to catalogue women’s work within the collection of the IAC, held by the East Anglian Film Archive, the findings were reported in 2015.²⁰⁷ The report is mainly descriptive, noting a number of key observations on the women identified and drawing on case studies. Shortly after joining WFSA, I was approached by colleagues at UEA, undertaking a Film Archives UK supported project that sought to gather data on the number of women filmmakers within regional collections. The *Invisible Innovators* project worked with regional film archives and aimed to ‘explore the current scale and scope of the holdings of women’s amateur filmmaking [...] and to investigate ways of optimising their visibility’.²⁰⁸ At this point in time, WFSA did not know with any accuracy how many women filmmakers the collection held and was unable to contribute to the research without significant further investment in research time. The findings of this project were reported in 2020 and chime with many of the key observations that my thesis explores including how ‘women amateur filmmakers still remain hidden and invisible within public-facing resources, and internal metadata and catalogue activities’ and how there are a ‘lack of mechanisms by which to search for ‘women filmmakers’’. Amongst other things they indicate that ‘women’s invisibility likely arises from [...] archive policy that has been directed more at location-based cataloguing’.²⁰⁹ In a subsequent publication, largely drawing on the findings of the *Invisible Innovators* report Hill and Johnston reflect on the ‘range of female authorship’²¹⁰ to be

²⁰⁴ Taken from blurb Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson.

²⁰⁵ Such that they were selected in to contribute the entry on women amateur filmmakers in this encyclopaedia Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Heather Norris Nicholson, ‘British Women’s Amateur Film Production’, in *The International Encyclopedia of Gender, Media, and Communication*, 2020, pp. 1–18
<<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119429128.iegmc099>>.

²⁰⁶ WAF for short

²⁰⁷ EAFA.

²⁰⁸ Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 3.

²⁰⁹ Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 4.

²¹⁰ Hill and Johnston, p. 5.

found in regional film collections, and observe ‘the marginalisation of women filmmakers within authorship discourse’.²¹¹ In their assessment, amateur female filmmaking practice exists at the ‘crucial overlap of archival oversight and cultural stigma, doubly negated and invisible.’²¹² They also usefully respond to Gaines’ call for ‘archival excavation’ in the study of women’s filmmaking labour²¹³ and argue for a review of archival praxis around digitisation priorities.²¹⁴ Furthermore, they highlight how the regional archive model and an overarching need to engage larger and more diverse audiences with archive content has led to ‘reductive canonisation’ and a sense that amateur film’s primary value is in articulating geographical and place-based narratives.²¹⁵ Frith and Johnston go on to dissect the findings of the *Invisible Innovators* report in their 2020 article, wherein they argue for a consideration of women’s ‘serious’ amateur work that is separate and distinct from the ‘point-and-shoot’ amateur.²¹⁶ They echo Hill and Johnston’s earlier observation that ‘with a remit to preserve media that is located within that geographical space’ regional film archives in the UK will often foreground this type of film material over that which is experimental or ‘genre-focused’.²¹⁷ The Women Amateur Filmmakers and *Invisible Innovators* projects provided promising results for further in depth research and in 2021 UEA and Maynooth University embarked on the *Women in Focus* UKRI-AHRC and Irish Research Council funded project to examine metadata and cataloguing of women’s amateur work. The first findings from this research were published in 2023, with Johnston employing a data-led methodology in the examination of women’s presence in cine publications in the 1960s. This approach, he argues aims to ‘broaden existing understandings of the activities of British women amateurs’ with a digital humanities focus.²¹⁸ The analysis of women’s presence in the discourse of *Amateur Cine World* presents a ‘fuller picture of how women were able to operate within this amateur industry [... and] the complex networks they acted within’.²¹⁹ Significantly, Johnston reflects on my own unpublished work in adoption of the term ‘cine-engagement’ to encompass the multi-faceted and various roles that women

²¹¹ Hill and Johnston, p. 6.

²¹² Hill and Johnston, p. 2.

²¹³ Hill and Johnston, p. 2.

²¹⁴ Hill and Johnston, p. 3.

²¹⁵ Hill and Johnston, p. 5.

²¹⁶ Frith and Johnston, p. 129.

²¹⁷ Frith and Johnston, p. 130.

²¹⁸ Johnston, p. 2.

²¹⁹ Johnston, p. 5.

could adopt within the field.²²⁰ Johnston's approach aligns very closely to my own data driven analysis and signals a move away from the reliance on extant collections as the 'be all and end all' of feminist film analysis.²²¹

There exist pockets of research on women amateur filmmakers outside of a UK context, including work undertaken by Brickell and Garrett (filmmaking in the Himalayas)²²² and by O'Sullivan (Australia).²²³ Closer to home is O'Connell's exploration of the Irish Film Archive, that uses as case studies two collections produced by women and considers, as this thesis does, the under representation of women and how archival praxis impacts this and citing as one of the reasons for women's invisibility 'under-acknowledgement'.²²⁴

3.6.2 Gender theory in early film

In 2004 Gaines first theorised on her expression 'there, but not there', when she said of the historising of women in early film history from the 1970s onwards:

'To ask why these women were forgotten is also to ask why we forgot them. For they were both overlooked by the first generation of traditional historians and not "recognized" by the second generation'²²⁵

This indictment on the state of feminist film scholarship invites a self-reflexivity that encourages a reframing and repositioning of viewpoints and methodologies. Gaines observes the practice of restoration of early women active in the industry to 'their place' and posits that 'this discovery and reclamation of lives and (their) objects is a never-ending process.'²²⁶ Gaines would later expand on this discussion in coining the phrase 'Women were both 'there' and 'not there'',²²⁷ to illustrate her suggestion that 'empirical findings [could] challenge reigning theoretical paradigms.'²²⁸

²²⁰ Johnston, pp. 2–3.

²²¹ Johnston, p. 5.

²²² Katherine Brickell and Bradley L Garrett, 'Geography, Film and Exploration: Women and Amateur Filmmaking in the Himalayas', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38.1 (2013), 7–11 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00505.x>>.

²²³ Mardie O'Sullivan, 'Discovering Fragments of Our Past...: The Grail Film Group; Amateur Australian Women Film-Makers of the 1930's and 1940's', *Metro*, 123, 2000, 18–24 <<https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.721231511428786>>.

²²⁴ K O'Connell, "Archivally Absent? Female Filmmakers in the IFI Irish Film Archive", *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media*, 20 (2021), 12–27 (p. 21) <<https://doi.org/doi: 10.33178/alpha.20.02>>.

²²⁵ Gaines, 'Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory', p. 113.

²²⁶ Gaines, 'Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory', p. 115.

²²⁷ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 4.

²²⁸ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 4.

Referencing the ‘historical turn’ in film studies she considers extant films as ‘measurable indicators among other rare documents’,²²⁹ a view that is evidenced in this thesis as I draw into discussion learning that can be taken from the physical form of the film, and not just its on-screen iteration. Indeed, Gaines enters into discussion on the many and various forms ‘films’ might take and that are broached in analysis using erroneous and misleading terms. She considers how we ‘insist on the singular “work” when there is no one form of it’,²³⁰ especially in the digital age with the widespread availability of archival preservation equipment. Perhaps most significant in Gaines 2018 work is her call to action for feminist scholars to conduct and continue ‘archival excavation’.²³¹ It is this call to action that shapes and guides the methodology that I deploy in this thesis.

3.6.3 Feminist film methodologies

Callahan’s edited collection of essays *Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History*, aimed to ‘demonstrate the diversity of approaches possible’²³² within feminist film history and sought to engage with global interpretations and methodologies. The text explored how approaches might include ‘archival research, visual culture, ethnohistorical studies, critical race theory, biography, reception studies, historiography, cultural studies, poststructuralism, and textual analysis.’²³³ Where amateur cinema studies has largely drawn on a case study led methodology, feminist film studies with its long chronology has evolved slightly ahead of the amateur cinema curve. Only as recently as 2023 did Johnston²³⁴ strike out with a new data-led approach to gender in amateur cinema studies, in what had hitherto been dominated by qualitative methods. Similar emphasis on data-led studies in the wider film discipline that have been influential in shaping my research include Wreyford and Cobb’s 2017 analysis that argued however useful quantitative data might be, it is vital to note that it ‘plays a paradoxical role in creating a sense of women’s absence’.²³⁵ The authors

²²⁹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 74.

²³⁰ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 94.

²³¹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

²³² Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 2.

²³³ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 2.

²³⁴ Johnston.

²³⁵ Wreyford and Cobb.

discuss the largely qualitative methods employed in the discipline and suggest that 'quantitative data is best placed' to be 'able to illustrate the extent of inequality'.²³⁶

Bell's *Movie Workers* text offers a detailed and rigorous approach to synthesising methods to feminist ends. Through combining qualitative and quantitative methods Bell 'mobilises the tools of traditional social sciences with those drawn from a humanities-based film history'.²³⁷ This approach she claims is the 'first comprehensive and empirically based insight into the number of women',²³⁸ working in the British film industry. Bell reflects on the findings of her research, considering the often fragmented and episodic nature of women's labour – an issue of reoccurring significance in this thesis.²³⁹

In discussion of methodologies and approaches McLaughlin broaches the issue of class in feminist media studies, an intersection which is explored during this thesis. McLaughlin considers that 'feminist media scholars have tended to treat [class] as an irrelevant addendum to the gender-race-class trilogy' and observes that social status and class are often deemed synonymous with one another.²⁴⁰ In my own work, it will be noted that discussions of class and social status are often conflated such that separating out these knotty issues provides some challenge.

3.6.4 The gaze and gender

While this thesis does not attempt a fully theoretical methodology, it does engage with some of the entrenched historic discourse on female agency in film. As such, the work of Mulvey²⁴¹ on the male and female gaze is touched upon in my consideration of women filmmakers, and in particular the case of Louisa Gauvain discussed in Chapter 4. Kaplan's 1983 text offers some interesting interpretations of some of the post 1970s feminist film discourse reiterating that 'men do not simply look; their gaze carries with it the power of action and of possession which is lacking in the female gaze. Women receive and return a

²³⁶ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 2.

²³⁷ Bell, p. 9.

²³⁸ Bell, p. 11.

²³⁹ Bell, p. 8.

²⁴⁰ Lisa McLaughlin, 'Class Difference and Indifference in Feminist Media Studies', *Javnost - The Public*, 4.3 (1997), 27–40 (p. 28) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.1997.11008651>>.

²⁴¹ Laura Mulvey, 'Unmasking the Gaze. Feminist Film Theory, History and Film Studies.', in *Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History*. (Wayne State University Press, 2010), pp. 17–31; Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, 16.3 (1975), 6–18 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6>>.

gaze but cannot act upon it.²⁴² This observation can be seen to take shape in the film *Plaster of Paris*, which forms part of my analysis in Chapter 4. The author goes on to reflect on post 1970s feminists who have been ‘criticized for their ahistoricism’.²⁴³ Berger’s *Ways of Seeing* additionally provides background knowledge on gaze discourse, particularly resonant is his expression of relational looking when he says ‘We never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves’,²⁴⁴ a feature which can be said to be true, particularly of women amateurs employing cine for social mobility (see Chapter 6). De Laurentis, in their text *Technologies of Gender* engages in largely theoretical discussion drawing on Foucault’s ‘technology of sex’ and helpfully originates the terminology for the interpretation of the off-screen space.²⁴⁵

3.6.5 Women as holders of family memory

Tangential to the field of amateur cinema studies my work considers the role that women have played as keepers of familial memories. Gloyn has argued that ‘traditional historical approaches to understanding and valuing archival practices privilege state-driven modes of history-making’,²⁴⁶ which, by virtue of its favouring formal systems, has a tendency to reflect a class prejudice where lower status families amass private, domestic groupings of material that are less likely to be formally archived. Gloyn usefully introduces the concept of the ‘shared inherited narrative’²⁴⁷ and observes how quite often ‘prized possessions are passed down the female line in a family’ [...] [creating a] ‘material culture [that] is matrilineal’.²⁴⁸ This sense that material objects follow a matrilineal path is interesting to apply to amateur filmmaking as it complicates the notion of authorship and custodianship that we see in evidence in the collection of WFSA. Visual media therefore straddle an uncomfortable gender division within the family, with Seabrook observing of still photography that ‘it was the men who took the pictures, while the women remained custodians of the feelings’.²⁴⁹ This thesis will argue, that women could also take the [moving] pictures. It has been claimed

²⁴² E.A Kaplan, *Women & Film* (Routledge, 1983), p. 31.

²⁴³ Kaplan, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ J Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC & Penguin, 1972), p. 9.

²⁴⁵ T de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press., 1987), p. 26.

²⁴⁶ Gloyn and others, p. 158.

²⁴⁷ Gloyn and others, p. 160.

²⁴⁸ Pearce, The Construction of Heritage, p.95 quoted in Gloyn and others, p. 164.

²⁴⁹ Jeremy Seabrook, ‘My Life Is in That Box’, in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. by Patricia Holland and Jo Spence (London: Virago, 1991), p. 172.

elsewhere that patriarchal society has positioned and encouraged the role of women as 'keepers of the family history'²⁵⁰ and Malachy posits that this social labour is yet 'another example of the contradictions of women's family life; women are expected to do this work, yet they are also expected to experience it as leisurely'.²⁵¹ The attributes required of family memory keepers align with what are considered to be 'natural'²⁵² feminine virtues or characteristics, stemming in part from their caring roles as mothers. The concept of the 'remembering mother',²⁵³ introduced by Mulachy and discussed by Janning and Scalise,²⁵⁴ resonates with many of the women whose work is present in WFSA – though not all. The question of attribution and how this is construed through familial oral tradition and then how this is passed on to the archive, remains a challenge to both the visibility of women's work and conceptualisation of practice.

3.6.6 The incompleteness of feminist readings

In consideration of the multifaceted impact that a gendered interrogation of historical sources has, it is necessary to acknowledge what is not present, what is not seen, what is unknowable about the circumstances and situations that we attempt to interpret. The incompleteness of feminist histories has been well vocalised across disciplines and within film studies, this is no different. In their consideration of data led methodologies Wreyford and Cobb posit that 'through quantitative methods the missing women, whilst still not heard, can at least be made visible by their astonishing absence.'²⁵⁵ Furthermore, they go on to call upon scholars to adopt a self-reflexive approach and to 'interrogate one's own bias and subjectivities' [...] [whilst attempting] to acknowledge the imperfect and partial nature of any research undertaken.²⁵⁶ Indeed, as my thesis explores, however much additional information has been uncovered the stories of the women discussed remain fragmentary and incomplete. These fragments of context hold value in and of themselves, as Ross argues

²⁵⁰ C Grey, 'Theories of Relativity', in *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*, ed. by P Spence, J & Holland (London: Virago, 1991), pp. 106-116) (p. 107).

²⁵¹ C Malcahy, 'The Homing of the Home: Exploring Gendered Work, Leisure, Social Construction, and Loss through Women's Family Memory Keeping' (University of Waterloo, 2012), p. 28
<file:///C:/Users/zoevi/Downloads/Mulcahy_Caitlin.pdf>.

²⁵² Irving, p. 245.

²⁵³ Malcahy, p. 290.

²⁵⁴ Michelle Janning and Helen Scalise, 'Gender and Generation in the Home Curation of Family Photography', *Journal of Family Issues*, 36.12 (2013), 1702-25 (p. 1703) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X13500964>>.

²⁵⁵ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 2.

²⁵⁶ Wreyford and Cobb, p. 3.

‘context enables us to understand not simply what we see, but what we do not see’.²⁵⁷ These sentiments are similarly echoed in amateur cinema studies by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson.²⁵⁸ ‘Is Archiving a Feminist Issue? Is the question posed by Moseley and Wheatley in their 2008 article, which they go on to answer in relation to women’s involvement in television histories. By posing this question they sought to ‘draw [...] attention to the ways in which archiving practices affect and produce the kinds of histories that can be written.’²⁵⁹ They argue that ‘if an emphasis is placed, within archival policy, on preserving the out-of-the-ordinary, the critically acclaimed, and the internationally significant, then those everyday moments’²⁶⁰ run the risk of being lost. This risk is particularly tangible for amateur film where relational positioning always has a negative impact on how items are appraised and as result, how value is assigned.

3.7 Archival practice and perceptions of value

As an archive-based study this thesis draws naturally from aspects of the archival sciences. A discipline in and of itself, it has been argued by Caswell that humanities scholars have hitherto failed to engage with archival sciences and have been ‘been blind to the intellectual contributions and labor of a field that has been construed as predominantly female, professional (that is, not academic), and service-oriented.’²⁶¹ My approach to this work seeks to readdress this balance, and throughout this thesis I make reference to terminology and theoretical arguments based in archival sciences. Central to much of my discussion are the four foundational concepts of archival studies: ‘record, provenance, value, and representation’.²⁶² The record in the case of my research has several constituent parts – the film object in its concrete form and the film text in its on-screen iteration. Provenance tells the story of the record, the journey that it has undertaken to the archive; and which we know can significantly impact who and what is represented in the archival description. The

²⁵⁷ Steven J Ross, ‘Jargon and the Crisis of Readability: Methodology, Language, and the Future of Film History’, *Cinema Journal*, 44.1 (2004), 130–33 (p. 31) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3661180>>.

²⁵⁸ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 50.

²⁵⁹ R Moseley and H Wheatley, ‘Is Archiving a Feminist Issue? Historical Research and the Past, Present, and Future of Television Studies’, *Cinema Journal*, 47, 3 (2008), 152–158 (p. 153).

²⁶⁰ Moseley and Wheatley, p. 156.

²⁶¹ Caswell, ‘“The Archive” Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.’, p. 2.

²⁶² Caswell, ‘“The Archive” Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.’, p. 10.

concept of 'value', another cornerstone in archival science, empowers archivists to make 'appraisal decisions' during accession, attributing significance to records accordingly.

Attributing value is a complex and unavoidably subjective process,²⁶³ which it will be noted in this thesis, has contributed to the invisibility of women amateur filmmakers. As the fourth and final pillar of archival sciences 'archival representation' often referred to as 'archival description', involves archivists creating descriptive metadata for records. How records are described through this process influences their discoverability, interpretation, and utilisation.

My thesis adopts the continuum theory model over the life cycle model in archival sciences. Pioneered by Upward,²⁶⁴ McKemmish,²⁶⁵ Atherton²⁶⁶ and others the model 'was built on a unifying concept of records inclusive of archives, which are defined as records of continuing value.'²⁶⁷ This approach is at odds with the life cycle model which argues for distinct stages in a record's existence which could be as simple as 'creation, maintenance and disposition'.²⁶⁸ In contrast, continuum theory 'provide[s] an inclusive, unifying framework for recordkeeping and archiving [...] [that] moves beyond the dichotomies and dualisms of life cycle-type approaches' [...] wherein records might be viewed as 'either evidence or memory', when in fact, continuum theory upholds, that they can be both.²⁶⁹ McKemmish argues that this approach allows for a consideration of records as 'documents-as-trace of the act in which they participate'.²⁷⁰ This approach resonates strongly with my interpretation and analysis of many of the films and the filmmakers within the scope of this project, and as I go on to build upon known contextual information I consider there is a clear correlation between this work, and the methodology called for by continuum approaches, as McKemmish states 'while a record's content and structure can be seen as fixed, in terms of its contextualisation, a record is "always in a process of becoming."²⁷¹ Thus, as the

²⁶³ Attribution of value by grading system discussed. R Shand, 'Theorizing Amateur Cinema: Limitations and Possibilities', p. 48.

²⁶⁴ Frank Upward, 'Structuring the Records Continuum Part One: Post-Custodial Principles and Properties', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 24.2 (1996), 268–85.

²⁶⁵ Sue McKemmish, 'Are Records Ever Actual?', in *The Records Continuum: Ian Maclean and Australian Archives First Fifty Years*, ed. by Michael McKemmish, Sue Piggott (Clayton: Ancora Press in association with Australian Archives, 1994).

²⁶⁶ Jay Atherton, 'From Life Cycle to Continuum: Some Thoughts on the Records Management-Archives Relationship', *Archivaria*, 21 (1985), 43–51.

²⁶⁷ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 334.

²⁶⁸ Upward quoted in McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 349.

²⁶⁹ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 353.

²⁷⁰ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 353.

²⁷¹ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 335.

record's structure and content is fixed – in this case the film reels are stable and unchanging and the film text is static. My research, as will be evidenced in this thesis has been predominantly concerned with adding layers to the contextualisation of films and filmmakers, thus the records are in flux.

3.8 Archiving film

The discourse of amateur cinema is inextricably linked with the preservation of reels of film, despite the digital turn, our understanding of texts is pivotal upon the act of archiving physical items. Amateur film, as separate and distinct from professional film attracts debate as a subject of contention where the notion of 'value' is different according to the archive into which a film arrives. Zimmermann posits that the film archive 'is infinite [and] constantly beginning rather than ending, opening up rather than closing.'²⁷² Smith describes how film archives have an effect on the materials they hold²⁷³ and how the process of archiving can be fragmentary and divisive.²⁷⁴ The struggle for amateur film to be recognised as holding cultural value continues to impact how it is archived and preserved in formal institutions. Horak notes that 'according to the conventional wisdom of the archives [amateur films] were neither art, nor culturally respectable.'²⁷⁵ Furthermore, as the numbers evidenced in this thesis attest to, archives are faced with an overabundance of home movies in an environment of increasingly over-stretched resources – 'there seems to be so much of it'!²⁷⁶

3.8.1 WFSA introduction - the importance of context

As this study of the WFSA collection explores, context is vital to our understanding of filmmaking practice, particularly when seeking to highlight the work of marginalised groups such as women and lower income filmmakers. Without the benefit of further contextual research – the questions posed about Alfred West at the start of this chapter – would go

²⁷² Patricia R Zimmermann, 'Morphing History into Histories: From Amateur Film to the Archive of the Future', in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories* (University of California Press, 2007), pp. 275–288 (p. 286).

²⁷³ Ashley Smith, 'The Archival Life of Home Movies' (Stockholm University, 2018), p. 12.

²⁷⁴ Smith, pp. 20–21.

²⁷⁵ Jan-Christopher Horak, 'Out of the Attic: Archiving Amateur Film', *Journal of Film Preservation*, 56 (1998), p. 50.

²⁷⁶ Horak, 'Out of the Attic: Archiving Amateur Film', p. 50.

unanswered, or worse still, be answered incorrectly. The cataloguing for *Masonic Ceremony* completed by myself in 2010 was undertaken without a full contextual awareness of Alfred West and his body of work. Subsequent, informally published, research by his descendants and undergraduate researchers attests that he was *not* an amateur filmmaker, he is thought to have produced close to five hundred films in his career and these were exclusively produced for a commercial market despite the absence of industry standard conventions in his extant film texts. However, some of his extant work (*Masonic Ceremony* as an example) bears similarities with the *community* mode, as engaged with by many proven amateurs. Thus, it is evident that content alone cannot be a determining factor in deciding whether a film is amateur or something else. A matrix of factors must be considered before conferring amateur status upon a film or filmmaker. Only further research on individual films and filmmakers can highlight (and validate) the full gamut of experiences that constitute the amateur canon.

As a study of regional amateur filmmaking practice, this thesis aims to expand discussion beyond an examination of the film as a visual document – enlarging our understanding to include the filmed content within a wider framework of practice. Alan Katelle's year 2000 work *Home movies: A history of the American industry, 1897-1979* provides an encyclopaedic reference to assist navigation of the technical nuances that characterise the first half of the twentieth century. It is apparent from his detailed collation of technical data that until 1922 in the US and in Europe, amateur filmmaking technologies were technologically at least, on a par with one another. The very earliest cinema technologies were formed in an environment of experimental replication, with pioneers studying each other's work, modifying and attempting to improve upon it or synthesise techniques in a fresh and unique way, they were *innovators* seeking to implement the work of the *inventors*.²⁷⁷

3.8.2 Films and filmmakers in regional collections

The organisation, geography, and accessibility of regional film archives mirrors the fragmented discourse that has proved problematic for scholars mentioned thus far. Since

²⁷⁷ Arne Krumsvik and others, 'Making (Sense of) Media Innovations', 2019, pp. 193–205 (p. 194) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvcj305r.16>>.

the late 1980s there has been an identified need to unify the work of emerging regional archives in the UK, with the Film Archive Forum (FAF), established in 1987 with a view to ‘fostering an informal network of British moving image archives’.²⁷⁸ This organisation eventually evolved, and took on a more formal status from 1998 after the publication of the ‘Moving History’ paper which had far reaching implications in the sector and now ‘underpins the work’ of Film Archives UK (FAUK).²⁷⁹ Despite such a co-ordinating body, the collections held within regional archives remain subject to the nuances inherent in a decentralised and widely dispersed body of film. The guidelines produced by the Federation of International Film Archives (FIAF) are a significant aid to film archives, who continually look to improve upon cataloguing standards; often against a legacy of inherited practices that are embedded into databases. Many collections have found themselves in the position of having to retrospectively apply guidelines to existing records or are working with databases not specifically developed for film use, which can lead to an uneven and far from uniform adoption of standards. Moreover, the processes of archival appraisal, assessment of value and creation of a textual representation are bound up with a matrix of subjective factors that contribute to both what makes it into the archive and how it is represented once it has been accessioned.²⁸⁰

It is this unevenness that scholars and researchers are faced with when beginning to work with a regional collection. The ISADG is adopted at organisational level at WFSA, though audio visual records reflect a mixture of approaches and standards. There are challenges and benefits for films and filmmakers residing in regional collections. These factors impact how scholars can interact with them, and this is borne out by the various works in the field. Benefits include the fact that filmmakers whose work remains in a regional archive are likely to be recognised on a local level. It is also the case that locally connected organisations can work with other archives cohesively with a knowledge of their holdings and how they might relate to one another. There is also the fact that potential depositors can access archive sites geographically near to them. The challenges of the regional model are manifold and

²⁷⁸ Gray and McKernan.

²⁷⁹ Gray and McKernan.

²⁸⁰ Caswell, “The Archive’ Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.’, p. 8.

include, amongst other things a scarcity of resources; this might include a lack of funding, of staffing, of digitisation equipment and a backlog in production of access copies.

Norris Nicholson makes heavy use of archive-based evidence from regional collections, drawing upon northern examples found in the collections of the Institute of Amateur Cinematographers (IAC), North West Film Archive (NWFA), and Yorkshire Film Archives (YFA); a model that works well to address the empirical challenge thrown down by *Reel Families* and seeks to 'reclaim amateur' practice from the margins.²⁸¹ Various aspects of the work posit *inclusion* as a key area for development: whether this relates to amateur cinema's overlooked role in the wider development of film,²⁸² or seeks to elucidate areas of practice that are not immediately apparent in recognised histories (or catalogue entries). Furthermore, as this study will argue, inclusion ranges beyond the realms of scholarship. It is not just about contemporary scholars and archivists taking an inclusive approach and applying it to their interpretations – it is about recognising that the filmmaking populace in the 1895 to 1950 period was far more socially inclusive than widely assumed; with lower income and female filmmakers having a greater role to play than is commonly acknowledged.

Regional film archives lend themselves to an analysis of amateur film along geographic lines with Shand noting that amateur film demonstrates a 'persistently local representational emphasis demand for local knowledge and assertion of very local priorities', which has led to exclusion of such material and practice from the wider film history paradigm.²⁸³ Ultimately, regional archives form a national jigsaw; each piece can be viewed in isolation, but the pieces together form part of a larger whole.

It is clear from existing scholarship that amateur filmmaking in this period was not a homogenous experience, but a spectrum of activity and cine-engagement that could encompass everything from the occasional camera operator to the technically advanced semi-professional operating out of their workshop. The catalogue entry for *Masonic Ceremony* demonstrates not only the many challenges that scholars have identified when working with amateur film, but also the need to question and re-evaluate the parameters

²⁸¹ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 17.

²⁸² R Shand, 'Amateur Cinema Relocated: Localism in Fact and Fiction.', p. 156.

²⁸³ R Shand, 'Amateur Cinema Relocated: Localism in Fact and Fiction.', p. 156; Frith and Johnston, p. 130. Also argue that certain film types have become dominant in archives as a result of such 'institutional practice'.

used to describe filmmakers, and their output considering contextual data that can offer new ways of classifying and discussing this work. Expanding our understanding of such filmmakers and validating all levels of engagement is only possible through further research.

Chapter 4 ‘Taken by my wife’ – Challenging the Amateur/professional Binary in WFSA’s Early Films (1895-1922)

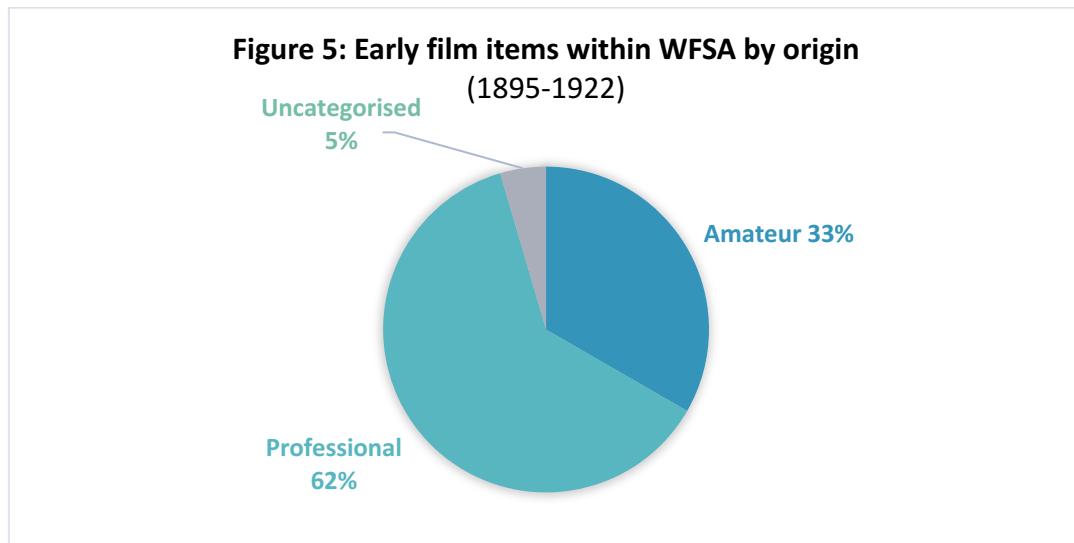
In this chapter, I argue that a move away from the amateur/professional binary categorisation of pre-1922 films is needed to fully appreciate the breadth of contributors to regional film collections that include both women and film exhibitors. I consider the case of filmmaker Louisa Gauvain as a means of highlighting female engagement with filmmaking, expressions of gendered labour and the changing role of women in quasi-professional contexts.

I argue that Louisa Gauvain’s film *Plaster of Paris* (1913) is analogous for the treatment of amateur women filmmakers more widely. I suggest that the power relations crystallised in *Plaster of Paris* serve to demonstrate how patriarchal society permitted the creative freedom of women amateur filmmakers within a cultural defined suite of pre-sets and how the resultant creative products have been subsequently suppressed by the same masculine system. Through the application of the term ‘non-professional’ it is hoped the work of such individuals will be elevated out of the confusion that their not-quite-professional status carries and situate them within a wider chronology of media technologies; whilst also serving to begin reclamation of women’s work.

There are 28 collections (containing 67 items) in WFSA that hold material produced before 1922 - of these – there are no more than 19 collections that can be definitively defined as falling within the ‘commercial tradition’ as described by *Kinematograph Weekly* in 1920.²⁸⁴ To apply the professional/amateur binary, oversimplifies a complex configuration of production origins and suggests a division of 48%/62% in favour of professional film in the WFSA collection (Figure 5). While this thesis predominantly focuses on the 1920 to 1950 timeframe, there is a need to examine the immediately preceding period to contextualise what follows. Of the 9 collections within the early timeframe that sit outside of formal professional structures, there is little characterising them as purely ‘amateur’ film. They are not home movies, nor are they fictionalised narratives; they bear no evidence of an

²⁸⁴ ‘Another Bid for the Amateur Trade’, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, Anonymous, (1920), xix–xxi (p. xix) (See Fig 1 for a breakdown of origins).

‘amateur aesthetic’,²⁸⁵ yet they speak to the wider development of amateurism as new technologies began to emerge in the teens and early 1920s.



4.1 Towards a consideration of the non-professional

The work of Louisa Gauvain features in the WFSA collection, and that of Hampshire Record Office, but she is not expressly named in the records for these items. The case of Louisa Gauvain justifies the necessity for a move away from the amateur/professional binary, while also highlighting some of the key challenges that face scholars and archivists working with film collections where incorrect or misleading attributions obfuscate female involvement in film production.

Louisa Gauvain’s youth was a period of intense societal and technological change, with developments across the western world impacting on the lives of everyday people in myriad ways. Described by Musser as ‘a period of rapid, fundamental change in which the domain of film practice was relatively small’,²⁸⁶ filmmaking practice grew from the tinkering of many people, in multiple locations, responding to the possibilities that photographic technologies presented. The proliferation of picture making technology, in which Louisa Gauvain became an active participant, marked a clear step towards ‘a more mobilized gaze’,²⁸⁷ allowing

²⁸⁵ Frith and Johnston, p. 131.

²⁸⁶ Musser, p. 104.

²⁸⁷ Norris Nicholson, ‘At Home and Abroad with Cine Enthusiasts: Regional Amateur Filmmaking and Visualizing the Mediterranean, ca. 1928–1962’, p. 324.

involvement in picture-making (either as the subject, object or photographer) across an increasingly broad stretch of society – though inevitably tracing its genesis in the moneyed classes.

The question of whether to consider Louisa Gauvain and the other early filmmakers represented in the WFSA collection as amateurs draws into focus a range of elements that scholars in the field have debated on various grounds.

Should the amateur be defined by the technology they use?

Or, their intended audience?

Or, by their pecuniary motivations?

Or, simply in a relational way to the professional?

With cinematic roots so firmly grounded in science, it is no accident (as many scholars have noted), that amateur cinema grew to be ‘defined in technological terms’.²⁸⁸ Indeed, the mechanics of cinema’s existence is hard to disentangle from its many and various uses and applications. With the monopolisation of production promoting 35mm as the ‘standard’ film gauge, the categorising of everything else as ‘substandard’, naturally followed. The simple economics of the activity dictated that: wider film = greater financial outlay; narrower film = less financial outlay. The interconnected issues of technology and economy are central to much scholarship in the field,²⁸⁹ and are considered as foundational in the formation of a modern understanding of the ‘amateur’. This is problematic, when we consider that the term has a long history of usage relating to picture making that predates the appearance of narrow-gauge film. As the collections of WFSA evidence – not all non-professional filmmakers of this period adopted narrower gauges, not all functioned in a financially restricted environment – yet by the popular application their work might still be considered to fall within the category of ‘amateur’. The evolution of terminology that equates non-standard technologies with inferiority positions amateur film (and amateur filmmakers) in opposition ‘to more dominant technological standards’.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Zimmermann, ‘Morphing History into Histories: From Amateur Film to the Archive of the Future’, p. 279.

²⁸⁹ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 12; Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 117.

²⁹⁰ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 12.

Louisa Gauvain is an example of one of these hard-to-pin-down filmmakers: functioning as opposition in this relational model; working outside of the mainstream yet using readily accessible 35mm film stock. Louisa Gauvain's work, and that of a small number of others represented in the WFSA collection, does not provide enough evidence of amateurs during this early period (1895 to 1922) to suggest a flourishing new past time in the region; the collection survey undertaken for this thesis identified 22 extant items that might be broadly considered as amateur (compared with 41 professional items). There are many explanations for this, the simplest and most obvious being that films simply didn't survive; maybe they were melted down and recycled, or they degraded beyond salvage – or maybe they have simply never found their way into an archive. Despite the lack of extant films in this collection, there are indications of a fledgling non-professional market that pepper the wider cinematic press of the time; one reader writes:

Sir, Why do you not start a series of instructions for the beginning in your useful weekly for amateurs? Every-one must have a beginning, and it would make your weekly of even more interest to those about to begin with the kinematograph.²⁹¹

The editor's reply to this correspondent was encouraging and indicated that a column providing such advice would follow in due course. A survey of this publication reveals a consistent and sustained application of the terms 'amateur' and 'professional'. The terms are often applied in opposition to one another, and it is not uncommon for amateur to be used in a derogatory tone, with amateur exhibitors drawing the most criticism. There is an increasingly loudening voice amongst the editorial and readership that advocates for the production of suitably priced amateur picture-making equipment, but also calls for the publication in an accessible format of guidance to assist the non-professional in their experiments. Most notably, in this publication, the term 'amateur' appears more regularly in association with home exhibition before 1906, rather than home picture making. From 1906 onwards there is an increase in the application of the term in reference to the 'taking' of subjects.²⁹² Deployment of these terms is intriguing, and apparently the readership also took

²⁹¹ (Correspondence: Amateurs' Difficulties', 1907, p. 415)

²⁹² 'The Kinokam', *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, 15 February, 1906, 75 (p. 75); 'Untitled Article', *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, 15 September, 1906, 26 (p. 26).

issue with their application, with the correspondent previously quoted remarking '...As it is, you only centre your interests on the professionals, as *you* style them'.²⁹³

4.2 No amateurs, only non-professionals?

As far as is known, all the early film items within WFSA are 35mm - and if these works were to be defined purely on their technical specification, then it would be the natural conclusion that they *are* professional works, produced by professional filmmakers. *Could Louisa Gauvain's work be considered professional?* Before 1922, there were few cameras available that used substandard film (the Birtac used 17.5mm, the Pathé Kok - 28mm²⁹⁴), therefore if we are to apply a technological definition of the amateur -we would seek to categorise 35mm as professional, and narrower gauges as amateur -- yet none of these substandard gauges are present in the WFSA collection. Arguably, the early film collection of WFSA holds no true amateur films or filmmakers – only the work of non-professionals using 35mm film, in varying contexts.

Cine amateurism could be said to have developed in waves in the pre-1922 period: 1895 to 1899 saw a period of tinkerers and experimentalists who gradually professionalised, 1900 to 1911 heralded the arrival of the 17.5mm Birtac, and a latent period ahead of the 1909 Cinematograph Act's coming into law in 1910; 1912 through to 1921 and then 1922 onwards, which marked the first significant boom period. That WFSA's early film collection reflects the third wave (1912 to 1921) of early amateurism is significant in that this period lends itself to the relational application of the term *non-professional*, a term that provides scope to encompass everything outside of the commercial/professional sphere.

Louisa Gauvain was a non-professional filmmaker working in a medically professional context. She held professional medical qualifications herself yet deployed only her photographic skills to assist the work of her husband in the treatment of tuberculosis. At the time that *Plaster of Paris* was produced, she and her husband were members of a wealthy professional class – with the necessary funds to access industry standard filmmaking equipment and stock. Louisa Gauvain was respected and acknowledged for her work, but

²⁹³ 'Correspondence: Amateurs' Difficulties', p. 415.

²⁹⁴ A Kattelle, 'The Evolution of Amateur Motion Picture Equipment', *Journal of Film and Video*, 38.3–4 (1986), p. 47.

she was not aspiring to be a professional filmmaker – features noted by Motrescu-Mayes that many later female amateurs had in common.²⁹⁵ Louisa Gauvain’s film itself does not evidence a frugal practice, instead indicating that the accurate recording of the application of the treatment was the primary aim of the recording; to both demonstrate the method, but also to educate and disseminate the new pioneering technique. Louisa Gauvain, as the primary filmmaker, demonstrates a high level of technical proficiency in her deployment of the cine camera, the staging of the diegesis, editing and titling.

Unlike AV90 (Louisa Gauvain), very few of the early film collections held by WFSA hold an attribution tied to a named individual. Only one other filmmaker is named directly, in AV4/AV131/AV56 and AV418, where Alfred West is named in connection with the films. These two filmmakers were opposites in both their filmmaking content, experiences and working contexts. The dearth of person-centred attributions in the WFSA collection contributes to the uncertainty around how to categorise such films – where an attribution is missing do we persevere with labelling based on incomplete (and possibly inaccurate evidence)? As historians, taking the retrospective view there is always the risk that our view is incomplete, or guilty of ‘telescoping’.²⁹⁶ Has too much importance been placed on one portion of evidence, in the absence of others? Or as Gaines cautions in her feminist approach - are we taking the film print as evidence of past events, when so many questions remain unanswered?²⁹⁷

Of the early film items within WFSA, there are a number which are suggestibly tied to exhibitor-filmmakers, rather than professional filmmakers *per se*. This other group of not-quite-professional filmmakers, increase notably in number after 1913 following both the introduction of non-flam film in 1912²⁹⁸ and the International Kinematograph Exhibition at Olympia in 1913 (held 22 to 29 March, 1913).²⁹⁹ From this date onwards, cameras marketed at the amateur began to appear with a very particular advertising focus; that sought to appeal to exhibitors by calling on them to ‘Provide your local topicals’, stating that there is

²⁹⁵ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 10.

²⁹⁶ Andre Gaudreault and Timothy Barnard, ‘Titles, Subtitles, and Intertitles: Factors of Autonomy, Factors of Concatenation’, *Film History*, 25.1–2 (2013), 81–94 (p. 83) <<https://doi.org/10.2979/filmhistory.25.1-2.81>>.

²⁹⁷ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 72.

²⁹⁸ Kattelle, p. 47.

²⁹⁹ (*Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, p. 2153 Thursday 27 March 1913)

‘Nothing like real local topicals for bringing in the money during the hot weather [...].³⁰⁰ This appeal to the business-minded exhibitors took a two-pronged approach, with the sensible reassurance ‘You turn the handle, we do the work’ promptly following the statement of need.³⁰¹ Such equipment claimed to bring ‘moving pictures within the reach of the amateur photographer [...],³⁰² though a widespread uptake of such equipment did not take place until after 1922, when greater accessibility was finally achieved through truly portable equipment and narrower reversal film stock. Such sources suggest that contemporary thought might place the exhibitor-filmmaker firmly in the realm of the amateur; yet this problematises our own modern definition and conflates issues of professionalism and commercialism.³⁰³ One such example in WFSA is AV159 *Mayoral procession to Romsey Abbey* (1913),³⁰⁴ where evidence suggests production by the local cinema (the recently opened Elite, in Middlebridge Street) tied in with the filming and subsequent screening of the event.³⁰⁵ The film was clearly photographed by cinema staff with a view to being screened on site at the Elite, the Romsonians providing a captive audience as they sought to catch glimpses of themselves on screen. AV548/1 *Southampton - Hampshire Boy Scouts Rally* (1912)³⁰⁶ was similarly produced by ‘Southampton Picture Palaces’ and AV57/1 *Gosport War Memorial Hospital, Laying the Foundation Stone* (1921)³⁰⁷ was most likely produced by the Criterion Theatre (Forton Road, Gosport). As with *Plaster of Paris*, these films bear no amateur hallmarks, no characteristics that suggest a distinctly amateur origin – instead they appear to have been produced with the aim of generating income, something that *Plaster of Paris* did not intend to do. Both types of film had a very specific value to a niche audience that inhibited widespread distribution;³⁰⁸ *Plaster of Paris* holding value to the medical field and the local topicals to their communities as both a form of entertainment, news dissemination and economic development. While commercial intent is a key factor in differentiating these

³⁰⁰ (Advert for the ‘Ensign’ in *Kinematograph Weekly*, p. 40 Thursday 28 May 1914)

³⁰¹ (Advert for the ‘Ensign’ *Kinematograph Weekly*, p. 40 Thursday 28 May 1914)

³⁰² *Kinematograph Weekly*, p. 42 Thursday 4 June 1914.

³⁰³ This practice is acknowledged as a phenomenon in the US by Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 31.

³⁰⁴ AV159 *Mayoral Procession to Romsey Abbey* (1913) | WFSA | Film.

³⁰⁵ Leonard Gazzard, ‘Cinema Treasures: The Elite, Romsey’, 2021 <<http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/44923>> [accessed 20 April 2021].

³⁰⁶ AV548/1 *Southampton - Hampshire Boy Scouts Rally* (1912) | WFSA | Film.

³⁰⁷ AV57/1 *Gosport War Memorial Hospital, Laying the Foundation Stone* (1921) | WFSA | Film.

³⁰⁸ R Cranston, ‘Cherchez Les Femme’, *Sight and Sound*, 26.6 (2016), p. 55.

films from one another, I argue that it need not be the deciding factor in categorising them as professional.

4.3 The first female amateurs

Louisa Gauvain's involvement in cinematography stemmed from a prior interest in still photography, a familiar conduit into the craft for many amateur filmmakers. Entrenched in marketing rhetoric from the very earliest advertisements for the Kodak #1, the simplicity that the new amateur technology presented in the late 1880s played on the notion of gendered inferiority, *even a woman could use the Kodak#1*.³⁰⁹ Indeed, Kodak identified women as key users of the hand camera and deployed visual and textual gendered references to the *Kodak Girl* in much of their advertising in the first thirty years of the twentieth century- this is the case for both still cameras and cine cameras.³¹⁰ As expected, the technology became increasingly accessible as the price decreased and by the 1920s *The Daily Mirror* ran weekly advertisements for still cameras that featured the 'Kodak Girl' in her distinctive striped dress. Louisa Gauvain, as an educated middle-class woman with disposable income, was Kodak's target consumer and tracing the genesis of her cine skills in photography requires little detective work. Determining at which point she turned to cinematography is considerably more challenging, and as Motrescu-Mayes points out, definitively attributing items to women filmmakers in the Edwardian period is problematic.³¹¹ With a dearth of films attributable to women amateurs in the pre-1920 period comes a reliance on attributions tied to the technological developments later made by Kodak (and then Pathé) in the early 1920s; with Marion Norris Gleason – the neighbour of a Kodak employee working on the prototype Cine-Kodak who was approached to trial the new gadget in 1921, oft cited as the first female amateur filmmaker.³¹² Louisa Gauvain's work therefore predates Gleason by eight years – tentatively placing her as one of the first female amateurs. It is not suggested here that Louisa Gauvain was a trailblazer, a pioneer, but rather her existence and proven involvement in the production of amateur film as early as 1913 signifies that women *could* function in an amateur context before 1921 – however,

³⁰⁹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 1.

³¹⁰ R Fung, 'Remaking Home Movies', ed. by Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia R. Zimmermann (University of California Press, 2007), pp. 29–40 (p. 31).

³¹¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 3.

³¹² Swanson, p. 127; Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 3.

as historians looking back, it becomes increasingly key to ensure that we recover 'the significance of these producers in their time without [...] exaggerating' them.³¹³ There are likely to be many reasons why only one film produced by Louisa Gauvain is extant; it could be one film amongst many that she produced, or it could be the only venture she made into cine. It is clear that alone the film 'print itself is no final proof of the existence of past events [...] and may not put an end to questions about what actually happened behind or in front of the camera'.³¹⁴

4.4 Mapping a web of probable happenings

Gaines' thoughts echo those working in archival science, particularly Furner, who debates the evidentiary nature of archival sources and how records are deployed in evidence for the writing of history.³¹⁵ Typically in research such as this there is a reliance on primary documentary sources and inevitably more questions are asked than answers found. In this thesis there is a focus on building the context around film items, through a biographical approach. This biographical approach feeds into the interpretation of the films, their positioning within collections and subsequent archival narrative. This process has many challenges, not least when we consider the additional problems that gender infers on the evidence, and its very discovery. In many senses how records are represented in the archive are part of an 'ongoing collaborative process [...] not an end-product'.³¹⁶

Traces of an individual's life can be challenging to locate even when we begin with a seemingly solid piece of evidence, such as a name. This task becomes significantly more challenging when we consider that a person might have more than one name during their lifetime – or that because of their gender their name is not always recorded in full, or accurately. For example, born male, a person is more likely to retain the same name throughout his life. With this name, his birth is recorded in connection with his parents; when he enters schooling (which he was more likely to do than his sister) his name is logged, when he enters the workplace, he is more likely to be identified directly by his name – the

³¹³ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 25.

³¹⁴ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 72.

³¹⁵ Jonathan Furner, 'Conceptual Analysis: A Method for Understanding Information as Evidence, and Evidence as Information', *Archival Science*, 4.3 (2004), 233–65 (pp. 247, 244) <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-005-2594-8>>.

³¹⁶ Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 10.

same name as given at birth. When he marries, his name is listed first on the marriage documents, his spouse would rarely have an occupation recorded and both the bride and groom's father's name and occupation would be listed. Typically, as head of his household his name appears on census records first and in full; he votes and appears on the electoral register. His name appears on his children's birth certificates and later, marriage documents. He dies, leaves a will, and probate for his named estate is logged in the calendars.

In comparison, born female a person's birth is registered to her parents; her mother's name often given only partially. As a child, she is less likely to go to school than her male sibling, she is likely to be noted in census returns with only her first initial. If she is wealthy or upper class – she may formally enter public life and her name (might) appear in the press. If she does not enter public life, the next archival trace of this female is when she marries; when she does so her name appears after her spouse. Her occupation (if she has one) is routinely omitted from the record and her situation is reduced to 'single' or 'spinster', and her age if greater than twenty-one might be recorded as 'full'. Her father's occupation is listed, but her mother is not identified in the record. After her marriage, she sheds her maiden name and takes that of her spouse. Her honorific shifts to 'Mrs' and she, quite often, will be referenced by her spouse's forename and surname. If she has children, her maiden name appears on their records. She is (depending on the date) less likely to vote, and therefore appear on the electoral register. If she divorces, she may (or may not) revert to her maiden name. If she remarries, she may adopt her new spouse's name, or she may not. When she dies, the name recorded may not link in any perceivable way to the one that she started life with.³¹⁷

The challenges that discriminatory recording practices present to tracing a woman's life in the archive result in biographies that are necessarily imperfect; the result of 'archival practices [that] privilege state-driven modes of history-making, formal and institutionalized ways of thinking, and masculine and patriarchal forms of knowledge'.³¹⁸ Only when tentatively drawing together multiple disparate sources do women's chronologies solidify

³¹⁷ This tradition of name taking dates back to the practice of 'coverture' when a woman 'came to share the surname of her husband as a symbol of [...] unity. [...] the name change represented the wife's subordinated identity and legal status' Simon Duncan, Anne Lise Ellingsæter, and Julia Carter, 'Understanding Tradition: Marital Name Change in Britain and Norway', *Sociological Research Online*, 25.3 (2019), 438–55 (p. 716) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780419892637>>.

³¹⁸ Glyn and others, p. 158.

into a tangible web of probable happenings. Louisa Gauvain's proven status as a dispenser of medicines is corroborated by her family history in the profession, by the 1901 census, and by her later filmmaking practice; yet the 1911 census and her 1913 marriage certificate fail to provide evidence for this part of her life.

Formal biographies often call for an exacting level of detail; for certainty beyond doubt in order to merit inclusion in the record. However, such biographies can usually only be constructed for those occupying certain positions within society – typically, male, and middle class. The further back in time we reach, the more nebulous the evidence becomes and the more challenging the process of narrativising a person's life. Women, of all stations are typically more challenging to locate – even those such as Louisa Gauvain who was clearly upper middle class.

4.5 Introducing Louisa Gauvain

Census and birth index registers indicate that Louisa Gauvain was born to financially stable, educated parents and had a comfortable start in life with a respectable Kensington address supplementing her grandfather's reputation as the 'Superintending surgeon in Hyderabad', and her father's eminent position as a surgeon in the Indian Medical Service; as evidenced in *Homeward Mail from India*.³¹⁹ International travel was likely a feature of her life from a young age and interacting in colonial contexts she would have been familiar with the rigours of society life. Her father's passion and commitment to medicine, is borne out in his own distinguished career but also in the support he was apparently able to confer upon his daughter as she developed her own interest in medicine. Given the financial outlay later required for her dispensary training, it would have been difficult for her to pursue such an interest without the acquiescence of her family. Records suggests that while Louisa Gauvain's older brother, William, was formally schooled in Folkestone, she remained at home. This may have worked in Louisa Gauvain's favour; with a surgeon father she would have the benefit of his library and, when he was home, the additional support of his expertise. In 1895, at the time of the first projections of moving images, Louisa Gauvain was fifteen years old and on the cusp of achieving independence. Her choice of schooling was

³¹⁹ China and the East Homeward Mail from India, 'GUP', *Homeward Mail from India, China and the East*, 22 March 1913, p. 2; 'Census Returns of England and Wales' (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1891).

influenced by two generations of high achieving surgeons and enabled her to leave the family home and take up employment and private lodgings in the city.

It is likely that Louisa Gauvain moved out of her parents' home sometime between 1897 and 1901, for her address is recorded in the 1901 enumerator's books as 45 Regent Square, London.³²⁰ As a middle class,³²¹ unmarried young woman there were limited options available to her for respectable gainful employ, outside the bounds of marriage and the home.³²² Despite the limitations enacted on middle class women's work, the latter years of the nineteenth century had been more broadly characterised by 'a great expansion of waged work requiring in its employees the middle-class characteristics of literacy, reliability, and respectability',³²³ which if anything, should have led to a natural increase of middle-class women in the workforce. From the 1850s there was growing pressure voiced by such factions as the Women's Movement³²⁴ and through the foundation of The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (founded in 1859),³²⁵ to acknowledge the contribution that women could make to the workforce and to admit them to it. The Women's Movement in particular was directly instrumental in enacting the change that would enable women to take up formalised roles in medicine; through their work in supporting women into work as dispensers of medicines in hospitals,³²⁶ but also for advocating women be admitted to University.³²⁷ Jordan reports that during the 1880 to 1901 period there was an increase in both female entrants into dispensary roles, and an increase in the professionalisation of the position that had hitherto been unregulated.³²⁸ This influx of women into a recognised profession (or para-profession) is significant here, as in the 1901 census Louisa Gauvain gave her occupation as 'dispenses sub med'. The terms 'dispenser', 'MS dispenser' and 'caretaker of dispensary' were frequently used to denote an

³²⁰ See Appendix E for full profile of Louisa Gauvain. 'Census Returns of England and Wales' (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1901).

³²¹ Her class status can be linked, through her father and grandfather to the ICSO-Major group 10 category, as applied in the survey linked to this thesis

³²² Laura Jefferson, Karen Bloor, and Alan Maynard, 'Women in Medicine: Historical Perspectives and Recent Trends', *British Medical Bulletin*, 114.1 (2015), 5–15 (p. 6) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/bmb/lbv007>>.

³²³ Ellen Jordan, '"Suitable and Remunerative Employment": The Feminization of Hospital Dispensing in Late Nineteenth-century England', *Social History of Medicine*, 15.3 (2002), 429–56 (p. 431) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/15.3.429>>.

³²⁴ Jordan, p. 431.

³²⁵ Jordan, p. 432.

³²⁶ Jordan, p. 431.

³²⁷ Jefferson, Bloor, and Maynard, p. 6.

³²⁸ Jordan, p. 430.

individual who worked in a hospital, or surgery dispensing medicines – essentially providing primary medical care to those unable to afford the services of a qualified (male) doctor. The notation in Louisa Gauvain's entry functions on several levels; firstly, it indicates that Louisa Gauvain was primarily working outside of the home in a role that occupied most of her time – it was regular employment, not occasional or seasonal.³²⁹ Secondly, it indicates that she had undergone at least three years' vocational training, as well as taken lectures at Bloomsbury Square,³³⁰ a fifteen-minute walk from her home – as a possible student of Bedford College for Women, or Royal Holloway; institutions amongst the first to offer training to women. Her training (classroom and lab-based) across the three years would have amounted to around £220 in fees, a considerable outlay on a relatively modest income of £40 per annum,³³¹ and it seems reasonable to assume her family assisted with these expenses. Indeed, Jordan is keen to stress that many women who took up such a role were supported by their families in this way.³³²

Louisa Gauvain's profession before marriage is of note for several reasons that are relevant here: as a middle-class unmarried woman she is representative of the second wave of women to publicly enter the medical workforce in a professionalised way; her status and occupation led to her marriage within the field but also to her involvement in filmmaking. Additionally, she provides evidence of the early adoption of picture making technologies outside of the commercial tradition by those working in roles ancillary³³³ (though formally unrelated) to photography. As a dispenser, she had access to the necessary chemicals required for image processing and was sufficiently skilled in handling them -a formal part of Louisa Gauvain's training was laboratory based. Before making moving images, Louisa Gauvain become proficient in still photography – with a body of work held at Hampshire Record Office being attributed to her.³³⁴ Still hand photography facilitated by the portable

³²⁹ Timothy J Hatton and Roy E Bailey, 'Women's Work in Census and Survey, 1911-1931', *The Economic History Review*, 54.1 (2001), 87–107 (pp. 90–91) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091715>>; Xuesheng You, 'Women's Labour Force Participation in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales: Evidence from the 1881 Census Enumerators' Books', *The Economic History Review*, 73.1 (2020), 106–33 (p. 109) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/ehr.12876>>.

³³⁰ Jordan, p. 450.

³³¹ Jordan, p. 445.

³³² Jordan, p. 445.

³³³ 'Ancillary' is here used to refer to professions that facilitated involvement in filmmaking: chemists, jewellers, photographers etc.

³³⁴ '47M94/F1/21 Album Entitled 'Photographs and Skingrams Taken by My Wife to Illustrate Thesis "The Conservative Treatment of Tuberculosis Diseases of the Spine" by HJ Gauvain, Alton Park, 17 Jan 1918.' (Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, 1918).

Kodak #1 in the 1890s was widespread amongst the wealthy in the years following Louisa Gauvain's move towards independence, the 'only hand camera that an amateur should attempt to use' boasted 'over 20,000 in use' in 1890³³⁵ and it is not surprising that she took up the increasingly affordable hobby sometime in the opening years of the twentieth century. At the point that the Kodak #1 appeared, it was standard practice for photographers to develop their own images at home; as time progressed the availability of developing services increased, and those wishing to simply 'point and shoot' could do so without getting their hands dirty with 'messy chemicals'.³³⁶

4.6 A marriage that worked

At the time of her marriage in 1913 to Dr Henry Gauvain, Louisa (whom I will continue to reference here by her married surname, Gauvain) is noted as living in Upper Holloway, London and is recorded as being a 'spinster' with no profession and her age is given as 'full'. Strauss-Noll notes how the term 'spinster' is loaded with gendered meaning, and in modern contexts typically perceived in a pejorative way,³³⁷ others have observed that the term's meaning and connotations have shifted over time.³³⁸ Whatever its connotations now and at the time of this source's writing, it's adoption in the context of a formal marriage document is descriptive - indicating Louisa Gauvain's unmarried status and fullness of age but also serving to elide her professional status. The dearth of documentary evidence to support knowledge of Louisa Gauvain between 1901 and 1913 speaks of historiographic practices that are automatically prejudicial to women.³³⁹

Her husband was as deeply involved in the medical profession as both her father and grandfather had been, and connections had been made between the Butler and Gauvain families through the medical fraternity; possibly in India (the couple's marriage was announced in *Homeward Mail from India*).³⁴⁰ From 1913 onwards, records evidence a productive professional and personal partnership between the couple; with Louisa

³³⁵ (*The Graphic*, p.18 Saturday 5 April 1890)

³³⁶ Elleanor MacDonald, 'The Joys of Amateur Film Producing -A Hobby with a Future', *The Daily Mirror*, 1934, p. 10.

³³⁷ M Strauss-Noll, 'An Illustration of Sex Bias in English', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 12.1 (1984), 36–37 (p. 36) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40004212>>.

³³⁸ Erin Blakemore, 'Original Spin: On the History of the Spinster The Cultural and Economic History of the Spinster.', *JSTOR Daily*, 2015 <<https://daily.jstor.org/original-spin-history-spinster/>>.

³³⁹ Gloyn and others, p. 158.

³⁴⁰ *Homeward Mail from India*, p.2 22 March 1913)

Gauvain's photography skills being used to further the progressive work undertaken by Henry on the treatment of bone and joint tuberculosis. Henry demonstrated outstanding proficiency and was appointed 'first medical superintendent of Lord Mayor Treloar's Cripples Hospital and College' at Alton, Hampshire³⁴¹ and had been in post at Alton for some five years at the time of their marriage. The couple spent their time between the Harley Street practice and Treloar's,³⁴² and welcomed a daughter a year after their marriage who was to become similarly entrenched in hospital life; later going on to enter the medical profession.³⁴³

4.7 AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) ³⁴⁴

The production of the film *Plaster of Paris*,³⁴⁵ is thought to fall within the first year of Louisa Gauvain's marriage and likely before the birth of her first child in 1914. Much of the extant work thought to be attributable to Louisa Gauvain was produced between 1913 and 1920, with the above-mentioned film and at least one album of still photographs dating from this period surviving [47M94/F1/21]; both of which have a clinical focus. The film and photographs have been carefully composed and shot with a view to enhancing medical knowledge. The attribution in the WFSA catalogue for *Plaster of Paris* reads:

Medical film probably made by the wife of Sir HENRY GAUVAIN in about 1913.
It is relevant to note here that the BFI now holds the nitrate negatives, as well as later positive prints of this film made in 1920,³⁴⁶ after being handed the items by WFSA in order to centralise the storage of nitrate holdings in around the year 2000.

The original film can attribution correlates with a body of work held by Hampshire Record Office that elides full credit:

³⁴¹ RCS, 'Plarr's Lives of the Fellows', *The Royal College of Surgeons of England*, 2021 <[https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ASSET\\$002f0\\$002fSD_ASSET:376339/one?qu=%22rcs%3A+E004156%22&rt=false%7C%7C%7CIDENTIFIER%7C%7C%7CResource+Identifier#:~:text=Gauvain married in 1913 Louise Laura %28](https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ASSET$002f0$002fSD_ASSET:376339/one?qu=%22rcs%3A+E004156%22&rt=false%7C%7C%7CIDENTIFIER%7C%7C%7CResource+Identifier#:~:text=Gauvain married in 1913 Louise Laura %28)> [accessed 28 April 2021].

³⁴² 'Electoral Registers' (London: London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Electoral Registers. Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc.).

³⁴³ 'Gauvain, (Catherine Joan) Suzette (Mrs R. O. Murray), (Died 23 Jan. 1980), Consultant in Occupational Medicine; Hon. Senior Lecturer, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine' (Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U154750>>.

³⁴⁴ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) / WFSA / Film.

³⁴⁵ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) / WFSA / Film.

³⁴⁶ C-619472 *Application of Plaster of Paris on Patient Suffering from Cervical Caries* <<http://collections-search.bfi.org.uk/web/Details/ChoiceFilmWorks/150341262>>.

Photographs and skigrams taken by my wife to illustrate thesis 'The Conservative treatment of Tuberculosis Diseases of the Spine' by HJ Gauvain, Alton Park, 17 Jan 1918

47M94/F1/21

Both entries are notable for their failure to attribute a name to Henry Gauvain's wife; the notation on the photograph album is handwritten, cementing Gauvain's wife's role in his medical endeavours, and recognising the importance he may have placed on ensuring credit was given where it was due. He did not commission a photographer to take such exacting images, he relied upon the expertise of his medically qualified photographer wife.

4.8 Structural features

Plaster of Paris was shot on 35mm nitrate film and depicts an unnamed female child patient at the Treloar Hospital having a full body plaster cast applied by Dr Henry Gauvain.

Plaster of Paris very clearly utilises *Titles* and *Subtitles* – to announce scenes rather than 'bridge' between visual content.³⁴⁷ The film contains a *title* card (Figure 6) and six *subtitles* each describing the procedure to be displayed in the following scene. The titles do not fulfil a narrative purpose, but the procedure is apparently filmed in chronological order and each subsequent scene builds upon actions taken in the preceding scene. The lettering of the titles and subtitles appears to have been completed by hand; it is incredibly neat though nuances in uniformity hint at its labour-intensive composition.

The film is composed of a total of four shots – two taken at medium close-up and two at a slightly greater distance framing the action but also disclosing the location of the procedure. The action takes place in a well-lit clinical room. Although no source of artificial light is obvious, curtains are present on one side of the room – possibly indicating that it was shot in a conservatory or other hospital room with a glass ceiling. The duration of the film is (00:05:59), and it is approximately five hundred and forty feet long.³⁴⁸

The overarching aim of the film is to demonstrate a method of treatment for cervical caries, a condition of the spine with multiple serious and long-lasting symptoms caused by a

³⁴⁷ Gaudreault and Barnard, p. 90.

³⁴⁸ The film can be viewed online [Application of plaster of Paris to patient suffering from cervical caries. | Wellcome Collection](#)

tuberculous infection. The condition to this day is uncommon and there is no fixed agreed method of treatment for it, and it effects both males and females.³⁴⁹ Within the diegesis are several items, carefully positioned to allow the treatment to be captured fully. In the centre of the shot is a large white rectangular frame, with a rope and pulley arrangement -eerily like the gallows. The frame has a hoist mechanism and positioned at its foot is a sheet covered stool. To the right of the frame is a circular white basin held in a raised stand and further right again are boxes, which appear to be full of dry strips of bandage. To the left of the frame is a single bentwood chair. The room seen on screen appears to be half panelled, with dark coloured wainscotting giving way to curtains suspended against the walls with pegs (presumably masking something from view). The basin at times appears to emit steam and possibly plaster dust, indicating that that plaster was mixed with warm water – to facilitate a quicker setting time.

To apply a feminist analysis of this film, it is useful to consider the role of the gaze and identification of the ‘three looks’ as described by Mulvey, Kaplan and others;³⁵⁰ but also, to consider Berger’s discussion of *Ways of Seeing*.³⁵¹ A synthesis of these approaches allows for a deconstruction of both the filmic and pro-filmic space; considering those featured on screen, the audience, and the camera/person filming. Berger points out that photographs (and by extension, film) can ‘become a record of how X had seen Y’,³⁵² and as a result, the extant film text can provide evidence for non-diegetic spectatorship that is invested with agency. Where looking ‘is an act of choice’³⁵³ the on and off-screen participants can be said to be engaged in a reciprocal exchange of looks.³⁵⁴

Mulvey’s work on narrative cinema is preoccupied with the relationship between the three elements of male viewing apparatus (male director, male protagonist, and male spectator), while *Plaster of Paris* disrupts this tripartite male gaze and provides examples of both the male and female gaze. In the profilmic space, Dr Henry Gauvain fulfils the role of the male protagonist; as an established professional and a man, society has permitted him to attend

³⁴⁹ Ajoy Prasad Shetty, Vibhu Krishnan Viswanathan, and S Rajasekaran, ‘Cervical Spine TB – Current Concepts in Management’, *Journal of Orthopaedic Surgery*, 29.1_suppl (2021), 23094990211006936
<<https://doi.org/10.1177/23094990211006936>>.

³⁵⁰ Kaplan, p. 15; Mulvey, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’, p. 17.

³⁵¹ Berger.

³⁵² Berger, p. 10.

³⁵³ Berger, p. 9.

³⁵⁴ Berger, p. 9.

university, qualify in his chosen field and pioneer new treatments.³⁵⁵ At the time of filming, he is the Superintendent of the hospital at which he works, the patriarchal leader. In the context of *Plaster of Paris*, he embodies the ‘promise of [clinical] power’ which Berger describes; with his screen presence ‘large and credible’.³⁵⁶ He orchestrates the application of treatment on a female patient, aged approximately seven years—his presence and actions evidence his ability to ‘do to you or for you’, discernibly exercising the power he has over others.³⁵⁷ His physical actions enacted on the child’s body supplement the possessiveness of his gaze, which Kaplan writes ‘carries with it the power of action and of possession’.³⁵⁸ Henry Gauvain’s eyes do not meet the camera, instead his focus is task orientated – this is not to underestimate his spectatorship; he does not simply passively observe the female patient. In his role on-screen, he objectifies the female patient as an item of study; his back is ostensibly placed toward the camera and the oncoming female gaze of his wife while he undertakes the medical intervention. Berger’s discussion of the nude in art is commensurate here with the patient’s objectification in this film (and possibly other medical films):

To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognised for oneself. A naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become a nude [...].³⁵⁹

The partially clothed unidentified child in this film is thus separated from ‘herself’, as she might perceive herself (with a name and unique biography); and thus, her body must be seen as an object, in order to become (or be viewed as) a patient.

The female patient, identified as such through the brief exposure of her genitals in the opening shot and the presence of long hair worn with a ribbon, is without physical agency in this sequence above the very emphatic application of her gaze. Through the consentient deployment of her look, those around her are ‘brought within [her] reach’, though frustratingly outside the range of her physical grasp.³⁶⁰ She is carried into the frame by Henry Gauvain, her body notably rigid, and placed on a stool that sits in the centre of the framed structure. As the child is placed gently on her feet on the stool, a female nurse

³⁵⁵ RCS.

³⁵⁶ Berger, p. 45.

³⁵⁷ Berger, p. 46.

³⁵⁸ Kaplan, p. 31.

³⁵⁹ Berger, p. 54.

³⁶⁰ Berger, p. 8.

positioned at the child's back supports her weight under her arms. The patient wears knitted cotton sleeves, vest, and leg coverings; her genitals remain exposed until the cast is applied, which then provides some modesty. The child meets the gaze of the camera as she is placed on the stool, then her attention is drawn by the second assisting female nurse as she places bandages in the plaster basin. Dr Gauvain begins the restraint of the child, attaching fabric supports to the cotton vest that reaches up to her face. Dr Gauvain forms a fabric noose, which he uses to encircle the child's head, he reaches it under her chin and attaches it to a hoist arm that hangs down from the framework. He then activates the suspension by pulling and tightening a rope that elevates the hoist arm, the child is raised to tip toes, and the first supporting nurse fixes the frame in position, by tightening a knob on the side of the frame.

Berger notes how our 'vision is continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around' ourselves.³⁶¹ This constant movement is demonstrated by the patient, who looks repeatedly around herself within the narrow scope that she must do so – as the procedure begins her head is mobile and allows for a turning of the head to the left and right, but as the application of the plaster cast progresses to cover her neck and head her gaze is increasingly fixed to her field of vision. She looks initially- when her head is free to move - at those applying the treatment -the first supporting nurse, Henry Gauvain, and at the camera - exemplifying the female ability to 'receive and return a gaze, but [not to] act upon it'.³⁶² The feminine presence, Berger posits 'expresses her own attitude to herself, and defines what can and cannot be done to her';³⁶³ which he argues allows women to seek to control through a process of containment of this within themselves – how far this can be said to be true of a child in a clinical setting remains an open question. As mobility in her neck and head are restricted, her gaze is exclusively cast forwards toward Dr Gauvain and the camera, though she makes attempts to search out the nurse in her periphery vision.

The cotton vest's neck is pulled up and over the panicked child's head, a hole is cut in it for her face, and the application of the strips of plaster-soaked bandages begins. The swathes are applied around the child's body, reaching from her hips, and encasing her head, almost

³⁶¹ Berger, p. 9.

³⁶² Kaplan, p. 31.

³⁶³ Berger, p. 46.

fully, apart from a circular opening for her eyes' nose and mouth. Dr Gauvain lifts wet bandages from the basin, which is then replenished by the second supporting nurse. As the procedure progresses, an edit allows time to elapse (speculatively around twenty to thirty mins), and the plaster jacket is clearly now hardening. The patient, now completely restrained and unable to move without the assistance of Dr Gauvain's mechanical frame, becomes more frantic in seeking reassurance through her gaze – searching for verbal or physical reassurance that does not appear to be offered by those on screen. To compound the possessiveness of Dr Gauvain's gaze, and the power he exerts in the pro-filmic space, the two assisting female nurses subvert their own gaze obsequiously. Neither assisting nurse raises her eyes to the camera or to meet Dr Gauvain's look; they exist purely to facilitate the objectification of the female patient.

Berger asserts that 'Every image embodies a way of seeing',³⁶⁴ and thus, every frame captured in *Plaster of Paris* is imbued with the specificity of Louisa Gauvain's own way of seeing. An erosion of this gendered look is enacted through Dr Gauvain's physical restraint of the female patient and his fervent and all-pervading gaze that serves to debase the position of the (female) camera. While the camera can be said to occupy a female standpoint in the hands of Louisa Gauvain, engaged in the reciprocal acting of looking with the patient – extra-filmic knowledge positions her gaze within a wider cultural hierarchy of patriarchal power wherein she is the less qualified, un-professionalised wife of the doctor on screen.

The reciprocity at play between Louisa Gauvain's camera and the female patient evidences a conflicting duality: the patient whose eyes entreat action and yet go unanswered demonstrating an inevitable impotency while Louisa Gauvain's unfaltering gaze serves to liberate the patient – capturing her outward look and lifting her outside of the frame in a way that might not have been possible had the film been produced by a male. Louisa Gauvain's camera offers on the one hand a female filming a female (eliminating the problematic element of the camera's male gaze) and on the other; highlights the futility of her position which has been carved out for her by patriarchy. The space that Louisa Gauvain's camera occupies exists only because of a series of societal pre-sets: her marriage

³⁶⁴ Berger, p. 10.

to Henry Gauvain, her forfeit of her own career on marriage, her role in the hospital hierarchy. Any potential power allowed to Louisa Gauvain in the creation of this film (from filming, editing and production of titles) is arrested in the ensuing historiographical process; only by a process of reclamation can this power be reinstated.³⁶⁵

Finally, there is the gaze of the spectator who is, inevitably, male. The intended audience would have been those working in the medical profession and seeking to expand their knowledge. At this time there were only around one thousand women working in qualified medical roles³⁶⁶ very few of which would have formed the intended audience for this film, therefore it is not a generalisation to describe the audience as being predominantly male. Taken as a medical film and outside of the commercial tradition of narrative cinema, the spectator has a highly medicalised focus and therefore the scopophilia that might be imagined to be activated during the course of viewing is less about sexual desire and fulfilment than it is about narcissistic repositioning, which places the male spectator in the role of the on-screen doctor.³⁶⁷

4.9 An analogous restraint

Jones argues that 'Filmic material cannot reach its potential for history making until its biography unfolds';³⁶⁸ and in the case of *Plaster of Paris*, and other non-professional films made by women in the WFSA collection this is particularly true. Drawing on both a textual analysis of the film and a deconstruction of the film object's past allows for a fuller reclamation of women filmmaker's work, but also facilitates a revaluation of the amateur/professional binary.

Despite the necessary predominant female presence (onscreen and behind the camera) in this film, the gaze positions it firmly within the patriarchal tradition. The historising of the film relegates the position of female involvement to a linguistic nuance, which has been conveyed and proliferated through its subsequent archival narrative. The film can on

³⁶⁵ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 5.

³⁶⁶ M Elston, 'Women Doctors in the British Health Services: A Sociological Study of Their Careers and Opportunities' (University of Leeds, 1986), p. 165 <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/247/1/uk_bl_ethos_375527.pdf>.

³⁶⁷ Todd McGowan, 'Looking for the Gaze: Lacanian Film Theory and Its Vicissitudes', *Cinema Journal*, 42.3 (2003), 27–47 (p. 28) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1225903>>.

³⁶⁸ Janna Jones, *The Past Is a Moving Picture* (University Press of Florida, 2012) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvx1ht4t>>.

accession bearing the handwritten epithet 'made by the wife of Sir HENRY GAUVAIN', reduces the female filmmaker's involvement to a genitive pronoun; defined singularly in relation to the male whose name is provided with full honorific.³⁶⁹ The term 'wife' is a noun, yet in the context of the archive it is applied (or could be interpreted) as a pronoun, as no other identifying language is applied to the filmmaker. Thus, female involvement is obscured through the application of legacy terminology, applied through necessity and matter of process. The failure to attribute gender traits to any others featuring in the film, further compounds the precedence given to Dr Henry Gauvain.

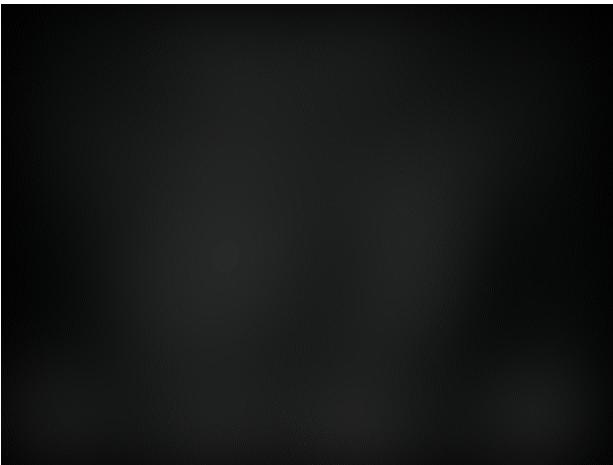
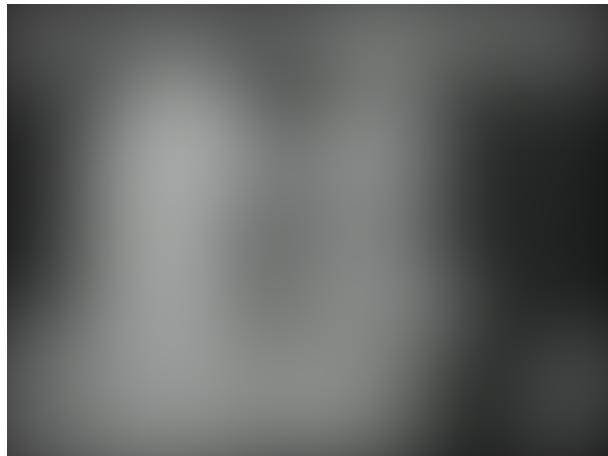


Figure 6: Title card (AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris*) [Credit: WFSA]

Figure 7: Scene 1 (AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris*) [Credit: WFSA]

³⁶⁹ The practice of recording women's names as 'wife of' had largely died out by the middle ages according to Duncan, Ellingsæter, and Carter, p. 716.

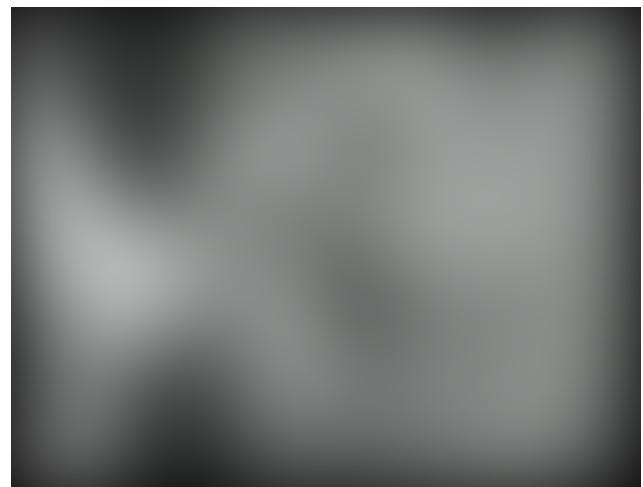


Figure 8: Scene 2 (AV90/6 Plaster of Paris) [Credit: WFSA]

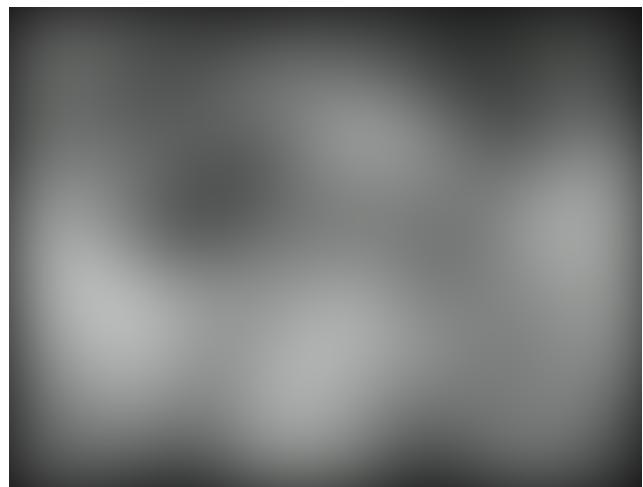


Figure 9: Scene 3 (AV90/6 Plaster of Paris) [Credit: WFSA]

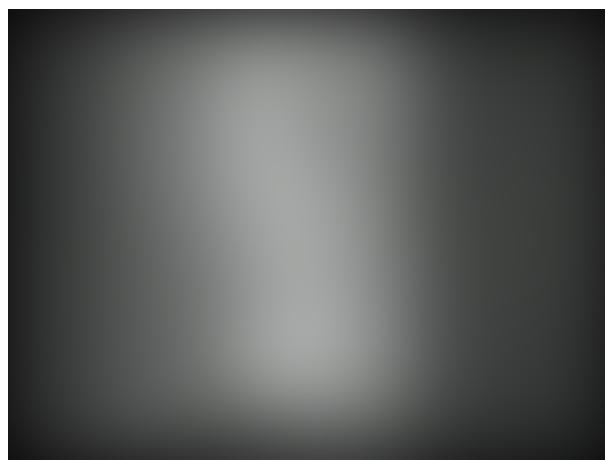


Figure 10: Scene 4 (A90/6 Plaster of Paris) [Credit: WFSA]

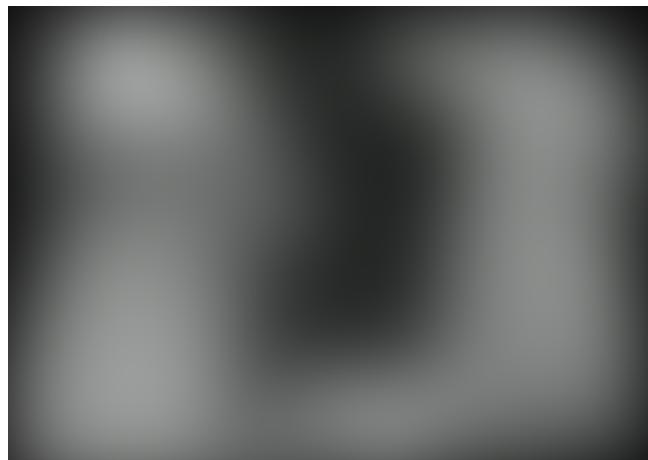


Figure 11: Scene 5 (AV90/6 Plaster of Paris) [Credit: WFSA]

Just as the film, *Plaster of Paris* seeks to restrain its female participants – the patient in the gallows, the assisting nurses averting their gaze, so too it subverts Louisa Gauvain's female camera for patriarchal ends. The female gaze is eliminated from the discourse, obscured by a genitive pronoun. The film itself and its object/biography is analogous for the treatment of amateur women filmmakers more widely; allowed freedoms to create within a patriarchally defined set of pre-sets. The creative product is then subsequently suppressed by the same masculine system that allowed this feminine exception to occur, thus the work of other such women is subjugated by patriarchal norms.

4.10 Louisa Gauvain's position

The case of Louisa Gauvain provides regional evidence for the increased mobility of women within the labour market at a time where such trends were beginning to emerge across the UK. Her choice of profession was heavily influenced by family tradition and by the intellectual environment in which she was raised, rather than by economic necessity; both factors proven to have impacted on the numbers of women entering the medical profession before 1914.³⁷⁰ Louisa Gauvain was an active member of the second generation of women permitted into the field of medicine in a formalised way; following an earlier vanguard who had set in motion a series of events that would enable such women to study at college and participate in a meaningful career in health care. Louisa Gauvain's status, as a single

³⁷⁰ Elston, p. 170.

professional working woman was not completely forfeit at marriage; she may no longer have been practicing as a dispenser of medicines, but she was able to ‘reclaim [some] personal autonomy’ through her filmmaking in the context of her husband’s research interests, a tendency observed by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson³⁷¹ in other women filmmakers of the first half of the twentieth century.

Plaster of Paris sits on the periphery of mainstream cinema; it was not intended for wide distribution, nor was it produced for pecuniary reasons, for all intents and purposes it is a medical film and as such has been long since ‘buried within the narrative [...]’ of the wider history of both the Treloar hospital, but also within the annals of WFSA as an ungendered example of early film.³⁷² Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson point out that women working in the early part of the century represent a ‘corpus of visually mediated historical experience often against, or within, male-dominated master narratives’.³⁷³ Louisa Gauvain’s work can certainly be said to have been absorbed, up to this point, in the master narrative of her husband and of the medical establishment.

It is only through a process of reclamation that non-professional women filmmakers’ such as Louisa Gauvain’s work can be introduced to disrupt and ‘displace homogenous, linear histories’³⁷⁴ which patriarchal norms have given rise to. Linearity is the institutional preference, yet women’s histories are so often fragmented and punctuated by fractures rendering this optimum standard extraneous. Rather than presenting here, a completed, ‘perfect’ biographical account of Louisa Gauvain, it is offered as a web of probable happenings that at the very least provides evidence for the existence of non-professional women filmmakers working in the pre-1922 period.

4.11 Conclusion

Louisa Gauvain’s medical film, and the exhibitor-filmmaker topicals within WFSA seek to ape professional conventions (use of titles, subtitles, shot framing etc); they take inspiration from commercially available movies screening in local cinemas all over the region, yet they

³⁷¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 229.

³⁷² Clark quoted in Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 203.

³⁷³ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 228.

³⁷⁴ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 5.

sit notably outside of the formal system, and of the Institutional Mode of Representation that was taking shape around this time.³⁷⁵ In that regard they form what could be considered a 'nucleus' of a new amateur movement – they were part of a raft of users outside of the formal commercial system that sought to apply the technology in an alternative way. That is not to say that they are the *first* amateurs - they were not – the photographic press had been discussing the appearance of the kinematograph amateur as early as 1899 with the appearance of the Birtac camera using 17.5mm film,³⁷⁶ and was well accustomed to applying such nomenclature to still photography. Rather, that the filmmakers represented in the WFSA collection could be said to form a part of a wider wave of amateurism that gathered swell from 1912. 1912 to 1922 was a period when technology became more accessible for certain groups of people, the WFSA collection provides evidence for increased access amongst: film exhibitors, the professional classes and the military³⁷⁷- all of which were likely to have been encouraged by the introduction of non-flam film. It is significant that camera manufacturers sought to drive business in these areas during this period and that this is reflected in the WFSA collection.

Reappraising the early film items within WFSA with the refinements discussed, allows the presentation of a much more nuanced understanding of those working outside of professional contexts (Figure 12), demonstrating that the blanket application of the term 'amateur' is far from accurate in categorising work produced outside of the professional sphere. Considering the challenges that the binary amateur/professional model presents to regional collections, I propose the adoption of the term 'non-professional' for films produced before 1922 that sit outside of the formal commercial system. Such a categorisation should not be applied without caution when its definition is founded upon a relational position to the professional, which could be said during this period to mirror the fluidity of practice that went on to characterise amateurism³⁷⁸ in the twentieth century. With no fixed criteria that can be usefully applied diachronically between 1895 to 1922 to

³⁷⁵ Noel Burch and Helen R Lane, *Theory of Film Practice* (Princeton University Press, 1973) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7ztgnb>>.

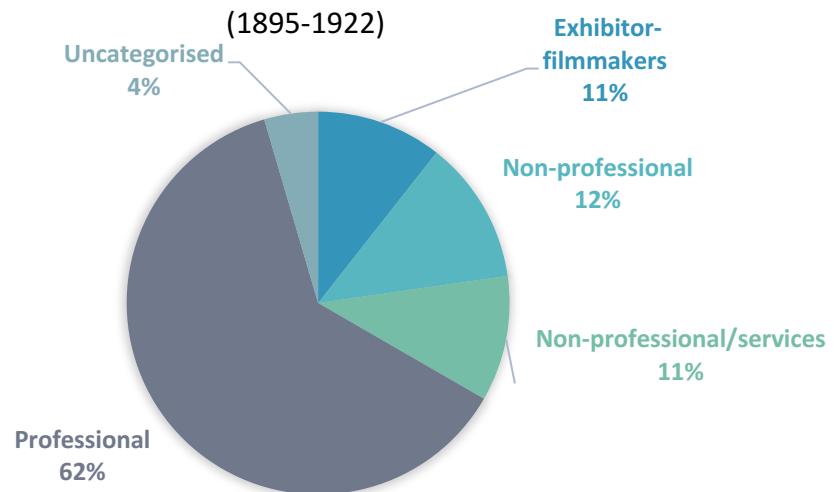
³⁷⁶ Anonymous, 'The Birtac', *The British Journal of Photography*, 45.2017, 30 December (1898), 845; S Chalke, 'Early Home Cinema: The Origins of Alternative Spectatorship. Convergence', *Convergence*, 13.3 (2007), 223–30 (p. 223).

³⁷⁷ Collections produced by the King's Royal Rifle Corps ('AV335 King's Royal Rifle Corps/Rifle Brigade films: World War One trenches* | WFSA | Collection 1914-1918)

³⁷⁸ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, pp. i–x.

determine a film's status as 'professional', each film should be considered on a case-by-case basis considering as much extra-filmic knowledge as possible.

Figure 12: Reappraised Early film items within WFSA by origin



Chapter 5 An 'archival excavation': WFSA Women Amateur Filmmakers from 1922 Onwards

In this chapter I seek to apply a 'gendered interrogation'³⁷⁹ of the WFSA collection and will evidence that there are many more women amateur filmmakers present in the archive than previously believed,³⁸⁰ demonstrating that women amateurs, much like the wider filmmaking populace, are not a homogenous group.³⁸¹ My exploration of women amateurs' work will critically deploy the results of an empirical methodology³⁸² alongside qualitative methods to 'challenge reigning theoretical paradigms'³⁸³ and present a cohesive dataset that evidences a far greater number of women amateurs active in this regional collection than previously known through a process which Gaines usefully describes as an 'archival excavation'.³⁸⁴ I introduce the nebulous concept of the 'typical woman amateur' whose characteristics have emerged through scholarship and erroneously become representative of a subset of filmmakers. This emergence, rather than coming to the fore through a cohesive application of terminology - it isn't a term that is used, but rather a collection of features in common - is the result of sporadic sampling of archive collections that serve to amplify the voices of certain categories of women. I consider how this term and the attributes it embodies is in fact a misnomer, and a misrepresentation of a filmmaking populace that is far more diverse than previously believed.

Wider scholarship on female amateurs demonstrates a tendency to sample collections through a case study approach³⁸⁵ that often interprets singular examples as representative of a cohort of producers. Despite this tendency many scholars acknowledge that such an approach is flawed and is 'ultimately [...] incomplete, selective and partial'.³⁸⁶ However, this leaning towards a 'typical' sort or category of woman amateur is the result of historiographic practices that hold an unconscious bias towards middle and upper-class

³⁷⁹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 12.

³⁸⁰ As discussed of UK archives more widely by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 10.

³⁸¹ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 274.; Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 5.

³⁸² Similar to that deployed by Bell, p. 214.

³⁸³ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 4.

³⁸⁴ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

³⁸⁵ M Dall'Asta, 'What It Means to Be a Woman: Theorizing Feminist Film History Beyond the Essentialism/Constructionism Divide', in *Not so Silent: Women in Cinema Before Sound*, ed. by A S Sofia Bull; Widding, 2010, pp. 39–47 (p. 45) <<https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/385586/>>. Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, pp. 33, 57, 66, 69.

³⁸⁶ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 11.

families whose work is statistically more likely to enter an archive; the prevalence of women amateurs evident in the archive being single or widowed at the time of their death and cine industry marketing rhetoric that posits the wealthy, well-travelled mother as the ideal cine user.

My findings evidence that these 'typical women amateurs' are not alone in the collection; they sit amongst workers, doctors, philanthropists, technicians, chemists, and domestic servants. They cannot represent the whole purely on the premise that they are the visible ones. Their visibility is pivotal upon a clear unambiguous attribution being provided at the point of accession which in turn is determined by the absence of a surviving male relative at time of death and on a strong authorial ownership of work conveyed in writing, in supporting documentation, on film cans or communicated orally by relatives. These women are the tip of the iceberg – but they are present, and they are present in quantity in WFSA. It is these individuals that I will examine in this chapter.

The 'typical women amateurs' I discuss in this chapter, through case studies, originate from wealthy families. Families more likely to formally archive their collective memories,³⁸⁷ families wherein women hold sufficient status in the public realm to appear in archive records (newspaper and magazine articles, wills etc). I posit that women from wealthy families and those who have status due to marriage or family profession are more likely to have their films attached to their names than women of other classes and marital status.³⁸⁸ I demonstrate here that the work of these women rises to the surface in archive collections – their names are clearly noted in the attribution of the work from the point of accession and this is more likely to be retained in the catalogue entry at collection and item level – thus, we can see them. These 'typical' women -which I apply here knowingly, as a misnomer, have come to represent a populace of women filmmakers which is far more diverse than has previously been acknowledged highlighting the 'need to scrutinize [...] historiographic method and admit [...] its shortcomings'.³⁸⁹

In this chapter I explore these women in more detail, building case studies of two women where scant biographical data was present in the catalogue and using newly acquired

³⁸⁷ Gloyn and others, p. 158.

³⁸⁸ 93.75% of women identified in this study, with films extant in WFSA were widowed or single at the time of death see Table 4 for details.

³⁸⁹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 5.

information to inform our understanding of how they have risen to the surface. Odin usefully discusses the challenge of approaching family films or home movies without provenance or ‘background’ and describes how this presents the challenge of being able to only conduct a ‘superficial reading of [...]the image’ which is however ‘unconstrained by the demands of a familial reading’.³⁹⁰ Prior to the research presented in this thesis there was an absence of detailed biographical data for most of the women amateur filmmakers in WFSA, in some cases even names were missing – but there were usually always clues signposting to other sources that had the potential to unlock further lines of enquiry. As a result of following up these leads and analysing film texts, I have been able to conduct a true ‘archival excavation’,³⁹¹ all stemming from a collection or item level entry in the catalogue.

Figure 13: Screen grab from CALM for the collection level entry for AV254 [06 September 2022] [Credit: WFSA]

AV254 - Congleton of Minstead films	
Alt Ref No	AV254
Title	Congleton of Minstead films
Date	1926-1955
Description	Cinefilms (16mm): amateur home movies taken by the late Lady Edith Congleton between 1926 and 1955, showing family and friends at home in Minstead and London, Cowes sailing, 1935 Silver Jubilee events and holidays.
Extent	56 reels

« First ◀ Previous 8 of 29 Return to search results Next ▶ Last »

Figure 13 shows the collection level entry for AV254 *Congleton of Minstead Films* (1926-1955),³⁹² where it can be noted that gender is not apparent in the title of the collection and is only implicitly inferred in the description field. The collection level entry provides the name and honorific of the filmmaker, the date range of the films, the broad themes of the content and the locations. Biographical data of the filmmaker is absent from this entry, it is also absent in the much more extensive item level entries.

Figure 14 shows the extended level of detail present in the record of an item level entry from the same collection. It is immediately apparent that this film has been catalogued according to SHUK guidelines referenced in Chapter 2 and while there is considerable detail about the family as a whole and the locations seen on screen, no data is present above a name for the credited filmmaker. This level of contextual detail is uncommon in WFSA, and

³⁹⁰ Roger Odin, ‘Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document’, in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Semio-Pragmatic Approach. In Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 255–271 (p. 263).

³⁹¹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

³⁹² ‘AV254 Congleton of Minstead | WFSA | Collection’.

many more records resemble the entries for AV691 *Bacon of Braishfield amateur films* (1930s to 1950s)³⁹³ as detailed below.

Figure 14: Item level entry AV254/1/V1 [Credit: WFSAA]

Collection level entry:

Alt Ref No: AV691

Title: Bacon of Braishfield amateur films

Date: 1930s-1950s

Description: Cinefilm (16mm): amateur film belonging to Miss Dorothy Bacon of Braishfield in the 1930s, showing her and her parents Admiral Sir Reginald and Lady Bacon at their home, a village fete, 1937 Naval Review, yachting, holidays in Italy, shooting at Dunley Manor, fox hunt meet, ATS and Girl Guide camps.

Cinefilm (8mm): amateur film by Miss Bacon in the 1950s, featuring Stoneham Golf Club, friends, etc.

Extent: 19 reels

Example of item level entry:

³⁹³ 'AV691 Braishfield - Bacon Films | WESA | Collection'.

Alt Ref No: AV691/4/V1

Title: *Italy - Bacon films*

Date: 1930s

Description: *Lady Bacon on veranda of villa at La Spezia, views around the garden of the villa.*

Physical Description: DVD-R

Extent: Part of 1 disc

Format: Video recording

Despite clear attribution to a named female at collection and item levels, there is little contextual information about these women's work in the two records shown. Rather than narrate personal narratives, these fragments provide a sense of the milieu in which the filmmakers lived and worked. These are the women whose work *is* considered visible in the collection, but from the catalogue entries little aside from rank was apparent before this study was undertaken. This lacuna is filled by my detailed biographical research, which offers personal narratives and highlights the factors that led to them becoming visible. The catalogue entries have served as signposts for compiling comprehensive biographies and through consulting a wide range of genealogical sources (birth and death records, probate entries, passenger lists, membership lists) and contemporary press, I will demonstrate how such women's positions contribute to their visibility.

5.1 The dataset: women amateur filmmakers by numbers

The WFSA collection provides evidence for the film labour of women working in non-professional contexts prior to 1922, it also demonstrates the numbers of women evident in the collection and active between 1922 and 1950 who can be identified as *amateur* filmmakers and whose work sits firmly outside of the 'commercial tradition'.³⁹⁴ In this chapter I will examine the lives and work of two female amateurs that embody a 'typical woman filmmaker' of this period. This process will enhance our understanding of how and why their work surfaces, and what this means for the work of other women who are not

³⁹⁴ Anonymous, 'Another Bid for the Amateur Trade', p. xix.

included in this category. This excavation of archival sources will establish a foundation for my argument that challenges the notion of sameness hampering the discussion of female work and suggest ways of stimulating debate, opening a dialogue on what is a heterogenous field.

There are 16 women amateur filmmakers in the WFSA collection evident at the time of writing, a number which is likely to increase as our knowledge of collections inevitably expands over time in line with what Gaines observes of the reclamation of women's film work as 'a never-ending process',³⁹⁵ and echoing the rhetoric of archival sciences' continuum theory in acknowledging that 'a record is 'always in a process of becoming'.³⁹⁶ Indeed, during the course of this study alone the number of 'known' women filmmakers has more than doubled from 7 at the time of the catalogue export, to 16 at the time of writing. This initial 7 were the only women whose name and gender would have been apparent to users of the catalogue, before a further 9 were located through this study. It is pertinent to note here that WFSA holds no list or finding aid of women amateur filmmakers and that both archivists and users of the catalogue must navigate the collection either armed with prior knowledge (i.e., the name of a filmmaker) or keyword searches and a degree of luck.

From 321 in-scope collections this study has identified 208 filmmakers and 13 unknowns (Table 2). Women filmmakers (excluding those active in cine clubs -see Chapter 8) represent 7.2% of this number -an increase from 3.16% on the initial dataset, indicating that women's work has been masked by over 50%; half of the women identified in this study were 'invisible'³⁹⁸ before this research was undertaken.

5.2 How has the work of these women surfaced?

The 'typical woman filmmaker' in this collection has been straightforward to identify through a clear unambiguous attribution at collection or item level; their names are present in the record. However, outside of this group and for filmmakers where there is ambiguity

³⁹⁵ Gaines, 'Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory', p. 115.

³⁹⁶ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 335. Quoted in Caswell, "The Archive' Is Not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies.', p. 6.

³⁹⁷ Deleuze quoted in José van Dijck, 'Future Memories: The Construction of Cinematic Hindsight', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 25.3 (2008), 71–87 (p. 74) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276408090658>> also uses the same phrase.

³⁹⁸ Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 3; Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 11.

or an elision it has been more challenging to excavate their work. In these cases, tracing extra-filmic and profilmic clues has enabled me to identify women and the work they are connected with. These examples include women who are the spouse of a named male filmmaker but who then subsequently appears on screen (as in the case of AV105 Horton of Minstead films where Violet Horton is thought to have operated the camera) but also women who are implicitly referenced in the catalogue entries, for example: AV180/B1-4 *Bealing films: Southampton Museum Films (1935-1963)*³⁹⁹ where Nancy Bealing was a contributor.

Table 2: Filmmakers and Genders

Total # filmmakers	Unknown filmmakers	Named filmmakers	Named women filmmakers	Male filmmakers (or records where the inference is male)
221	13	208	16	192

For the purpose of this study, I am focussing on named filmmakers only, as the absence of data on other filmmakers prevents more detailed examination. Women filmmakers in this regional collection are the minority, but we hold sufficient biographical data on these women to draw some broader conclusions that have the potential to impact our understanding of female filmmaking activities on a much wider scale.

5.3 How can we characterise a ‘typical female filmmaker’ of this period?

In the first instance the greater visibility of women in archive collections stems from the application of clear unambiguous attributions at the point of accession. In the verbal (often undocumented, in the case of WFSA) discussions that occur between a potential depositor and an archive, the depositor confers such information upon the archive that is transmuted into fact when accession records are created and when receipts are drawn up. The information shared at this point is, of course, subjective and very much determined by familial circumstances and conditions which are in turn impacted by factors such as

³⁹⁹ ‘AV180/B1-4 Bealing Films: Southampton Museum Films | WFSA | Collection’; ‘AV5 Bealing Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry’.

pecuniary and marital status. That a depositor cites a woman's name at this point signals a strong authorial presence of that female in the filmmaking process -that the work occupied a perceptible space in the family milieu, whether this work was co-authored with a spouse or not. It is apparent from the extant films in WFSA that women with an established sense of public identity are more likely to be recognised in this way when their films are archived.

These 'typical' women more often than not lived off income provided by their father or spouse.⁴⁰⁰ Their moneyed position is often a result of generationally accumulated wealth, and thus they are dynamic consumers in this period of technological flux, when [amateur filmmaking] '...allowed laypersons to become actively engaged with innovation'.⁴⁰¹ Scholarship consistently locates the cost of cine equipment as out of reach for all but the very wealthy,⁴⁰² with contemporary marketing apparently supporting this position by locating the technology within aspirational reach of the consumer and enshrining it with a sense of magic 'What a wonder! What a Miracle! What an enrichment!'.⁴⁰³ If we subscribe to the 'only for the wealthy' assumption the visibility of such women as Edith Congleton and Dorothy Bacon may lead us to believe that all women amateur filmmakers were of this ilk.

Indeed, marketing materials in such publications as *The Tatler*,⁴⁰⁴ *The Bystander*, *The Westminster Gazette*,⁴⁰⁵ *Illustrated London News*⁴⁰⁶ and *The Sketch* might seem to affirm this view and speak to a lifestyle punctuated with foreign travels, polo matches, and leisurely afternoons with nanny caring for the children. The April 1924 advertisement for the Cine-Kodak (replicated in multiple publications around this time) positions the camera firmly in these women's hands as they capture for posterity the first steps of an infant leaving the steady hands of a uniformed nursery maid for the welcoming arms of the father, fittingly attired in golfing plus-fours.⁴⁰⁷ While the illustrations accompanying these advertisements clearly articulate the kind of upper-class activities expected of the target consumer, they

⁴⁰⁰ Judith T A - T T - Lorber, 'Paradoxes of Gender LK - [Https://Southampton.on.worldcat.org/oclc/47008359](https://Southampton.on.worldcat.org/oclc/47008359)' (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 184

[<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=52870>](https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=52870).

⁴⁰¹ Bernhard Rieger, *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 195.

⁴⁰² Rieger, p. 205; Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 130; Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 107.

⁴⁰³ (Cine-Kodak advertisement in *The Bystander*, 7 August 1929, p.VII)

⁴⁰⁴ 22 May 1935, p.XVII

⁴⁰⁵ 10 August 1929, p1

⁴⁰⁶ 16 June 1934, p.985

⁴⁰⁷ Cine Kodak advertisement *The Tatler*, 30 April 1924, p. XXV, also seen in *The Sketch* 16 April 1924, p.XIX

exclude other material indicators of wealth i.e. motor cars or other luxury items. These advertisements conformed to prevailing gender norms and also sought to appeal to the social aspirations of this class, through statements that, in some cases, indicated cine camera use could even make the user more like the royalty.⁴⁰⁸

Many of these advertisements overtly frame their target consumer through a combination of illustration and explanatory text – in a time when women were becoming an increasingly recognised economic force,⁴⁰⁹ that they are visualised in marketing discourse in subtly class-specific scenarios, is significant.⁴¹⁰ Notably, in the UK, advertisements of this period for cine cameras are careful not to alienate potential customers through the overt inclusion of other luxury items – instead (in the majority of cases) they seek to appeal to the universal language of the family and in particular of motherhood. Even the instruction manual for the aptly named Pathé *Baby-Cine* camera features the mother in the role of the camera operator (holding the *Baby*) hand-cranking the mechanism to capture the tentative first steps of an infant supported in the hands of a nursery maid. Thus, when the names of women surface in the archive collection it is no surprise that they fit the mould of the cine user typified in promotional sales materials.

Through cine use and as an extension of their still photography practice these women were encouraged to advance their roles as the collectors of familial memory⁴¹¹ as ‘keepers of the family history’.⁴¹² Women were called upon to ‘[..] make a lasting record of all your gayest times at home and on holiday’,⁴¹³ ‘for the Cine-Kodak turns memories into movies’.⁴¹⁴ Such calls to action served to invoke in daughters a need to capture a vanishing present, and referenced a sense of ancestral responsibility by saying: ‘Don’t you wish your parents had been able to take such a motion picture of you?’.⁴¹⁵ Such women were targeted on the basis of an assumed shared desire to relive the present in perpetuity - ‘To keep youth ever

⁴⁰⁸ [...] ‘every happy gesture will be there on the screen before your eyes – vivid and clear as the films of Princess Mary’s wedding.’ (Westminster Gazette, 6 April 1927, p.8)

⁴⁰⁹ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream, Making Way for Modernity 1920–1940* (University of California Press), pp. 167–69 <<https://doi.org/doi:10.1525/9780520342668>>.

⁴¹⁰ Rieger, p. 199.

⁴¹¹ Glyn and others, p. 165.

⁴¹² Grey, p. 107.

⁴¹³ Cine Kodak advertisement 22 May 1935, p.XVII

⁴¹⁴ Cine Kodak advertisement in *The Bystander*, 7 August 1929, p.VII

⁴¹⁵ Cine Kodak advertisement *The Tatler*, 30 April 1924, p. XXV

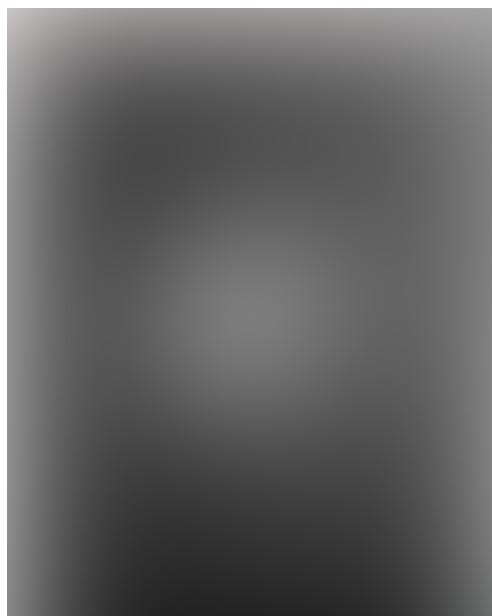
young',⁴¹⁶ to 'revel over and over again' in the moments of early motherhood.⁴¹⁷ One such woman, was Edith Congleton (7 April 1895 - 1979).

5.4 In the hands of the 'good mother'

Edith Congleton is an example of what Malcahy characterises as the 'good mother [...]the remembering mother'.⁴¹⁸ She came from an upper class family whose wealth was accumulated during the rapid expansion and industrialisation of the nineteenth century.

Born in Canada and descended from 'Donald A Smith founder of the Canadian Pacific Railway',⁴¹⁹ her mother Margaret Charlotte Smith carried the titles of Second Baroness, Strathcona and Mount Royal (1854-1926), yet married modestly to surgeon Robert Jared Bliss Howard Dr. OBE. MRCS. Frcs (1858-1921).

Figure 15: Edith Congleton pictured here with one of her children. [Credit: Musée McCord Museum]



Despite her mother's impressive array of hereditary titles, Edith Congleton's upbringing in Marylebone bares no indicators of excessive wealth. Margaret and Robert had three

⁴¹⁶ Cine Kodak advertisement in *The Bystander*, 7 August 1929, p.VII

⁴¹⁷ Cine Kodak advertisement *The Tatler*, 30 April 1924, p. XXV

⁴¹⁸ Malcahy, p. 290.

⁴¹⁹ Saturday 16 November 1935 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800, p.4, Saturday 06 May 1939 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800, p. 9

children besides Edith, with no domestic help, and Robert worked 'on his own account'.⁴²⁰ It would seem in the case of the Edith Congleton that status and wealth were not necessarily intrinsically linked. And while the possession of hereditary titles by her mother could secure a good marriage, it appears that prior to her engagement her prospects looked a little uncertain. Thus, the first archival traces of Edith Congleton's society life are connected to her work as a Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) during the First World War⁴²¹ and then her engagement to John Brooke Molesworth Parnell Lord 6th Baron Congleton (1892-1932) in 1918, which was duly announced in *The Sketch*.⁴²² In her nursing support work during the 1914 to 1918 conflict she distinguished herself, attracting praise for being a 'good worker',⁴²³ where she 'helped [...] liberally & efficiently both as a packer, & a contributor'.⁴²⁴ Any concerns of financial insecurity were alleviated upon marriage; with John Parnell being a 'Peer of the realm Lieutenant of the R.N', of considerable fortune.⁴²⁵ Their first daughter's birth is announced in *The Tatler*,⁴²⁶ further evidencing the society position that Edith Congleton occupied. Full-page photographs of her appeared in both *The Sketch* and *The Tatler*⁴²⁷ in the years preceding. The couple went on to have nine children together, two of whom sadly died during childhood.⁴²⁸ It is apparent from birth records for her offspring and records held by The Minstead Trust that Edith Congleton relocated to the New Forest in 1924.⁴²⁹ Her filmmaking activities date from around 1926 - the extant collection comprises fifty-six reels of 16mm film, some black and white and some colour. The majority of the collection reflects the family's extensive travel – both domestic and international – evidencing holidays to Canada, India, New Zealand, Ulva, Argentina, Hong Kong, Portugal

⁴²⁰ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁴²¹ Wednesday, 28 August 1918 *The Daily Mirror* (London), p. 6.

⁴²² 30 January 1918, *The Sketch*, p.95

⁴²³ 'VAD Card: British Red Cross', 1915 <<https://vad.redcross.org.uk/Card?fname=edith&sname=congleton&id=46682>>.

⁴²⁴ 'VAD Card: The British Red Cross', 1916.

⁴²⁵ 1918 'Westminster, London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns', 1754-1936.

⁴²⁶ *The Tatler*, Wednesday 05 March 1919, p.39

⁴²⁷ Wednesday 30 January 1918, 24 July 1918 *The Sketch* (London)-1999, p.99; Wednesday 30 January 1918 *The Tatler & Bystander*-1999, p.95.

⁴²⁸ Mary Elizabeth Parnell Hon (1919–2015), Harry Douglas Parnell Hon (1920–1928), Jean Margaret Parnell Hon (1922–2014), Sheila Helen Parnell Hon (1923–1999), William Jared Parnell 7th Baron Congleton (1925–1967), Ann Bridget Parnell Hon (1927–2003), Heather Doreen Parnell Hon (1929–2005), Christopher Patrick Parnell 8th Baron Congleton (1930–2015), Timothy John Parnell Hon (1931–1936)

⁴²⁹ 'The Story of Minstead Lodge', *The Minstead Trust* <[https://www\[minsteadtrust.org.uk/minstead-lodge/about-minstead-lodge/story-of-minstead-lodge/#:~:text=Minstead%20Lodge%20was%20built%20around%201832%20by%20Lt](https://www[minsteadtrust.org.uk/minstead-lodge/about-minstead-lodge/story-of-minstead-lodge/#:~:text=Minstead%20Lodge%20was%20built%20around%201832%20by%20Lt)> [accessed 10 June 2021].

and Venice amongst others.⁴³⁰ Other sources confirm that she made a number of trips to Canada and New York, (1920 to 1936) and later the Virgin Islands (1962) and that the family owned a second home in Canada.⁴³¹ In the immediate post-war period she purchased the Scottish island of Ulva for a fee of £10,000⁴³² – where she had a cottage built.⁴³³ She was well positioned to afford luxury travel, and in 1935 deployed her means to secure the safe transport of her daughter, Jean, from the continent in an air ambulance.⁴³⁴ She brought news of her travels home with her and is recorded as having shared ‘impressions of her travels in Germany and Austria’ at local youth meetings.⁴³⁵

Intermingled in this extensive body of travelogues⁴³⁶ is a strong representation of family life – summer days enjoyed on the lawns of Minstead Lodge, a property to which the family made considerable improvements during their occupancy.⁴³⁷ Edith Congleton sought to meet the gendered ancestral expectation to archive the family memory – to record and collect the lively visages of her young offspring and thus uphold ‘a sense of cross-generational family identity’,⁴³⁸ putting ‘forth a certain family image in order to meet societal ideals.’⁴³⁹ Like countless other women she took on the ‘role of conscientious chronicler or family archivist.’⁴⁴⁰ This process of capturing for posterity the activities of family life in rural Hampshire, is all the more poignant and necessary given that it is known that two of her sons died during childhood and that her husband, John, also died in 1932. In addition to recording happy family memories, Edith Congleton also turned her camera outwards into the community in which she became embedded.

⁴³⁰ (AV254/26 amongst others), India (includes AV254/30-32), New Zealand (AV254/38), Ulva (AV254/22), Argentina (AV254/39), Hong Kong (AV254/41), Portugal (AV254/45) and Venice (AV254/43-44) (23 international travel, 12 family/domestic scenes, 8 community, 7 domestic travel)

⁴³¹ Strathrona Lodge, Tolique River, Nictan, NB ‘UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists’ (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015., 1890)-1960.

⁴³² ‘And Finally...Scottish Island Yours for £5m’, *Scottish Financial News*, 2017

<<https://www.scottishfinancialnews.com/article/and-finallyscottish-island-yours-for-5m>> [accessed 12 July 2021].

⁴³³ ‘Isle of Mull, Salen, Ulva Cottage (Catalogue Ref: E 1248)’, *Canmore; National Record of the Historic Environment* <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/629106>> [accessed 12 July 2021].

⁴³⁴ Saturday, 26 January 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 2.

⁴³⁵ Saturday, 02 July 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 4.

⁴³⁶ Which, as I have noted elsewhere are no longer routinely accessioned by WFSA

⁴³⁷ ‘The Story of Minstead Lodge’.

⁴³⁸ Gloyn and others, p. 73.

⁴³⁹ Janning and Scalise, p. 1705.

⁴⁴⁰ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 94.

Like many 'other upper class women between and after the wars' she occupied 'quasi-public independent spheres of local leadership and civic activism',⁴⁴¹ serving to enhance 'the status of her family through conspicuous consumption and service in philanthropic, cultural, and political organizations'.⁴⁴² Such was her activity and standing in the community that she, and her family were described as 'new forester[s] by adoption'.⁴⁴³ Records of the 1930s evidence a flourishing social calendar and engaged member of the community, the start of a busy period in Edith Congleton's life following the markedly more private years of the 1920s when much of her time was spent childbearing and rearing. She was a regular attendee at the New Forest Hunt Ball,⁴⁴⁴ won awards for her horticulture at the New Forest Show,⁴⁴⁵ and hosted hunting meets in the grounds of Minstead Lodge.⁴⁴⁶ The 1939 register provides a staggering contrast to the 1901 census that recorded the young Edith Congleton in her father's household. In 1939, she and her family employed over thirteen domestic servants in *The Lodge*, and in *The Bothy* there resided a team of four gardeners. Further cottages (presumably on the estate) housed yet more domestic staff, with the implication being that they too were employed at the house.⁴⁴⁷

While resident in Minstead, Edith Congleton's activities are well documented in the *Hampshire Advertiser*. She was an active member of the political community in the area and voiced strong views during the course of her activism. She was a keen member of the Women's and Christchurch Conservative Association, and was elected president in 1935.⁴⁴⁸ In 1938 she was elected chair of the Totton Townswomen's Guild⁴⁴⁹ and she was an ardent supporter of the Junior Imperial League⁴⁵⁰ and was known to give impassioned addresses to such groups.⁴⁵¹ In the 1930s one commentator remarked that Edith Congleton 'speaks at meetings most evenings'.⁴⁵² In addition to her political activities Edith Congleton engaged in

⁴⁴¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 93.

⁴⁴² Lorber, p. 174.

⁴⁴³ Saturday 24 September 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 9. The Congletons' made connections with other local families – including the nearby Hanbury family, residents of Castle Malwood, who feature in Edith's films. Saturday 13 June 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 36.

⁴⁴⁴ Saturday 18 May 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁴⁴⁵ Saturday 03 August 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Saturday 26 January 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁷ 'England and Wales Register' (Lehi, Utah USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2018., 1939) <www.ancestry.co.uk>.

⁴⁴⁸ *Hampsh. Advert.*

⁴⁴⁹ Saturday 19 March 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁰ A Conservative youth movement, known as the 'IMPs'

⁴⁵¹ Saturday 26 June 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 12.

⁴⁵² Saturday 09 November 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

matters of the church and was the diocesan representative⁴⁵³ and a contemporary of Reverend Horton (whose films are also held by WFSA, under finding number AV104),⁴⁵⁴ she assisted in the organisation of at least one community event where locally produced cinefilm was screened by Rev Horton.⁴⁵⁵ She was a member of the Minstead Church Parochial council⁴⁵⁶ and took on the role of 'school manager' of the Minstead village school.⁴⁵⁷ In July 1939 she joined the Lymington area Guardians – an organisation to relieve the poor.⁴⁵⁸

The years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War saw an increased awareness from Edith Congleton in her activities of rising international tensions, and it is of little surprise to observe that she stepped up her community activities in line with the looming threat of war. She reprised her relationship with the Red Cross Society as early as 1937 and took a lead on supporting the work of the local VAD – hosting, at Minstead Lodge, a drill of trained recruits.⁴⁵⁹ She was also a keen fundraiser for the Red Cross⁴⁶⁰ and Assistant County Organiser for Southern Hampshire for Women's Royal Voluntary Service (WRVS).⁴⁶¹ She demonstrated a knack for rallying community spirit and leadership ability; taking a lead in the paper salvage collection in the district⁴⁶² and administering the work of working parties to produce woollen items for soldiers.⁴⁶³ Minstead Lodge became a 'Comfort Depot' housing all of the collated efforts of the community ahead of their shipment to wounded soldiers.⁴⁶⁴ Her voluntary services to civil defence saw her awarded Member of the British Empire (MBE) in 1941.⁴⁶⁵

After the war Edith Congleton remarried, and wed Alfred Eric Rowland Aldridge (1898–1950) on 5 July 1946.⁴⁶⁶ The couple had very few years together, and he died in 1950.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁵³ Saturday 16 March 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 10.

⁴⁵⁴ 'AV104 Horton of Minstead Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁴⁵⁵ Saturday 28 December 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 15.

⁴⁵⁶ Saturday 06 March 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁷ Saturday 02 April 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁸ Saturday 29 July 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁹ Saturday 29 May 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁰ Saturday 21 October 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 8.

⁴⁶¹ Saturday 09 March 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 6.

⁴⁶² Saturday 17 February 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 7.

⁴⁶³ Saturday 04 November 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁴ Saturday 22 June 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁵ 12 June 1941 *The London Gazette* (London), p. 3290.

⁴⁶⁶ 'London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2008, 1754).

⁴⁶⁷ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007, 1915)

<www.ancestry.co.uk>.

Edith Congleton held many official offices during her lifetime, she was a Member of Hampshire County Council, Chairman of the New Forest Rural District Council, was a 'Justice of the Peace between 1948 and 1956 and was also awarded the Order of Mercy with bar'.⁴⁶⁸ Her son, William, inherited the Barony on his father's death in 1932 when he was just seven years old and would have come of age in 1943. Later records show that at his death in 1967 Minstead Lodge was sold for death duties.⁴⁶⁹ Edith Congleton's whereabouts between 1967 and 1979 when she died are unknown, but at the time of her death she was a widow.

This extensive register of records evidence how the 'typical woman amateur' of this period is more visible by virtue of her interactions in the public sphere. Edith Congleton engaged with society life and was involved in her community, becoming a fixture of her adopted home in Minstead. As a filmmaker, she typified the target audience of cine camera manufacturers at the time, who sought to appeal to the universal language of family and to mothers. Mothers have traditionally been responsible for collecting family memories⁴⁷⁰ and they often continue to do so because they are 'embedded within the social construction of motherhood'⁴⁷¹ itself. She outlived both of her husbands and was venerated for her many qualities and actions in public service which in turn led to the accession of her films into an archive with a clear authorial attribution. Recorded participation in public life, wealth, social standing and the absence of a husband at death similarly contributes to the visibility of Dorothy Cicely Lavinia Bacon.

5.5 Dorothy Cicely Lavinia Bacon (29 December 1906 - August 1998)

Dorothy Bacon was born in Southsea to parents Sir Admiral Reginald Hugh Spencer Bacon KCB KCVO DSO (1863-1947) and Lady Cicely Isabel Surtees (1871-1955). The youngest of three children, Dorothy Bacon had two older brothers -the eldest, Dudley having gone away to school at Eton. The Admiral's post required much mobility and according to archived documents the family appear to have lived an almost itinerant lifestyle as his duties dictated. As her mother and father's titles suggest, Dorothy Bacon's family were wealthy -

⁴⁶⁸ Daryl Lundy, 'The Peerage', 2019 <<https://www.thepeerage.com/p1528.htm>> [accessed 13 July 2021].

⁴⁶⁹ 'AV254 Congleton of Minstead | WFSA | Collection'.

⁴⁷⁰ Malcahy, p. 28; M A Lamanna and A C Riedmann, *Marriages and Families: Making Choices in a Diverse Society* (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2003), p. 27; Grey, p. 107; Janning and Scalise, p. 1705.

⁴⁷¹ Janning and Scalise, p. 1705.

her father's occupation would fall within the ISCO-08 Major Group 10,⁴⁷² and her mother could be categorised as having independent means. The 1911 census affirms this depicting a leisured lifestyle – a family supported by eight servants including a footman and the services of a chauffeur.⁴⁷³ The 1914 to 1918 conflict saw the family ripped apart as the ravages of war and its aftermath left Dorothy Bacon an only child, with wider family bereavements dealing the family further emotional turmoil up to 1919.⁴⁷⁴ Perhaps seeking solitude in retirement, the Admiral and his family made a settled home in the village of Braishfield from around 1918. Their new home 'Braishfield Lodge' is described as 'A small late Georgian house with a [nineteenth century] pleasure ground and kitchen gardens',⁴⁷⁵ certainly a respectable country establishment in which to bring up a young daughter.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the Bacon family took an active role in village life – with Lady and Dorothy Bacon active members of the local Women's Institute (WI) – Dorothy's involvement in which is well documented in WI records of the time,⁴⁷⁶ the family were also the driving force in the creation of a Braishfield Club.⁴⁷⁷ The Bacons were apparently engaged in both filmmaking and screenings at this time - with the children of the village WI members being treated at Christmas 1936 to a screening of a 'cinematograph show, the film depicting young life in children, birds and reptiles'.⁴⁷⁸ The following year Dorothy Bacon established her motoring prowess at a village fete that featured a 'motor gymkhana' in which she was a contestant and a winner.⁴⁷⁹ Later that year she demonstrated an awareness of rising international tensions when she gave an instructive talk to members of the WI on 'the precautions that should be taken in case of an air-raid'.⁴⁸⁰ By 1939 the family employed nine servants and Dorothy Bacon had enlisted in the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS).⁴⁸¹ When she entered the ATS she did so in the role of Company Commander – testament to

⁴⁷² ISCO-08 Major Group 10 includes all military professions, of every rank.

⁴⁷³ 'Census Returns of England and Wales' (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1911).

⁴⁷⁴ Dorothy's half-aunt Elizabeth Ellen Surtees (d. 31 May 1914), her brother Dudley (d.1915), her maternal grandmother Mary Isabella Adams (d.20 January 1916) and her second brother, Robin (d.1919) 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007), 1837)-2007. All died within a five year period.

⁴⁷⁵ Hampshire Gardens Trust 'Braishfield Lodge', *Hampshire Gardens Trust Research*, 2005
<<http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/braishfield-lodge-2/>> [accessed 15 July 2021].

⁴⁷⁶ Hampshire Record Office 96M96/137, 96M96/137/2, 96M96/137/3, 96M96/137/4, 96M96/137/5, 96M96/137/4

⁴⁷⁷ 'Braishfield Club', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 22 July 1922, p. 9 (p. 9).

⁴⁷⁸ 'Braishfield Christmas Party', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 26 December 1936, p. 3 (p. 3).

⁴⁷⁹ 'Prizes for Motorists', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 18 September 1937, p. 15 (p. 15).

⁴⁸⁰ 'Air Raid', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 27 November 1937.

⁴⁸¹ '1939 England and Wales Register'.

her leadership and organisational skills, which she honed during her work with the WI. From 1941 she is listed as being Second Subaltern – a rank that was introduced that year, and the same rank occupied by HRH Princess Elizabeth.⁴⁸² The corpus of films attributed to Dorothy Bacon exhibit a familiarly textured collection – with family life chronicled on-screen capturing beloved pets (AV691/2 *Braishfield -Bacon Films* (1950s)),⁴⁸³ Girl Guide activities (AV691/7 *Italy/Braishfield -Bacon films* (1930s)),⁴⁸⁴ golf (AV691/1 *Braishfield - Bacon films* (1950s)),⁴⁸⁵ and yachting on the Solent (AV691/8 *Braishfield -Bacon films* (1930s-1950s)),⁴⁸⁶ as well as international travel (Italy - AV691/7 *Italy/Braishfield -Bacon films* (1930s)).⁴⁸⁷ Turning the camera outwards she also sought to capture the community activities of the WI (AV691/3 *Braishfield -Bacon films* (1950s))⁴⁸⁸ and the ATS, of which she was an active member (AV691/19 *Braishfield - Bacon films* (1940s)).⁴⁸⁹ There are no records of Dorothy Bacon ever having worked in an occupation outside of her wartime posting and indeed in 1953, following her father's death, she moved with her mother into a smaller cottage in the village and there are a number of films dating from the 1950s that reflect her life during this period. She died in August 1998, having never married or having had children of her own.

The collection of Dorothy Bacon (AV691)⁴⁹⁰ numbers some nineteen reels including 16mm and 8mm film. They depict the comfortable lives of a rural upper-class family, the ebb and flow of rural life and a dipping in and out of community activities – village fetes, shoots, fox hunting meets and Girl Guide events; whilst also capturing the wealthy excess of holidays in Italy and yachting on the Solent.

Positioned outside of the traditional role of the mother, Dorothy Bacon and her work evidence a 'form of socially acceptable maternalism'.⁴⁹¹ Together with her mother she took on multiple social reproduction roles within the Bacon family which included 'passing on the family's cultural capital'⁴⁹² in the form of cine films and as Janning infers, this act of

⁴⁸² 'UK, British Army Records and Lists 1882-1962' (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015., 2015).

⁴⁸³ AV691/2 *Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1950s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁴ AV691/7 *Italy/Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1930s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁵ AV691/1 *Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1950s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁶ AV691/8 *Braishfield -Bacon Films* (1930s-1950s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁷ AV691/7 *Italy/Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1930s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁸ AV691/3 *Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1950s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁸⁹ AV691/19 *Braishfield - Bacon Films* (1940s) | WFSA | Film.

⁴⁹⁰ 'AV691 Braishfield - Bacon Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁴⁹¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 93.

⁴⁹² Lorber, p. 174.

recording and curating family imagery could meet the demands of 'societal ideals' of the period.⁴⁹³ This filmmaker's biography exhibits many of the features that characterise a 'typical woman amateur' and despite her single status she dutifully recorded the activities of friends and family for posterity 'creating a shared inherited narrative'.⁴⁹⁴ The extension of her non-biological family connections in the wider community through her WI peers and later her ATS colleagues and golfing friends bear witness to the construction of her own identity⁴⁹⁵ and the development of kinship ties. As Motrescu-Mayes observes of another filmmaker with similar familial circumstances, it was possible for 'kinship [to] legitimise an unconventional household arrangement'.⁴⁹⁶

5.6 Conclusion

Building upon fragments from the catalogue, the construction of case studies here serves to contest the archive as 'the last edifice standing in a received history' as Callahan suggests and instead posits it as a 'dynamic agent of change and a space of becoming'.⁴⁹⁷ A space where the gaps can be interpreted, pauses scrutinised, irregularities teased out, histories pieced together. As McKemmish observes of archival records, they are 'always in a process of becoming'.⁴⁹⁸ The profiles of Edith Congleton and Dorothy Bacon both demonstrate lives lived in public, lives merely intimated at in the space of the catalogue in a few brief biographical details. Thus, through seeding further research the archive allows for the interpretation and reinterpretation of perceived fact; instead of accepting the archive as an immovable monolith Callahan's feminist reading would have us address the mechanism with curiosity, challenge its foundation and deliver new interpretations of its contents. Indeed, archival sciences call for records to be recognised for their 'potentiality'; their 'potential [to act as] evidence [...] of events that occurred in the past'.⁴⁹⁹ Expanding upon the received knowledge of these women amateurs, not only reveals evidence of their existence in greater numbers than previously acknowledged but opens 'unexpected relations, further

⁴⁹³ Janning and Scalise, p. 1705.

⁴⁹⁴ Gloyn and others, p. 160.

⁴⁹⁵ van Dijck, p. 71.

⁴⁹⁶ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 93.

⁴⁹⁷ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁸ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 335.

⁴⁹⁹ Furner, p. 259.

research possibilities, and new knowledge formations⁵⁰⁰ of known individuals. Engagements and social activities punctuate the calendars of these ‘typical’ women, populating local newspapers and society magazines; tracing a web of likely events through documentary sources and building up a picture of their lives outside of the profilmic space.

Both women’s filmmaking output ebbed and flowed across their lifetimes, corresponding (as Bell notes of female movie workers) to episodic labour patterns dictated by family life.⁵⁰¹ The flux of women amateur filmmakers’ output is an inverse reflection of their sisters in industry; instead of a dearth of filmic output during the childbearing years,⁵⁰² women amateurs’ work *could* instead flourish in these years at home. Turning their cameras at first to their offspring, and as they grow – outwards into the community and then typically tapering off as the years advance, technology moves on and life situations change.⁵⁰³ Female lives led outside of the workplace are no less fragmented than those of their employed counterparts and are equally challenging to map against ‘cine-engagement’. Recognising indicia that is necessarily fragmented is key to locating women’s work in a wider understanding of amateur filmmaking in this period.

Both women examined in detail here as the ‘typical woman amateur’, lived in financially stable environments -they had no need to earn a living (Table 3). Free from the economic burden of paid labour they instead occupied themselves in peacetime activities for the benefit of the wider good, Dorothy Bacon as a key member of her local WI and Edith Congleton in a multitude of public roles. All women’s lives necessarily changed in times of conflict, and both women’s lives were impacted directly during not one World War, but two; their wartime experiences playing a large part in the shaping of their narratives.⁵⁰⁴ Similar circumstances shaped the lives of other women in the collection including Emma Fritchley (AV43).

Table 3: The ‘typical woman amateur’

Name	Edith Congleton	Name	Dorothy Bacon
Marital status	Married	Marital status	Single

⁵⁰⁰ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 6.

⁵⁰¹ Bell, p. 8.

⁵⁰² Bell, p. 102.

⁵⁰³ Bell, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁴ In addition to involvement in the war effort, both Edith and Dorothy lost brothers in the 1914-1918 conflict.

Marital status at death	Widowed	Marital status at death	Single
Occupation	Independent means	Occupation	Independent means
International travel	Yes	International travel	Yes
Gauge	16mm	Gauge	16mm & 8mm
Output/extent	56	Output/extent	19
Unambiguous attribution	Yes	Unambiguous attribution	Yes

In both the case of Edith Congleton and Dorothy Bacon, attribution at the point of accession was indisputable; the films were accessioned into the collection partnered with the names of the women responsible for their production. This clarity of attribution is no accident, but the result of a series of societal conditions which allowed their names to persist in the personal annals of the families who acted as custodians of the films before they became part of the archive and then, after they became part of the archive proper.

Whilst each individual is completely unique in their own personal milieu they hold a commonality above, yet contingent upon, their gender. Both women were single or widowed at the time of their death – neither’s work was subsumed into the estate of a male spouse. This feature, though seemingly trivial, bears substantial significance when considered that it is an attribute common to 93.75% of the women identified in this study (14 of 16). This includes Emma Fritchley (AV43),⁵⁰⁵ Elizabeth (née Scott-Paine) Ridgway (1920-2015) (AV1549)⁵⁰⁶ and Eda Moore (AV509)⁵⁰⁷ amongst others.⁵⁰⁸ To interpret the inverse of this situation – married women filmmakers outlived by a male spouse are less likely to have their names appropriately allied with their filmic output. Thus, we can ask, does remaining single increase the likelihood of correct attribution of work when it enters the archive? In the case of women filmmakers whose work is extant in WFSA, there is a clear

⁵⁰⁵ ‘AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection’
<https://calm.hants.gov.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=AV43&pos=2>.

⁵⁰⁶ AV1549 Ridgway Family Films | WFSA | Collection.

⁵⁰⁷ ‘AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection’.

⁵⁰⁸ This is also the case for Margaret (Peggy) Envy Kaines-Thomas née Wood (1908-1981) (AV338/13-24), Audrey Alma (née Humphries) River Sloane Stanley Granville Soames (née Humphries) (1900-1990) (AV343), Doris (née Craven-Ellis) Campbell (1909-2006) (AV176), (AV509), Elizabeth (Molly) Coleman (1897-1977) (AV526).

argument to suggest that a woman's relational position to her male counterparts has a direct impact on her visibility in the archive (See Table 4).

Table 4: Women filmmakers' status at time of death⁵⁰⁹

Clear attributions*	Marital status at time of death	Ambiguous Attributions**	Marital status at time of death
Elizabeth (Molly) Coleman	Single	Louisa Gauvain	Widowed
Dorothy Bacon	Single	Doris Campbell	Single
Marjorie Glasspool	Widowed	Elizabeth Ridgway	Widowed
Edith Congleton	Widowed	Nancy Bealing	Widowed
Margaret Kaines-Thomas	Widowed	Anne Bates	Widowed
Audrey Granville Soames	Widowed	Eileen Wiltshire	Unsure
Mrs M Durrell	Not sure	Violet Horton	Married (outlived by husband)
Eda Moore	Single		
Emma Fritchley	Widowed		
Total: 9 women		Total: 7 women	

* Clear or unambiguous attribution. Clear attribution is considered to be the case when a person's name is included in the collection and item level description and it is explicitly stated, or directly inferred that someone had responsibility for creation of the film.

** Ambiguous attribution. Ambiguous attribution is considered to be the case when there is confusion or a lack of clarity around the production of the film. Either a person's name is omitted entirely from the record, and they have later proven to be a contributor (through further research), or their involvement is inferred from either confusing or misleading language or labelling. Those records with ambiguous attributions have been confirmed during the course of this study, and represent filmmakers whose work elides full credit, until now.

Independence from male connections at time of death is a feature of these women's narratives. However, in their earlier lives they are typically financially dependent on either a male spouse or relative. Like Edith Congleton and Dorothy Bacon, many of the known women amateurs in the WFSA collection could also be defined as having independent means and/or no paid occupation, 37.5% meet this criteria (see Table 5 and Figure 16). Yet, given how scholarship leans towards the characterisation of women amateurs as the

⁵⁰⁹ Table notes: Summary: Overall | 16 women in total. Of this total 14/16 either outlived male spouse or were single (93.75%) (in the case of 2 filmmakers it couldn't be determined what their status was). Of the filmmakers where data was available 100% were single or widowed at the time of death. Clear Attributions | 9 women total. 8/9 were widowed or single at death (88%). 1/9 it hasn't been confirmed what their status at death was. Where data was available 100% of the women with clear attributions were widowed or single at death.

Ambiguous attributions | 7 in total. 5/7 were single or widowed at death (1 unsure, 1 outlived by husband)

'Dorothys' and 'Ediths' – it is surprising to note that this figure is not higher. Should not the generalisation of a populace be based on a greater proportion than 37.5%? If the WFSA population is taken as indicative of the collections of other regional film archives, there is significant weight to be given to the argument for moving away from the accepted paradigm and opening debate around who these women *actually* were. There is also cause to distinguish between those working in the home ('unpaid domestic duties') and those financially independent and living off 'private means'. Table 6 demonstrates how conflating 'unpaid domestic duties' and 'private means' has the potential to skew the interpretation of the data, and could erroneously suggest that 56.25% of the amateur filmmaking populace led wealthy, leisured lifestyles.

Table 5: WFSA Women Filmmakers by Occupation

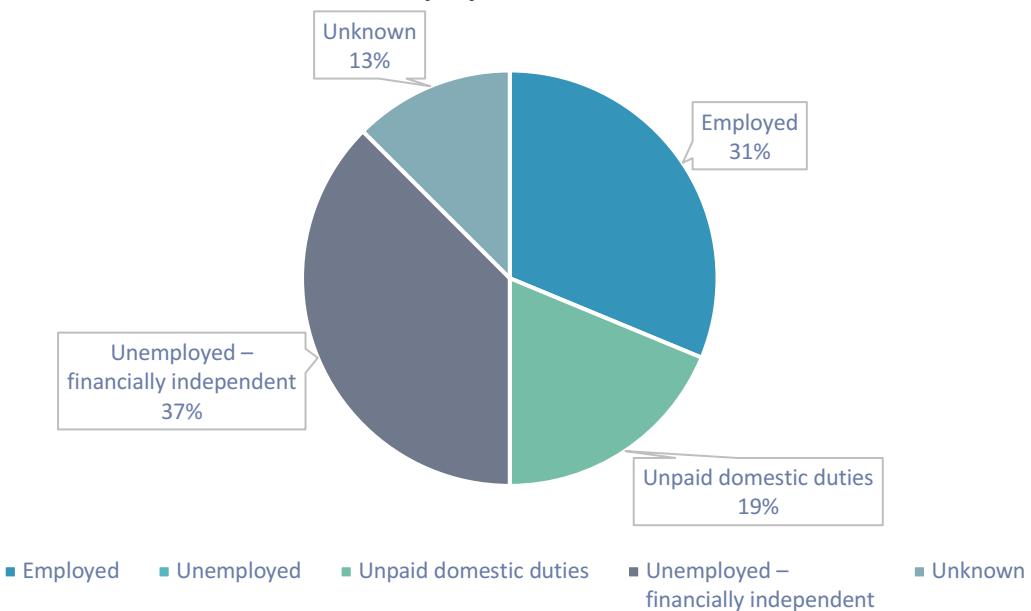
	No. Filmmakers	% of populace
Employed*	5	31.25%
Unpaid domestic duties	3	18.75%
Unemployed - financially independent**	6	37.5%
Unknown	2	12.5%

* A named occupation outside of the home is stated in the records. ** Inferred, suggested or directly stated in records

Table 6: WFSA Women Filmmakers by Occupation - Simplified

	No. Filmmakers	% of populace
Employed	5	31.25%
Unemployed - (to include those financially independent, or working in the home)	9	56.25%
Unknown	2	12.5%

Figure 16: Women Filmmakers by recorded employment status



The misnomer of the ‘typical woman amateur’ has been proven to accurately reflect a proportion of the known filmmaking populace of WFSA, yet it is also statistically evident that these women are not alone in the collection; they sit amongst wives, mothers, daughters and sisters sharing cine-engagement but also women who were financially independent and working for their own income. They cannot represent the whole purely on the premise that they are the visible ones; they are merely the tip of the iceberg – in the case of WFSA they constitute only 7.2% of the overall populace. Drawing out areas of commonality between women serves a purpose in allowing us to interpret the archive and begin to understand modes of cine-engagement but also giving ‘voices to the diversity of our experiences’ as argued by Callahan in her characterisation of “Feminism 3.0”.⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ Callahan, *Reclaiming Arch. Fem. Film Hist.*, p. 6.

Chapter 6 The Social Gaze: Cine Use as a Social Mobility Tool

The notion of a ‘typical’ filmmaker is – as I have outlined – a misnomer – it obscures the discussion of the filmmaking populace. It subscribes to the widely held belief that cine use was limited to only the wealthy and that women’s access to such practices was predicated upon having both independent means and an abundance of leisure time. By subsuming these women into a single category, we might also suggest that their filmic output was similarly homogenous – limited to home movies and the occasional foray into recording the community. Certainly, such factors influenced the ability of women to engage in cine use but in other women’s lives cine use had a far more dynamic function. This chapter will outline how cine use could act as a tool for social mobility⁵¹¹ deployed by women amateur filmmakers to navigate society. Women using cine in this way had specific motives and intentions; and they weren’t all the same – they came from a broad range of backgrounds; but their lives are characterised by a greater degree of volatility than the lives of those discussed in Chapter 5. In other words, WFSA evidences how cine was deployed more regularly as a tool for social mobility by women whose lives were in flux than those living in continuously (and relatively) stable environments. Both Audrey Granville-Soames and Doris Campbell whose case studies are discussed in this chapter, share a deployment of cine as a component of (and tool for) social mobility. Audrey Granville-Soames demonstrates how cine use can be seen as a commoditised aspirational practice, in which she was able to engage as a result of her upward social trajectory. She also establishes cine use as a means of transitioning into a social set demonstrating how the recording and screening of films could create a cycle of social acceptance and which contributed to her self-representation. Doris Campbell’s use of film similarly worked to shape her sense of self and establishes the power of film in shaping quasi-political experiences, as well as demonstrating the spatial freedom given to amateurs who were often granted unrestricted access to events because of their camera. These women stand apart from the ‘typical woman amateur’ insofar as much as they did not take up their cameras out of a sense of familial duty, as community chroniclers or instruments of empire – or even on a whim. Their cine use was part of a process of finding and making themselves, of social attainment and assimilation. Where

⁵¹¹ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 8.

both the present moment, and the re-experience of the lived moment were at the centre of the process.

In Chapter 5 I discussed Dorothy Bacon and Edith Congleton as women amateurs who exemplify the ‘typical woman filmmaker’; their lives could be described as textured, punctuated by conflict, bereavement, and travel but they lived long stretches of their lives in just a few locations, and despite bereavement, had a secure financial network that ensured their security in the 1920 to 1950 period. For example, neither woman took up a paid occupation – therefore, there was no scramble for work when their male beneficiary became absent. Like many of the filmmakers evident in WFSA these women were not life-long filmmakers – there is no corpus of film material to evidence persistent filmmaking activities spanning an entire life. Their filmic output, by definition, was episodic but in the pattern of these ‘typical’ women’s lives was set against a background of stability. This stability is not evident for all of the women in the WFSA collection.

Women’s lives typically exhibit an ‘episodic’ structure –as Bell notes of female movie workers’ careers’ in the industry in the UK⁵¹² – and this is similarly true of the fragmented film practices of all of the women amateurs considered in this study. While the focus here is on the 1895 to 1950 period it is worth noting that very few of the women amateurs in WFSA demonstrate continuous filmmaking into the video era, and most of the women discussed only made films for a portion of their life. The collection does not evidence quantities of women filmmakers active throughout their lives, we don’t see women filmmakers in the collection with work spanning multiple decades – their outputs typically fall within a much shorter window. There are several exceptions to this which will be discussed in Chapter 7. I return to the notion of heterogeneity in the filmmaking populace, to stress that while there are factors that, when present, will greatly increase the likelihood of women becoming involved in cine use these are not factors present continuously without interruption in many women’s lives. It is a fact that security, both financial and social, could be in flux throughout a woman’s life; she might be well able to afford the time and money to engage in cine use at one stage and less able at other times. Parallel to the fundamentals of money and time, there is also the matter of inclination; choice and motivation fuelled and influenced no

⁵¹² Bell, p. 8.

doubt by the availability of cine goods, development of new technologies as well as life events. A woman may well fit the mould of the ‘typical woman amateur’ at one point in her life, yet her biography may evidence lifestyle characteristics far divergent from what might be expected of that same ‘typical’ figure and these are features that have only been made apparent through a careful ‘archival excavation’⁵¹³ combined with detailed textual analysis.⁵¹⁴ The women discussed in this chapter certainly meet some of the key criteria of the ‘typical woman amateur’ but distinguishing them is a biographical mutability; a fluidity or destabilising element that means their lives are necessarily more complicated or complex.

The personal narratives of Audrey Granville-Soames and Doris Campbell might be said to reflect this mutability, both women sharing complex life histories and periods of instability outside of the established patriarchal expectations of a woman’s life in this period. Many ‘women’s visual practice was an expression of their complex and changing roles in post-war society [...]’,⁵¹⁵ and this applies to both women living in relative stability and those whose lives took more anfractuous paths.

6.1 Audrey Alma (née Humphries⁵¹⁶) Rivers Sloane-Stanley Granville-Soames (16 July 1900 - 1990)⁵¹⁷

On first examination of the collection level catalogue entry for AV343,⁵¹⁸ Audrey Granville-Soames appears as though she may meet the criteria for what I have described as the ‘typical’ woman amateur. The entry reflects international travel, mentions of titled peers and marriages into families with double barrelled names – yet, on closer analysis of genealogical sources and contemporary press a more complete view of her circumstances arises and suggests that her social and pecuniary situation was in flux for much of her life.

⁵¹³ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

⁵¹⁴ Textual analysis as advocated for by Roger Odin, ‘Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document’, in *Mining the Home Movie. Excavations in Histories and Memories*, ed. by K Semio-Pragmatic Approach. In Ishizuka and P Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 255–271 (p. 263); and C Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923–1960* (University of California Press, 2014), p. 273.

⁵¹⁵ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 9.

⁵¹⁶ Sometimes recorded as ‘Humphreys’

⁵¹⁷ A full profile of Audrey Granville-Soames can be found in Appendix E.

⁵¹⁸ ‘AV343 Granville Soames Films | WFS | Collection’
<<https://calm.hants.gov.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=AV343&pos=1>>.

Not unlike Dorothy Bacon and Edith Congleton, Audrey Granville-Soames was born into modest circumstances. While the former women's early lives bear few obvious trappings of wealth, they did have the benefit of hereditary titles and rank, a feature absent from Audrey Granville-Soames' life. In fact, during her childhood it seems that the Humphries family endured periods of financial insecurity; despite her father's regular employment as a civil servant the family had to rely upon income from lodgers. To further dissect the family's financial situation, it is apparent that at no time did they employ domestic staff,⁵¹⁹ an expenditure that during this research has proven a reliable indicator of wealth in the early years of the twentieth century. The middle of three daughters, little is known of Audrey Granville-Soames up until the time of her first marriage in 1923 and even after that point much of the knowledge accessible about her is found in the public lives of her husbands, she is therefore unavoidably defined in relation to her male relatives. Tracing her personal narrative is further complicated by the patriarchal tradition of 'female name change upon marriage',⁵²⁰ which saw her use a total of three surnames other than her birth name during her lifetime, two of which were double-barrelled.⁵²¹ Her first marriage greatly improved her social and pecuniary position, she wed journalist Vernon H Rivers,⁵²² son of a wealthy publishing magnate in 1923 in Reading.⁵²³ Between 1923 and 1938 records evidence a keen sportswoman,⁵²⁴ and a quiet middle class social life where the couple appeared infrequently together at weddings and funerals.⁵²⁵ In spite of this advantageous first marriage, her social position at this stage was not sufficiently elevated to see her mentioned in society magazines such as *The Tatler* and *The Bystander*, as Edith Congleton and others were on a regular basis.

⁵¹⁹ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁵²⁰ Duncan, Ellingsæter, and Carter, p. 716.

⁵²¹ Which further complicates the process of locating her in archive searches where such surnames can be confused with forenames of middle names.

⁵²² Her marriage to Vernon H Rivers took place in 1923 in Reading. From this date she adopted the name Audrey Alma Rivers (or Mrs V H Rivers). 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2010., 1916)-2005.

⁵²³ By 1939 Vernon's profession is recorded as 'journalist', he is noted as being 'divorced' and has relocated to Maidstone in Kent. 'England and Wales Register'.

⁵²⁴ She and Vernon were members of Sonning Golf Club, took part in golfing competitions held at the club in the early 1930s, and had a handicap of 17. (Saturday 07 June 1930, p.13; Saturday 07 March 1931, p.14; Saturday 14 May 1932, p.15 'Reading Standard' Saturday 23 May 1931 *Reading Standard*, p. 15.)

⁵²⁵ Saturday 21 May 1932 *Reading Standard*, p. 20.

6.2 Cine use as an aspirational commodity

When Audrey Granville-Soames started making films in the 1930s, she used 16mm equipment, which had been available in the UK since the time of her first marriage in 1923. It represented the peak of aspirational modernity during the new era of amateur film production that began that year. Throughout the 1920 to 1950 period, 16mm cameras and film were the most expensive gauge of amateur equipment.⁵²⁶ Thus, at the time of her marriage to Vernon Rivers, she would have been exposed to an increasingly saturated press where cine use transformed from a rarefied curio of aspirational desire to a commodity in reach for those with means to spend.⁵²⁷ It is safe to assume that whatever her reading preferences – be it the high-brow broadsheet *The Times* or the considerably more down-at-heel *Daily Mirror* – she would have been exposed to cine use in one shape or form; perhaps cementing in her mind a desire to engage in the pastime – if only it were in reach. It was to come within her reach by 1937.

As the middle of three sisters, Audrey Granville-Soames's social position and financial security would have hinged upon marrying well – a fact which no doubt did not escape her parents as they sought to marry off their offspring in the early 1920s, the two eldest daughters married for the first time in 1923. Later Mildred Humphries, Audrey Granville-Soames's eldest sister, secured not only her own future wellbeing but that of her sibling when she entered her second marriage. In 1930 she was married into the peerage through her new spouse Major Cyril Augustus Drummond, twenty-three years her senior.⁵²⁸ Major Drummond was a significant landowner,⁵²⁹ a 'keen yachtsman'⁵³⁰ and a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron. It was through this connection that Audrey Granville-Soames would later meet her second husband, Colonel Ronald Sloane-Stanley.⁵³¹ Their engagement was shared in a low-key announcement on 13 April 1937 in *The Times*.⁵³² The ceremony was similarly understated and 'took place quietly, at Christ Church, Westminster'⁵³³ in April 1937 – her

⁵²⁶ See Appendix F

⁵²⁷ As noted in Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. xii.

⁵²⁸ This was Mildred's second marriage, having married Stanley Victor Harrington in 1923

⁵²⁹ Cadland House at Fawley

⁵³⁰ 13 March 1938 'Pictures from North and South', *The Tatler and Bystander*, 16 March 1938, p. 467 (p. 467).

⁵³¹ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index'-2005.

⁵³² 'Marriages', *The Times*, 13 April 1937, p. 19 (p. 19)

[<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS319238285/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=902c4cbc>](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS319238285/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=902c4cbc).

⁵³³ 'Marriages', *The Times*, 1 July 1937, p. 19 (p. 19)

[<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS319762657/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=ff552002>](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS319762657/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=ff552002).

new spouse was considerably older than her,⁵³⁴ being seventy at the time of their nuptials. Her marriage to Ronald marked a significant shift in her means and social status – and coincides with her earliest filmmaking activities which began in 1938 (AV343/13 and AV343/14). At the time of her marriage to Ronald the cost of a 16mm Kodak cine camera was £17 10s., which is a staggering 78.1% cheaper than it had been in 1923.⁵³⁵ Despite this relative decrease, 16mm equipment remained far more costly than the alternative 9.5mm. Audrey Granville-Soames' work exhibits a generous use of expensive 16mm colour film stock, which was affordable for her due to the financial support of her husband. Ronald Sloane-Stanley was of a distinguished military background; acting as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Hampshire Yeomanry and having served in the South African War.⁵³⁶ Ronald's father, Francis, had been a close friend of King Edward VII, whom he had known as Prince of Wales.⁵³⁷ His familial Royal connections persisted through his own interactions in society, and he is regularly mentioned in *Court Circulars* published in *The Times*. Evidence in periodicals and newspapers indicates that many of the couples' social activities were through Ronald's yachting connections.⁵³⁸ Through her engagement in this exclusive social set, Audrey Granville-Soames used cine as a tool for and as a proponent of social mobility.

6.3 Cine use as a means of transitioning into a social set

Sometime between her sister's second marriage in 1930 and her own separation from her first husband⁵³⁹ Audrey Granville-Soames began to expand her social network and spend an increasing amount of time in the company of the Drummonds and their connections in the Royal Yacht Squadron. This transition from the familiar yet un-noteworthy milieu of the middle classes to high society life is likely to have proven challenging for Audrey Granville-Soames to navigate as a recently single woman. Although the shift must have presented her with challenges her engagement to Ronald in 1937, was a formal step towards acceptance.

⁵³⁴ b.1867-d.1948

⁵³⁵ New Cine Kodak f3.4 listed for sale in Portsmouth Evening News, 21 December 1937, p.4

⁵³⁶ 1887–1902

⁵³⁷ 'Bay House School: History', 2020 <<https://bayhouse.gfmat.org/school/school-history/>> [accessed 26 July 2021].

⁵³⁸ B Heckstall-Smith, 'Fifth Successive Cowes Win for Trivia', *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 August 1938, p. 18 <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0706668950/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=180895a6>>; 'Yacht Racing', *The Times*, 6 December 1937, p. 4 <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS67973510/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3b02a104>>.

⁵³⁹ Thought to have occurred between 1933 and 1937. Divorce records from this period are not publicly available at the time of writing.

We cannot be sure of how readily she was received by her new peers, but we do know that she formed a solid friendship with the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, George and Eileen Sutherland-Leveson-Gower. From occupying a marginal society role in her sister's shadow, securing a match of her own cemented her position and allowed her to begin exploring the freedoms and benefits of a moneyed upper-class lifestyle. Her travels with the Sutherlands appear to have been the catalyst for her adoption of cine;⁵⁴⁰ the Duke⁵⁴¹ was a known patron of the British film industry and the first chairman of the BFI (1933 to 1936).⁵⁴² As a valuable piece of technology it is likely that that Audrey Granville-Soames's camera was a wedding present acquired by her in the spring of 1937.

Marriage brought Audrey Granville-Soames a new mobility. As she became socially, financially, and literally more mobile her horizons expanded both into cine use (a financial acquisition) and into new geographical territories as a pattern of travels emerge from passenger lists and mentions in the contemporary press. In March 1938 the newlyweds holidayed in St Moritz,⁵⁴³ the same month that her husband was presented to the recently crowned George VI at the Kings' Levee.⁵⁴⁴ This is the only overseas trip on record that the

⁵⁴⁰ A pattern noted in Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950', p. 96.

⁵⁴¹ He is not seen in any of Audrey Granville-Soames's films wielding his own camera.

⁵⁴² 'Sutherland, 5th Duke of, (George Granville Sutherland-Leveson-Gower) (29 Aug. 1888–1 Feb. 1963)' (Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U48744>>; BFI London Film Festival, 'London Film Festival: The Sutherland Trophy' <<https://www.lff.org.uk/sutherland-trophy.html#:~:text=Chairman%20of%20the%20British%20Film%20Institute>> [accessed 12 October 2022].

⁵⁴³ Our Own Correspondent, 'Great Ski Race at St. Moritz', *The Sunday Times*, 6 August 1938, p. 21 (p. 21) <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/FP1801647462/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=5829babd>>.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Presentations at the King's Levee', *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 July 1938, p. 21 (p. 21) <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0704982921/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=7da28db0>>.

couple made together and Ronald features very rarely on screen in his wife's films (see Figure 17).



Figure 17: AV343/26 (Still at 00:02:09) L-R Arthur Granville Soames⁵⁴⁵ and Ronald Sloane-Stanley

[Credit: WFSA]

On 25 November 1938 Audrey Granville-Soames sailed first class from Southampton alone with the Duke of Sutherland, destined for Portugal aboard the *Cap Arcona*,⁵⁴⁶ this departure formed part of an extended voyage undertaken with the Sutherlands which is documented in AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938 to 1939)⁵⁴⁷ and AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939).⁵⁴⁸ She holidayed with the Sutherlands on 'their large motor yacht 'Sans Peur RYS'⁵⁴⁹ which left Florida for Alaska on 23 December 1938⁵⁵⁰ for two months. Her husband was quite elderly at this time, and it is possible he preferred to opt out of this extended trip for reasons of his own comfort – or it could be that Audrey Granville-Soames was keen to travel alone with friends closer to her own age. Irrespective of her husband's reasons for abstaining from this trip her careful documenting of each stage of the journey would have provided a welcome record of the holiday and the opportunity for screenings at home on her return. Her husband's absence

⁵⁴⁵ Arthur's middle name was 'Granville' and was not part of a double-barrelled surname, however Audrey is generally noted as having adopted these names as the double barrelled 'Granville-Soames'.

⁵⁴⁶ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007), 1890 <www.ancestry.co.uk>-1960.

⁵⁴⁷ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film.

⁵⁴⁸ AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) / WFSA / Film.

⁵⁴⁹ 'AV343 Granville Soames Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁵⁵⁰ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film.

on this trip raises the question of who the films were intended for and what motivated her to record the activities seen on screen. We can speculate that when recording for an absent husband one might expect an emphasis on capturing elements of the trip most inaccessible from an armchair in the UK – the sights, the natural and human geographical features, the accommodation, the native population and possibly even a glimpse of the camera operator – the spouse pictured in these environs. These are elements which *are* represented in her films, but they are outweighed by an overwhelming number of *people*. Faces of people, bodies of people doing things, expressions of people as they interact, the juxtaposition of people on screen with the native wildlife, environment, and population. Unlike the ‘family gaze’⁵⁵¹ this *social gaze* draws the filmmaker into the proximity of the people seen on screen: her travel companions, her hosts -her social superiors. Given her desire for acceptance in this social set we can speculate that her recording was for herself, as a means to shape her identity in relation to her new peers and to facilitate her onward social acceptance.

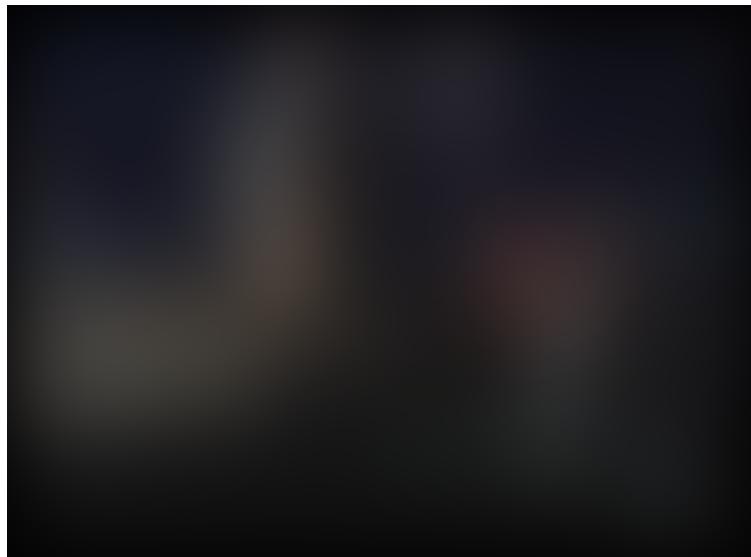


Figure 18: AV343/13 (Still at 00:13:18) Travel companions' gesture to the camera [Credit: WFSA]

⁵⁵¹ Haldrup and Larsen.

6.4 A cycle of social acceptance

Haldrup and Larsen tell us that tourist photography (and by extension, amateur filmmaking) is an 'integral component in producing identity, social relations and 'familyness',⁵⁵² a notion exemplified in the collection of Audrey Granville-Soames who effectively deploys her cine camera to both cement her own identity, navigate the unfolding social scenes, and build a sense of communal experience that proliferates through her social interactions with her new peers. Her work demonstrates how she sought to foster 'technologically mediated social relationships'.⁵⁵³ Through a desire to capture her travel companions' activities for future communal viewing Audrey Granville-Soames was able to effectively absent herself from the action she captures on screen. She is an omnipresent observer, skirting the periphery of much of the action – referenced frequently in the gaze (see Figure 18) of the on-screen participants but very rarely seen on screen herself (see Figure 19).⁵⁵⁴ At the time of filming she could exclude herself from direct engagement with her travel companions and the actions they partake in, effectively avoiding any social awkwardness. She could observe, request performative actions of her companions for the purpose of making a 'good film' and circumvent active participation in the unfolding scenes. Her cine use in this context becomes a mediating tactic, her camera acting as a 'go-between';⁵⁵⁵ creating connections with the protagonists while tentatively remaining at one remove from them. The camera bridges the social space between she and them and provides both a protective barrier to hide behind⁵⁵⁶ and a reason for being there. It serves the dual purpose as a means of connection and of withdrawal. Figure 18 captures such an exchange between the three on-screen protagonists and the filmmaker, who jostle and gesture towards the camera (creating a connection with the filmmaker) the seated male takes up his is own camera in apparent response to a request to do so from the filmmaker. In this instance the two cameras (the cine camera held by the filmmaker and the still camera held by the seated male) effectively provide a means of connection between the actions of the people on screen and the filmmaker. The act of recording is *recorded* and therefore legitimises the filmmaker's position (a reason to be

⁵⁵² Haldrup and Larsen, p. 26.

⁵⁵³ Tepperman, *Cinema: The Rise of North American Moviemaking, 1923-1960*, p. 191.

⁵⁵⁴ A feature common in holiday travelogues, as observed in Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950', p. 96.

⁵⁵⁵ Odin, 'Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document', p. 257.

⁵⁵⁶ Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950', p. 96.

there), yet the filmmaker does not appear on screen -she remains absent -withdrawn, an outsider.

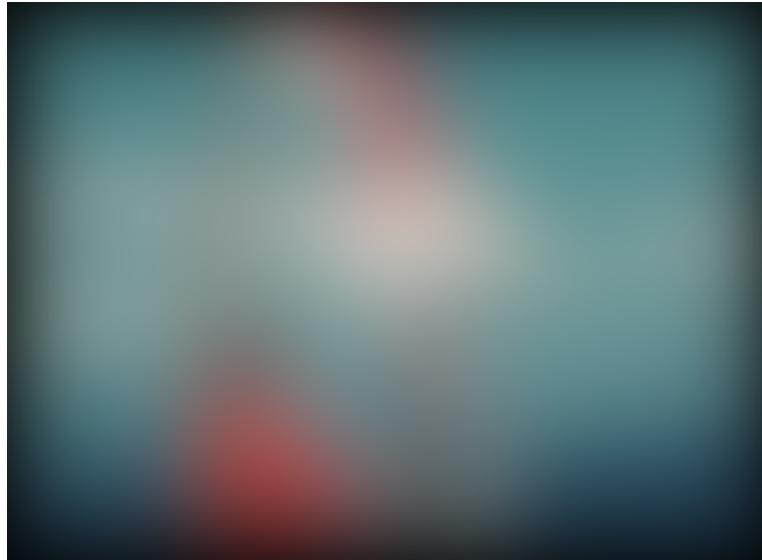


Figure 19: AV343/13 (Still at 00:14:13) L-R Audrey Granville-Soames and 'Duddy' William Dudley Ward⁵⁵⁷[Credit: WFSA]

In the act of recording her companions' activities she effectively navigates each scene. By providing off-screen (verbal and therefore undetected) direction to the protagonists she exercises a level of authorial control, exerting directorial power over the protagonists which exists above any social conventions: she could tell them what to do and they would react unquestioningly. The on-screen participants visibly enjoy the act of 'finding themselves together in front of the camera [and therefore the film has] produced an effect [even] before its exhibition',⁵⁵⁸ and there is more than one occasion where Audrey Granville-Soames 'cine scrutiny' sees male participants adopt 'humour as a defence mechanism'; they jest and lark about to somehow remedy the feeling of 'inherent awkwardness of being powerless' in front of the camera of a woman.⁵⁵⁹ Thus, Audrey Granville-Soames's social position is elevated while holding the camera – she transcends any existing social barriers and is able to shape the scene according to her preferences, she is given freedom to direct and provide instruction above what would have been possible in any other social exchange

⁵⁵⁷ Our Special Correspondent, 'Duke's Own Account of Yacht's Escape', *The Daily Telegraph*, 9 March 1939, p. 6 <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0708674164/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=eeb78142>>.

⁵⁵⁸ Odin, 'Reflections on the Family Home Movie as Document', p. 257.

⁵⁵⁹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 167.

and particularly as a woman recently inducted into the social group. In another example of this connection/withdrawal scenario a sequence shown in Figure 26 features on-screen participants as they gather on request into a static pose for the filmmaker (an act of connection that provides a reason for her being there -to record the family as a whole) meanwhile the filmmaker remains absent from the shot (an act of withdrawal).

Much of Audrey Granville-Soames's footage during her second marriage seeks to capture the activities of the Sutherlands – to record their behaviours and interactions during their holidays together,⁵⁶⁰ but also as a means to 'grasp [...] the world',⁵⁶¹ make sense of herself and her position in it. This shared experience and Audrey Granville-Soames's recording of it is part of a cycle of social acceptance which begins with an invitation to engage in social activities and ends with the collective viewing of the finished film at which the projector acts as mediator (Figure 20).⁵⁶² This cycle is evident in several of the films produced by both Audrey Granville-Soames and Doris Campbell.⁵⁶³ It can be summarised thus:

- Invitation to engage in social activities [Usual social mores prevail]
- Attendance at social activities/events
- Camera is used to capture activities [camera as mediator]
- Camera operator provides direction to on-screen participants [transcends usual social mores]
- On-screen participants respond appropriately [an act of acceptance]
- Post recorded activity: Invitation to view extended [usual social mores prevail]
- Post recorded activity: Collective viewing [projector as mediator] (see also Figure 20)

⁵⁶⁰ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) | WFSA | Film; AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) | WFSA | Film; AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁶¹ Haldrup and Larsen, p. 26.

⁵⁶² A process of 'interrogation and response' as noted in Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950', p. 96.

⁵⁶³ AV176/4 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 6** Reel 6 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932) | WFSA | Film; AV176/3 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 3** Reel 3 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1930s) | WFSA | Film.

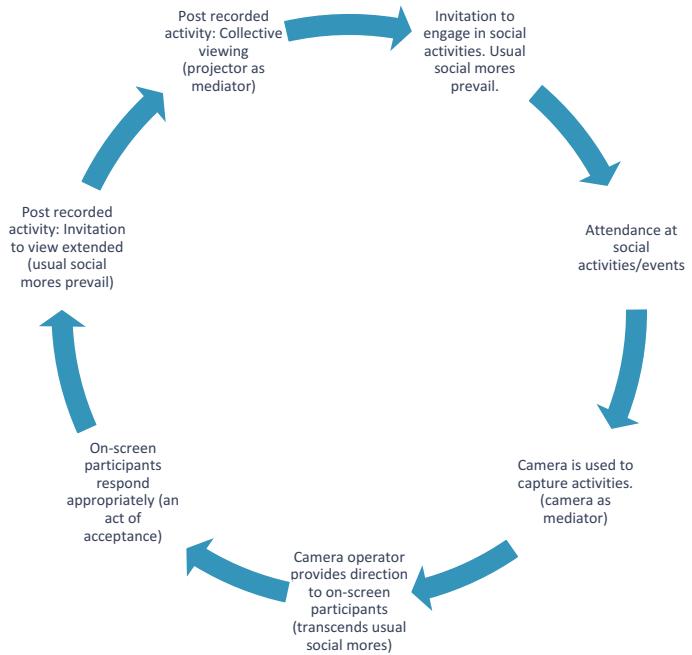


Figure 20: Cycle of social acceptance

On screen participants 'long for the camera to immortalize their shared experiences for future pleasures'⁵⁶⁴ and then after the film has been recorded the filmmaker steps back into their usual social position, with the benefit of the shared experience providing a newly acquired sense of equity – an area of common ground to draw on which has forward currency.⁵⁶⁵ At the subsequent communal viewing of the film – at which the on-screen participants would have been present, the filmmaker resumes the authorial control once again as the projector rolls, and the action is repeated for all to see.

The viewing scenario described in this cycle bares similarities with Odin's descriptor of the 'traditional family and [...] home movie' dispositif,⁵⁶⁶ yet the specific circumstances of these social exchanges have a notably more public function. As records of extra-familial activities, they sit outside of the distinctly private sphere of the home with subsequent communal viewing of the films also taking a pseudo-public turn and therefore tempering any outward expressions of communal reliving that might place.

⁵⁶⁴ Haldrup and Larsen, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁵ Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement c.1925-1950', p. 96.

⁵⁶⁶ Roger Odin, 'Amateur Technologies of Memory, Dispositifs, and Communication Spaces', in *Materializing Memories: Dispositifs, Generations, Amateurs*, ed. by Ed Susan Aasman, Andreas Fickers, and Joseph Wachelder (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 19–34 (p. 24) <<http://mr.crossref.org/iPage?doi=10.5040%2F9781501333262.ch-001>>.

The act of communal viewing, Odin says, triggers two processes in its audience 1) 'oral filmic performance' and 2) 'individual recollection'.⁵⁶⁷ Engaging in this communal re-experiencing of the filmed moment allows for a 'perpetual updating of [the] mutual acquaintance'⁵⁶⁸ and for Audrey Granville-Soames to step back into her position of relative power, invite praise for her work and feel a new sense of social acceptance. Audrey Granville-Soames's camera therefore acts for her as a 'relation building device',⁵⁶⁹ as she films in the moment for herself and in the interests of securing social acceptance for her future self and as a means to 'foster [...] collective identities'.⁵⁷⁰

The cycle of acceptance is completed with the shared re-living of the filmed events and begins anew for the next recorded activities. This presumption of assimilation into the group is demonstrated in her use of inclusive language in the titling of her work where she deploys the attributive adjective 'our' in titles (AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939)⁵⁷¹ (00:08:16) amongst others) (Figure 21).

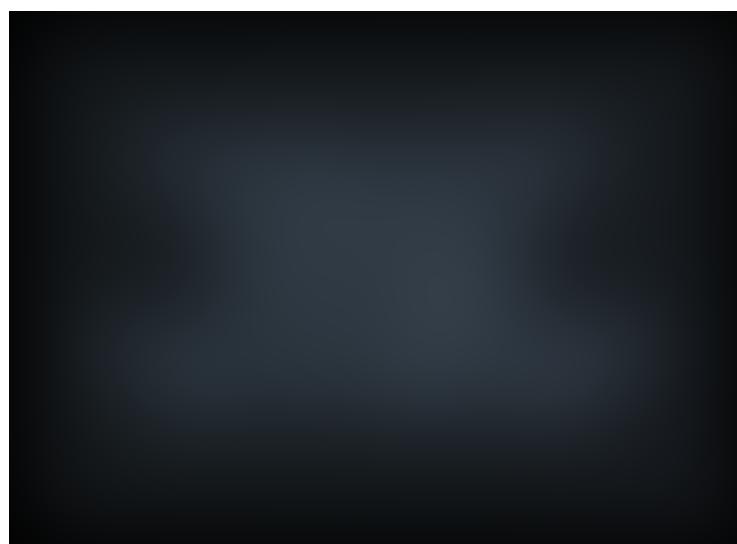


Figure 21: Still from AV343/13 (00:08:16) [Credit: WFSA]

⁵⁶⁷ Odin, 'Amateur Technologies of Memory, Dispositifs, and Communication Spaces', p. 24.

⁵⁶⁸ Pierre Bourdieu and Marie-Claire Bourdieu, 'The Peasant and Photography', *Ethnography*, 5.4 (2004), 601–16 (p. 605) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138104050701>>. Bourdieu's work here relates specifically to photograph practices amongst a very specific 'peasant' population in rural France.

⁵⁶⁹ Guisepina Sapiro quoted in Odin, 'Amateur Technologies of Memory, Dispositifs, and Communication Spaces', p. 22.

⁵⁷⁰ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 91.

⁵⁷¹ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) / WFSA / Film.

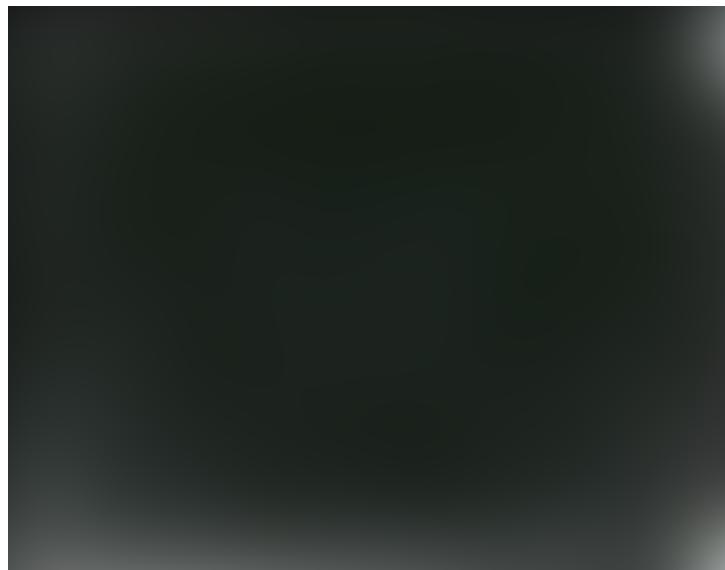


Figure 22: Still from AV343/14 (00:00:06) [Credit: WFSA]

As Audrey Granville-Soames develops her filmmaking abilities she also refines her use of titles; moving on from the do-it-yourself black and white titling kits deployed in *Pacific 1* (1938 to 1939) (see Figure 22) to more sophisticated animated sequences as seen in later films (e.g., AV343/16 *Africa* (1947)⁵⁷²). Each film in the collection exhibits a different style of titling and therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that Audrey Granville-Soames employed the services of professional titling firm (Figure 23). *Africa*⁵⁷³ contains both skilfully hand painted titles and a short, animated sequence which could only have been filmed using a rostrum camera and it is therefore most likely to have been commissioned rather than produced by Audrey Granville-Soames.



Figure 23: Stills from AV343/16 *Africa* (00:09-20) [Credit: WFSA]

⁵⁷² AV343/16 *Africa* (1947) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁷³ AV343/16 *Africa* (1947) | WFSA | Film.

6.5 As an agent of her husband's vicarious leisure

Marriage presented opportunities for Audrey Granville-Soames to 'reclaim [her] personal autonomy [through] [...] filmmaking', even when the conditions of these circumstances were largely proscribed by her husband.⁵⁷⁴ We know that her camera use allowed her to gradually integrate into a new social class and much of this, was because of her own agency and authorial control. However, an alternative reading of her travel films made before 1947 (including *Alaska*,⁵⁷⁵ *Pacific 1*,⁵⁷⁶ *Pacific 2*,⁵⁷⁷ and AV343/18 *Dunrobin Castle* (1930 to 1960)),⁵⁷⁸ could position her absent husband as her intended audience. It could be said that as an instrument of his vicarious leisure,⁵⁷⁹ Audrey Granville-Soames's camera inserts her husband into activities at which he is physically absent – he becomes mobile whilst acting (potentially) as an agent for his wife's social mobility with the resultant film acting as a 'substitute for experience'.⁵⁸⁰ This potential demonstration of vicarious leisure might only be said to be present in films made by Audrey Granville-Soames before 1947⁵⁸¹ when her marriage to her second husband came to an end.⁵⁸² This perspective, while remaining plausible, is effectively countered by the visual content of her films that signify a clear prioritisation of capturing and interacting with her travel companions (and hosts). She took up her camera as a means to navigate the social space in *that* moment and as a way of securing her continued acceptance in that group and therefore any needs of her husband are relegated.

6.6 Cine use as ethnographic recording practice

Many of the films within the Granville-Soames collection are travelogues charting experiences, and explorations in new territories. There is much existing amateur film

⁵⁷⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 229.

⁵⁷⁵ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁷⁶ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁷⁷ AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁷⁸ Audrey Granville-Soames, AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) | WFSA | Film; Audrey Granville-Soames, AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) | WFSA | Film; Audrey Granville-Soames, AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film; Audrey Granville-Soames, AV343/18 *Dunrobin Castle* (1930-1960) | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁷⁹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1994), pp. 37-38.

⁵⁸⁰ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 91.

⁵⁸¹ It is likely that she and Ronald divorced before 1947, as her third marriage took place in January that year and Ronald did not die until the Summer of 1947. Divorce records since 1918 are not readily available at the time of writing.

⁵⁸² After her marriage to Arthur Granville Soames later in 1947 Audrey travelled more often with her new spouse.

scholarship that focusses on post-colonial British filmmaking by middle and upper-class women.⁵⁸³ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson lead in this discussion by drawing on case studies to demonstrate how cine use by such women in these contexts caused them to become 'default visual ethnographers, as social vectors of British national or expatriate ethos'.⁵⁸⁴ This tendency towards ethnographic recording was common amongst upper-class women who travelled and in one sense it is not remarkable that Audrey Granville-Soames' films are '[...]reminiscent of contemporary imagery [taken] by other wealthy women[...]'⁵⁸⁵

However, we can take the view that Audrey Granville-Soames was not like the majority of these women by dint of her upward social trajectory and that her participation in capturing such images served a purpose in the moment of allowing her to meet the expectations of her travel companions. Through the application of peer pressure her travel companions were able to impress upon her the need to record certain things –and this combined with her own consumption of commercially available footage gives rise to a pattern of ethnographic recording that has much in common with popular tropes of the time. As a result, the act of filming becomes a mediating tactic for her and the resultant recording is a by-product of this. That is not to say that the captured film loses relevance – it retains significance in the cycle of social acceptance in the performative stages - where the familiar tropes deployed are recognised and interpreted during its communal viewing.

Audrey Granville-Soames' films therefore see a staged adoption of familiar tropes in line with the weight of expectation placed upon her by the social group into which she aspired to integrate. In her films we frequently see the juxtaposition of typical holiday scenes and 'exotic' indigenous people, and these are quite often 'bridged', in a sense, by tableaus of cultural appropriation. In these bridging scenes white holidaymakers adopt the habits, attire, or behaviours of the indigenous peoples; in semi-public acts of appropriation, they attempt to assimilate these attributes to demonstrate their own well-travelled,

⁵⁸³ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Imperial Imagination and Colonial Cities in Inter-War Amateur Films', in *(In)Visibles Cités Coloniales. Domination and Resistance Strategies from the End of the XIXth Century until Today*, ed. by Granchamp-Florentino F. and Repussard C. Choné A. (and Repussard C. Paris: Orizons, 2014), pp. 103–114; Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Stimulating Empire Consciousness" with Colonial Amateur Films', in *Reflections on the Study of Amateur Cinema Symposium* (University of Glasgow, 2012); Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Digital Colonial Amateur Film Collections and the Study of Imperial History", in *World History and Digital Scholarship Conference* (University of Cambridge, 2010).

⁵⁸⁴ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 229.

⁵⁸⁵ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 92.

knowledgeable selves but such acts actually serve to position the participants within a very narrow realm of British post-colonial experience (see examples below).

While this practice of ethnographic recording is symptomatic of a range of political and social influences, there should also be a consideration of Audrey's Granville-Soames' specific circumstances and experiences that impacted her filmmaking output. As a woman who was upwardly mobile and new to cine use she more than most, may have come to filmmaking with expectations of *what* she would film and *how* she would film it. This would have been influenced in no small part by media that she consumed as a member of the audience through attending the cinema and later, through watching films from a home lending library. Within Audrey Granville-Soames' wider collection there are at least two examples of commercially produced films that formed part of her viewing library⁵⁸⁶ and at least one where her own footage has been interspliced with that from newsreels.

In AV343/14 and 15 the Sutherland's yachting party visit Guatemala and Guatemala City. Audrey Granville-Soames invokes familiar 'picturesque tropes'⁵⁸⁷ in her footage as those seen in commercially screened films such as the *Pathé Review* (1928),⁵⁸⁸ which takes an ethnographic approach to documenting the local scenery and population. The frames of a busy marketplace in the *Pathé Review* bear a striking resemblance to Audrey Granville-Soames' work which at first seeks to linger on the wider scene and then home in more closely on the activities of the indigenous people (Figures 24 and 25).

⁵⁸⁶ British Pathe, AV343/27 *Churchill's Grandson Christened* (1947) | WFSA | Film; AV343/22 *Cavalcade of War* | WFSA | Film.

⁵⁸⁷ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 95.

⁵⁸⁸ British Pathe, *Pathé Review Colour Film*, 1928.

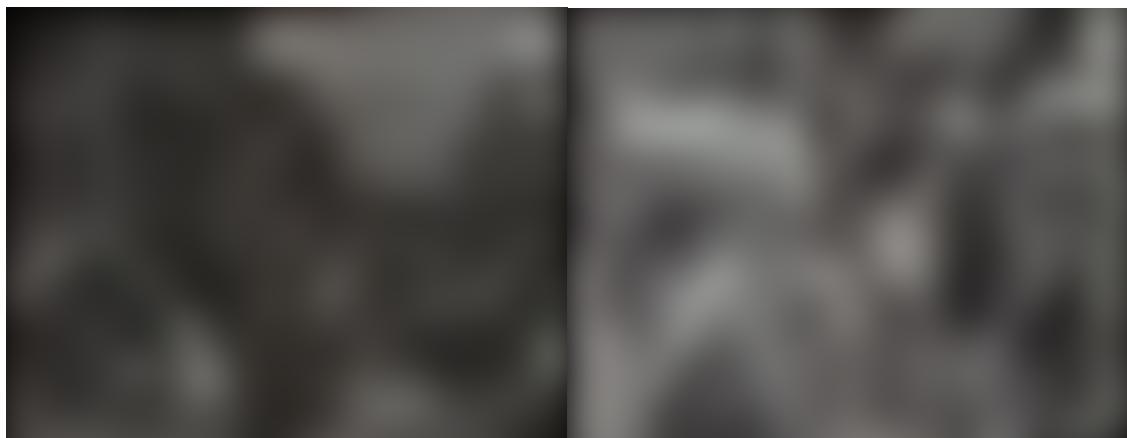


Figure 24: Pathé Review (1928) (Stills taken at 00:10:21 and 00:10:37) [Credit: British Pathé]

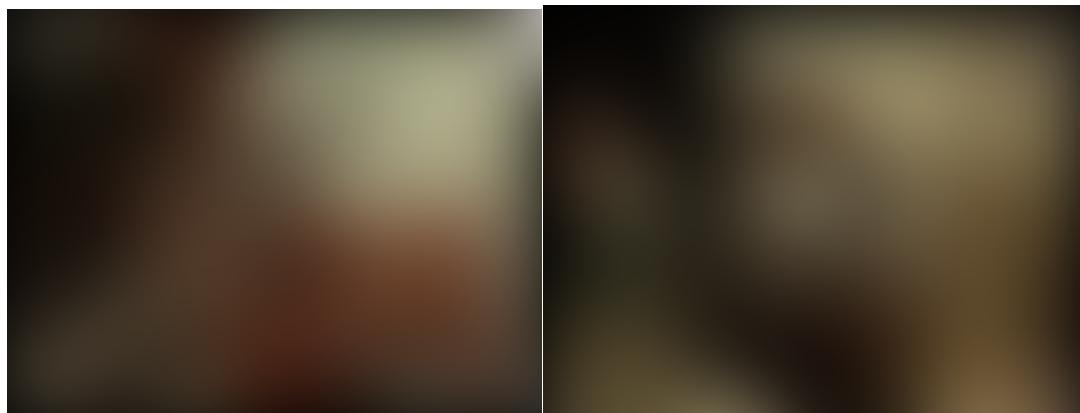


Figure 25: AV343/14 (Stills from 00:16:23 and 00:18:21) [Credit: WFSA]

A similar visual trope is employed in *Indian Village and Market* (1934)⁵⁸⁹ by Pathé showing an unnamed Indian location and bustling marketplace,⁵⁹⁰ this is a sequence that is echoed in the portrayal of 'exotic' locations throughout similar newsreel footage of this period and replicated in Audrey Granville-Soames' work. Parallels can also be drawn between other sequences in Audrey Granville-Soames' collection and demonstrate a tendency of filmmakers of this period, noted by Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, to document tradition in colonised locales as vestiges of the past that have 'survived into postcolonial encounters [testifying to] [...] an enduring absence of modernity.'⁵⁹¹ By highlighting traditional elements of these cultures the films bring in to focus the perceived relational modernity of the Western tourists who dip in and out of the frame, occasionally engaging in

⁵⁸⁹ British Pathe, *Indian Village And Market*, 1934 <<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/indian-village-and-market/query/indian+market>>.

⁵⁹⁰ British Pathe, *Indian Village And Market*.

⁵⁹¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 95.

cultural appropriation in ‘bridging’ scenes as described above. In *Pacific 2*⁵⁹² (around (00:06:35)) on board the yacht, *Sans Peur*, a white gentleman dons a Mayan jacket and hat and hoists a cane-work deck lounger onto his back imitating the basket carrying women of the Guatemalan market scene. Similarly, in *Pacific 2* (from around (00:10:20)) members of the yacht party wear gifted leis, engage in poses with indigenous Hawaiians and later one individual dons a full Hula outfit complete with grass skirt and mimics the arm gestures of the Hawaiian women (00:13:14) (Figure 26); both of the latter acts of appropriation take place away from the wider public view – aboard the *Sans Peur* and on a darkened veranda, but with an audience of their travel companions. Further aligning Audrey Granville-Soames’s work with others active in this period and embodying the ‘British national or expatriate ethos’⁵⁹³ are glimpses of the ‘great white hunter’ trope; visual expressions of physical power exerted by the white holidaymakers over the exotic natural surroundings, examples can be found throughout the collection and include fishing,⁵⁹⁴ a stingray being harpooned,⁵⁹⁵ ‘land iguanas’ being corralled,⁵⁹⁶ a sea turtle bound in ropes,⁵⁹⁷ a display of antlers,⁵⁹⁸ a duck shoot⁵⁹⁹ and the fetishised emblem of conquest⁶⁰⁰ - the mounted head of a caribou upon the entrance to the Sutherland ranch accompanied by the title ‘Geordie’s Caribou’.⁶⁰¹ Such footage evidences the continuation of predatory behaviour in the post-colonial era as an expression of power and also serves to proliferate trophy imagery for the purpose of inducing envy in viewers,⁶⁰² a process which cine use at this time was able to reinforce – through creation of a ‘living’ record of such trophies. A dissenting voice earlier that decade proffered cine use as a modern alternative to the traditional slaughter: ‘[...]perhaps a still better way is to shoot at big game not with rifles but with cameras. With the cine-camera increasingly portable and easy to use, that form of sport ought to become increasingly

⁵⁹² AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) / WFSA / Film.

⁵⁹³ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 229.

⁵⁹⁴ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film (00:01:52).

⁵⁹⁵ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film (00:02:30).

⁵⁹⁶ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film (00:09:37).

⁵⁹⁷ AV343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) / WFSA / Film (00:11:13).

⁵⁹⁸ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) / WFSA / Film (00:09:53).

⁵⁹⁹ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) / WFSA / Film (00:11:34).

⁶⁰⁰ Chelsea Batavia and others, ‘The Elephant (Head) in the Room: A Critical Look at Trophy Hunting’, *Conservation Letters*, 12.1 (2019), e12565 (p. 3) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/cont.12565>>.

⁶⁰¹ AV343/13 *Alaska* (1939) / WFSA / Film (00:09:10); Batavia and others, p. 3.

⁶⁰² Daniel Krier and William J Swart, ‘Trophies of Surplus Enjoyment’, *Critical Sociology*, 42.3 (2014), 371–92 (p. 373) <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920514528819>>.

popular.⁶⁰³ Such a viewpoint appears to argue for a simulation of experience that might act as a substitute for the real thing.⁶⁰⁴

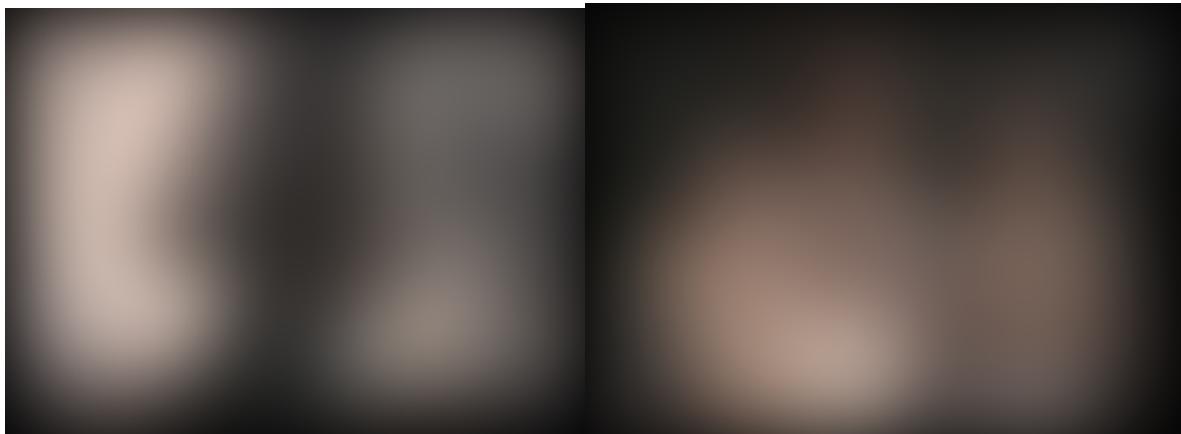


Figure 26: AV343/15 (Stills from 00:10:20 and 00:13:14) [Credit: WFSA]

Accepting that Audrey Granville-Soames came to cine with preconceived notions about what she *should* film provides a useful frame of reference for viewing several of her works. *Pacific 2*⁶⁰⁵ features remarkable colour footage taken in the surf of Waikiki Beach, Hawaii while the filmmaker rides at high speed in a *hokulea*⁶⁰⁶ alongside skilled surfers as they mount their boards, showboat, and frolic for the camera (00:19:29).⁶⁰⁷ The footage is dynamic and engaging, but it also conforms to the Waikiki beach norms. It is known anecdotally, that 8mm film shot from a *hokulea* of frolicking surfers could be purchased from beachside souvenir shops by tourists – indeed, capturing the surfers in action in this way is seen in more than one film of Waikiki in the 1930s and signals an established tourist practice that was facilitated by local people.⁶⁰⁸ This practice of obtaining locally shot cine footage, and (in this case) recording your own footage in a stage-managed way correlates with Krier and Swart's description of 'markets of surplus enjoyment',⁶⁰⁹ where both souvenirs and 'opportunities for amateur photography' act as 'trophies [...] not intended to be enjoyed during the event but when they were taken away from the event and displayed elsewhere.'⁶¹⁰ In a similar example demonstrating Audrey Granville-Soames' referencing of

⁶⁰³ H E L Mellersh, 'Camera or Rifle?', *The Daily Mirror*, p. 12 (p. 12).

⁶⁰⁴ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 91.

⁶⁰⁵ AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film.

⁶⁰⁶ A type of traditional sea voyaging canoe

⁶⁰⁷ AV343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film (00:19:29).

⁶⁰⁸ Frerick Ullman Jnr, *Riding the Crest* <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HOj1I9KO4X4>>.

⁶⁰⁹ Krier and Swart, p. 272.

⁶¹⁰ Krier and Swart, p. 272.

other filmic sources we see her own cine footage of her step-grandson's christening interspliced with commercial Pathé footage of the same event.⁶¹¹ However, this example goes a step further and sees Audrey Granville-Soames intersplice professionally shot footage with her own. This simple act of juxtaposing her own footage with professional newsreel serves the purpose of elevating her personal record and signals perhaps the pinnacle of her social aspirations. This combination of footage seeks to confer credibility on her as a member of the social group and as a member of the extended Churchill family.

Audrey Granville-Soames actively deployed her cine camera to navigate social situations, to gain entry and acceptance into a different class and to shape her sense of self. As has been described, some of the ways she used cine correlates with what we know of the work 'typical' women amateurs, but it has been established that Audrey Granville-Soames was not the same as these women. The biographical mutability that characterised her life and her relatively humble beginnings meant that whatever the outward appearances of her footage from 1937 onwards, her motives were ostensibly different. The 'typical' woman amateur functioned in a secure and stable environment, she did not need to earn or justify her position. This security was absent for Audrey Granville-Soames and she had to consciously position herself and her camera to meet both the expectations of her peers but to also fit in. A similar, though notably more political, deployment of cine can be observed through the films produced by Doris Campbell.

6.7 Doris (née Craven-Ellis) Campbell (18 May 1909 - 28 September 2006)

Doris Campbell⁶¹² and the work produced by her, her sister and mother offers examples of cine use deployed as a social 'key' and as a quasi-political device. Detailed biographical research into Doris Campbell and her family also affords an insight into women's cine use facilitated through male connections and provides a lens through which we might consider other such scenarios in WFSA.

⁶¹¹ British Pathe, *Westerham*, 1948 <<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/westerham/query/churchills+grandson+christened>>; British Pathe, *Mary Churchill's Baby Christened*, 1948 <<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/mary-churchills-baby-christened/query/churchills+grandson+christened>>.

⁶¹² A full profile of Doris Campbell can be found in Appendix E

Doris Campbell like other 'typical women amateurs' featured in this study, came from a wealthy family; she had a comfortable upbringing and as a young adult enjoyed the luxury of holidays abroad and society parties, though her filmmaking output waned after her separation from her husband and as she established herself both as a single parent and a dairy farmer. She had been born into a wealthy family in Bowdon, Cheshire as the first of two sisters;⁶¹³ the sisters' great grandfather was founder of the Manchester firm 'Craven Brothers Ltd, machine tool makers',⁶¹⁴ and the girls' father, William Ellis⁶¹⁵ enjoyed a grammar school education in Manchester.⁶¹⁶ Their father⁶¹⁷ went on to work as an 'Auctioneer [and] valuer' and the family, who lived in a comfortable eleven room house in Altringham⁶¹⁸ were able to employ two domestic servants.⁶¹⁹ William Craven-Ellis was a keen entrepreneur and records evidence a prolific businessman with interests in a range of property and investment companies⁶²⁰ which brought the family south to London and the home counties in the late 1910s.⁶²¹ Following military service in the First World War William Craven-Ellis embarked on a career in politics⁶²² and was elected as MP for Southampton in 1931.⁶²³ Passenger lists evidence that the family enjoyed holidays abroad in the late 1920s, cruising first class in 1927, 1928 and in 1930 to the continent.⁶²⁴ At around age seventeen Doris attended finishing school in Switzerland,⁶²⁵ and on her return attended secretarial college in Queens Way, London.⁶²⁶ We learn from contemporary newspaper reports that

⁶¹³ Vera Craven-Ellis (1911-2005)

⁶¹⁴ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who' (Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U236150>>.

⁶¹⁵ 'Church of England Births and Baptisms' (London, 1813) <www.ancestry.co.uk>.

⁶¹⁶ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

⁶¹⁷ In 1932, in a nod to the family's proud northern industrial heritage William adopted by deed poll, the surname 'Craven' in addition to his own, thus becoming 'Craven-Ellis' and cementing his connection to his family's antecedents.

⁶¹⁸ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁶¹⁹ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁶²⁰ Ellis & Sons Amalgamated Properties Ltd (second, third and fourth iterations), Ellis & Sons (Southern) Property Investments Ltd, E & S Builders, Ltd, Ellis & Sons Amalgamated Investments Ltd, Piccadilly Building Society and Craven Brothers (Manchester) Ltd

⁶²¹ Passenger lists indicated they lived at 21 Portland Place, WI – which is corroborated by other sources which expand upon this detail, providing '21 Duchess Mews' in addition to the Portland Place street address, a property that we later learn 'has a particularly spacious reception-room on the first floor, with a lovely Adam ceiling'. 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'; *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 9 Saturday 26 June 1937.

⁶²² He sat as Conservative Chairman of Hale Urban District Council in 1915-16. 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

⁶²³ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

⁶²⁴ 29 July 1927, August 1928, 9-22 August 1930 (Mars, France) 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'.

⁶²⁵ Z J V Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams', 2021, n. (00:07:02).

⁶²⁶ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams', n. (00:07:28).

William Craven-Ellis was a supportive father and held progressive views in advocating for women in public life, expressing in 1936 that 'Women do have more political common sense than the average man'.⁶²⁷ This sentiment is echoed in his actions to support both his wife and daughters in their political and social lives. On completion of her training at secretarial school Doris Campbell took on the role of 'Parliamentary Secretary' to her Father, and from around 1935 she managed the 'Home Farm [at] Beaulieu for her Father who rented it from Lord Montague'.⁶²⁸ These were roles for which she well equipped and that she greatly enjoyed,⁶²⁹ not least because of the access that her parliamentary role permitted her to the House of Commons and a host of other situations.

6.8 Cine-engagement as a quasi-political tool

The use of amateur film for political and activist purposes is well documented elsewhere,⁶³⁰ but what is much less discussed in scholarship are the peripheral uses of cine film in non-professional contexts that function in a quasi-political way. The work produced by Doris Campbell her mother and sister, occupies a space outside of what might be considered overtly political: there was no intention to screen on a regional basis – no grand aim to win votes through films and no deeply rooted political message engendered in their films. However, the women's films did find a wider audience than the immediate family and they certainly served a specific purpose in the context of William Craven-Ellis' partisan activities.

The films of the three women document campaign activities, they cement a convivial atmosphere amongst a close-knit group of supporters, and they reflect local happenings – embedding the family in the community in which they were relative newcomers. The family took on a weekend residence in Southampton⁶³¹ soon after William Craven-Ellis's election as a Member of Parliament for the City; their first home in the area was to be on the leafy

⁶²⁷ Saturday 05 December 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.12.

⁶²⁸ They managed the farm between 1935-1950. Z J V Burgess, 'Questionnaire Completed by Michael Campbell (15 October)', 2021.

⁶²⁹ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams', n. (00:08:16).

⁶³⁰ Vicki Callahan, 'The New Zealand Film Archive/Nga Kaitiaki o Nga Taonga Whitiahu', in *Mining the Home Movie*.

Excavations in Histories and Memories, ed. by P Ishizuka, K. and Zimmermann (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 231–34; A Villarejo, '90 Miles: The Politics and Aesthetics of Personal Documentary', in *Mining the Home Movie*.

Excavations in Histories and Memories, ed. by K Zimmermann, P; Ishizuka (University of California Press, 2007), pp. 78–91;

Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, 'Uncensored Imperial Politics in British Home Movies from 1920s-1950s', in *Paper Presented at Saving Private Reels Presentation Appropriation and Re-Contextualisation of the Amateur Moving Image Conference* (Cork, Ireland, 2010).

⁶³¹ Saturday 07 March 1931 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

outskirts, at Bassett.⁶³² Despite a move to the South Coast the family remained very much engaged in Society life in London, with Doris Campbell and her sister Vera acting as bridesmaids at the new Mayor and Mayoress of London's wedding in November 1931,⁶³³ and being presented at Court in 1933.⁶³⁴ Within a few years of beginning work as her father's Parliamentary Secretary, film had come to play an important part in Doris Campbell's life, evidenced by her prolific output (fifty-three reels of 16mm and 8mm film)⁶³⁵ and by multiple mentions of public screenings at which her (and her mother and sister's) work was shown.⁶³⁶

The collection itself contains a blend of footage that reflects both family life, political activities and historic community events with the highest concentration of footage taken between 1930 and 1933 when the pastime was both new to the women and when William Craven-Ellis was most active on the campaign circuit.⁶³⁷ The camera was most often deployed to document actions directly related, or peripheral to William Craven-Ellis' election campaign. AV176/7 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7** (1931)⁶³⁸ is an example of this, where the camera records candidates addressing a crowd of voters (00:00:45), and the campaign car tours the constituency along with a lucky campaign mascot - a stuffed black cat (from (00:02:28)). This is an edited compilation lasting (00:12:27), which has been compiled from at least eight fifty-foot film reels, it is a carefully constructed film.⁶³⁹

Documenting campaign activities was short-term and time-limited but there is also much evidence of the family's camera being deployed to draw together their many various connections in the political wards of Southampton over a longer period. These quasi-political social events are almost exclusively attended by the female branches of the Conservative Association and feature the family's camera in shared rotation between the three female members. The impression from these films, in the wording and tone deployed

⁶³² Saturday 19 November 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

⁶³³ Saturday 14 November 1931 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

⁶³⁴ Saturday 20 May 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

⁶³⁵ 'AV176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁶³⁶ Saturday 20 February 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

⁶³⁷ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

⁶³⁸ AV176/7 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7** *Reel 7 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis & His Daughter Mrs D Campbell in the 1930s [...] (1931)* | WFSA | Film <<https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-electioneering-southampton-1931-online>>.

⁶³⁹ This is based on the assumption that the family were using a Cine Kodak with capability of holding 50ft reels which could capture around 00:01:23 at a time.

in the explanatory titles, is that the footage was created with a view to being screened at a future event at which it was hoped the 'stars' of the film would be present. This cyclical presumption of attendance has much in common with the cycle of social acceptance detailed in Figure 20, except that in this context it functions to maintain the ongoing support of local women in a political context. Thus, the recording of the film and its subsequent editing – which we know with some certainty was undertaken by Doris Campbell – has been carried out with clear socio-political intentions that both support her father's position but also serve to locate the women of the family within a framework of activities that contributed to how they were perceived in their public roles.⁶⁴⁰ This facet of the family's filmmaking activities is corroborated by multiple newspaper mentions where the female members of the family receive full credit for both the production of the work and the screening. Despite the shared catalogue attribution – this study has identified no documentary sources that attribute the work to William Craven-Ellis.⁶⁴¹

In addition to the socio-political role that the camera took within the family's life, there is also evidence that the cine equipment was deployed to document historic events including the Royal Show in Southampton,⁶⁴² the opening of Southampton's Civic Centre,⁶⁴³ the International Exposition,⁶⁴⁴ and the International Congress of Building Societies.⁶⁴⁵

There is evidence that Doris Campbell used her cine camera as a 'social key', unlocking certain situations where access would have otherwise been denied. In an interview with her son I discovered:

'[...] with a camera in those days, I think she found she could sort of get - although she didn't have a press pass -if you had a camera -a cine camera, I think she found she could sort of go anywhere, really, and take films.'⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁰ AV176/3 MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 3* *Reel 3 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1930s)* / WFSA / Film. (1930s)

⁶⁴¹ Saturday 20 February 1932 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800-1949, p.9, Saturday 26 November 1932 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800-1949, p.7, Saturday 21 November 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11.

⁶⁴² AV176/4 MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 6* *Reel 6 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932)* / WFSA / Film.

⁶⁴³ AV176/5 MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 5* *Reel 5 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932)* / WFSA / Film.

⁶⁴⁴ AV176/29 MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 29* *Reel 29 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1937)* / WFSA / Film.

⁶⁴⁵ AV176/38 MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 38* *Reel 38 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1938)* / WFSA / Film.

⁶⁴⁶ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams' (00:30:04).

The family maintained homes in a number of locations⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ during the 1930s which ensured they could stay engaged in parliamentary events and society life⁶⁴⁹ in London whilst also integrating into the wider Southampton community.⁶⁵⁰ There is a noted uptick in Doris Campbell's official public activities after 1933, following her presentation at court.⁶⁵¹ It becomes apparent from analysis of Doris Campbell's films that her camera offered her the opportunity to enjoy a privileged position during the course of her attendance at a number of official events. In the case of AV176/5 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 5** (1932) (opening of Southampton's Civic Centre)⁶⁵² and AV176/4 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 6** (1932) (The Royal Southampton Show)⁶⁵³ and AV176/18 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 18** (1932 to 1933) (departure of delegates for the 'Ottawa conference'),⁶⁵⁴ it is likely her role as her father's secretary afforded her an invitation (a reason for being there), and that an implicit freedom was ascribed to her as the user of a cine camera. At a time when cine use was still uncommon – Doris Campbell's work evidences a spatial freedom given to cine users; allowing an unrestricted opportunity to capture events. This kind of access appears to have been given quite freely to amateur filmmakers of this period, and there are other examples of this in evidence in the WFSA collection.⁶⁵⁵

6.9 Female cine use understood through male connections

Doris Campbell is an example of a female filmmaker within WFSA where ambiguity exists around the precise attribution of the films within the collection. Between the collection level entry and the individual items there is notable confusion around who created the work. The collection's title asserts that it contains films 'taken by W Craven-Ellis',⁶⁵⁶ however the *description* field both supplements (and contradicts) this by saying the films were 'taken

⁶⁴⁷ Saturday 31 December 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11. Round Hill is possibly seen in AV176/22.

⁶⁴⁸ 'Electoral Registers'.

⁶⁴⁹ Saturday 20 May 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

⁶⁵⁰ Doris Campbell attended monthly dances at Southampton Amateur Athletic club. Saturday 23 September 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.8.

⁶⁵¹ *Hampsh. Advert.*

⁶⁵² AV176/5 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 5** *Reel 5 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932) / WFSA / Film.*

⁶⁵³ AV176/4 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 6** *Reel 6 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932) / WFSA / Film.*

⁶⁵⁴ AV176/18 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 18** *Reel 18 a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. Campbell) in [...] (1932-1933) / WFSA / Film.*

⁶⁵⁵ AV100/1 *Worley Films: The Southsea Review (1938) / WFSA / Film*; AV409/6 *Prall Films: Mayoral Films - Assize Judges at Cathedral (1950s) / WFSA / Film*; 'AV39 Richardson of Winchester Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁶⁵⁶ 'AV176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

by the late W Craven-Ellis and his daughter Mrs Doris Campbell'.⁶⁵⁷ The combined effect of this is to leave catalogue users reliant on the text included in the individual item entries to determine the likely producer of each film, a step which in reality, only serves to deepen the confusion as Doris Campbell's name is used at the start of each entry (with the inference that she deposited the films), alongside her father's name:

'MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 1* Reel 1 of a collection of amateur films taken by the late Mr W Craven-Ellis and his daughter (Mrs D Campbell) in the 1930s, showing family scenes.'

Despite what equates to a firm combined attribution across both the collection title and description this study has unearthed new archival sources, newspaper mentions and oral testimony that challenge the assertion that the lead filmmaker was William Craven-Ellis. In this section my examination of recently collated evidence suggests that the correct attribution for much of this collection in fact lies with Doris (née Craven-Ellis) Campbell, Vera Craven-Ellis and Grace Emily (née Stanley) Craven-Ellis (the mother of the two women); though it is likely that William Craven-Ellis was involved in filming some of the items within the collection. In my interview with Doris Campbell's son, Michael Campbell revealed that William Craven-Ellis had much less involvement with filmmaking than the WFSA catalogue alludes to:

'I never saw my grandmother or grandfather ever get involved in it [filmmaking] at all. I think it was very much my mother. And she went on to do all the splicing, editing and putting the titles in - she did all of that as well.'⁶⁵⁸

This statement reaffirms that William Craven-Ellis had a less involved role in film production than previously believed, with close textual analysis suggesting that the camera is most often passed between the two sisters and their mother. For example, in Figure 29, in *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7* (1931)*⁶⁵⁹ (from 00:02:36) there is a rare glimpse of Doris Campbell on screen (in the light-coloured coat), and then Grace Craven-Ellis (wearing a dark fur trimmed coat, open to the waist) exits the screen and appears to take the camera at

⁶⁵⁷ 'AV176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁶⁵⁸ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams' (00:14:15).

⁶⁵⁹ AV176/7 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7* Reel 7 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis & His Daughter Mrs D Campbell in the 1930s [...] (1931)* | WFSA | Film.

around (00:03:01).⁶⁶⁰ In AV176/2 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 2** (1931 to 1932)⁶⁶¹ we see the three women appear on screen in turn, passing the camera amongst themselves to ensure they receive screen time. At (00:01:01) Vera Craven-Ellis appears (standing) at the beach hut door, next to her mother Grace Craven-Ellis (seated), moments later the camera has been handed over - Vera has disappeared from the shot and Doris Campbell appears seated next to her mother instead (00:01:06) (Figures 27 and 28). A few seconds later the two young women are filmed walking towards the sea, away from the beach hut. Grace Craven-Ellis has vanished from her seat in front of the beach hut – presumably now holding the camera.⁶⁶² This exchanging and sharing of the camera work continues throughout *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 2** with the three women alternating roles; though Grace and Vera appear more frequently on screen than Doris with the implication being that she took a lead in camera work. This shared approach persists across almost the entire collection and their shared role in filmmaking is further substantiated by multiple sources in the local press.⁶⁶³

Further oral testimony suggests that the family acquired a cine camera from the US on one of the many occasions when William Craven-Ellis travelled there for business (in the very late 1920s and early in 1930).⁶⁶⁴ Thus, the camera came into the possession of Doris Campbell through her father's contacts. Local press describes the films screened at a public event that year and produced by 'Mrs [Grace] Craven-Ellis and her daughter', as 'freshly handled' which implies that the skills of the filmmakers at this date were not yet finely honed and that their inexperience of cine use was evident in the film content.⁶⁶⁵ It is accurate to state that the three women acquired the equipment and film stock to make films through William Craven-Ellis and that it was his political activities that provided the opportunity for them to capture and screen films.

⁶⁶⁰ AV176/7 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7** Reel 7 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis & His Daughter Mrs D Campbell in the 1930s [...] (1931) | WFSA | Film.

⁶⁶¹ AV176/2 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 2** Reel 2 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) in the 1930s, Showing Family Scenes (1931 & 1932) | WFSA | Film <<https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-southamptons-mp-films-his-family-and-friends-1931-online>>.

⁶⁶² AV176/2 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 2** Reel 2 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) in the 1930s, Showing Family Scenes (1931 & 1932) | WFSA | Film.

⁶⁶³ Saturday 21 November 1936 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800-1949, p.11, 16, Saturday 12 December 1936 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800-1949, p.14 Saturday 26 November 1938 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800-1949, p.6

⁶⁶⁴ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams', n. (00:09:38).

⁶⁶⁵ This is most likely characterised by unsteady shots, abrupt panning, under-exposure, over exposure or ill lit scenes. Saturday 20 February 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

In addition to the means provided by William Craven-Ellis there was a strong generational inclination towards image production on the maternal side of Doris Campbell's family. Her maternal aunt (who had been Grace Craven-Ellis's guardian) was one of the earliest female members of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) and was elected as a fellow in 1914,⁶⁶⁶ taking photographs of her many international travels and sharing these at lantern lectures.⁶⁶⁷ The lantern slides have been deposited with the RGS and demonstrate a proficient and prolific photographer whose work has a strong ethnographic focus.⁶⁶⁸

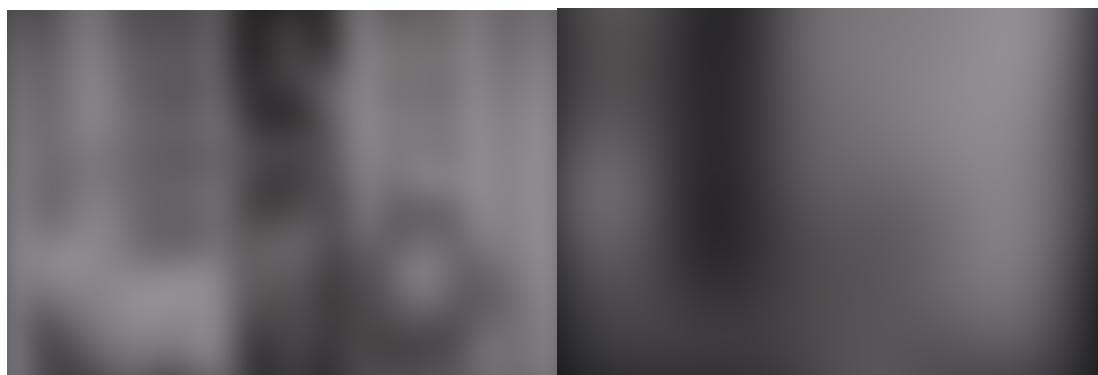


Figure 27: AV176/2 (00:01:01) Standing: Vera Craven-Ellis. Seated: Grace Craven-Ellis [Credit: WFSA]

Figure 28: (00:01:06) Seated with umbrella: Doris Campbell [Credit: WFSA]

6.10 Conclusion

Doris Campbell's work has provided examples of cine use as a quasi-political tool and as a social key, whilst also highlighting just one instance where incorrect attribution can obfuscate our understanding of who was involved in the production of a collection. Through exploring Doris Campbell, Vera and Grace Craven-Ellis's reliance on the family's patriarch for accessing both cine equipment, film stock and events we can begin to imagine how such erroneous attributions could have come about, even before films reached an archive. This suggests that the women's work exists very much in the shadow of the family's patriarch – despite the evidence to suggest that it was almost entirely their work. Women amateur's work in WFSA has been found frequently obscured, sometimes completely, behind a male

⁶⁶⁶ Morag Bell and Cheryl McEwan, 'The Admission of Women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1914; the Controversy and the Outcome', *The Geographical Journal*, 162.3 (1996), 295–312 (p. 310) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3059652>>.

⁶⁶⁷ Hannah Lousia Lees (1862-1936) Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams' (00:17:06).

⁶⁶⁸ Hannah L Lees, 'East Africa & Rwanda', 1927.

attribution. This is the case for Nancy Bealing,⁶⁶⁹ Louisa Gauvain,⁶⁷⁰ Violet Horton,⁶⁷¹ Dorothy Lindfield⁶⁷² amongst others, demonstrating that across the spectrum of female cine engagement little precedence has been given to their input in the finished work. It is only through a process of ‘archival excavation’⁶⁷³ and close textual analysis that this elision has been brought to light.

Audrey Granville-Soames and Doris Campbell’s lives evidence how cine was more likely to be deployed as a tool for social mobility by women whose lives were in flux than those living in continuously (and relatively) stable environments. Audrey Granville-Soames demonstrated rapid upward social mobility – she deployed cine as a mediating tool to make sense of herself and to navigate social situations. Her camera provided a means for her to integrate in high society life and while she occupied this status, she was a prolific filmmaker. As life advanced, her spouses died and her interactions in these environments reduced so too does her filmmaking output with no films produced after 1960.⁶⁷⁴ Similarly, the work of Doris Campbell is evident in high concentration up to 1936 when her life exhibited characteristic stability: she was unmarried, lived in the family home (s), and was employed in what can be assumed to have been full time work. She used cine as part of her socio-political activities, engaging with her father’s partisan role and capturing her, her mother and her sister’s public engagements in society as well as documenting family travels. After her marriage in 1939, her war time experiences in the Land Army and subsequent separation from her husband her filmmaking output petered out; with only a handful of films dating from after 1936.

There are many features of these women’s lives which point to their being the ‘typical woman amateur’, yet it is only through a process of ‘archival excavation’⁶⁷⁵ and close textual analysis that their biographical mutability is revealed. Their lives evidence a greater degree of diachronic instability where cine use came to play very specific social functions – functions which are not apparent in the lives of women in WFSA with continuously stable

⁶⁶⁹ ‘AV5 Bealing Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry’.

⁶⁷⁰ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) | WFSA | Film.

⁶⁷¹ AV104 Horton of Minstead Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁶⁷² AV1119 Lindfield Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁶⁷³ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁴ AV343 Granville Soames Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁶⁷⁵ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

lives. It could be argued that cine use in the hands of such women, was a more proactive undertaking – the camera was deployed as part of a process to make sense of and engage with the world around them.

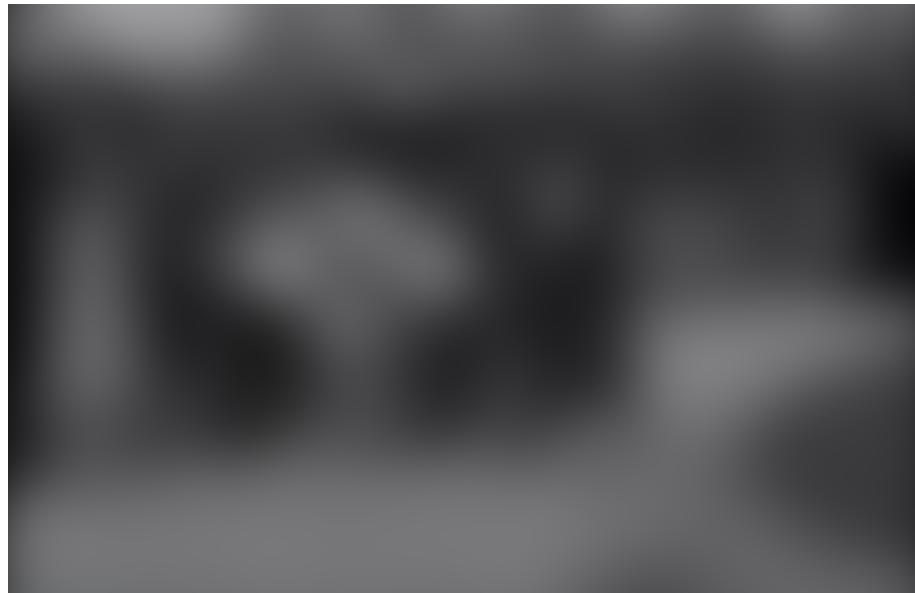


Figure 29: Still at 00:02:36 of AV176/7 October 1931 [Credit: WFSA]

Chapter 7 The 'Serious' Woman Amateur

During the course of my research, I have observed that women filmmakers within the WFSA collection contribute to the perception of amateur filmmaking as a heterogenous space. I contest the contradictory undercurrent of homogeny that assumes all women amateurs came from the same backgrounds, filmed the same kind of thing, and operated in the same or similar ways. It is true that women from stable, financially elite backgrounds are in evidence in the collection (See Chapter 5). It is also true, as I have described in Chapter 6, that women from less stable backgrounds could be said to deploy cine more commonly as a tool for social mobility than their 'typical' counterparts. However, to further develop my argument in recognition of the heterogeneity of the female filmmaking populace this chapter will explore the 'serious' woman amateur as a problematic (though helpful) trope, that recognises the specialisation of skills and contributes to wider discussions around gendered filmmaking, authorial control, and feminist archival praxis.

In my introduction I posed the question 'how do we define an amateur filmmaker?', I went on to develop this discussion during Chapter 3 as I considered how scholarly debate has theorised on this same question. I return to this now as we enter into analysis of a subset of female filmmakers within WFSA, those who exhibit characteristics more commonly observed in what we might informally label as 'proper' filmmakers. In the lexicon of professional cinema the 'filmmaker' is usually the director, holding authorial control and typically receiving the most credit for the work, irrespective of the number of other workers who may have contributed to the finished product. Indeed, level of autonomy is one of the key areas for differentiation between roles and where they sit within the professional hierarchy. As Bell notes of women working in the UK film industry, it is the case that 'those above the line have creative autonomy, while those below merely follow instructions.'⁶⁷⁶ If we are to characterise the women discussed in this chapter in such terms, it is true to say that they demonstrate a greater level of autonomy than some of the other women discovered in WFSA, and also that their filmic output evidences a more 'serious' intent. Professional terminology is routinely applied in critical works throughout amateur cinema studies which, as a result, often prioritises the work of individuals with more serious

⁶⁷⁶ Bell, p. 3.

intentions or with professional aspirations, over the work of others including those with fewer extant films or films covering largely family-oriented content. How this manifests in their work and their biographies will be considered in this chapter.

7.1 A continuum of filmmaking practice

The notion of the serious amateur was first theorised in the late 1970s by sociologist Robert Stebbins, and then further developed in relation to filmmaking practices by Craven⁶⁷⁷ and later acknowledged by other writers such as Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman.⁶⁷⁸ Stebbins discussing leisure pursuits, differentiates between 'popular' and 'serious'⁶⁷⁹ leisure which he characterises through a series of oppositional qualities, extrapolated by Craven in his 2009 text.⁶⁸⁰ Stebbins outlines that the hobbyist (pursuing casual, popular leisure) is distinct from the amateur (pursuing serious leisure) and that the latter occupy an ambiguous state of being 'neither dabblers nor professionals'.⁶⁸¹ Craven's nuanced take on the concept goes further in unpacking the terms in saying that:

'One of the things that Stebbins makes clear, is that what's at stake here is a matter of choice: the amateur can adopt a serious or casual approach, but that either way, his or her achievement will be measured against an absolute standard—in this case that defined by the mainstream professionalised cinema.'⁶⁸²

This interpretation, when applied to amateur filmmaking practices is based on the tenet that the serious amateur is a subset of amateur filmmakers more generally or in other words, the serious amateur sits at one extreme of practice and the casual 'point-and-shoot' amateur at the other. Features identifying these serious filmmakers include 'perseverance', 'systematic pursuit', 'careerist character', a 'calculated' approach and being 'outcome

⁶⁷⁷ Craven.

⁶⁷⁸ Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*.

⁶⁷⁹ Stebbins, *Amateurs: On the Margin between Work and Leisure*, p. 260.

⁶⁸⁰ Craven, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁸¹ Stebbins, *Amateurs: On the Margin between Work and Leisure*, pp. 260, 271 Stebbins applies the term 'amateur' to indicate a more serious application of a pastime, which in its more casual form he describes as merely 'hobbyists'. The later term does not seem to have been adopted by amateur cinema discourse but rather, all amateurs are on a single continuum with the serious amateur representing one extreme. .

⁶⁸² Craven, p. 13.

focused'.⁶⁸³ Traces of these attributes can be found in a filmmaker's legacy within and outside of the archive and can contribute to assessment of their practice.⁶⁸⁴

A clear connection was made in early amateur filmmaking literature between seriousness and editing. Abbott's 1935 *Complete 9.5mm Cinematographer* is explicit in equating seriousness with the editing of processed film.⁶⁸⁵ The earlier edition of the same text laments that 'Far too many Baby Ciné users allow their films to remain just as they are after development, mounting them or having them mounted, in the small reels [...].'⁶⁸⁶ The serious female amateurs evidenced in WFSA demonstrate a sustained and consistent use of editing which can be identified through a combination of viewing on screen content and observing the physical qualities of the extant reels. Extant edited reels of 9.5mm are typically greater in size than the standard charger or packet of film as purchased unexposed (around 30ft),⁶⁸⁷ a sign that more than one reel of exposed and processed film has been spliced together. 16mm did come in longer lengths, and extant edited films of this gauge are often correspondingly longer. Conversely, where films are on small 'closed' reels (as described by Abbott above) with no edits, implies that the filmmaker took a more casual approach, as is the case with Dr Margaret Envys (née Wood) Kaines-Thomas ('Peggy') (5 July 1908 - 13 June 1981), whose work (pictured Figure 30) was processed by Pathéscope and returned in a ready-to-project canister with printed paper label. These canisters are what Pathéscope described as 'closed' reels (see Figure 31). Abbott's 1935 guide describes this approach with disdain when he says that '[...] there are many who [...] project them, faults and all, before their friends -without titles, without sequence and without meaning'.⁶⁸⁸ The same source further compounds this pejorative view by saying 'Those who adopt this method – if method it can be called – are depriving themselves and their friends of most of the enjoyment of amateur cinematography [...].'⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸³ Craven, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁸⁴ In WFSA there are more readily apparent serious male amateurs including: AV535 Gerald Alistair Gordon Sawrey-Cookson (1918-1973), AV419 Dudley Shaw Ashton (1909-1993).

⁶⁸⁵ '[...] but we have said that editing can be (and, among really serious cinematographers, usually is) a much more complicated business.' Harold B Abbott, *The Complete 9.5mm Cinematographer* (London: Illife and Sons, 1935), p. 137.

⁶⁸⁶ Harold B Abbott, *Motion Pictures with the Baby Cine* (Andover: Chapel River Press, 1930), p. 79.

⁶⁸⁷ 9.5mm film was typically sold on 28-30ft lengths and 16mm Abbott, *The Complete 9.5mm Cinematographer*, p. 11.

⁶⁸⁸ Abbott, *The Complete 9.5mm Cinematographer*, p. 135.

⁶⁸⁹ Abbott, *The Complete 9.5mm Cinematographer*, p. 135.

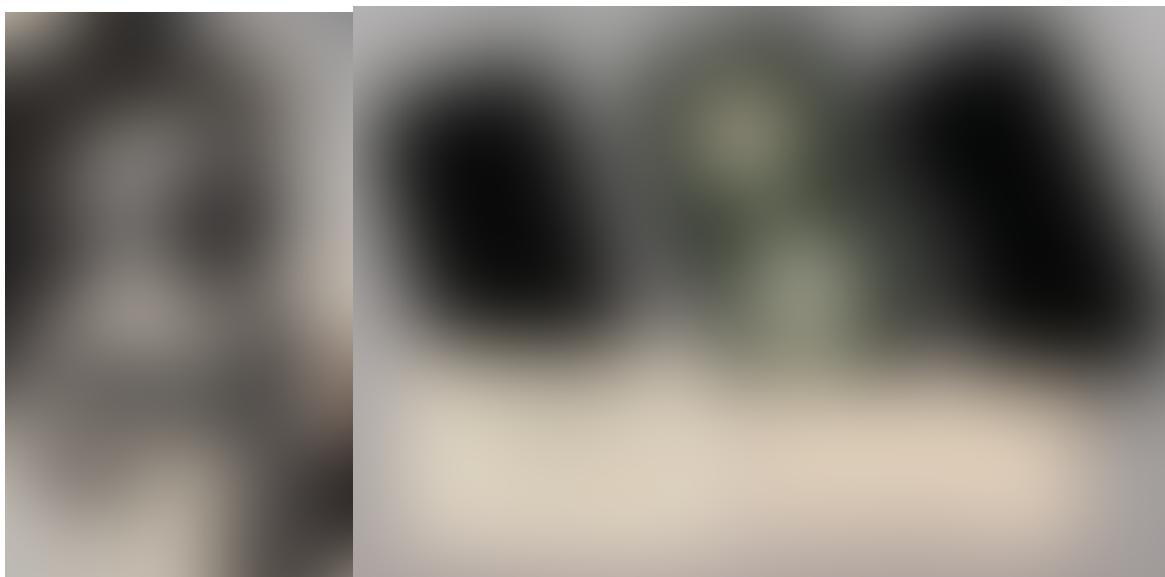


Figure 30: Processed 'closed' canisters of film recorded by Dr Margaret Kaines-Thomas AV338 [Credit: WFSA]

Figure 31: Pathéscope chargers and processing documentation.[Credit: Grahame Newnham]

The serious amateur may have a history of attending or hosting public screenings of their work, demonstrating a willingness to be recognised for their artistic endeavours and to engage in discussion about it with people outside of their immediate peer group. Emma Fritchley is documented as having hosted multiple public screenings,⁶⁹⁰ and similarly Eda Moore's work was screened at civic events in Salisbury.⁶⁹¹ Eda Moore also spoke with local journalists, giving an interview to the *Salisbury Times and Journal* (some time before 1980) wherein she discussed her filmmaking practice.⁶⁹² This tendency amongst the more serious for self-promotion is often documented through their involvement in wider networks which might include amateur filmmaking societies, local press or more informal community organisations. It may also be evidenced in privately held paper documents, for example notebooks with details of screening programmes.⁶⁹³ It is also possible to trace evidence of these women's organised and systematic approach in their extant collections. For example, a multifaceted collection of extant items might include multiple projectors and cameras, self-produced films, commercially purchased films, splicing, and editing equipment,

⁶⁹⁰ *Portsmouth Evening News; Hampshire Telegraph*.

⁶⁹¹ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁶⁹² Newspaper article by Jo Silcox seen on screen in AV18/384 *Past and Present: Salisbury Films (BBC South Today) (1996)* / WFSA / Film.

⁶⁹³ This is the case for Robert G Torrens whose AV14/D1 Scrapbook provides a plethora of ephemera regarding events he was involved in.

scrapbooks, hobby or trade magazines, developing equipment, perforators, printers, organisational membership documentation and other filmmaking ephemera. In some cases, there may be oral history evidence from depositors confirming that a larger collection existed 'before' and on more than one occasion WFSA has been in a position of being offered an entire collection as described above.⁶⁹⁴ The serious amateur produced outcome-focused content and demonstrates a level of forethought around what material has been recorded and how it has been subsequently arranged in the final edit. This could manifest in a number of ways, it may be as simple as assigning a considered title to a film, rather than a perfunctory date and/or basic description. For example AV509/4 *Salisbury Through the Seasons* (1935-1970)⁶⁹⁵ by Eda Moore describes a compilation of film taken between 1935 and 1970 which is considerably more contrived compared to Nancy Bealing's film AV5/4 *Black and White film*,⁶⁹⁶ where the title has been applied with little or no thought to describe the content above the physical qualities of the film.

There is no evidence that any of the serious women amateurs in WFSA turned professional during their lifetime, and therefore it is challenging to consider them as 'careerist' in their approach. However, there are examples of male filmmakers who made the transition to professional work including Dudley Shaw Ashton (29 June 1909 - March 1993) and Walter A Hibberd (23 October 1897 - October 1944), which can provide a useful comparator. These men made a clear move towards professionalisation which differs from their female counterparts in so far as much as there was a distinct pecuniary benefit attached to their transition and the serious female amateurs in WFSA remained unpaid. As will be described below, the serious female amateurs in WFSA demonstrate a quiet commitment to their art and preferred to share their work widely through their own networks rather than seeking a national (or international) stage. Some might be more likely to express their drive and industriousness through other avenues in their lives, with filmmaking playing significant role in this, as in the case of Emma Fritchley. Others, such as Eda Moore, pursued quietly held

⁶⁹⁴ These are typically split on the basis of WFSA's collecting remit which dictates only films reflecting the geographical focus of the collection. Recommendations are usually provided to deposit such items with local museums. Records of rejected items are not consistently collected.

⁶⁹⁵ AV509/4 *Eda Moore Films: Salisbury Through the Seasons (1935-1970)* | WFSA | Film.

⁶⁹⁶ 'AV5/4 Bealing Films: Black and White Film (1946-48)' | WFSA | Film'.

aspirations of receiving recognition - one newspaper article, for which she was interviewed described her as an 'amateur filmmaker with a professional reputation'.⁶⁹⁷

Emma Fritchley and Eda Moore are both women filmmakers that I describe here as serious amateurs. My analysis draws on our existing knowledge and assumptions about their serious male counterparts but also situates these women on a continuum of cine-engagement, where they represent some of the most committed and technically proficient. Both women demonstrate a consistent and sustained engagement with cine over many decades which is evidenced in extant films and through supporting contextual sources. Their biographies are richly coloured by global experiences, social interactions and supported by an unfailingly stable financial infrastructure. Moreover, these women demonstrate a level of autonomy that allowed a freedom of expression and served to safeguard their legacy for future generations.

7.2 Perseverance

Perseverance is described as the 'continued effort to do or achieve something, even when this is difficult or takes a long time'.⁶⁹⁸ There are a number of factors to unpack here that describe facets of the serious amateur including: effort, the time and energy deployed in pursuit of the activity; achievement, the attainment of a worked for outcome; difficulty, the level of skill needed to partake and finally, sustaining these qualities over a long period of time. The serious amateurs communicated here, Emma Fritchley and Eda Moore, both meet these key criteria, yet they do so in unique ways that reflect their own circumstances and in such a manner that make them distinct from their male counterparts and other women filmmakers.

Emma Fritchley (11 April 1902 - 28 October 1994)⁶⁹⁹ was born in Portsmouth to parents of modest means. She had three siblings and grew up in a busy household where her mother undertook household duties unsupported by domestic staff. Her father, who was in the

⁶⁹⁷ Salisbury Times and Journal article pictured on screen in *AV18/384 Past and Present: Salisbury Films (BBC South Today) (1996) / WFSA / Film*.

⁶⁹⁸ "Perseverance" Dictionary Entry, *Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023
<<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/perseverance>>.

⁶⁹⁹ See Appendix E for full profile.

Royal Navy, forged an upward career trajectory and moved his family to India in 1913,⁷⁰⁰ securing a comfortable untroubled upbringing for his children for the duration of the First World War. While in India Emma Fritchley completed her secondary education,⁷⁰¹ and shortly after finishing met and married Cecil Edwin Fritchley (1889-1961) who was a respected architect in his father's firm.⁷⁰² Her father-in-law and her own father's positions in India cement her upbringing very much within the realm of colonial experience at a time when the British Empire still held strong. The married couple moved back to the UK in the early 1920s',⁷⁰³ and they forged a life together in the Portsmouth and Fareham area untroubled by financial concerns. Emma Fritchley, without a paid occupation was industrious in her pursuits outside of the home, she was financially comfortable and able to deploy her time how she chose. She was ideally positioned to channel time and energy into filmmaking and to introduce her pastime into other areas of her life. She took a considered approach to acquiring and learning cine skills which she was able to realise as complete edited reels of film, descriptively titled. These fruits of her labour were then screened within and outside of the home, at community events and family gatherings.⁷⁰⁴ Demonstrating both a technical proficiency and pragmatic framing of her subjects, Emma Fritchley epitomises perseverance, with films extant from five decades of the twentieth century and a strong oral tradition that speaks of her practices.

Not unlike Emma Fritchley, Eda Moore (16 April 1908 - 19 August 1995) was born into modest circumstances to hard working, economically mobile parents. Her father, Francis James was a bootmaker by trade, and having been schooled in the industry by his own father grew to be a successful businessman. Eda Moore was born in Johannesburg and underwent schooling in Natal,⁷⁰⁵ she made many trips between the UK and South Africa over the years before permanently settling in Salisbury, Wiltshire sometime after 1923.⁷⁰⁶ The family's many sea voyages were always made in the comfort of first class.⁷⁰⁷ As a point of

⁷⁰⁰ The P&O Himalaya departed London on 1 October 1913.

⁷⁰¹ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁰² 'RIBA Architecture Library Catalogue'.

⁷⁰³ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁰⁴ Friday 20 November 1931 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 2.

⁷⁰⁵ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁰⁶ 23 July 1923 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

⁷⁰⁷ (30 July 1914 to Capetown) (24 September 1928 from Durban) 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2010., 1878); (30 July 1914 to Durban) (24 September 1928 from) Incoming 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'.

difference between Emma Fritchley and Eda Moore; Eda Moore continued her education after secondary school and received further education in London, studying drama and speech training at the London Guildhall and Royal Academy of Music and Dramatic Art.⁷⁰⁸ As a result of her training she would go on to teach at Shaftesbury High School and St Mary's Convent, whilst also offering private tuition to paying customers. These were paid positions which she occupied as a single working woman, without a husband and a family to raise. Eda Moore was ideally situated to occupy her leisure time with filmmaking. In 1939 she was living in her parents' large double-fronted property and working as a 'teacher of music', the 1939 register also notes that she was a member of the Women's Voluntary Service,⁷⁰⁹ mirroring the community work of Emma Fritchley. Like Emma Fritchley, Eda Moore carved out time amongst her commitments to pursue filmmaking and she did so consistently for five decades, with extant work spanning the 1930s through to the 1970s. Unlike Emma Fritchley, Eda Moore's films evidence an increased sense of self awareness, which will be explored later in this chapter.

7.3 Systematic pursuit

Emma Fritchley acquired a cine camera in around 1929, which coincided with the birth of her daughter that year. Between 1929 and 1963 she produced eighteen edited reels of film, using a 16mm Cine-Kodak camera and representing a modest corpus of film material relative to other female filmmakers in the WFSA collection. Her filmic output is not dissimilar in texture to that of other women of this period including Edith Congleton, whose collections are a blend of family scenes and community facing actuality. However, this extant evidence considered alongside oral testimony and documentary sources supports categorisation of her as a serious amateur. Moreover, it is known that throughout her life Emma Fritchley would take opportunities as they arose to use film in community settings, and film screenings were a feature of many of the events that she was involved in.⁷¹⁰ We know that she was keen to experiment with film, with relatives recalling how she sourced film stock from Kodak in London and how 'she often tried to be experimental, once trying to take a picture, on her old box brownie still camera, of herself in a series of mirrors without

⁷⁰⁸ 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists'; 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁰⁹ 'England and Wales Register'.

⁷¹⁰ Saturday 29 December 1951 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 5.

the camera showing'.⁷¹¹ Her sustained use of cine between the 1920s and the 1960s is supplemented by a life-long interest in film in a wider context. She went on to become a founding member of the film club in Fareham at the Ashcroft Centre (which opened in 1989) and was 'never adverse to going to see even the most obscure films'.⁷¹² She was also keen to pass on her knowledge and skills, with family members recalling that she liked to involve the whole family in her filmmaking activities. Cutting and splicing became a shared pastime, with her enthusiasm fostering in her grandchildren their own desire to make films.

If number of extant items can be taken as indicative of serious filmmaking intent, the collection of Eda Moore speaks volumes, numbering some sixty-four reels and fifty-four tapes.⁷¹³ She is by far the most prolific female filmmaker evidenced in WFSA and her work demonstrates a singly outward looking perspective with a keen awareness of her intended audience. Her carefully crafted works include an array of creatively named compilations including *Salisbury Then and Now* (1939 to 1963)⁷¹⁴ (which utilises some of her early material), *Heart of England - in Place, Time and Spirit* (1950s)⁷¹⁵ and *Salisbury Through the Seasons* (1935 to 1970).⁷¹⁶ The earliest extant film produced by Eda Moore dates from 1934, though she made a practice of retrospectively splicing together much earlier material with footage she had produced later on; as a result some of the titles above include date ranges rather than a single year of production.

This thesis is based on analysis of public facing records and, on this basis, Eda Moore appears to have been far more prolific from the 1950s onwards (as a result, much of her publicly available filmic output is outside the scope of this thesis). That said, WFSA have indicated that much of Eda Moore's collection is uncatalogued and therefore remains in 'draft' state (not visible to the public) with many items assigned a broad date range (1935 to 1983) and only a handful of items with more specific dates of production including *Sails set for Africa* (1934) parts 1 and 2.⁷¹⁷ As a filmmaker forged in the first half of the twentieth century her persona and overall output offers a considerable insight into women amateurs

⁷¹¹ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷¹² 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷¹³ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷¹⁴ AV509/3 *Eda Moore Films: Salisbury Then and Now* (1963) | WFSA | Film.

⁷¹⁵ AV509/14 *Eda Moore Films: Heart of England - in Place, Time and Spirit* (1950s) | WFSA | Film.

⁷¹⁶ AV509/4 *Eda Moore Films: Salisbury Through the Seasons* (1935-1970) | WFSA | Film (1935-1970).

⁷¹⁷ AV509/37 *Sails Set for Africa, - Part 1* (1934) | WFSA | Film; AV509/38 *Sails Set for Africa, Part 2* (1934) | WFSA | Film.

at this time. She pursued her pastime with dogged determination and commitment and was accustomed to carrying her cine camera with her much of the time, to catch moments of interest as they occurred. She is quoted in 1963 as saying: 'I had my small Cine Camera in my handbag as usual and hope I have secured a few pictures in black and white'.⁷¹⁸ She was keen to experiment with new technologies and was more active in the 1960s than earlier periods, during this time she produced many audio recordings, some to accompany her films and others mapping her interest in both local history and music.⁷¹⁹

7.4 Careerist character

As I have already mentioned, serious female amateurs in WFSA do not evidence obvious professional filmmaking aspirations and they do not appear to pursue recognition in this field above all else, in ways that you might expect of those described as having a 'careerist' approach to filmmaking. However, they do exhibit determination in progressing their standing within unpaid, community-centric roles. Emma Fritchley did not have a paid occupation⁷²⁰ for much of her life however, she was a committed and enthusiastic worker within her community. Her unpaid labour took a multitude of forms, and her cine use was a facet of this despite an absence of professional filmmaking aspirations. As a leading member of the Women's Fellowship and the Townswomen's Guild of Fareham⁷²¹ she was a stalwart figure providing support and guidance to local women throughout the war years, particularly in relation to home management and rationing. She had a performative flair⁷²² and took on the role as 'Drama Lead' in these organisations as well as being instrumental in organising centenary celebrations for Fareham in 1949.⁷²³ Her continued good standing was recognised when she was appointed Chair of the Townswomen's Guild in 1948.⁷²⁴ Her activities took a political turn from 1950 when she was elected to represent Fareham West Ward alongside Percy J Bennett.⁷²⁵ Just a few months later she resigned from her role as

⁷¹⁸ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷¹⁹ Duncan Harrison, 'Getting to Know Eda Moore: Keep Sounds', 2021 <<https://keep-sounds.com/2021/07/08/getting-to-know-eda-moore/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁷²⁰ 'England and Wales Register'.

⁷²¹ Friday 25 October 1946 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 14.

⁷²² *Hampshire Telegraph*.

⁷²³ Thursday 20 October 1949 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 5.

⁷²⁴ Friday 19 November 1948 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 10.

⁷²⁵ Saturday 20 May 1950 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 13.

chairperson of the Townswomen's Guild,⁷²⁶ to take a more active stance in the Women Conservatives Association.⁷²⁷ Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Emma Fritchley cemented her position in the Fareham community through various events and activities – being elected as Chairman of Fareham District Council in June 1956,⁷²⁸ and as President of the Townswomen's Guild.⁷²⁹ To supplement this Emma Fritchley is known to have also been a 'leading figure in the Citizens Advice Bureau and WRVS'.⁷³⁰ It was her role as 'Joint Local Organiser' of WRVS that is cited in the notice of the New Years' honours announced in January 1975 when she was awarded the British Empire Medal (BEM). Throughout the continuance of her many roles and duties she remained a passionate advocate for film and actively sought opportunities to bring film into her work.

Eda Moore presents an alternative take on the 'careerist' character outlined by Stebbins, as it is known that her dying wish was to have her work recognised by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).⁷³¹ Extant films and our contextual knowledge of her contribute to an overall perception of her as an educated woman, and a technically skilled diligent filmmaker. Her films are clearly shot, well lit, edited and compiled with precision. If she did not publicly seek professional recognition during her lifetime, it was not through a lack of aspiration in her practice. Her posthumous recognition through the moniker "The First Lady of Salisbury Film",⁷³² consolidates her position as a serious amateur with unrealised professional aspirations. Her sustained commitment to filmmaking in the Salisbury area brought her acclaim, and her films were deposited with WFSA through links with the BBC who broadcast a television programme about her and her work in 1996.⁷³³

Stebbins (and then Craven) are keen to recognise the 'careerist character' of the serious amateur and ascribe to them a tendency to chase pecuniary benefit. I contend that this characteristic is covertly gendered, does not chime with the two women considered in this chapter (as discussed above) and fails to recognise the different relationships to paid and unpaid labour that men and women have. I have discussed elsewhere the notion of unpaid

⁷²⁶ Friday 21 July 1950 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 14.

⁷²⁷ Thursday 17 May 1951 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 9.

⁷²⁸ Friday 01 June 1956 *Hampshire Telegraph*.

⁷²⁹ Friday 04 December 1959 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 7.

⁷³⁰ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷³¹ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷³² 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷³³ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

labour in relation to the social function of women's memory making within the family, but here it is pertinent to reflect on these concepts in the light of discussion on the serious woman amateur. Okin rightly points out that the concept of public and private realms as distinct, separate spheres 'depends on the view of society from a traditional male perspective that tacitly assumes different natures and roles for men and women.'⁷³⁴ The way in which the serious female amateur functions can be said to challenge the patriarchally defined⁷³⁵ realms and the gendered division of labour within them, as she steps outside of the cossetted, boundaried confines of familial memory recording and into an wider circle of participation within her local community. As a result, these women not only contribute to the capturing and assembly of the domestic archive, but they enter public life through an open dialogue mediated by their filmic output that augments the collective local memory.

There has been a tendency to consider the unpaid subsistence, caring⁷³⁶ and social work of women as 'frivolous and insignificant.'⁷³⁷ This work, if we subscribe to the Marxist/feminist paradigm is undertaken chiefly within the private realm of the home and is to be considered 'productive' and should be 'respected within the social hierarchy of the capitalist system.'⁷³⁸ The filmic output of the two serious women amateurs considered here epitomises the outcomes called for by Marxist/feminist scholars in so far as much as they both produced public facing work and that they were socially active in their own right; their films were respected and revered by local communities and received recognition. In some respects, they embody the change that the Marxist/feminists called for, they transcend boundaries and receive recognition independent of male involvement. However, the production of this corpus of film material was undertaken on an unpaid basis, and whatever the aspirations of the producers they were fatally confined to remain as hobbyist, leisurely endeavours. These same limitations were not imposed on the serious male amateur, who could if he wished and was possessed of sufficient ability, progress to paid work in the film industry as an alternative to his primary occupation.

⁷³⁴ Susan Moller Okin, *Gender, Justice and the Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 133.

⁷³⁵ Lorber, p. 176.

⁷³⁶ Lorber, p. 174.

⁷³⁷ Malcahy, p. 300.

⁷³⁸ Jacquilyn Weeks, 'Un-/Re-Productive Maternal Labor: Marxist Feminism and Chapter Fifteen of Marx's Capital', *Rethinking Marxism*, 23.1 (2011), 31–40 (p. 33) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2011.536327>>.

Patriarchal society dictates that men are the productive workers within capitalist society and that women's labour (in the private or public sphere) is of a lower value than that undertaken by men.⁷³⁹ The serious woman amateur was therefore restricted from progressing her filmmaking from a hobby to a career; she could not be careerist in nature – because society would not permit it of her. Despite that fact that these two women took steps to challenge their positions in the patriarchal capitalist order, they come up short when compared to their male counterparts because they did not professionalise their practice. The fact that they achieved as much as they did, is testament to how much harder they had to work, than their male counterparts in order to be recognised.

7.5 Planning consideration, forethought

Stebbins' serious amateur takes a 'calculated' approach, demonstrates forethought, planning and deliberation. There are traces of these behaviours within the extant work of both Emma Fritchley and Eda Moore. In the case of Emma Fritchley, we know that she started filmmaking around the time she gave birth to her daughter, this itself was not uncommon and many filmmakers (male and female) acquired cine cameras with the sole purpose of memorialising their children's early experiences.⁷⁴⁰ To supplement this, we can make observations on her methods of film acquisition. She was not a passive consumer and made efforts to procure film stock from London suppliers as well as contriving to acquire early access to colour film through a relative in the USA.⁷⁴¹ Emma Fritchley was instrumental in organising screenings in her community which would require knowledge of the audience and planning skills, it would also require her to select appropriate films to screen and in some cases to record film expressly for the purpose of screening to an audience. Her awareness of audience demand for locally shot actuality footage is evident in such films as AV43/4 *Portsdown Hill Fair* (1930),⁷⁴² AV43/6 *Fox hunt meet at Fair Oak* (1930),⁷⁴³ AV43/16 *Southsea Model Railway and Canoe Lake* (c.1937).⁷⁴⁴ Such films sit alongside more typical

⁷³⁹ bell hooks, 'Feminist Theory : From Margin to Center' (New York ; Routledge, 2015) <<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=862044>>.

⁷⁴⁰ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 66.

⁷⁴¹ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁴² AV43/4 *Fritchley Films: Portsdown Hill Fair* (1930) | WFSA | Film.

⁷⁴³ AV43/6 *Fritchley Films: Fox Hunt Meet at Fair Oak (Hampshire)* (1930) | WFSA | Film.

⁷⁴⁴ AV43/16 *Fritchley Films: Southsea Model Railway and Canoe Lake* (1937) | WFSA | Film.

amateur output, including a travelogue of her family holiday to the USA and Canada in 1937 (AV43/10 *Fritchley Films: America and Canada*, (1937)).⁷⁴⁵

Travelogues are also a feature of Eda Moore's work. Eda Moore travelled further afield and far more frequently than Emma Fritchley with her extant films evidencing travels to South Africa, the Scilly Isles, Malta, Italy, Greece, USA and Canada.⁷⁴⁶ We know that cine was embedded into her everyday life and that her camera was a tool that she made use of regularly, she ensured this by carrying it in her handbag. She demonstrated a flair for innovation in her deployment of technology but also in self-promotion. Her work was screened to local community groups within Salisbury, and she actively sought opportunities in more formal settings, for example at the 'opening of the new City Hall'.⁷⁴⁷

7.6 Legacy

As historians we are reliant on the discoveries within the archive, the exhumed remnants of a past life, from which we are left to piece together a patchwork narrative.⁷⁴⁸ This retelling, the process of attempting to know the unknowable sees us add narrative flesh to skeletal fragments which exist to a greater or lesser degree of completeness. In the case of the serious female amateur there often exists a complete blueprint and a foundation upon which we historians might construct an imagined superstructure. These features are distinctive from many other women in the collection where extant evidence and contextual data is scarce or non-existent. The serious woman amateur is knowable through, not only her films, but the equipment she used and retained, the ephemera she collated and stored and an oral historical tradition giving voice to her practices. Emma Fritchley's collection was accessioned into WFSA in 1995. At the same time her substantial personal archive was split apart, with her filmmaking and projection equipment finding a home within Hampshire Museums Service.⁷⁴⁹ Her relatives recount that this equipment was often brought out during family occasions and that it was a positive communal experience of intergenerational film appreciation. These shared encounters gave Emma Fritchley the opportunity to 'replay

⁷⁴⁵ AV43/10 *Fritchley Films: America and Canada, Parts 1 and 2* (1937) | WFSA | Film.

⁷⁴⁶ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷⁴⁷ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁷⁴⁸ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 3.

⁷⁴⁹ Now Hampshire Cultural Trust. Her collection was on display at Westbury Manor Museum in Fareham for some time.

history' (her words) to transfer the 'presence of the past' 'in the present'.⁷⁵⁰ Within her extant film collection are a number of commercially produced film reels⁷⁵¹ which verify what we know of her viewing practices outside of her own film production, she was both a producer and a consumer of film.⁷⁵²

Emma Fritchley's legacy is predominantly transmuted into fact by her descendants who continue the oral tradition and articulate the shared filmmaking practices enjoyed as a family. This evidence read alongside the archival traces of her public life, and her extant films situate her among the more serious of amateurs. Her extant work alone could not have substantiated this position, she is given voice only through the critical synthesis of excavated archival sources. Her legacy contrasts with that of Eda Moore, whose own voice is amplified as she advocates for her work beyond the grave. Both women were single (or widowed) at the time of their death, yet it is Eda Moore whose dying wishes are enacted, recorded and respected with the most constancy. Eda Moore did not marry and had no offspring on to whom she could pass her work; she therefore took steps to ensure both her work and practices would be recognised through connections with the BBC and through efforts that she made during her lifetime to self-promote.⁷⁵³

7.7 The valorisation of a few

I have already established that serious female amateurs are more likely to receive scholarly attention than other female amateurs, since their work aligns more closely with industry accepted notions of what it means to be a filmmaker. As prolific lone workers the women considered here align more closely with theories of authorship, moreover, it is these women whose work is most visible in WFSA, and which has been most prominent in the years preceding this research. This prominence is a result of the characteristics, identified by Stebbins, which translate into easily historicised facts, tangible features with concrete

⁷⁵⁰ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?* quoting ; Anthony. T A - T T - Appiah, 'Thinking It through : An Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy' (Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 122 <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10085289>>.

⁷⁵¹ AV43/3 Fritchley Films: *George VI Coronation* (1937) | WFSA | Film; AV43/9 Fritchley Films: *George V Jubilee* (1937) | WFSA | Film; AV43/11 Fritchley Films: *Royal Wedding: Princess Marina* (1937) | WFSA | Film; AV43/22 Fritchley Films: *Coronation Part 2* (1953) | WFSA | Film; AV43/23 Fritchley Films: *Elizabeth Is Queen* (1953) | WFSA | Film.

⁷⁵² Many later accessions would reject commercial prints, therefore removing the opportunity to analyse home viewing practices

⁷⁵³ 'Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007, 1858) <www.ancestry.co.uk>.

evidence located within the milieu in which these women functioned. The work of these women and how they rise to prominence in the collection is analogous for panning for gold. Their catalogue entries are ‘weightier’ than other women amateurs, they are abundant with biographical detail and clear unambiguous attributions, therefore they remain visible in the ‘pan’. The ‘lighter’ catalogue entries – with patchier biographies, ambiguous or even incorrect attributions simply float off back into the semi-anonymity of the catalogue.

Serious female amateurs in WFSA are present but they are fewer in number than women who might be categorised in other ways. The quantity of existing items cannot be used to identify them alone, being prolific is not necessarily a reliable indicator of serious intent. Doris Campbell, for example demonstrates a level of technical skill above many of the other women considered in this thesis – she was also prolific, producing fifty-three reels of film. However, there is no evidence to suggest that cine was a life-long pursuit sustained over many decades for her and indeed, her son recalled in my interview with them, that Doris rarely mentioned her filmmaking activities. Her only son recalls having stumbled upon his mother and grandmother’s equipment in the attic and whiling away hours with these playthings, alone.⁷⁵⁴ Filmmaking was a part of Doris Campbell’s life, only while it served a purpose for her – but outside of this it became a redundant hobby. Edith Congleton’s collection is similarly large,⁷⁵⁵ and as with Emma Fritchley reflects family life and community activities. However, her work demonstrates little editing or application of titles, and the abundance of film speaks more of a moneyed point-and-shoot amateur than it does of a serious amateur.

The serious women amateurs discussed here tended to cast a wider net with their filmmaking activities, creating connections with their work in the community and integrating these experiences with other parts of their life. Filmmaking was not simply a single isolated component of their lives – it became fully integrated into almost every aspect of their public and private selves over a sustained period. These women were more likely to exhibit their work to people outside of their immediate family, they would be more inclined to discuss their work in public spheres and would not be averse to appearing in the local press.

⁷⁵⁴ Burgess, ‘Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams’, p. 6.

⁷⁵⁵ Fifty-six reels are listed under AV254 Congleton of Minstead films.

As I have outlined amateur cinema discourse has traditionally positioned amateur filmmaking as a ‘feminized cultural practice’,⁷⁵⁶ an assertion based on a combination of contemporary marketing rhetoric aimed at women and the site of production being located within the private sphere of the home. Despite this topography, women filmmakers are in the minority. In the collection of WFSA, women amateurs are present, but they are less populous than their male counterparts and this is particularly true for ‘serious’ women amateurs. The serious woman is, on the one hand more visible than her female peers because she and her work is accompanied by a corpus of contextual information and on the other, less visible than her serious male peers as a direct consequence of her gender and an entrenched association with the private sphere of the home.

The public/private dichotomy dictates that female experiences of amateur filmmaking stem from their natural roles as mothers and ‘as successful memory keepers’.⁷⁵⁷ This social function is an element of unpaid labour that is evident even in instances of women filmmakers who did not have child rearing responsibilities e.g. Dorothy Bacon (1906-1998),⁷⁵⁸ Elizabeth Coleman (‘Molly’) (1897-1977),⁷⁵⁹ and Marjorie Glasspool (1902-1993).⁷⁶⁰ As Mulachy points out, ‘Women’s memory-keeping [...] is another example of the contradictions of women’s family life; women are expected to do this work, yet they are also expected to experience it as leisurely’.⁷⁶¹ The interaction between leisure time and unpaid labour in the home is particularly pertinent to consider in the case of the two serious amateurs described in this chapter, who both undertook to work within and outside of the home. Emma Fritchley in (presumably) unpaid positions in voluntary organisations and as a member of the council, was financially dependent on her husband and Eda Moore who was independently wealthy, chose to work outside of the home as a teacher. That both women were living lives in public spaces impacts our perception of them as dedicated filmmakers. They ventured forth into public (and therefore political)⁷⁶² life and their filmmaking practice

⁷⁵⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. xvii.

⁷⁵⁷ Malcahy, p. 290.

⁷⁵⁸ ‘AV691 Braishfield - Bacon Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁵⁹ ‘AV526 Amateur Film[s] Taken by Molly [Elizabeth] Coleman and Commercial Film about Royal Tour of South Africa (1930s) | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁶⁰ ‘AV414 Glasspool of Alton Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁶¹ Malcahy, p. 28.

⁷⁶² See Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 20 on ‘public’ vs ‘private’ patriarchy.

was not just a part of the personas that they projected; it was foundational to the construction of their public selves.

McLaughlin describes how acts of 'material consumption [can] become[..] an act of cultural production',⁷⁶³ and this is precisely what occurs in the case of women amateur filmmakers, and more specifically with the serious woman amateur. The work of Eda Moore and Emma Fritchley is elevated out of the private sphere of the home; their initial interactions with cine manifest as private acts of consumerism (they purchase a camera and associated equipment), and their sustained interactions with these devices have a transformative effect, as the women become themselves producers of cultural meaning. The interpretation of their work has hitherto been influenced by our perception of them as serious (and therefore, public) filmmakers – placing more value on their output because they were able to traverse the public/private divide. There is a sense that such work carries a higher cultural value because of its public nature, they are hence 'proper' filmmakers not 'just' making home movies. As I have intimated throughout this thesis, there are layers of presumption and generalisation effecting our understanding and assessment of women amateurs and their work, and the trope of the serious amateur (however valid) contributes to denigrating the work of less engaged, less prolific, or less technically proficient women. The work of the serious woman amateur is more visible because she operates in public.

Not only did filmmaking become an integral part of these women's lives, it was also absorbed within their personas. Their legacy is proliferated in how they are spoken about in the third person and how their descendants have since dealt with their collections, but also in how they chose to have their voices heard. In the case of Eda Moore, she knew she had to advocate for herself and her work after her death and spoke beyond the grave to ensure her work was preserved in the long term. In many respects, it is the intangible aspects of these filmmaker's legacies which contribute to how we define them. The human actions, behaviours and processes to which these women's' work was subject after their makers' death and before they came to an archive have a direct impact on how they are perceived in the present. There is considerable potential to improve our knowledge of women filmmakers if archival processes can be improved to reflect biographical nuances in the

⁷⁶³ McLaughlin, p. 31.

provenance of collections between the point of film creation and the point of accession to an archive. If this information (to include oral traditions conveyed by depositors) is collected at the point of accession and recorded appropriately, the work of more serious female amateurs could be surfaced.

The serious female amateur exhibits many of the characteristics outlined by Stebbins and further distilled by Craven, including perseverance, systematic pursuit, a careerist character, a calculated approach, and outcome focused behaviour.⁷⁶⁴ Yet, as I have explored in this chapter, these characteristics do not necessarily map onto the female filmmaking populace in a consistent and uniform way. Moreover, a rigid application of this criteria serves to valorise the work of a limited few women who align with industry notions of authorship and conversely, marginalise the work of many other women who fall short in one or other of these areas. Thus, we come back to the question of how we define the amateur and how we define a filmmaker. If, as Craven rightly points out, we acknowledge that the serious amateur is 'measured against an absolute standard' as 'defined by the mainstream professionalised cinema,'⁷⁶⁵ then we risk the valorisation of a few, at the expense of many more women filmmakers.

⁷⁶⁴ Craven, p. 8.

⁷⁶⁵ Craven, p. 13.

Chapter 8 The Archival Elision of Women in Regional Cine Clubs

This thesis has so far demonstrated that women working autonomously with amateur film are much more in evidence than previously believed in regional collections and that some of these women deployed cine in specific and clearly demarcated ways. However, there are women who have been identified in this study who do not necessarily conform to a type or set of behaviours, and this includes those active in cine clubs who are often subsumed within records of either the club itself, or more commonly, under the name of a prominent male member of the club who is more likely to have retained the extant reels before passing them on to an archive.⁷⁶⁶

Women involved in cine clubs encapsulate Gaines' phrase 'there but not there'.⁷⁶⁷ They are visually evident in the filmic output of the societies', yet no female names are present in the collection level entries for these clubs⁷⁶⁸ – they are not visible in the collection entries when you look for them. However, close examination of item level entries and a few moments watching any one of the films analysed in this study gives testament to the gender diversity of the participants. Women were present on and off screen - leading the action, recording, creating or otherwise active in the 'space-off' ('the space not visible in the frame but inferable from what the frames makes visible').⁷⁶⁹ Female involvement in these clubs has been vastly understated in the record and should have greater prominence at collection level.⁷⁷⁰ This apparent elision can be partly corrected through scrutiny of the catalogue and detailed textual analysis and other primary sources which serve to build a wider context for their work. My 'archival excavation'⁷⁷¹ supplements anecdotal evidence⁷⁷² and provides empirical data revealing that 30% of cine club participants were female and that women active in cine clubs were statistically more likely to be employed outside of the home and typically in clerical roles, than those working with cine autonomously. Empirical evidence reported in this thesis attests that cine clubs provided a unique opportunity for women from

⁷⁶⁶ Edmonds, 'Historical, Aesthetic, Cultural: The Problematical Value of Amateur Cine Fiction', p. 40.

⁷⁶⁷ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*

⁷⁶⁸ At the timing of writing (21 November 2022)

⁷⁶⁹ de Lauretis, p. 26.

⁷⁷⁰ A point also noted of other collections in EAFA.

⁷⁷¹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

⁷⁷² According to anecdotal evidence from club members membership was close to an equal gender split. Unpublished memoir quoted by David Clover A J Clover, *Memoir of A S Clover* <<https://dac3uk.wordpress.com/portsmouth-film-society/portsmouth-films/>>.

lower income backgrounds to engage in a socially accessible form of creative output that had both a social and artistic function and that these women's interactions with club life were embedded into their everyday experiences. Acknowledging their fragmented and often uncategorised involvement in the production of film in these contexts moves towards a model for cine-engagement that encompasses such interactions with parity, eschewing the 'great man' paradigm⁷⁷³ in favour of a more egalitarian reality.

Cine-engagement could take place in club contexts at any stage of the value chain (if it can be labelled such in the context of amateur production). This is usefully illustrated in a 1947 issue of *Amateur Cine World* (Figure 32). While not all the items featured in this matrix of activities formed part of club life, there are many elements representing opportunities for engagement in these environments. Notably, the largest and most prominent elements are 'film', 'camera', 'the subject', 'projector' and 'the screen'. These broadly map onto the value chain described by Porter, Bloor and Lung,⁷⁷⁴ in the film industry proper and demonstrate the many points at which club members could contribute. This graphic representation embodies the many possibilities for cine-engagement that were available to club members (and indeed, autonomous workers) and demonstrates just how narrow a focus there has been on attribution of club works to date.

⁷⁷³ David A Gerstner and Janet Staiger, *Authorship and Film*, AFI Film Readers, NV-1 onl (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013) <http://www.123library.org/book_details/?id=109966>.

⁷⁷⁴ Peter Bloore, *Re-Defining the Independent Film Value Chain*, 2009 <<https://www2.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/redefining-the-independent-film-value-chain.pdf>>.



Figure 32: Amateur Cine World, December 1947 p.486

8.1 Excavating the archive

11 cine organisations and clubs were identified in WFSA during the collection survey undertaken for this thesis, these are itemised in Table 7.

Table 7: WFSA Cine Clubs	
Club name	Area linked to
Bournemouth Amateur Film Society	Bournemouth, now Dorset (but formerly part of Hampshire)
Crystal Productions - Bournemouth Film Club	
Crystal Pictures -Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle	
Cinema Section – Bournemouth Little Theatre Club	
Subsumed into:	
Bournemouth and New Forest Cine Club which later became Bournemouth and New Forest Movie Club ⁷⁷⁵	
High Wycombe Film Society	High Wycombe/Buckinghamshire
IAC Film	Institute of Amateur Cinematographers, national
Kodak Cine Club	National
Lymington Camera Club	Lymington, Hampshire
Portsmouth Film Society	Portsmouth, Hampshire
Solent Cine Club	Southampton, Hampshire
Solent Film Society dramas	Southampton, Hampshire
Regent Film Society (also known as Totton Film Society) ⁷⁷⁶	Totton, Hampshire
Winchester Amateur Cine Club	Winchester, Hampshire
Winchester Photographic Society.	Winchester, Hampshire

I have carried out detailed analysis of 4 clubs for this thesis, with scope for this to be developed in future work that could consider clubs with fewer films extant, or with less

⁷⁷⁵ In text I will use 'Bournemouth Film Club' to indicate if something was part of this group of organisations, which fed into one another over time.

⁷⁷⁶ I will refer to this club in the text as the Regent Film Society but will use terminology contained in the WFSA catalogue when referencing their works.

identifiable members. Some clubs (including AV615 Totton Film Society⁷⁷⁷ which appears also as AV587 Totton: Regent Film Society⁷⁷⁸) appear in more than one collection, with slightly differing attributes recorded against each AV reference. The 4 clubs discussed here reside in 6 collections.⁷⁷⁹ In addition to the 4 clubs discussed there is the potential to improve our understanding of the High Wycombe Film Society (HWFS), amongst others.⁷⁸⁰

It is worthy of observation here that the geographical location of the archive appears to have a direct correlation with the cine club collections extant in WFSA. WFSA is located in Winchester, Hampshire and is part of Hampshire County Council (HCC) and therefore it is unsurprising that 7 of the identified clubs are located within Hampshire. This raises the question about the absence of other cine club activities in the wider Wessex region,⁷⁸¹ it is likely that there were other clubs active during this period but whose films have not yet found their way into WFSA, if they remain extant at all. The 1933 *World Film Encyclopaedia* lists one hundred and eight UK based amateur societies, amongst them are Wessex based groups Crystal Productions (as mentioned above), Merton Motion Pictures⁷⁸² (Oxford) and Banbury Amateur Film Society.⁷⁸³ This localised cluster of cine clubs recalls my earlier discussion of regional film archives and the propensity of communities towards ‘keeping it local’; with potential depositors being reticent to see precious films archived out-of-county even when no other suitable storage repository is available.

8.1.1 The archival challenge of locating women in cine club settings

⁷⁷⁷ 'AV615 Totton Film Society | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁷⁸ 'AV587 Totton: Regent Film Society | WFSA | Collection'.

⁷⁷⁹ In these cases, my analysis considers metadata for both AV references but discusses these instances as one unified entity.

⁷⁸⁰ At the time of my collection survey only one film from this prolific society was extant in WFSA, yet wider reading of *Amateur Cine World* in the 1940s evidences a highly organised and engaged society that was a regular entrant and winner in the Institute of Amateur Cinematographer's (IAC) annual 'Ten Best' competition. As a result of my probing of this record, I have been able to reignite a previously discussed (but not actioned) notion of the High Wycombe Society to deposit the defunct film society's collection with an archive. In the summer of 2022, the collection of HWFS was finally deposited with WFSA for long term preservation. The collection which numbers some one hundred and fifteen items, represents a significant body of work and overlaps with the ongoing research being undertaken as part of the *Women in Focus* collaboration between the University of East Anglia and University of Maynooth, whose work has identified women filmmakers active within HWFS.

⁷⁸¹ Isle of Wight, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire

⁷⁸² Contact details listed as 'Frank Bowden, Merton College, Oxford'.

⁷⁸³ Winchester, p. 426.

Cine club collections are hampered by the same presumptions of homogeny proliferated by the instrument of the archive – the catalogue, as described in Chapter 4. This myth of homogeny is construed through a sustained consideration of club work that fails to allow item level entries to ‘speak to’ the collection level entries. Some clubs appear in the catalogue as discreet entities, for example AV577 Portsmouth Film Society⁷⁸⁴ and AV1291 Lymington Camera Club;⁷⁸⁵ others are nested within a corpus of work attributed to a named (male) filmmaker, as is the case with AV14 Torrens Films⁷⁸⁶ where the named filmmaker is Robert G Torrens and the work of Bournemouth Film Club is contained as item level entries.⁷⁸⁷ These complex record configurations mean that women’s involvement is often hidden behind that of a prominent male and therefore less likely to become apparent to the casual catalogue user. 3 out of 6 of these collections mention club participants by name at collection level, and all of these are male participants despite evidence uncovered by my research that each club had a considerable female contingent. 2 out of 6 of these collections mention named participants at item level and *both* of these feature the names of women.

Before I undertook this research the only named club participants recorded in the catalogue were there because they were self-evident in the film texts at the point of cataloguing: they were seen on screen. By combining on-screen credits in films, a wide-ranging analysis of local press and other archival documents it has been possible to compile a more extensive (though, not exhaustive) list of club members. The members who are included in this study, cannot represent the whole membership of a club. They are simply those who fill designated roles either in the club’s operation, in the production of extant films or who were custodians of extant films before they became part of the WFSA collection. This fact signals a further potential elision, in that reliance on documentary sources puts the recognition of women in un-defined or ancillary roles at risk, roles seemingly unworthy of attribution. Not all club films in this study provide credits for participants in ancillary roles, this is not to say that these activities did not take place. Each club would organise itself by ‘production units’⁷⁸⁸ with designated roles in lighting, costume, staging, make up and

⁷⁸⁴ ‘AV577 Portsmouth Film Society | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁸⁵ ‘AV1291 Lymington Camera Club | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁸⁶ ‘AV14 Torrens Films | WFSA | Collection’.

⁷⁸⁷ AV14/2 *Torrens Films: The Hand of Fate* (1933) | WFSA | Film; AV14/10 *Torrens Films: Retribution* (1931) | WFSA | Film; AV14/4 *Torrens Films: The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSA | Film.

⁷⁸⁸ Winchester, p. 422.

continuity but as ‘invisible’ aspects of the work they assume a ‘low status’ that often elides credit.⁷⁸⁹ These are exclusionary practices, and the way in which they are perpetuated in cine club settings is very similar to the circumstances described by director Sally Potter of women working in the professional film industry today.⁷⁹⁰

With very few exceptions all the cine clubs examined here evidence men in governance roles – the key players in every club were consistently male. Cine clubs adhered to the broader patriarchally controlled ‘structural processes’ that served to ‘restrict the opportunities’ of women participants.⁷⁹¹ An exception to this was Bournemouth Film Club where in several of its early iterations’ women held key organisational roles. Music teacher Georgina Elodie (née De Coninck) Grey was noted as having been Honorary Secretary (1930-1931), travelling beauty specialist Vera Lyons was treasurer (1931-1933) which was a role later also held by Muriel Beatrice M (née Cull) Farrow (1909-n.d). The role of Honorary Secretary, where named, in other clubs was typically occupied by a man, and Georgina Grey is unique in being credited to this prominent role in cine club governance within the clubs analysed here. Georgina Grey's position and that of Vera Lyons and Muriel Farrow were revealed through examination of contemporary press reports and archival paper records and could not have been revealed through extant films alone.⁷⁹² Club participant names simply do not always make it into a catalogue entry, films are not always catalogued exhaustively upon accession. Therefore, given the reliance on on-screen attribution it is unsurprising that so few female names are present in the catalogue. Exhaustive cataloguing, as seen in the records for AV14/2 *Hand of Fate* (1933)⁷⁹³ and others in the Torrens⁷⁹⁴ collection are more likely to include transcriptions of on-screen credits and, particularly if the film has been catalogued to SHUK guidelines, will include space for ‘credits’, ‘production’ and ‘casts’. These broad categories are sufficient provocation to record (most) of the roles associated with the production of the film -though the level of detail provided varies from film to film. The club films within the AV14 Torrens collection have been well catalogued and thus the names of women with direct involvement in the work are included

⁷⁸⁹ Bell, p. 4.

⁷⁹⁰ Sally Potter quoted in Bell, p. 4.

⁷⁹¹ Irving, p. 250.

⁷⁹² Friday 18 July 1930 *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 2.

⁷⁹³ AV14/2 *Torrens Films: The Hand of Fate* (1933) / WFSA / Film.

⁷⁹⁴ ‘AV14 Torrens Films | WFSA | Collection’.

in the catalogue entries.⁷⁹⁵ The situation is very different for the work of the Regent Film Society,⁷⁹⁶ which at the time of my collection survey had item level entries for only one film in its collection and this was not catalogued in detail, only a title was provided. Watching the club films AV615/1 *The Red King* (1935)⁷⁹⁷ and AV587/1 *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936)⁷⁹⁸ reveals the names of 6 female club participants, who are most often credited involvement as actors but also in continuity, costume, and props roles. Camera and directing is exclusively credited to male participants and in this case the name of Walter Hibberd reoccurs in multiple roles signalling his position as a leading figure in the operation of the group.

Without exception the final custodians of the club collections discussed here were all prominent male members of the societies – their names appearing on screen, in local press and ultimately in the catalogue entries. This male prominence in amateur club works mirrors a tendency towards auteurism as seen in the film industry proper, which Tasker notes as being ‘at worst reductive, at best naïve [and that] privileges the authored text over the complexities of context.’⁷⁹⁹ This rebuttal of auteur theory, the rejection of the ‘great man’ paradigm has a particular resonance with cine club works created in less formal, unregulated environments where club output is unavoidably imbricated in the context of its production – women were present in numbers in all of these club environments.

Furthermore, this relates to women’s role as memory keepers and how this is evidently limited to the exclusively private sphere of the family and this mirrors the division of labour echoed across other aspects of patriarchal society where, as Irving notes women’s labour has typically been confined to the domestic sphere.⁸⁰⁰ This relegation of women’s labour to the confines of the home results in a devaluing of their work that is typically deemed ‘unproductive’⁸⁰¹ (i.e., unremunerative). If female club members did exercise their role as ‘remembering mothers’, they did so only for their family and were not permitted to extend

⁷⁹⁵ AV14/4 *Torrens Films: The Broken Swastika* (1932) / WFSA / Film; AV14/10 *Torrens Films: Retribution* (1931) / WFSA / Film.

⁷⁹⁶ Sometimes referred to as the ‘Regent Film Society’.

⁷⁹⁷ Totton Film Society, AV615/1 *The Red King* (1935) / WFSA / Film.

⁷⁹⁸ AV587/1 *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936) / WFSA / Film.

⁷⁹⁹ Y Tasker, ‘Vision and Visibility Women Filmmakers, Contemporary Authorship, and Feminist Film Studies’, in *Reclaiming the Archive: Feminism and Film History*, ed. by V Callahan (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), pp. 213–30 (p. 213).

⁸⁰⁰ Irving, p. 243.

⁸⁰¹ Irving, p. 243.

this archival role to the club's activities where their 'natural'⁸⁰² memory building abilities held less value.

Female club members' lives rarely exhibit the stability afforded by men's consistent and 'continuous work histories',⁸⁰³ female lives are more likely to be punctuated (and disrupted) by life events such as marriage, child rearing and periods of unpaid work.⁸⁰⁴ Thus, women's cine club involvement demonstrates a mutability, an inconsistency that is not present for most male participants. The uninterrupted presence of key male participants throughout a society's lifespan aligns itself with an almost natural assumption that the extant films *should* be retained with these stalwart members, in preference to those whose involvement may have been in flux. The case of Bournemouth Film Club provides a key example of this phenomenon as Robert G Torrens (Honorary Secretary in all iterations of the club after 1931) retained the extant films and is a consistent presence throughout the clubs' various phases. This contrasts with the female committee members including Georgina Grey, Vera Lyons and Muriel Farrow who were all involved in key roles at some stage but moved in and out of club life at different times. Each woman left the club after their marriage.⁸⁰⁵ Dora A (née Cox) Phillips' (1904-n.d) involvement, however, is first mentioned in 1932 when she appears as an actor in *The Broken Swastika*, at which time she was already married and had children. Later in 1933 she is credited for camera work⁸⁰⁶ and then after a gap (most likely occupied with child rearing, it is believed she had four children) appears as 'Secretary' in the Cinema Section of the Bournemouth Little Theatre Club.⁸⁰⁷ Figure 33 includes the only pictorial evidence of a female camera worker behind the lens across all the WFSA cine club collections, this is most likely Dora Phillips.

⁸⁰² Irving, p. 245.

⁸⁰³ Bell, p. 7.

⁸⁰⁴ Penny Summerfield, "They Didn't Want Women Back in That Job!": The Second World War and the Construction of Gendered Work Histories.', *Labour History Review*, 63.1 (1998), 83–104 (p. 95).

⁸⁰⁵ Coninick m.1941, Maskey m.1939, Cull m.1945

⁸⁰⁶ AV14/2 Torrens Films: *The Hand of Fate* (1933) / WFSA / Film.

⁸⁰⁷ The Baby Spot, June 1936, no.46 unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.



Figure 33: Photograph of shooting of *Hand of Fate* (1933) contained in AV14/D1 Scrapbook [Credit: WFSA]

The prominence given to male club members through their undeniably consistent presence in club life has a direct impact on both the perceptions about club populations and on the extant films themselves. This analysis began with catalogue entries read alongside an examination of extant films, the catalogue necessarily prioritises the names of prominent male participants (usually the depositor) with female club participants often buried within the collection and therefore being less visible. This foregrounding of male involvement in the catalogue is further reinforced through newly discovered press coverage of the day that gives priority to club members who undertake formal roles and these, as I have described above, were predominantly occupied by men. As a result, even where greater depth examination has been possible there is a disproportionate visibility of male participants.

8.2 What the statistics tell us: the gender divide

Despite the disproportionate ‘surface’ visibility of male participants, women make up a far greater proportion of club membership than collection level catalogue entries suggest (30% overall).⁸⁰⁸ For example, AV100 Worley of Portsmouth⁸⁰⁹ films where the attribution (following gauge and extent details) states ‘[...] family scenes taken by Mr. Clifford Worley

⁸⁰⁸ ‘Surface’ visibility is used here to describe the inclusion of women’s names at a high level in the catalogue, at a level when ownership or authorship of work is implied.

⁸⁰⁹ ‘AV100 Worley of Portsmouth Films | WFSA | Collection’.

(deceased) and members of the Portsmouth Cine Club'.⁸¹⁰ Does it matter that female participants' names do not appear at collection level, if their names are *somewhere* else in the catalogue? It does matter, the nesting of women's names within item level entries has a direct impact on the visibility of those women in the record. And in the absence of recognised key word phrases to act as finding aids (i.e., 'woman filmmaker', 'female amateur', 'female cine club member'), they can only be located through more involved techniques.

In the collection level entries for the 4 clubs examined in detail in this study female participants were notably absent, with prominent male participants being mentioned in 3 out of 4 of the collections (see Table 8). In other words, women cine club members are not mentioned at all in collection level entries for these 4 clubs, despite my findings that suggest close to 30 female participants were involved -this is a significant elision and one with far reaching implications for the acknowledgment of women's cine club work. The imbalance shifts if care is taken to analyse the item level entries nested within these collections, where items have been exhaustively catalogued and on-screen credits are present. As Table 8 describes collection level mentions of named participants are 100% male with no mentions of female participants - yet in a more positive vein, item level mentions indicate that around 37% of named participants were female.

Table 8 : Participant Visibility at Collection and Item Level.* **

	#	%
<i>Collection level mentions</i>		
Males mentioned in <i>Collection level</i> catalogue entries	3	100%
Females mentioned in <i>Collection level</i> catalogue entries	0	0
<i>Item level mentions</i>		
Males mentioned on <i>Item level</i> catalogue entries	10	62.5%
Females mentioned on <i>Item level</i> catalogue entries	6	37.5%

⁸¹⁰ Males mentioned at collection level were usually always then mentioned at item level.

* These figures are for the 4 cine clubs analysed in this study and represent mentioned in 3 out of 4 of these collections.

**At the time of the collection survey, 2020.

Typically, the men whose names appear in the collection level entry are the depositors of the films and/or they have an on-screen credit in the extant film texts. As I have previously

⁸¹⁰ 'AV100 Worley of Portsmouth Films | WFSA | Collection'.

noted, it is often the case that cine club films are subsumed into a corpus of work of an autonomous male filmmaker, and these films find their way into an archive as a result of being part of a larger assembly of material. As a consequence of this accession route, the club films are typically accompanied by less supporting documentation or information and may be more likely to be accessioned with minimal cataloguing e.g., the title as given on the film can, the gauge etc. In the case of Bournemouth Film Club, the society films came to WFSA within the collection of Robert G Torrens (1903-1981),⁸¹¹ as six⁸¹² of thirty-five reels. The club films are challenging to identify by their titles as each is prefixed with 'Torrens Films', which foregrounds the male depositor over the club. In the case of *AV14/2 Torrens Films: Hand Of Fate*⁸¹³ it is only apparent from the cataloguing of on-screen titles that this is a cine club production rather than the work of Robert G Torrens working autonomously.

It is not clear from the catalogue entries alone what roles the women who are mentioned in item level catalogue entries occupied, however it is apparent that their names are present because they receive on-screen credits⁸¹⁴ for their work. Those items which have been exhaustively catalogued (and therefore directly take into account in the catalogue users 'estimation of the film')⁸¹⁵ reflect the value basis assigned to categories of labour by club members at the point that titles were designed. Value of labour at this stage would have been impacted in part by the necessity to economise use of film stock. Film stock as a valuable resource would have dictated both the design and development of a production as well as governing the amount of screen space (and frames) given to crediting club members. Thus, cine club films of this period tend to replicate industry standard hierarchical structures giving precedence to only a handful of key roles to the exclusion of other below the line roles.⁸¹⁶ A number of women were given on-screen credits in films produced by Bournemouth Film Club including Caroline (née Hyde) Bedington (known as Carol Hyde) (1911-1985) who has on-screen credits for *AV14/4 The Broken Swastika* (1932),⁸¹⁷ *AV14/2*

⁸¹¹ 'AV14 Torrens Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁸¹² These six are those which are thought to be club films, others may exist within the collection with less obvious cataloguing.

⁸¹³ *AV14/2 Torrens Films: The Hand of Fate* (1933) | WFSA | Film.

⁸¹⁴ 'On screen credits' here to denote text-based titles appearing in frame with the individual's name

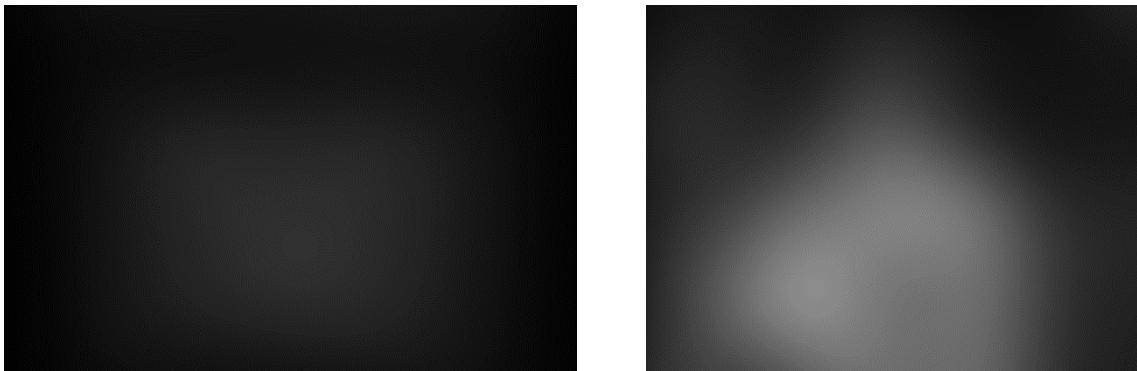
⁸¹⁵ A Brouwers, 'The Name Behind the Titles: Establishing Authorship through Inter-Titles', in *Not so Silent: Women in Cinema Before Sound*. (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2010), pp. 103- (p. 104) <<https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/385586/>>.

⁸¹⁶ Bell, p. 2; Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 71.

⁸¹⁷ *AV14/4 Torrens Films: The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSA | Film.

The Hand of Fate (1933)⁸¹⁸ and AV14/10 *Retribution* (1931),⁸¹⁹ see Figures 34 and 35.

Unusually, she is also pictured on screen following her credit, holding a small dog.



Figures 34 and 35: Screen stills from *Retribution* (1931) picturing Carol Hyde [Credit: WFSA]

Table 9 outlines the number of named female participants in each club as a percentage of the whole known named membership,⁸²⁰ it also demonstrates the disparity between those acknowledged in the catalogue and those discovered as a result of new in-depth research carried out for this thesis. Item level entries are therefore proven to be much more generous and potentially more accurate in representing proportionate involvement of women in club activities (30%) and compare favourably to figures compiled after in-depth analysis where the outcome suggests 30% of club members were female. Despite this favourable comparison overall it is apparent in club-by-club analysis that many women's work has been hitherto unacknowledged; with particularly notable exclusions visible for Portsmouth Film Society (see Table 9).

Table 9: Female Cine Club Participants

	Total # known named members	#/%* Named female members in catalogue	#/%**Named female members after analysis
Bournemouth Film Club #%	32	4 (12.5%)	10 (31.25%)
Portsmouth Film Society #%	46	2 (4.3%)	15 (32.6%)
Lymington Camera Club #%	9	0 (0%)	1 (11.1%)
Regent Film Society #%.	12	0 (0%)	4 (33.3%)

* Percentage of total known named members

⁸¹⁸ AV14/2 *Torrens Films: The Hand of Fate* (1933) / WFSA / Film.

⁸¹⁹ AV14/10 *Torrens Films: Retribution* (1931) / WFSA / Film.

⁸²⁰ 'Named' membership is used here as it is important to acknowledge that there will be members for whom we have no record, but who were active participants in club activities.

8.3 Levels of cine-engagement

After in-depth analysis the total number of club participants identified in these 4 clubs is 97, with 30 of these confirmed as female (see Table 10). These figures have been compiled through examination of catalogue entries, viewing of extant films and through analysis of contemporary press and periodicals (see Appendix B for full list). While extant films themselves have proven most effective in identifying prominent members of the production team active on each film, contemporary press and archival sources have provided a noticeably different optic on club composition. In the absence of extant club records contemporary newspaper reports provide valuable insight into the formal structure of the societies, often providing names alongside the roles occupied as well as hinting at the more intangible aspects of club life.

Table 10: Overall Cine Club Participants Gender Breakdown		
	# of participants	% of overall
Male	60	62%
Female	29	30%
Unconfirmed ⁸²¹	8	8%

These sources provide insight into club members' motivations, their reasons for taking part, and occasionally even their backgrounds. A cine club evidently took a great deal of effort to organise and participation could take many forms, from the technically proficient and highly engaged to those who dabbled only occasionally in screen acting. Norris Nicholson points out that 'some women made films although more attended to watch material or take place in social events'.⁸²² This multiplicity of interactions or spectrum of experiences can be categorised most effectively within club environments as 'cine-engagement', ranging from those providing 'Light refreshments'⁸²³ at club meetings to more involved members who might be described as being 'chiefly responsible for [...] production'.⁸²⁴ Examples include

⁸²¹ These are instances where initials only are given for a name.

⁸²² Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 33.

⁸²³ Friday 3 May 1935 'Portsmouth Evening News', 7 April 1913, p. 5 (p. 2).

⁸²⁴ Saturday 01 April 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

Marie Eva (née Bishop) Worley ('Molly' or 'Mary') (1910-1995) who met her husband Clifford when she joined Portsmouth Film Society sometime after 1930. Her known activities at the club included providing refreshments at events,⁸²⁵ as an actor in *Recorded Evidence* (1938)⁸²⁶ and as a contributor (in unspecified ways) to AV577/1 *What's in a name?* (1938).⁸²⁷ Another example is Ilda Katie Read (1889-1938) (her name is recorded variously as 'Ilda', 'Hilda' and 'Katie') who worked as a sub-post mistress in Rumbridge Street, Totton and she was a member of the Regent Film Society. Her known activities with the club include as an actor in *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936),⁸²⁸ and working on costume, props, and continuity on *The Red King* (1935).⁸²⁹ The Bournemouth Film Club provides insight into division of such tasks in club environments, with the 1931 Constitution mentioning as point five in its manifesto that: 'Any member may bring guests to meetings on payment of a fee to cover costs of refreshments etc. As fixed by the Ladies Committee.'⁸³⁰ This statement is the only explicit reference to a gender specific sub-committee or of an inferred division of labour on gender grounds across all of the extant cine club collections in WFSA. The inference is that women's roles were defined in the club environment according to established prevailing gender norms, and thus even when operating in semi-public spaces women faced being consigned to subsistence and caring activities more aligned with the private sphere of the home.⁸³¹ How far such women were permitted to stray from these caring roles within the club context is hard to gauge, for each society operated in distinctly different ways. In Bournemouth Film Club, for example, where the above mentioned 'Ladies Committee' was operational, women occupied key spaces in the production team; Carol (née Hyde) Bedington who is known to have directed, written the story for and produced titles for *The Broken Swastika* (1932)⁸³² and *Retribution* (1931)⁸³³ as well as acting in the former. She was also responsible for a library of filmmaking resources for the education of members.⁸³⁴ Her

⁸²⁵ Friday 03 May 1935, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 2.

⁸²⁶ Tuesday 5 April 1938, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 7.

⁸²⁷ AV577/1 *What's in a Name?* (1938) / WFSA / Film.

⁸²⁸ AV587/1 *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936) / WFSA / Film.

⁸²⁹ Totton Film Society.

⁸³⁰ 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁸³¹ Lorber, p. 174.

⁸³² AV14/4 *Torrens Films: The Broken Swastika* (1932) / WFSA / Film.

⁸³³ AV14/10 *Torrens Films: Retribution* (1931) / WFSA / Film.

⁸³⁴ 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)', p. Swanage times and directory, Friday 15 January 1932, unpaginated cutting in.

peer, Dora Phillips was responsible for camera work on *Hand of Fate* (1933),⁸³⁵ she acted in *The Broken Swastika* (1932)⁸³⁶ and performed secretarial duties in 1936.⁸³⁷ Similarly, Vera Lyons was Treasurer from 1931, acted in *Retribution* (1931)⁸³⁸ and wrote the scenario for⁸³⁹ and acted in, *The Broken Swastika* (1932).⁸⁴⁰

8.4 Building the context for cine clubs

Cine clubs began to proliferate in the UK in the late 1920s as a response to a growing widespread enthusiasm for amateur filmmaking made possible after the introduction of 16mm cameras to the UK in 1923 and 9.5mm cameras in 1925.⁸⁴¹ Though some clubs lay claim to an even earlier inception date, which could be argued according to the non-professional/professional debate I outline in Chapters 3 and 4.⁸⁴² Cine clubs were locally organised social groups that met on a regular basis to devise, produce and screen films. Clubs typically operated on a subscription basis, with membership fees contributing to the running costs associated with the group's activities. Bournemouth Film Club⁸⁴³ set 'an annual subscription of 10s 5s/- payable in advance',⁸⁴⁴ the details and amount of which were set out in the club's constitution. The club's membership ticket (Figure 36) and other sources suggest members could also 'pay-as-you-go' on a monthly basis for 1/- (one shilling) a month, demonstrating an awareness of the financial limitations potential members may

⁸³⁵ AV14/2 Torrens Films: *The Hand of Fate* (1933) | WFSA | Film.

⁸³⁶ AV14/4 Torrens Films: *The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSA | Film.

⁸³⁷ The Baby Spot, June 1936, no.46 unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁸³⁸ AV14/10 Torrens Films: *Retribution* (1931) | WFSA | Film.

⁸³⁹ Swanage Times and Directory, Wednesday 16 Marc 1932, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁸⁴⁰ AV14/4 Torrens Films: *The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁴¹ Typically deemed as cine clubs after the introduction of narrow gauge film. Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, p. 20.

⁸⁴² Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 30.

⁸⁴³ The Bournemouth based society of which Robert G Torrens was a leading member went through a series of iterations. The first mention of such a club was in 1930 with the formation of *Bournemouth Amateur Film Society* (from 1930-1931). This club was formally wound up in 1931 and the club's assets passed to *Crystal Productions -Bournemouth Film Club*. This iteration was active between 1931-1933 when it was re-formed as *Crystal Pictures -The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle* (December 1933-1935). Crystal Pictures appears to have dissolved during 1935 and a core group of members including Robert G Torrens set up a *Cinema Section of the Bournemouth Little Theatre Club* (section established October 1935-wound up 1938). There is no evidence of a distinct club between 1938 and 1949 though Torrens and others became active in the *Bournemouth and New Forest Cine Club* from 1949 (circa 1949-1959). See Figure 37 for timeline.

⁸⁴⁴ Constitution March 1931 contained in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item', 1931.

have faced. The club's fee ranged from between 21s/- (1 guinea) in 1930⁸⁴⁵ to a low of 5s/- in 1933 when the club felt confident to appeal to new members exclaiming 'Join Crystal Productions - The Bournemouth Film Club. The finest value for money Club in town!'.⁸⁴⁶



Figure 36: Bournemouth Film Club Membership ticket contained in AV14/D1 Scrapbook (1931-) [Credit: WFSA]

The constitution document outlines the terms upon which club funds would be disbursed saying that 'All production costs shall be decided in advance by the Committee and borne by the members of the unit in such proportion as shall be deemed expedient by the Committee. These monies to be paid before shooting commences'.⁸⁴⁷ A later version of the constitution developed for the group in its Bournemouth Little Theatre Club iteration outlined that in addition to the society membership fee 'Members are encouraged to form their own groups and make their own films at their own expense but with club apparatus such films to be considered the exclusive property of the club and shown first to club members.'⁸⁴⁸ Society expenses might include the purchase of a cine camera, film stock, editing and developing equipment, costumes, props, staging, refreshments, venue hire as well as projection and screening apparatus. Most clubs were careful to economise, borrowing kit where they could. Bournemouth Amateur Film Society⁸⁴⁹ took advantage of a helpful [...] friend [who] had offered the loan of his movie camera for the club's first production.⁸⁵⁰ Bournemouth Film Club's later iteration capitalised on relationships with

⁸⁴⁵ Friday 28 February 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 5.

⁸⁴⁶ Programme for First Exhibition of Amateur Cinematography 17 to 22 October 1932 contained in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA | Item'.

⁸⁴⁷ Constitution March 1931 as contained in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA | Item'.

⁸⁴⁸ 'The Baby Spot' no. 57 September 1937, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA | Item'.

⁸⁴⁹ Later disbanded and reformed as Crystal Productions - The Bournemouth Film Club

⁸⁵⁰ Friday 28 February 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 5.

manufacturers for one of its first films, AV14/6 *Where Bournemouth Dances* (1931)⁸⁵¹ by borrowing a 16mm camera and projector from 'Messrs. Ensign, Ltd.' and being gifted 'special fast film [...] by Messrs. Selo Ltd.'⁸⁵² This particular film records attendees at a large public event and the loan was no doubt brokered upon reciprocal terms that would provide good publicity for the respective companies.

It is apparent that clubs would equip themselves initially through the loan of equipment from members, acquaintances or sponsors and then as the membership grew and the club treasury expanded, they would purchase their own communal equipment. In the case of Bournemouth Film Club it appears as though the group borrowed at first, a 16mm camera to film their initial productions *Retribution* (1931)⁸⁵³ and *Where Bournemouth Dances* (1931)⁸⁵⁴ and that then the club invested in a significantly more financially accessible 9.5mm camera for club use; subsequent productions were shot on 9.5mm including *The Broken Swastika* (1932)⁸⁵⁵ and *The Hand of Fate* (1933).⁸⁵⁶ Insights into society spending can be gleaned from the plentiful cuttings collated by Robert G Torrens in his scrapbook of Bournemouth Film Club's activities after 1931.⁸⁵⁷ The first annual general meeting reported a balance of £10 5s. 2d.,⁸⁵⁸ a figure that would have excluded the purchase of 16mm equipment and dictated economy in provision of club technology. At this time a new 16mm camera could cost £18 18s.,⁸⁵⁹ compared to a new 9.5mm camera which was cheaper at £6 6s.⁸⁶⁰ Vera Lyons, the society treasurer at this time, further reported at the annual general meeting that the cost to produce the club's first funded production was £14 5s. 8d.,⁸⁶¹ indicating that this had been produced at the club's expense and that the club's sponsored film *Where Bournemouth Dances*, had not.⁸⁶² One of the later iterations of the Bournemouth society - Bournemouth Film Club, was vocal about its purchasing aspirations publicly

⁸⁵¹ AV14/6 Torrens Films: *Where Bournemouth Dances* (1931) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁵² January 1932 [unpaginated cutting from AV14/D1 Scrapbook] 'The Screen'.

⁸⁵³ AV14/10 Torrens Films: *Retribution* (1931) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁵⁴ AV14/6 Torrens Films: *Where Bournemouth Dances* (1931) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁵⁵ AV14/4 Torrens Films: *The Broken Swastika* (1932) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁵⁶ AV14/2 Torrens Films: *The Hand of Fate* (1933) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁵⁷ 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁸⁵⁸ Friday 12 February 1932 [unpaginated cutting in AV14/D1] *Swanage Times & Directory*.

⁸⁵⁹ Wednesday 03 August 1932, 'The Era', p. 11.

⁸⁶⁰ Friday 16 December 1932, 'Kent and Sussex Courier', p. 1.

⁸⁶¹ Friday 12 February 1932 [unpaginated cutting in AV14/D1] *Swanage Times & Directory*.

⁸⁶² The club at this stage had subsumed the treasury from an earlier society (the Bournemouth Amateur Film Club) which added £7 4s to the start-up fund

expressing that 'It is the ambition of the club to possess its own studio and to install sufficient lighting for indoor sets'.⁸⁶³

Some cine clubs operated independently but others evolved as distinct arms of existing photographic or amateur dramatic societies which had long been in existence across the UK by the 1920s, with still photography within the reach of many by this time and amateur dramatics even more entrenched.⁸⁶⁴ Such 'sections' could often benefit from existing facilities such as common rooms and studio space, as was the case of the 'Cinema Section' of the Bournemouth Little Theatre Club between 1935 and 1938.⁸⁶⁵ However, many clubs germinated independently and grew from one or two interested individuals and often started out in the homes of these leading enthusiasts who, as the membership expanded, might relocate to a suitable venue such as a community hall or other communal space. It was not uncommon to operate such clubs in the parlour or front room of the home, as was the case for Bournemouth Amateur Film Club⁸⁶⁶ that 'came into existence [...] at an] inaugural meeting, called by Mr E.G. Mason [...] held at 'The Cliffside', 37, Grove-Road[...]'⁸⁶⁷. Later, the Bournemouth Film Club met for the first time at the home of Robert G Torrens (85 Wimborne Road, Bournemouth) and continued to meet there until September 1932 when they moved into a 'Club room and studio' at a factory site on Ensbury Park Road.⁸⁶⁸ This space was given over for the society's use by a manufacturing firm and was described as 'large [and] well-lighted', it was made 'available to members at all times' and following refurbishment by the Ladies Committee, was equipped 'for use as a projection theatre in addition to a studio' and was 'fitted with a standard size Ernemann-Werke projector and other size projectors'.⁸⁶⁹

Despite roots in the private (and therefore feminine) sphere of the home⁸⁷⁰ cine clubs were formed on a semi-official basis with a recognised system of governance that included such

⁸⁶³ 19 December 1931 '*The Critic*'.

⁸⁶⁴ Lymington Camera Club arrived late on scene, first meeting in 1949. Saturday 29 October 1949 *New Milton Advertiser*, p. 4.

⁸⁶⁵ The Baby Spot, no. 57, September 1937 unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁸⁶⁶ Known under various names

⁸⁶⁷ Friday 28 February 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 5; Saturday 20 January 1934 *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁸⁶⁸ Friday 30 September 1932, [unpaginated cutting in AV14/D1] *Swanage Times & Directory*.

⁸⁶⁹ *Home Movies and Home Talkies*, October 1932 unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁸⁷⁰ Okin, p. 8.

roles as Chairman, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, as well as a member-formed committee.⁸⁷¹ The institution of a 'semi-formal'⁸⁷² governance structure indicated that a group had serious intentions for their activities and certainly were keen to convey an air of respectability akin to other societies.⁸⁷³ Bournemouth Film Club was formally constituted thus:

- 3) The officers shall be the President and the Vice-Presidents (to be elected annually and be Honorary members) an executive committee with a minimum of four members to include the Secretary and Treasurer with power to co-opt further members as and when they deem necessary.
- 4) Candidates must be proposed and seconded by members; the names to be submitted at monthly meetings. The candidate shall then become elected by and at the discretion of the Committee if no valid objection is received by the secretary prior to or at the next monthly meeting. There shall be an annual subscription of 10s 5s/- payable in advance and due each year from date of application. No application will be considered unless the subscription is paid.
- 5) Any member may bring guests to meetings on payment of a fee to cover costs of refreshments etc. As fixed by the Ladies Committee.
- 6) Any member being guilty of any conduct inimical to the interests of the Club shall be expelled by the Committee subject to the right of appeal at the next meeting, the decision of which shall be final.⁸⁷⁴

The formation of societies upon a pseudo-democratic basis such as this was typical of cine clubs of this period; with honorary officers being appointed by means of a vote and the admission of members to the Committee effectively managed by a select few. While item three in the above constitution makes use of appropriate democratic terminology ('elected' and 'co-opt') to imply a fair and equitable structure, it remains the fact that the key roles in the executive committee were self-electing and that these roles, in all but one of the clubs extant in WFSA, were occupied by male participants. Robert G Torrens whose collection is

⁸⁷¹ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 31.

⁸⁷² Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson, p. 5.

⁸⁷³ R Shand, 'Amateur Cinema: History, Theory and Genre (1930-80', p. 151.

⁸⁷⁴ Constitution, 28 March 1931, contained in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

extant in WFSA was the Honorary Secretary, he was the leading force in this club and it was with him that the club's films were ultimately homed over and above other members. Moreover, membership was permitted only to those able to afford an up-front subscription fee. Clubs often grew to include many members who might come and go over time, but most cine club collections in WFSA evidence a core group of active participants whose contributions are visible in their extant output. As I have intimated the Bournemouth Film Club underwent a series of reformations and rebrands which necessarily caused the membership to be in a state of flux between 1930 and 1949 (illustrated in Figure 37).



Figure 37: Timeline of Bournemouth Film Club 1930-1959

Club life however rewarding and productive, evidently gave rise to tensions and occasionally caused relationships to break down, archival traces of such fractures can be observed in a brief piece published by *The Bournemouth Daily Echo* on behalf of the Bournemouth Film Club in 1933:

Copy of resolution passed unanimously at a meeting of the Club on the 12th of May 1933: -
 'That we, as members of this Club repudiate the vile and slanderous rumours at present being circulated by malicious persons, which are absolutely unfounded, and that an open invitation be given through the Press to any interested members of the public to attend any of our meetings, which have been open at all times.' particulars of meetings of the club may be attained from R G Torrens.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁵ Saturday 13 May 1933, *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

The damage was evidently irreparable and this iteration of the club would disband later the same year, reappearing in a fresh guise as 'Crystal Pictures - The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle'.⁸⁷⁶ In an apparent jibe at the 'malicious persons' mentioned above the new club would be formed of only 'the more seriously minded members' and furthermore, there was an apparent doubling down on technical proficiency with the elimination of the 'social' section of the club with members admitted only on the basis that they 'show some special knowledge or interest in the subject'.⁸⁷⁷ The subsequently formed group the Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle had no documented female members and the Cinema Section of the Bournemouth Little Theatre Club had only one – Dora Phillips, a dedicated member who had joined alongside Robert G Torrens in c.1931. Torrens evidently formed strong opinions through the acrimonious demise of the Bournemouth Film Club, sharing with other societies his views on the 'formation and scope of amateur film societies, dealing in detail with pitfalls'.⁸⁷⁸ The inference is that this fracture was heavily affected by gender divisions within the club, the Ladies Committee which has previously been mentioned was strongly aligned with the more social aspects of the society's activities. Moreover, the elision of women's cine club contributions in the AV14 collection⁸⁷⁹ can be tracked back to this fracture and the interpolation that women were less 'serious minded' and technically able than male participants. The disparaging insinuation expressed through one of the few consistent club members, Robert G Torrens, appears to minimise the contributions of female participants who, up to that point had been proven to play key roles in the society, as will be described later in this chapter.

It is apparent from their administrative arrangements that such groups were informed by similar community gatherings and that when it came to producing films the members were keen to align themselves with conventions observed in the film industry.⁸⁸⁰ Thus, clubs typically included roles for a director, producer, camera work/photography, continuity, writer/story/script/scenario, titles, lighting/electrician, property, editor, actors etc. These

⁸⁷⁶ *Home Movies and Home Talkies*, December 1933, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁸⁷⁷ December 1933, *Home Movies and Home Talkies*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁸⁷⁸ Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Weekly Post*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁸⁷⁹ 'AV14 Torrens Films | WFSA | Collection'.

⁸⁸⁰ A fact observed in Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. 5.

roles are described in some detail in the constitution of the Cinema Section of the Bournemouth Little Theatre Club in 1937.⁸⁸¹ In language that might be explained away as ‘typical’ for the period the constitution of this group employs a heavily gendered register describing ‘*his* sole duty’ (the Producer) and how ‘*he* shall keep sufficient notes of scenes [...] (the Continuity Clerk) and outlines the responsibilities of the ‘*Camera man*’ and ‘*Property man*’,⁸⁸² yet the apparent gender bias evidenced in this 1937 document has a distinctly different tone to the Bournemouth Film Club’s founding document of 1931. The latter document gives a considerably more egalitarian impression and includes no gendered pronouns at all. It is known that the founding members at this time were the Honourable Secretary (Robert G Torrens) and the Honourable Treasurer (Vera Lyons) a pairing that demonstrates a balanced gender inclusive approach. This archival evidence suggests that fractures traced through Robert G Torrens’ own scrapbook gave rise to a gendered division of the film club and this negative experience with women participants coloured Torrens approach to including them in future iterations of the cine club. The language deployed in the Cinema Section iteration in which he was involved sought to actively exclude women who were (in his view) less serious and less technically able, a behaviour that had consequences for how the work of these women came to be hidden. Group cohesion, cooperation and a collegiate approach were necessary for a productive working environment and when relationships broke down this could lead to the decline of a group.

8.5 Traversing binaries: public/private - professional/amateur - male/female

The male retention of extant club work in the long term sits at odds with what we know of the work of many autonomous women filmmakers, who I have observed elsewhere often take on the role of the ‘good mother’ or the ‘remembering mother’,⁸⁸³ custodians of the familial memory.⁸⁸⁴ Amateur filmmaking is typically considered a ‘feminized [...] cultural

⁸⁸¹ *The Baby Spot*, no. 57, September 1937, unpaginated cutting in ‘AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSAS|Item’.

⁸⁸² *The Baby Spot*, no. 57, September 1937, unpaginated cutting in ‘AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSAS|Item’.

⁸⁸³ Malcahy, p. 290.

⁸⁸⁴ Janning and Scalise, p. 1719.

practice'⁸⁸⁵ embedded in the private sphere of the home, a space to which women and their 'work as mothers and houseworkers' has been relegated, denying them 'them full personhood, citizenship and human rights'.⁸⁸⁶ Zimmerman makes much of the essentially feminine space of the home and how this connects with home movie making, describing in various ways how according to feminist/Marxist discourse the private labour of amateur filmmaking is essentially a female activity.⁸⁸⁷ Yet, the public/private binary is not borne out as vast populations of women amateurs, female filmmakers remain the minority in extant collections. So, while cine marketing sought to appeal to women in the home and mothers as family archivists, the perception of amateur practice uncomfortably straddled public and private life; inviting female participation through the promotion of normative patriarchal values but restricting their activities and limiting how far their work could be acknowledged outside the context of production i.e., on the film can, by descendants, or in the archive. The system asked women to participate, and then (using Gaines' analogy) pulled the rug from under them.⁸⁸⁸ This is particularly true when considering female involvement in cine clubs where mixed gender environments might be considered private in an oppositional and relational way to the professional film world (which was by definition – public) yet founding members of cine clubs sought to draw on patriarchally defined (public) systems and structures. The formation of societies upon structurally formal lines as outlined above and evidenced in the case of the Bournemouth Film Club, indicates a move towards filmmaking in a more professionalised way and in fact, it could be more accurately classified as an institutionalisation of amateur filmmaking which brought with it an almost automatic marginalisation of women's work.

In the process of applying such an institutional model, the practices, and the films themselves are socially elevated out of the private sphere into a quasi-professional mode that mimics industry norms whilst conforming to governance models observable in other social or special interest groups. Therefore, while the filmic output of such groups draws from and contributes to a sense of nationhood⁸⁸⁹ the club mechanisms themselves bear

⁸⁸⁵ Zimmerman, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, p. xvii.

⁸⁸⁶ Foreman 1974, Okin 1989, Pateman 1988, Goldman 1969] referred to in and Mechthild Nagel Ferguson, Ann, Rosemary Hennessy, 'Feminist Perspectives on Class and Work', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2022 <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2022/entries/feminism-class/>>.

⁸⁸⁷ Zimmerman, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, pp. 3, 49 and others.

⁸⁸⁸ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 12.

⁸⁸⁹ Zimmerman, 'Morphing History into Histories: From Amateur Film to the Archive of the Future', p. 276.

closer similarity to regional community organisations, such as amateur dramatic clubs than they do to professional film industry production companies. This in-betweenness, the sense of straddling the professional and the semi-private realms results in a minimising of female contributions and ultimately positions the extant films under a male auspice.

Figures 38, 39. Title cards from AV615/1

Cine

club films evidence the professional aspirations of their (male) members. A 1936 lost film produced by the Regent Film Society entitled *The Speckled Band*⁸⁹⁰ won silver in the Institute of Amateur Cinematographers, *Amateur Cine World* 'Ten Best' competition, and their 1935 production *The Red King*⁸⁹¹ was 'specially commended' by the board in the same contest (see Figures 38 to 41). The latter film, which is extant in WFSA is technically sophisticated with high production values. Featuring advanced editing skills including shot transitions, handwritten custom titles, immaculately precise lighting in complex exterior and interior locations as well as painstakingly designed costumes and sets. This film, along with others produced by the group foreground the work of one member in particular – Walter Hibberd. As the manager of the Regent Cinema he was one of the founding members of the group, he was involved in every aspect of film production as director (*The Red King* (1935),⁸⁹² *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936),⁸⁹³ *The Village Blacksmith* (1938)),⁸⁹⁴ producer, (*The Speckled Band* (1936)⁸⁹⁵), script writer (*The Village Blacksmith*, *The Red King*, *Elizabeth Tudor*), title writer (*Elizabeth Tudor*) and as an actor.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁰ *The Speckled Band*, 1936.

⁸⁹¹ AV615/1 *The Red King* | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁹² Totton Film Society.

⁸⁹³ AV587/1 *Elizabeth Tudor* (1936) | WFSA | Film.

⁸⁹⁴ *The Village Blacksmith*, 1938.

⁸⁹⁵ *The Speckled Band*.

⁸⁹⁶ Saturday 10 October 1936, p.9, Saturday 01 April 1939 p.11, *Hampsh. Advert.*



Figures 40 and 41: Title cards from AV615/1 .[Credit: WFSA]

His starring role as William Rufus in *The Red King* provided the opportunity for him to showcase his full dramatic range as he portrayed the doomed Norman monarch. Such was the level of his imbrication in all aspects of each club production, that they acted as vehicles for his career aspirations. These aspirations were realised in 1936 when Hibberd was offered a paid position amongst the production staff of British International Pictures at Elstree Studios.⁸⁹⁷ An official title card (see Figure 40), was subsequently inserted into *The Red King* film reel demonstrating the club's intention to share news of their success and to continue to screen the film publicly following its national recognition. In a similar vein Robert G Torrens of Bournemouth Film Club, sought to traverse the public/private, professional/amateur divide and was a voracious promoter of the Bournemouth Film Club and its work, seeking recognition in the community through engagement with local press and venues⁸⁹⁸ but also pursuing wider acclaim through amateur club networks. Committee members (of which we know at least one member was female) were actively engaged in the

⁸⁹⁷ Saturday 10 October 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 9.

⁸⁹⁸ Friday 13 November 1931, *The Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

fledgling British Association of Amateur Cinematographers (BAAC), visiting London in July 1932 to learn more of the BAAC's activities at Selfridge's Exhibition of Amateur Cinematography.⁸⁹⁹ *The Era* reported on this event and the Bournemouth club had evidently deployed themselves in a manner that conveyed their seriousness:

'Something is bound to happen when Crystal Productions get moving. [...] the secretary tells me that they have made definite preliminary arrangements for holding an Amateur Cine Week in Bournemouth, in co-operation with one of the big local stores. [...] The Secretary would be glad to receive offers for the loan of films and for trade demonstrations.'⁹⁰⁰

The grand plan to bring an amateur cine exhibition to Bournemouth was mentioned elsewhere as Committee members sought to build anticipation of the proposed event,⁹⁰¹ which was eventually held between 17 and 22 October 1932.⁹⁰² This collaborative activity hosted in Brights' department store, formalised a relationship with the BAAC and consolidated connections fostered as part of a burgeoning amateur network.⁹⁰³ Such a high-profile public event signalled a clear step away from the traditionally private world of amateur filmmaking and as a consequence foreshadowed the marginalisation of female work. In addition to this one-off exhibition Bournemouth Film Club sought to exchange films with other clubs, securing screenings for their work in 'at least 50 different amateur' societies.⁹⁰⁴ The formal institutionalisation of club activities in the ways described above facilitates a repositioning of the filmic output. The social (and therefore public) nature of the film's production is reflected in the on-screen content and therefore the 'ownership' is not with the 'remembering mother', as the custodian of the family memory – rather, the responsibility for the extra-familial memory - the work of the group - defaults to the formally instituted structure and the invariably male leadership.

⁸⁹⁹ Wednesday 13 July 1932, *The Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁹⁰⁰ 13 July 1932, *The Era*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁹⁰¹ August 1932, *Home Movies and Home Talkies*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁹⁰² 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

⁹⁰³ Items were screened from the following clubs (names as provided in AV14/1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens) Greenbrier Amateur Cine Association, Hull and District Amateur Cine Association, Sheffield Amateur Cine Association, Ace Movies, Finchley Amateur Cine Association

⁹⁰⁴ Friday 14 October 1932, *The Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth | WFSA|Item'.

8.6 Viewing/screening practices

In addition to the production of film, a regular feature of club life was the screening of films to the membership and to wider audiences. As the graphic provided by *Amateur Cine World* in 1947 suggests (Figure 32), the screening element of club life was a prominent feature of their activities – as important in many respects as the script, and the shooting of the film.

The performative aspect of club life mimicked cinema-going and industry norms with curated programmes of film punctuated by intervals and supplemented by live musical accompaniments.⁹⁰⁵ Such events and activities drew on the full potential of the many members' expertise and required that each participant play their part, with members' versatility being showcased in projection, stage management, provision of musical accompaniments, catering and much else besides. This facet of society activity is often overlooked in analysis of extant collections where contextual information is lacking, but to fully understand the nature of cine-engagement – particularly for women in club environments – a comprehension of the full matrix of activities is vital.

Bournemouth Film Club would routinely meet 'once a week for discussion of the [club] business' and then additionally host 'monthly projection meeting[s]' at which they would screen a 'programme of films'.⁹⁰⁶ In Bournemouth the club were also keenly aware of the wider public's desire to be seen on screen and arranged to record participants of at least one public event, with a view to hosting screenings of this alongside their own film material in the following weeks. After filming the dancers at King's Hall Carnival dance in November 1931, they secured the same venue to screen the recorded event alongside the club's own productions every day for a week.⁹⁰⁷ The venue itself was known to offer film screenings of local material which were described as 'refreshingly original interludes',⁹⁰⁸ evidencing the society's ability to tap into audience demands and exploit them for the unremunerative benefit of the club.

Other clubs in the region adopted similar screening activities. The Regent Film Society made a practice of premiering its films to an audience,⁹⁰⁹ and Portsmouth Film Society also

⁹⁰⁵ Tuesday 05 April 1938, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 7.

⁹⁰⁶ Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁹⁰⁷ Friday 06 November 1931, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 7.

⁹⁰⁸ Friday 18 July 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 7.

⁹⁰⁹ Saturday 22 October 1938, *Hampsh. Advert.*

previewed its films to members.⁹¹⁰ Both premiering and previewing content were an effective means of building audience anticipation and draw parallels between the amateur club scene and the professional film industry. The same could be said of positive working relationships with the press - evidenced in local newspapers - who often reported on the club's activities in a favourable light. Bournemouth Film Club were particularly adept at courting the local and hobby press with editorial written by and for these outlets by club members.⁹¹¹ Members of the Regent Film Society were in regular contact with reporting staff at *The Hampshire Advertiser* and gave exclusive previews of their films to journalists.⁹¹² Screenings could also take an altruistic turn, with the Regent Film Society recorded as having organised a projection of their work at and for the benefit of St Mary's Hall, Eling,⁹¹³ and Bournemouth Film Club screening work 'in aid of Guy's Hospital'.⁹¹⁴ It was common practice for cine clubs to screen not just their own work, but that of other amateur outfits too - Portsmouth Cine Club attracted 'a good attendance' at an event that projected their own films alongside work from Bognor Regis Film Society.⁹¹⁵ They enlarged their screening offer in 1937 by agreeing to 'devote one evening each month for the projection of outstanding productions on sub-standard size'.⁹¹⁶ Bournemouth Film Club were keen advocates for networked activity between clubs, regularly hosting screenings of other clubs' work but also promoting their own work for loan elsewhere,⁹¹⁷ they are also known to have screened older commercial films in order to inform the development of their own work.⁹¹⁸ Indeed, as the *Amateur Cine World* (Figure 32) graphic attests at the point of exhibition factors to be considered might include 'film appreciation', 'film history', 'musical direction', 'speaker', 'theatre design and layout'. Cine club participation was not just about the production of

⁹¹⁰ Saturday 27 March 1937, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 2.

⁹¹¹ *The Screen*, July, August 1931; *The Critic*, 19 December 1931; *Home Movies and Home Talkies*, August 1932 unpaginated cuttings in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁹¹² Saturday 16 May 1936, *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁹¹³ Saturday 01 April 1939, *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁹¹⁴ September 1932, *Swanage Times and Directory*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁹¹⁵ Friday 03 May 1935, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 2.

⁹¹⁶ Friday 05 March 1937, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 6.

⁹¹⁷ *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, Saturday March 12 1932, Tuesday 17 May 1932; *Swanage Times and Directory*, Wednesday 16 March 1932, Friday 15 January 1932 unpaginated cuttings in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁹¹⁸ Tuesday 15 September 1931, *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

films; club life was integral to many people's everyday lives and the social experience of communal viewing was a large proportion of that experience.

The sense of mutual cooperation in bringing these events to fruition was a draw to many members. Even if their names did not flicker on screen, the finished product its performance and reception could give testament to their combined efforts. Indeed, audience reactions were important to how clubs perceived themselves and screenings that were 'received with enthusiasm and applause' could secure production of the next feature. Robert G Torrens was an avid collector of local newspaper mentions of the Bournemouth Film Club's activities and this included reviews or write-ups on their output – usually positive, but sometimes critical; one negative review of their work provoked a published rebuttal in the local press.⁹¹⁹ Clubs also sought outside recognition through national competitions such as the Institute of Amateur Cinematographer's (IAC) 'Ten Best'.⁹²⁰

However disparate the nature of involvements, contemporary sources are clear on the unifying factor that brought these groups of people together, a passion for film that extended beyond the cinema-going norm. Club participants are variously described as being '[...]so interested in the cinema that they want to do something more than watch films,'⁹²¹ and as possessing 'great enthusiasm'.⁹²² The term 'enthusiasm' and its derivatives appears in most articles discussing these regional cine clubs –this quality, an expression of the 'love'; the 'amator'⁹²³ – signifies how a shared dedication for a common aim could draw people together in the name of film. This uniting of individuals from all walks of life into 'devoted arm[ies],'⁹²⁴ 'amateur band[s] of enthusiasts',⁹²⁵ galvanised community spirit and transformed film from something to be consumed, into a product of communal endeavour.

In addition to being spaces of mutual fascination, clubs sought to foster collegiate environments where development of abilities was given high priority, with society

⁹¹⁹ Saturday 12 March 1932, *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, unpaginated cutting in 'AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)'.

⁹²⁰ There were overall winners and a grading system of 'stars' to acknowledge contributions.

⁹²¹ Saturday 31 August 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁹²² Saturday 20 January 1934 *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁹²³ "'Amateur' Dictionary Entry', *Miriam Webster Dictionary*, 2021 <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/amateur#:~:text=The%20earliest%20sense%20of%20amateur%20is%20one%20that%20has,has%20the%20Latin%20word%20for%20lover%20amator%20.>>.

⁹²⁴ Winchester, p. 422.

⁹²⁵ Saturday 16 May 1936, *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

involvement often beginning 'as a hobby for cine enthusiasts [and then....] develop[ing] into something more [...].'⁹²⁶ Filmmaking is described in one article discussing Bournemouth Film Club as a 'study to which many people devote their entire lives',⁹²⁷ and this emphasis on *study* and learning the techniques of the art form is often mentioned as a foil to the argument that members were 'dabblers' lacking skill. With '[...] evening[s] [...] devoted to tuition in film technique and acting tests'⁹²⁸ and opportunities to 'improve their scope and knowledge'⁹²⁹ there is a strong sense of the desire to frame these social spaces as a place for learning and development, but not without commitment. Dedication is also a feature of club membership conveyed in the local press – not only should members exhibit ability and enthusiasm, they also had to be prepared to work hard in their spare time. Sources expressing that club film production required members to commit '[...] spare time, hard work and enthusiasm'⁹³⁰ also highlighted the unremunerative nature of the work (because it was work) when saying 'Such an institution as this should arouse universal sympathy for they are working in their spare time for no remunerative gain,[...]'⁹³¹. Much discussion of cine clubs in these local contemporary sources extolls the filmic output of the club whilst emphasising the voluntary participatory nature of the activity, to avoid any presumption that these were professional organisations.⁹³²

8.7 A socially acceptable creative activity

As communal spaces of learning, with formally recognised systems of governance cine clubs were able to position themselves as a respectable leisure time activity, in which men and women could interact without impropriety. The formal structure of the groups contributed to their perceived respectability – allowing the organisations to manifest as safe spaces for unmarried women and men to interact outside of the workplace a fact reflected in the high number of single female participants observed in club membership. Of named individuals identified there was typically found to be a mix of single and married participants, and in some cases, connections could be drawn between members i.e., siblings, neighbours,

⁹²⁶ Tuesday 05 April 1938, *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 77.

⁹²⁷ Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁹²⁸ Friday 18 July 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 2.

⁹²⁹ Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁹³⁰ Saturday 01 April 1939, *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁹³¹ Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

⁹³² Saturday 20 January 1934, *Bournemouth Graphic*, p. 4.

indicating the likelihood that participants were encouraged by attending with a friend or relative. There are many instances of married couples attending together,⁹³³ and some cases where participants met their spouses through the club.⁹³⁴ Clubs sought to encourage social interactions outside of specifically film centric activities which served to ‘consolidate [...] club identity and strengthen [...] friendships’⁹³⁵ this could include dances – as was the case at the newly formed Bournemouth Film Club in 1930 where:

‘[...] the potential Rudolph Valentino and Pola Negri [were] just a little shy of one another, and Mr Mason’s happy suggestion that an informal dance should conclude next Thursday’s business was received with unanimous approval.’⁹³⁶

Large clubs such as Bournemouth also developed sub-committees of members that took on a social function with film activities taking place amongst beach trips, dances and tennis matches.⁹³⁷ In this club, as I have mentioned, the Ladies Committee was a gender defined sub-committee with apparent devolved responsibilities focused on subsistence or social functions.⁹³⁸ Cine club meetings with their mixture of screenings, creative brainstorming and debate were promoted as having a ‘Very pleasant social atmosphere’,⁹³⁹ and were held in informal environments.

8.8 What is the demographic make-up of the women participants?

We know from the findings of this study that all (male and female) cine club members came from a broader section of society than autonomous filmmakers,⁹⁴⁰ who were more likely to be upper middle-class, high-income earners. Cine clubs attracted workers in both blue collar

⁹³³ Including: Totton Film Society: Couples married already: Irene Constance West (née Lebreton, and Wilby) (1897-1961) and Cecil West (1902-1979) (married 1928), Adelaide Elizabeth (known as Adele) Thorne (née Gibbs) Reginald Norman Cyril Thorne (1900-1968) (married 1933). Portsmouth Film Society: Couples married already: Kathleen Fanny Hooper (née Webster) (1899-?) and Thomas Hooper (1898-n/d), Mr. A. G. Akehurst -Mrs Akehurst, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. King, Freida Walker née Hudsmith Jones (1904-?) and Nathaniel Walker (1902-1969). Met at club: Elizabeth Joanna Ethel Le Gras (or Legras) Leslie Jack Ash Waite (1907-2003) (married 1932).

⁹³⁴ This is confirmed as being the case for Portsmouth Film Society members Leonard Clifford Albert Worley (1909-1980) and Marie Eva ‘Molly’ Worley (née Bishop) (1910-1995) who met through club activities sometime after 1930. The couple were married in 1934.

⁹³⁵ Norris Nicholson, ‘Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977’, p. 35.

⁹³⁶ Friday 28 February 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 5.

⁹³⁷ Friday 18 July 1930, *Swanage Times & Directory*, p. 2.

⁹³⁸ Constitution, 28 March 1931 in ‘AV14/D1 Torrens Films: Scrapbook of R G Torrens of Bournemouth about Crystal Productions (The Bournemouth Film Club), Succeeded by Crystal Pictures (The Bournemouth Amateur Cine Circle)’.

⁹³⁹ This reference refers to the Lymington Camera Club formed in 1949, and in scope for this study but active predominantly in the 1950s Saturday 03 March 1956 *New Milton Advertiser*, p. 6.

⁹⁴⁰ See Table 7

and lower status white collar occupations, a fact reflected in a *Hampshire Advertiser* piece about the Regent Film Society where the club membership is described as being comprised of 'Village tradespeople, shop assistants, clerical workers, craftsmen, country folk and the choristers of Saint Mary's[...].'⁹⁴¹ I have been able to locate occupational data for 53% percent of the female club participants identified by name – this is proportionately greater than for the male participants where only 40 of 60⁹⁴² of the men have confirmed occupational data available. Of the 14 women whose occupational⁹⁴³ data has not been located this has been as a result of a scarcity of information e.g., only initials available for a name or when a woman's name has been subsumed as part of a married couple.

The autonomous female filmmakers that we have discussed in this thesis have demonstrated a high incidence of undertaking domestic work in the home, but also of leading leisured lifestyles -without the need to earn an income. They have been proven statistically more likely to be financially independent or undertaking unpaid domestic duties than their cine club peers. The female cine club membership provides a sharp contrast and suggests that over 66% of female club members were employed in work outside of the home, with an additional 33% undertaking unpaid domestic work.⁹⁴⁴ Occupations of the employed women include music teacher, tax clerk, short-hand secretary, milliner, draper's clerk, short-hand typist, shop keeper; chemist's assistant, beauty specialist and sub-post mistress. These occupations can be classified according to the ISCO-08 classification system and demonstrate a predominance of women workers within ISCO-08 Major group 4: Clerical support workers. As might be expected this shows a divergence from the occupations of male club participants who worked exclusively outside of the home⁹⁴⁵ and where the most common areas of work were in craft professions or trades (e.g., builder, electrician), service roles (e.g., cook, waiter, housekeeping) and in professional roles (see Table 11). In the clubs analysed there was no evidence of any workers from the elementary occupations (i.e., the lowest skill and lowest paid).

⁹⁴¹ Saturday 01 April 1939, *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

⁹⁴² 46% compared with 53% for women participants.

⁹⁴³ The term 'occupational' is used here to also include domestic work, in the home.

⁹⁴⁴ 66.6% to be exact (10 women), and 33.3% (5 women)

⁹⁴⁵ With only one exception who was financially independent.

8.9 How does this compare with occupations with autonomous filmmakers overall?

Autonomous male workers in this study are represented in every ISCO-08 group; but this is not the case for autonomous women who evidence very few individuals working outside of the home. When such women are working outside of the home there is a predominance of workers in lower paid roles (groups 4, 5, 6, 3) compared to only 2 professionals (group 2) (see Table 11).

Table 11: Cine Club Participants' Occupations		Autonomous Female #	Autonomous Male #	Cine club Female #	Cine club Male #
ISCO-08 Major group 10: Armed forces e.g.: commission armed forces officers, non-commissioned armed forces officer, other armed forces	-	16	-	-	-
ISCO-08 Major group 1: Manager e.g., chief exec, managing director, hotel manager, service manager	-	13	-	3	
ISCO-08 Major group 2: Professional e.g., architect, doctor, teacher, finance professional, solicitor	2	24	2	5	
ISCO-08 Major group 3: Technician e.g., science technician, pharmacist, specialised secretary, fitness worker	-	10	1	3	
ISCO-08 Major group 4: Clerical support worker e.g., typist, customer service, bank teller	1	2	5		
ISCO-08 Major group 5: Service and sales worker e.g., cook, waiter, housekeeping, shop assistant, childcare worker	1	2	1	6	
ISCO-08 Major group 6: Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker e.g., market gardener, hunter, farmer	1	2	-	1	
ISCO-08 Major group 7: Craft and related trade worker e.g.: builder, electrician, plumber, cabinet maker, mechanic	-	8	1	7	
ISCO-08 Major group 8: Plant and machine operator e.g.: mine plant operator, weaver, train driver, bus driver, ships' deck crew	-	3	-	2	
ISCO-08 Major group 9: Elementary occupation e.g.: domestic, cleaner, labourer, street vendor, refuse collector	-	2	-	-	
Unemployed – no income	-	-	-	-	
Unemployed – financially independent/independent means	5	1			
Unemployed – financially dependent on spouse/family	-	-	-	-	

Unemployed – worked in the home/unpaid domestic duties	3	-	5	-
Unknown	3	161	11	24
Totals	16	244	26	51

8.10 Analysis

As I have discussed, women involved in cine clubs encapsulate Gaines' phrase 'there but not there',⁹⁴⁶ they are visually evident in the filmic output of the societies', yet they are absent from or obscured in the catalogue - they are not 'there'. I have discussed the many challenges and pitfalls of analysing women's involvement in cine clubs and identified persistent gaps in how data is recorded and how organisations have historically been structurally prejudicial to women. The 4 regional cine clubs analysed here demonstrate how film industry norms favouring male workers were proliferated in amateur club environments, contributing to the elision of women's work in these contexts. As a result of this women are less likely to be mentioned in on-screen credits, in contemporary press and then subsequently in archive cataloguing. Available evidence reflects film industry practices, indicating that women were more commonly involved in ancillary⁹⁴⁷ and supporting roles and these were not always acknowledged in on-screen credits or in written sources. Thus, it is fair ask, how many more below the line female workers were involved in cine clubs than we know about? Could the gender divide in most clubs *actually* be closer to 50/50?

Furthermore, women were far more active as cine club participants than popularly assumed; they were present on and off screen - leading the action, recording, creating or otherwise active in the 'space-off' and there are probably many more club members than this study has been able to locate. Below-the-line, ancillary 'workers' or those engaged in club life but not taking a leading role are more likely to be excluded from formal records and therefore challenging to identify. It doesn't mean they weren't there -it simply means that the records do not reflect their presence. Given the considerable efforts societies went to in their productions and the very wide scope of cine-engagement that I have discussed here it

⁹⁴⁶ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 4.

⁹⁴⁷ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 33.

suggests that women members could be at least as many in number as men and that many production-related functions were simply not acknowledged in the on-screen space.

Compounding this structural elision obscuring female involvement at source is the fact that women are not consistently or effectively represented at collection or item level within the WFSA catalogue and certainly not at a level commensurate with the new statistics provided in my research. This isn't necessarily a problem with just one archive (WFSA) and as mentioned in Chapter 2 relies upon decisions made much earlier in a film collection's history which is likely to have far reaching consequences for similar collections of regional material.

In addition to demonstrating the far greater number of women involved in cine clubs the evidence presented here also indicates that female cine club members came from a more diverse range of backgrounds than their autonomous peers. Women in cine clubs were more likely to work outside of the home, in remunerative employment and were therefore subject to the juggle of work and family life alongside the social commitment of club membership. Society membership offered women a respectable, accessible space to interact socially and intellectually with like-minded peers. Cine clubs provided the opportunity to meet new people with a shared interest in film, creating lively social experiences as a direct result of the filmmaking process but also allowing women to develop genuine friendships and in many cases lasting relationships. As dynamic and welcoming environments clubs encouraged members from all walks of life and it has been noted these groups were particularly successful in encouraging participation from lower middle-class and working-class individuals, with service and clerical workers being well represented alongside better paid professions such as dentist, company secretary, accountant etc.⁹⁴⁸ The broad appeal of the cinema was a key draw for potential members and women engaged in club life could expect to mingle with participants with few other areas of commonality – the club space brought together disparate groups who might otherwise not have come into contact in more hierarchical environments. Thus, there were opportunities for social mobility; to interact with those outside ones' own sphere – to foster new connections.

⁹⁴⁸ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 29.

8.11 Conclusion

In Chapter 6 I described how Audrey Granville Soames and Doris Campbell employed cine as a tool for social mobility – their use of cine, though autonomously, bears some similarity to how female club members could also benefit from cine in this way. Female club members, from lower income backgrounds could engage in an aspirational practice otherwise out of their financial reach; they also had opportunities to forge an upward social trajectory, they could meet people from outside of their own direct social group and potentially elevate their social position through marriage. Participation in the development of an art form could also serve to assist their social mobility – as their work was acknowledged in local press and in community events and activities. The prestige that could be gleaned from the involvement in filmmaking is closely allied to the clubs' roles as educational spaces. Cine clubs provided opportunities for personal development – to learn entirely new skills from more experienced members and to improve existing abilities; whether it be screen acting, story writing, make up, editing or continuity.

Furthermore, cine clubs exemplify how amateur practice could uncomfortably straddle public and private life. With women's roles in cine club environments defined according to established prevailing gender norms, many found themselves having to negotiate between the public and private spheres; on the one hand positioned as cine's idealised user (in the home, the mother) and on the other, having this role stripped away from them by the formal institutional structures that club life imposed. As a result, many women active in the semi-public club spaces faced being consigned to subsistence and caring activities more aligned with the private sphere of the home. The system asked women to participate, and then 'pulled the rug from under them'.⁹⁴⁹ As I have described, some women were permitted more freedom to step away from these traditional patriarchally defined roles but, even in these cases their work has been subject to obfuscation as a direct result of systems in which they operated. Despite the many obstacles women faced operating in these contexts and the challenges of locating and interpreting their work, it is apparent that club life had creative and social benefits for women and that it could bring a great deal of fulfilment. Through applying the many-layered notion of 'cine-engagement' my analysis advocates for a

⁹⁴⁹ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 12.

consideration of women's involvement in cine clubs that looks beyond industry assigned roles; and that draws into question how and why this nomenclature came to be applied. Through further consideration of the 'space-off' constructed through consultation of contextual sources I argue that women's labour and involvement should be deemed valid, even when formal nomenclature describing their activities is absent. These women contributed to cine club life and had a stake in the final output of their labours as they sat down to enjoy a public screening of a film that *they* had made.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

Marjorie Glasspool was a domestic servant working in the home of a wealthy coal merchant and mine owner, she does not meet the criteria, or exhibit characteristics often attributed to the 'typical woman amateur' that I have described in this thesis. Before this research was undertaken, our knowledge of Marjorie Glasspool, a working-class female filmmaker was limited, hampered by widely held assumptions of what it meant to be an amateur filmmaker in the first half of the twentieth century. As a result of patriarchal systems that prioritise the documentation of men and the upper classes, Marjorie Glasspool does not form the basis of detailed analysis or discussion in my thesis, yet it is here I return to her as I reflect on my research questions and the findings of my project. I call upon Marjorie Glasspool as an example that signals the potential opportunities that await in the feminist exploration of amateur film archives should methodological innovation lead in reforming how scholars approach such examples.

At the outset of this investigation, I established a series of key research questions. The first of these asked 'what is the demographic (and especially, gendered) composition of the region's known amateur filmmaking populace?' To answer this question, I have identified the gender of all WFSA filmmakers active between 1895 and 1950. To achieve this, I have synthesised a mixed methodology that deploys a first of its kind collection survey. Through the systematic logging of existing filmmaker data, I have been able to approach further data collection in a pragmatic manner. The creation of an initial list of filmmakers allowed for an overarching view of the collection, highlighting the areas of potential challenge, and feeding into a targeted prioritisation of records. My approach has facilitated a clear sense of direction and enabled me to build filmmaker biographies. The detail included in these biographies varies according to the status of each individual, a fact that I had not anticipated as having an impact on how filmmakers might be delineated from one another, or indeed how this might affect their very visibility. Marjorie Glasspool, amongst the least understood, and as a result the least visible, demonstrates how the working-class woman leaves barely any archival footprint and how conversely, the lives of middle- and upper-class filmmakers are more readily discernible. In construction of case studies, I have utilised a broad variety of sources that include genealogical documents, contemporary press and ephemera as well

as interviews with filmmakers' relatives and questionnaires completed by the same. By collecting and analysing data in this manner I can affirm that this innovative methodology is an effective way to identify gaps in archival metadata. The systematic recording of specific data categories, such as gender, occupation, and employment status has enabled me to identify many cine-engaged women and I have clear findings illustrating the socio-economic backgrounds of the filmmaking populace; Marjorie Glasspool among them. Uniquely, I have utilised biographical case studies to feed into my survey findings and to produce aggregated data that informs the overall picture. This provides for the first time, concrete statistical data on the demographic and gendered composition of a regional filmmaking populace.

Further, I asked 'what impact did the socio-economic status of women amateur filmmakers have on their involvement in filmmaking activities?' Building on data amassed as part of the collection survey I have been able to draw conclusions about many of the women identified.

As an example, in the case of Marjorie Glasspool I have been able to pinpoint her specific socio-economic circumstances and accurately locate her within the context in which she was active. Her role as a domestic servant in the home of a wealthy coal magnate is a very distinctive production context, and markedly different from the working environments assumed of many 'typical women amateurs'. I have proven that a multidimensional approach that shifts away from reliance on a single source as the absolute truth is required and that it is only through such an approach that Marjorie Glasspool's class status has been clarified. Similarly, through this approach I bring into focus the work of both autonomous women filmmakers and those functioning within cine club environments. In answering this question, the reappraisal of film output is particularly fruitful, with textual examination through a gendered optic offering a new and insightful view of many works.

Finally, I asked how does the collection of WFSA contribute to the construction of a regional collective amateur filmmaking identity? Rather than answering this question, *per se*, my research demonstrates that the concept of a single unified regional filmmaking identity is a misnomer and instead of providing a structured mechanism by which to classify filmmakers, my findings call for a revised amateur lexicon. Through textual analysis and observation of biographical tendencies I successfully identify key gendered trends. As a result of this analysis, I argue for a re-framing of the terminology used to describe women amateurs and their work.

9.1 Outcomes

To fulfil my research questions, I have analysed the impact that filmmaker gender and socio-economic status have on output and I provide a timely insight into regional amateur filmmaking practice, that contributes to rethinking how women's film history is written, moving beyond pioneers and prominent professionals towards recognising women in everyday film culture and to provide evidence of amateur filmmaking practice as a vehicle for social mobility.

Through a mixed methodology that includes textual analysis I have approached women amateurs' work with a critical eye and look to conduct an analysis of on and off-screen space. My re-examination of extant items takes an archaeological turn with the fresh interrogation of primary film material highlighting the potential to reveal new clues on filmmakers' backgrounds. For instance, we now know that the adoption of economical 9.5mm film was a strategic decision for working-class Marjorie Glasspool who bound by the financial constraints of her position, would have been precluded from engaging with 16mm filmmaking.

In addition to the discovery of new source material I have worked with a corpus of existing data contained in the WFSA catalogue. A process of reviewing, deconstructing and analysing film and collection metadata has enabled an archaeological method to take shape. The structure of the archive, its records and their construction have come to feature heavily in my analysis of filmmakers. Through a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative methods I bring oral history interviews in contention with questionnaires, combine textual analysis with demographic data and interpret print sources and ephemera alongside extant reels of film. A combination of these methods allows me to establish (and in some cases, correct) attribution of film items, construct filmmaker case studies and create an empirical filmmaker dataset that allows for aggregation of data and the drawing down of high-level statistics.

9.2 Adding to the field

My work constitutes a significant and original contribution to the field of amateur cinema studies, and more specifically to understanding women amateur filmmakers in the UK.

Given the absence of substantial prior investigations into the filmmakers or films housed within the WFSA collection my research occupies a unique position. The dataset from which my analysis is drawn supports the argument for deployment of this innovative new approach to regional filmmaking populations and signals the originality of my research in terms of its objectives and extent. My approach has uncovered many more additional women filmmakers, whose work was not visible or acknowledged before this research was undertaken. To supplement this, my empirical dataset maps the work of over 200 filmmakers active in this regional collection, which constitutes the first population analysis for such a regional archive. Additionally, I pioneer the development and application of a collection survey method that takes a holistic approach to understanding filmmaking populations whilst drawing on the strengths of case study centred discussion. This technique allows for statistical analysis of the collection that places women filmmakers and those from lower income backgrounds in the context of the whole, rather than placing them in isolation. This 'hands-on' excavation, this digging through layers of presumption and accumulated misconceptions has evolved as an intermedial mixed methodology, and as Gaines invokes – a necessary 'archival excavation'.⁹⁵⁰

9.3 My findings

From amongst the vast quantities of information I have unearthed and analysed there have emerged three significant findings. Firstly, I demonstrate that the work of women amateur filmmakers is consistently overlooked in archives because of entrenched patriarchal shaped practices. Secondly, the diversity of female interactions in amateur film calls for a reappraisal of the linguistic framing around amateur practice; one that demands a departure from the authorial model and instead acknowledges the more democratic features of practice and fluidity of interactions. Thirdly, I identify that cine equipment before 1950 was considerably more affordable in relative terms than previously believed, with access not necessarily limited to the wealthy upper classes.

⁹⁵⁰ Gaines, *Pink-Slipped: What Happened to Women in the Silent Film Industries?*, p. 10.

9.4 Entrenched patriarchal practices

Having undertaken extensive mapping of filmmakers' work it has become clear that there has been a consistent disavowal of women amateur filmmakers' contributions to film collections, and this is as a consequence of entrenched patriarchal practices of historiography and archiving that overlooks individual women, assumes gender homogeneity, misreads identifying details and relies on masculinist concepts of authorship and participation in filmmaking in this early period.

I demonstrate through numerous examples that being female did not preclude a person from cine-engagement, but that it could result in an exclusion from the formal record for a range of reasons. In Chapter 4 I present the case of Louisa Gauvain, whose name is absent in the various manifestations of her work. The receptacle that contained the reels of film she produced inferred her presence through only a genitive pronoun; a notation that was proliferated in the archive by institutional practice and which did not draw scrutiny when copies were passed on to the BFI or the Wellcome Collection. Large organisations were therefore complicit in proliferating the invisibility of Louisa Gauvain's filmmaking labour. As a functional member of a formal institution Louisa Gauvain was more privileged than most in being able to access the means to engage with filmmaking (particularly in the early period before 1922), yet even her work was subject to absorption into her husband's legacy.

Other women faced the same fate, with some more likely than others to be identified directly in archive collections. These women I characterise as the 'typical woman amateur', not through a misguided belief that all women filmmakers were of a certain type or held a narrow range of characteristics, but to testify that some women are simply more self-evident in collections. Through a culturally defined suite of pre-sets the 'typical woman amateur' is simply more available to us because her records bear her name, and her films carry the weight of connection to her name. Archives and scholars rely upon the women we know about, because essentially, we *already know* about them. The 'typical woman amateur' is most often knowable to us because she lived within a financially stable or affluent environment; viewing and recording equipment was financially attainable to her. Furthermore, the 'typical woman amateur' is likely to have high social status as a result of marriage or ancestral family connections. These familial connections could work for or

against a woman in recognition of her work, depending on her marital status at the time of death, with women outlived by husbands statistically less likely to have their work acknowledged in the archive.⁹⁵¹ In addition, I explore the class-based tendency to protect and archive the family memory. In the prestigious lineage of ancient families where the safeguarding of heirlooms or the creation and retention of portraits forms an integral part of building and replicating family bonds, the natural 'remembering mother'⁹⁵² adapts and leans into modernity as she picks up her cine camera.

As problematic as it is useful the notion of the 'typical woman amateur' serves to highlight the layers of presumption and generalisation that affect our understanding of women amateurs and their work. My analysis of these women presents lives rich with print sources and an abundance of biographical data. Yet, outside of the prominent and readily knowable agents are other women who are identifiable through precious few archival traces; women who are afflicted by a double elision. They occupy a smaller space on the page and, as a direct result of their gender and lower socio-economic status, fewer words describe their lives. I explore how their intersectionality has a direct impact on their visibility in the archive and how these women, whose legacy is stretched out thinner over time, are knowable to us only through the piecing together of a disparate few archival sources.

I explore how collaborative husband and wife partnerships; however equitable and fruitful in lived terms, were subject to societal norms in how they were talked about and archived. This proliferation of patriarchal values contributes to the erosion of female filmmaking labour in the archive, with many collections retaining only an attribution to the husband of the pair. Furthermore, I illustrate how female cine-club members, while greater in number and from a broader variety of socio-economic backgrounds than previously believed, faced similar challenges to autonomous women in their struggle for recognition. In many cases the features of structural patriarchy placed direct restrictions on the involvement of women members, whose activity within the club was shaped according to prevailing normative values. This was not a feature confined to the operational life of the club; women cine club members' and their work have typically forfeited full credit because of systemic sexism.

⁹⁵¹ 93.75% of women identified in this study, with films extant in WFSA were widowed or single at the time of death see Table 4 for details.

⁹⁵² Malcahy, p. 290.

In line with the auteurist model widely discussed in film discourse, amateur cinema studies makes distinctions between levels of ‘seriousness’ in amateur practice, attributing superiority to certain prominent roles. As result of this stratification the trope of the ‘serious’ amateur contributes to the denigration of the work produced by the less engaged, less prolific, or less technically proficient women.

All of the women I discuss experienced elision to varying degrees and all of the women identified in this study were subject to entrenched patriarchal historiographic practices. In Chapter 4 my textual analysis of Louisa Gauvain’s *Plaster of Paris* (1913) draws out some of the key factors contributing to the elision of women amateurs’ work, with the filmmaker’s own experiences symbolically reflected on screen. The power relations highlighted in this film encapsulate the paradoxical nature of women’s involvement in filmmaking, wherein their engagement is subject to masculine control, coercion and suppression.

Women amateurs and their work have been shown to be present in the collection of WFSA in far greater numbers than previously believed, with more than double the number now documented. These women and their work are not new – they haven’t suddenly appeared or materialised from mist; they have been located within the framework of the archive through close textual analysis and reappraisal of archive records. Their work, their legacy has been suppressed by the weight of societal norms, by a value system outside of their control. Through entrenched gendered practices of history-making, storytelling and identity shaping women’s work has been suppressed, making the work and its producers less visible.

9.5 Cine-engagement

The evidence I present in this thesis demonstrates that the term ‘cine-engagement’ offers the potential to acknowledge with parity the many and varied roles that women took in relation to amateur filmmaking and production. Adoption of this expansive and flexible term signals a move away from an authorial model that, in a vast proportion of cases, just doesn’t work. The fidelity to industry standard terminology and production hierarchies disadvantages women amateurs, insofar as much as their roles often don’t ‘fit’ into neatly defined profiles; the boundaries are blurred as women migrate between areas of practice and navigate temporal exigencies.

While I use a range of nomenclature to categorise women throughout this thesis, I do so with caution, with an awareness that the identification of common features and characteristics does not necessarily constitute a typology of women amateurs. I draw out some of the areas of commonality that have become apparent during this research, where the strengths of my survey method allows for the identification of attributes that women shared. The 'typical woman amateur' and the 'serious' amateur among them, I also consider husband and wife teams and cine club members. While my sample is limited to a single regional film archive, the volume of filmmakers included provides ample data to support the notion that such patterns will exist in other similar regional archives. My findings demonstrate that the blanket classification of all women under the 'amateur filmmaker' moniker, fails to do justice to the variegated nature of practice that women experienced.

The term 'amateur filmmaker' has an implicit universality. It is used, as I explore in Chapters 3 and 4, in a relational way to describe everything that is not considered professional. As such, it is loaded with meaning and carries certain built-in assumptions. This includes the concept that a single individual was the primary person involved in the production of a film or films, and that their involvement is most often aligned with that of a director in industry terms. There is also an assumption, that as a 'filmmaker', i.e., the person who filmed and edited a film, that this individual must have been possessed of certain skills and abilities. There is also an inference that the individual was aware of their role, that they preconceived of themselves as creators of films. Persistently using this term to describe all cine-engaged individuals inadvertently reinforces these assumptions, presumed behaviours and characteristics where in fact it has been shown that practice could be fluid and heterogeneously experienced. Furthermore, my findings indicate that cine-engaged women could come from almost any walk of life and were not necessarily of one class or social group.

9.6 Women on the margins

My discussion is largely centred on the women about whom we know the most, those who are more evident in archival and print sources. But there are more women that I have identified in this study about whom I have not been able to write. These women, in particular are more challenging to fit within the existing lexicon. Often present on the

periphery of practice; swapping places to hold the camera, or catering to the society crowd their appearances are fragmentary and frequently unclassifiable. I have mentioned, Violet Horton (Chapters 1 and 5) wife of Harry Horton who dips in and out of AV104, while her husband similarly appears in frame only to exit again. There is no formal record of Violet Horton's filmmaking involvement, yet she and her spouse worked together on most things during their married life in Minstead. They worked as a team in all aspects of their lives together, as a result when Harry Horton appears in a sequence on-screen, we can infer Violet Horton's presence behind the camera. Violet Horton has no films attributed to her and no records supporting her involvement.

Other women are linked to films through scattered disparate sources but are eliminated from the narrative conveyed through oral tradition. This is the case with Grace Craven-Ellis and her daughters Vera Craven-Ellis and Doris Campbell who shared many interactions that involved recording and screening films. Our knowledge of them is supported by print sources and analysis of the space-off indicating that all were involved in some way in the production of films within the AV176 series.⁹⁵³ Despite sources that support knowledge of their involvement, neither Grace nor Vera Craven-Ellis are acknowledged in the archive record and in fact, the male family member I was able to interview also had no knowledge of their filmmaking involvement.⁹⁵⁴

Women in cine-club settings operate in ways that are particularly challenging to classify under the current amateur lexicon. They are harder to name, identify, and trace. Even where the filmic output of a club has undeniable visible traces of women participants, if they are not credited in the film text, they are very likely to be excluded from the record. Moreover, actors in films are more likely to be identified by their on-screen selves than those in off-screen roles, with those working on props, make up, lighting, costume etc hierarchically positioned to their detriment. Still more challenging to identify are those members of cine clubs, who through various reasons, including financial exclusion (see Chapter 8), were not able to take on named tasks in society productions. As the massive scale of professional film production is condensed down into the microcosm of film society

⁹⁵³ Saturday 20 February 1932, *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

Saturday 26 November 1932, *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.7.

⁹⁵⁴ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams'.

productions, there is no term that encompasses 'everything else'. Thus, with a reliance on industry terminology and a tight budget for film stock that precluded exhaustive title credit lines, even the clubs themselves did not know how to describe all of the ancillary roles the club encompassed.

Some women's work does get mentioned in the archive record, but their name does not -as was the case with Louisa Gauvain (Chapter 4). This is also the case with Beryl Turner, wife of Alan E Turner. Alan Turner bears the sole attribution for the collection under AV260 yet nested within the description for AV260/2 is a line 'Footage shot by Mrs Turner with her husband's 9.5mm camera of V E Day.'⁹⁵⁵ This is a direct example of women's work being absorbed into male master narratives and an illustration of how relational terminology negatively impacts women. In this instance, the husband of the pair more than likely considered himself to be the 'filmmaker' and therefore, Beryl Turner's contribution has been defined (perhaps to some extent, by herself and to some extent by her family) in relation to the more engaged and prolific partner. The weight of her spouse's involvement in the pastime outweighs her own, therefore she is all but eliminated from the narrative. The same can be said of Nancy Bealing who, in her interview with me in 2010, indicated that she was complicit in the understatement of her work, as she described her efforts in a relational way to her more prolific husband. These women are ill-served by the reliance on relational and derivative terminology. The lexicon of professional cinema that is so often applied unquestioningly to amateur practice, is a borrowed terminology and it doesn't make sense to uphold and judge amateur practice against this 'absolute [professional] standard'.⁹⁵⁶

Amateur film scholarship often prioritises the work of individuals with more serious intentions or with professional aspirations, over the work of others including those with fewer extant films or films covering largely family-oriented content. As a result, women are less visible, when in fact given closer scrutiny and enlargement of the scope of what it means to be involved with amateur filmmaking -we can find cine-engaged women in almost every collection we look at. Cine-engaged women could interact with amateur media

⁹⁵⁵ 'AV260/2 Turner Films: Victory Day in Romsey and India Scenes | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

⁹⁵⁶ Craven, p. 13.

production and consumption practices in a multitude of ways, but because of formally instituted patriarchal mechanisms their work has largely been marginalised within hierarchical systems of control.

These examples, and others that I have not had the space to list here provide clear justification for a move away from industry-defined notions of authorship in the non-professional sphere and for the development of a specifically amateur lexicon that reflects the experiences of men and women participants equitably. The application of the term and recognition of the implications of levels of cine-engagement has the potential to elevate the manifold contributions of women amateurs and allow their participation to be considered with parity alongside more formally recognised industry-informed (and typically, male occupied) roles.

I suggest that there are two possible approaches that might address this problem. Firstly, scholars should adopt the notion of cine-engagement to validate the many contributions of women within the non-professional sphere. This approach demands that we expand our view of what it means to be a filmmaker in this context, and rather than map these women's work against the professional industry we should instead seek out others functioning in similar contexts and ask what these women can teach us about access to filmmaking technologies, about methodologies and outputs. The term cine-engagement offers us an optic to interrogate rather than dismiss the uncategorisable or hard to pin down contributions of women. Secondly, researchers should consider that film catalogue entries are not perfect incontrovertible truths, but gateways through which further information can be obtained. Catalogue entries are fallible records produced by human beings who transmute into fact, information passed onto them by other human beings. In the patriarchal society that we live, the knowledge passed on by depositors to archivists is unavoidably shaped by normative values prevailing at the time of accession. These values, while seemingly invisible, come to light through feminist archival excavation. If we are to truly recognise women's work we need to re-evaluate our approach to the archive, to problematise the notion of the record and to question the concept of history and who writes it.

9.7 Reframing our assumptions on access

A significant finding of my research is that cine equipment before 1950 was considerably more affordable in relative terms than previously believed, and that access was not necessarily limited to the incredibly wealthy upper classes. This notion of affordability challenges prior assumptions of the amateur filmmaking populace, allowing for a reframing of filmmaker biographies from a gauge and gender centred optic. 9.5mm film was a tangible and affordable way for filmmakers from lower income backgrounds to engage with film. It is also true, that cine clubs offered an economical access route into filmmaking, particularly for women from lower income backgrounds. By drawing into my argument, a cost analysis of cine equipment between 1920 and 1950 I discuss filmmakers and their work through an affordability lens, interrogating if and how gauge choices impacted uptake and output. This method of data collection answers an anecdotal inference that is found throughout much amateur cinema literature; that 9.5mm film and equipment was more affordable.⁹⁵⁷

My findings demonstrate that 9.5mm equipment was substantially and consistently cheaper across the whole 1920 to 1950 period, with the cost of 9.5mm equipment remaining between the daily and weekly wage amount for an average skilled tradesperson for the entire period examined. Furthermore, access to filmmaking equipment was not geographically restrained; with outlets across the UK responding to market demand within a relatively short time frame – in other words there was almost no hierarchy of access, where London might retain exclusivity over the regions. Other notable observations include how the availability of second-hand equipment from 1930 onwards triggered an upward surge in the popularity of the pastime, with the 1930s often referenced as a boom period for amateur filmmaking.⁹⁵⁸

Discussion of format and more specifically, of film gauge within amateur cinema studies is limited to fleeting mentions and often included as parenthetical remarks or footnotes, unless a specifically archaeological approach has been taken.⁹⁵⁹ Rarely has gauge been situated centrally in the analysis of filmmakers and their work. Closing the distance between

⁹⁵⁷ B Singer, 'Early Home Cinema and the Edison Home Projecting Kinetoscope', *Film History*, 2.1 (1998), 37–69 48 (p. 48); Motrescu-Mayes and Aasman, *Amateur Media: Film, Digital Media and Participatory Cultures*, p. 19; D Kerr, 'The Kodak Ciné-Kodak Line of Motion Picture Cameras', 2019, p. 4 <http://dougkerr.net/Pumpkin/articles/Kodak_Cine-Kodak.pdf>.

⁹⁵⁸ Norris Nicholson, 'Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927 -1977', p. 28.

⁹⁵⁹ van der Heijden and Santi; van der Heijden.

the material features of film stock and the associated recording and viewing equipment has the potential to offer insights into filmmaker demographics and filmic output, that has hitherto been overlooked in the canon. With this knowledge, it is significant that a filmmaker such as Marjorie Glasspool, a domestic servant, used 9.5mm film. Marjorie Glasspool's work is unconventional and demonstrates a developing trajectory of technical proficiency. Subject to comparison with the 'absolute standard' of the professional film industry her work is unfavourably viewed; with the more 'serious' amateurs and the hobby press propagating and sustaining a belief that value is held only by work that aspires to professional levels. The notion of the 'typical woman amateur' holds no water with exceptions such as Marjorie Glasspool. What can we learn then from her, and other exceptions like her?

My findings signal the need for a more granular approach to film gauge analysis that takes into account not just the film text (be it digital or analogue in form), but the context, biographies and extant reels of film. If a more granular analytical approach to gauge was deployed in analysis of filmmakers in the absence of extensive biographical information, we are more likely to be able to unearth work produced by people from underrepresented groups. If gauge choice can be shown to be significant in impacting who is able to pick up a cine camera, future research has the potential to home in on collections of 9.5mm as sources of working class or lower middle-class history; history (truly) from the 'bottom-up'.⁹⁶⁰

9.8 Cine clubs and access

This thesis has touched upon but not fully explored the role that technology occupies as a means of participation, particularly in relation to cine club environments. The proliferation of amateur participatory technology, triggered in 1922 by the introduction of 9.5mm film, started a process of democratisation of media production. This was picked up and trailblazed at first by autonomous filmmakers and then by cine clubs, and it is within these cine clubs that the greatest number of women amateurs can be located. The equipment that was available in cine clubs was obtained with tight budgetary considerations; clubs

⁹⁶⁰ Schneider, p. 167; Slootweg and others.

aimed to attract a broad membership through affordable subscription fees, and they acquired equipment within their limited means. As a result of the structure and funding arrangements observed in cine clubs, I demonstrate how club environments could be particularly active spaces for women to engage with cine.

My findings have shown that up to 33% of cine club members were female, and that the real figure could have been higher, with many ancillary roles failing to be acknowledged in historic sources. Thus, women in cine clubs faced the same elision as their autonomous sisters, and as a result of hierarchical structures borrowed from other patriarchally designed organisations, female cine club members risked being subsumed within the work of their male peers. Despite this obfuscation, I outline that cine clubs could be sites of multi-generational polyvocal exchange, offering themselves as communal spaces of learning and providing a respectable leisure time activity that could bridge the professional and semi-private realms. The cine club environment demonstrates that participation was not just about the production of films. As lively social spaces women could engage in a multitude of ways, and these many interactions had value. They had value for the clubs, for the women themselves and they contribute to regional filmmaking experience.

I challenge scholarly generalisations anchored to the fallacy of amateur practice as exclusionary by dint of cost. My findings demonstrate that for all but the very lowest earners, cine use was within reach for the duration of the 1920 to 1950 period, whether this was through independent access to equipment in the region or through shared means via a cine club. This thesis, rather than revealing a whole raft of overlooked working-class women filmmakers considers that challenging our perceptions can and will only lead to a greater understanding of the diverse range of perspectives that the amateur archive holds.

9.9 Significance and implications

This research offers a considerable insight into the work of a populace of female filmmakers on which there has been no significant research to date. It has opened up an area of study with empirical findings that has hitherto been discussed in a largely piecemeal and fragmentary way. There are many examples of women amateurs' work in discussion across

UK based scholarship,⁹⁶¹ but these case studies are disparate and often stand alone as examples with little sense of how these women sit within the context of a regional population. My research, while drawing on the strength of case study analysis, uniquely situates these women within the context of an amateur filmmaking populace – amongst peers within the WFSA collection. I argue for the validation of the work of cine-engaged women in whatever guise they interacted with cine and call for a move away from an inherited and unhelpful authorial model, that draws almost exclusively from industry and that reflects a privileged male approach.

There are several key areas where my findings can have significant impact. Firstly, my approach provides a useful and adaptable methodology that can be applied to other collections of amateur film. The techniques that I deploy demonstrate a potential for adaptability, providing a framework that others may use to approach a regional archive collection. This approach offers an alternative from the case study driven method and allows for relational consideration of women filmmakers, not relational to industry or even male counterparts, but with peers operating within a similar geographical milieu.

Secondly, my approach and subsequent findings offer the opportunity to compare and contrast the different ways that women could engage with cine. With the adoption of a new amateur lexicon my work calls for a shift in gendered assumptions that are enmeshed in industry inherited terminology, both in relation to how women's activities are classified but also how their work is appraised. In very simple terms, I am arguing for the recognition of women's work not on grounds (necessarily) of being comparable to cinematic greats, or even being laudable as the 'best' among amateurs, rather, that their work is recognised as being present within and contributing to, a regional experience of amateur filmmaking and consumption. That is not to denigrate the work of these women, or to say that they are in any way inferior to those whose work rises to prominence. Moreover, this approach rejects patriarchal, classist and outdated forms of attributing value to film work, marking a shift away from attribution of value through a relational positioning to industry norms and rightly repositioning these contributions as central to women amateurs' experience of filmmaking.

⁹⁶¹ Motrescu-Mayes and Norris Nicholson; Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, pp. 18–29; Cranston; Frith and Johnston.

Thirdly, my research serves to make the work of women within WFSA more visible and provide opportunities for future research and engagement with their films. As part of the initial ethical discussions with WFSA before undertaking this project, I agreed that biographical data would be shared with the archive, for assimilation into their catalogue. During the course of this research and in my role at WFSA, I have implemented small changes that will improve the visibility of underrepresented groups, including women. I have pushed for the prioritisation of 9.5mm film for digitisation, which has a direct impact on ease of access for this part of the collection. I have purposely sought out the work of many of the women I have discussed in this thesis and have shared their content when able to at screenings, on social media and have been able to do so while providing additional context on their work – as a direct result of this research. Furthermore, in 2022 I was instrumental in a successful funding bid to The National Archives Testbed Fund, one of the aims of which was to pioneer a structured depositor questionnaire. I have since designed and begun to implement this questionnaire at WFSA, which aims to ask specific questions of depositors in order to gather data that would otherwise be undertaken in a less directive way. This questionnaire asks about gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and sexuality. My research and the issues highlighted by it, has already begun to influence archival practice and continues to do so taken alongside the findings of other projects such as UEA's *Women in Focus*.

9.10 Future and potential

That said, all research projects have limitations and there are a number to take into account in my findings. This research reflects only one regional collection, and it looks only at work produced up to 1950. I have encountered many filmmakers whose work transcends geographical and temporal boundaries and I identify these in my discussion where relevant. As indicated in my methodology, I use a wide timeframe when collating population data to ensure that filmmakers are not excluded on the basis that they function either side of the parameters of my study.

There also remains the unanswerable question, of how we account for items that have not made it into an archive. We are unavoidably confined to analysis of items that have negotiated the rocky journey from producer to repository; unassailed by detrimental

environmental conditions, acts of God, house clearances, misattribution and other mistreatments. I identify key influential factors that suggest that scholars should pay more attention to this lacuna. Firstly, my research provides clear data that far from being Another key factor to take into consideration is that the knowledge of women's work and those from lower income backgrounds will always be incomplete and fragmentary, as dictated by the conditions of patriarchy. I discuss in detail the many factors impacting the visibility of women in historical research, and deconstructing the apparatus responsible for this forms a greater part of my analysis. Women are simply harder to locate as a result of systemic sexism: covert misogyny embedded in oral traditions, familial archive building, formal documentation practices, naming conventions etc., the list is long. Furthermore, women from lower income backgrounds experience intersectionality; with their lower socio-economic status doubly impacting their visibility and as the *Invisible Innovators* report suggests adds further layers of challenge to locating and interpreting their work.⁹⁶²

prohibitively expensive, cine equipment in the UK was financially attainable for a large proportion of society before 1950; yet collective knowledge of amateur film collections articulates a different rhetoric. At this juncture we might enquire, how far lower income filmmakers' interactions with cine are impacted by a) their access to equipment and b) their likelihood to retain films and archive them. It is thus reasonable to ask, is it that lower income filmmakers really did not engage with cine by dint of cost OR that they did, and that their work has not survived into an archive? Or, if it has survived, is it masked behind layers of presumption about filmmaker status, bound up with the scholarly assertion that filmmaking was the preserve of white middle class men, to the exclusion of everyone else? I return, to the examples of Marjorie Glasspool and Fred Veal, who without further biographical scrutiny, would have continued to be subsumed into the homogeneity of the middle-class masses. Their stories, not only articulate how class struggles manifest as social mobility but also how our assumptions ('historical telescoping'⁹⁶³) hamper our interpretation of archive records.

⁹⁶² Clayton, Johnston, and Williams, p. 29.

⁹⁶³ Gaudreault and Barnard, p. 83.

Notable in framing this void is the almost unacknowledged fact that the contents of archives are shaped by a class-based tendency to retain and preserve documents,⁹⁶⁴ with the middle and upper classes more likely to create informal archives of their family history, which will ultimately find their way into a formal repository. Women and people from lower income backgrounds are less likely to archive these records and as a result fewer extant items remain from these groups. My findings suggest that a woman's work would have more chance of finding its way to an archive if she was single or widowed at the time of her death, that is, if her work was not absorbed into the estate of a male spouse. Of the women considered in this thesis 93.75% were single or widowed at the time of their death. This highlights a further potential contributor to the elision of women's work and leads us to ask, how can we account for the work of women outlived by their male relatives? As I describe, in many cases women's visibility is pivotal upon a clear unambiguous attribution being provided at the point of accession which in turn, is determined by the absence of a surviving male relative at time of death and on a strong authorial ownership of work conveyed in writing, in supporting documentation, on film cans or communicated orally by relatives. These aspects contribute to a palpable sense of absence and a consensus that something is missing from the overall picture. My analysis goes some way towards interpreting this space and highlights that if we don't modify our approach, we will continue to be blinded by what we think we already know.

9.11 First steps in the right direction

As might be expected, this research has given rise to many further lines of enquiry. Among which is a need to consider the absence in archives, of filmed material from women and lower income filmmakers. With the new knowledge of the real-life cost of filmmaking equipment and insights to the many ways in which women's work is obfuscated, there is an obvious opportunity to re-evaluate sources and locate filmmakers more accurately within their social milieu. There is also the potential to incentivise and educate archives about the potential gains to be had by modifying collecting practice in order to capture socio-economic and gendered data at the point of accession. Further work that widens the scope

⁹⁶⁴ Gloyn and others, p. 73.

of this question to encompass lower income filmmakers irrespective of gender could yield potentially canon reshaping results.

Furthermore, the temporal limitation of this project necessarily confines my analysis to the first half of the twentieth century. As a result, I have not pursued avenues that pertain to issues of gender and class outside of this timeframe. This leaves a clear route to develop this argument beyond 1950 and potentially opens up space to conduct diachronic analysis which could theoretically draw in learning from more contemporary forms of participatory media. These prospective lines of enquiry make clear that this study is a starting point from which further studies might take inspiration, and rather than offering the outcomes of this thesis as a complete and finished product I suggest that researchers look to the application of an intermedial mixed methodology as way to undertake feminist film archival excavations. In such excavations, I propose that technology should be central to our discussion on content, context and form and can provide a framework that can inform not just our understanding of how such practices have developed over time but also influence how we actively collect and archive new and representative content. The technology does matter, it is foundational and to truly articulate the diverse perspectives within the archive the interdependency of materiality and film content must be acknowledged.

In the first half of the twentieth century, women made up more than 50% of our population;⁹⁶⁵ yet the amateur film content attributed to them falls vastly below this figure. This isn't because they were not present. I demonstrate that rather than accept this received knowledge as fact, we can interrogate film sources to shed new light on their potential as windows to the past. Archive records are not incontrovertible truths, they are shaped by humans and as records they are in a never-ending process of becoming.⁹⁶⁶ They become anew at each new viewing, and films become new objects on the creation of each new copy; they hold potential. They hold the potential to articulate new facets of our history, facets that can be unlocked if only we use the right key. Cine-engaged women were

⁹⁶⁵ Women are more in number between 1937 to 1950 than men Office of National Statistics, 'UK Population Estimates 1838-2015', 2017
<<https://www.ons.gov.uk/aboutus/transparencyandgovernance/freedomofinformationfoi/populationbyagegenderandethnicity>>.

⁹⁶⁶ McKemmish, 'Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice', p. 335.

present everywhere and will be found in every archive -we just need to look for them and use the right key to unlock their stories.

Appendix A

Collection Survey

Phase 1 - Extrapolation of relevant entries

The first phase of the collection survey involved originating a list of entries from the public interface of the CALM catalogue, using the search terms discussed above, which were then copied and pasted from the browser into a spreadsheet. There are many positives to accessing the publicly available version of the catalogue in this way – for example, the knowledge that the entries returned have been cleared for wider access, with which there are likely to be no data protection considerations linked to extrapolating the data. It also allows for access to the secondary data according to need, rather than having to request a formal download from the archive itself. Conversely, there are some challenges of working with the publicly available catalogue. The public catalogue interface does not contain listings for the whole collection, it simply shows entries for those items where ‘access’ or ‘viewing’ copies exist or where items have been moved out of ‘draft’ status. There are items that are *not* visible to the public when viewing the catalogue in this way. However, the number of items excluded from the search is not significant, and generally the items are listed at collection level even where an item level entry is missing, and these have been included in the survey.

Phase 1 of the collection survey, sought to work with the publicly available data and organise it suitably to allow for manipulation and examination of the data in an equitable way, that served to lay the groundwork for expanding upon existing entries. Following the application of the described search criteria the returned results numbered 5,617.

Phase 2 -Eliminating ‘out of scope’ items

With a comprehensive list of catalogue entries, the study was able to begin shaping data in order to facilitate the collection survey. The first step was to check that all items in the list were relevant to the study (hereafter ‘in scope’) – all items that were not clearly films made in the 1895-1960 period, were removed e.g., sound items denoted by an ‘S1’ suffix. Following this initial sorting, a number of key issues were identified which were addressed pragmatically as outlined below.

Assignment of professional or amateur status

For the purpose of this study, it was key to enable a sort function that would delineate between amateur and professionally produced films. There is no dedicated field within CALM that allows for the inclusion of this data, but it can sometimes be found in a number of locations (as described above and implemented since 2010 by the SHUK project).

In order to record this information uniformly in this study, a column was added to the spreadsheet and the first task in managing the dataset was to locate/define each collection level entry accordingly using the following terms: *Amateur, Professional, Unknown or Early film*. In some instances, there was no mention of the film or filmmaker’s status using these terms, but in some cases, there were indicators: for example, Pathé, Movietone, BBC, or Universal might be mentioned within the collection level description which would therefore enable a ‘Professional’ selection to be recorded. Similarly, collections listed with a family

name, with descriptions suggestive of home movies and shot on a small gauge of film, could be more confidently assumed to have been produced by amateurs. If the status was not clear, but it was felt that a viewing of the film may be able to clarify this, the entry was labelled 'Need to check'. 'Early film' was applied to entries with dates falling between 1895-1922, with a view to revisiting at a later stage once a judgement call had been made on the defining parameters of 'amateur' in the context of this study, but also to inform this definition (see Chapter 3).

Filmmaker names are not routinely recorded in any particular field

This study focuses on filmmakers, producers of film – whereas the catalogue centres on items, the films produced. As a result of this the name of the filmmaker (if known) is not routinely recorded in any single location in CALM. It can be found in a number of locations (much like the terms *amateur* and *professional*, as described above). This required a manual identification of the filmmaker's name using the fields available and transposing this into the spreadsheet. At this early stage of the collection survey, it was necessary to include columns on the spreadsheet that distinguish between 'catalogued' data, and data that was ascertained through other sources during the course of this research. As a result, the filmmaker's name, as recorded in the catalogue, is listed under 'Catalogued attribution' to take into account any variations in format and/or method of attribution. Where filmmaker names were found to be present in the catalogue they have been transposed into the spreadsheet under 'Catalogue attribution'.

Filmmaker gender is not explicitly stated, only inferred

There exists no clear way of attributing gender to the filmmakers who produced films within the collection of WFSA. None of the metadata fields are used to expressly record this information, and it is not *routinely* recorded anywhere on the public facing catalogue. It can sometimes be found in the honorific assigned to individuals e.g., AV1001 Gibson Films (Mr Collin Gibson), although not routinely in either the collection or item level entry. Sometimes there is only a family attribution e.g., AV1003 Southampton and Christchurch films: Chopra Family films (no filmmaker name recorded), or name without honorific: AV1413 Stay amateur films (F S Stay). This irregularity in recording practice necessitated the application of a flexible classification system that evolved as the collection was surveyed. 'Attributed gender' is recorded in one of the following ways:

- Female
- Male
- Unknown - assumed male
- Unknown - assumed female
- Collective - male named
- Collective - female named
- Heterosexual couple
- Collective - male and female
- Family attribution
- Unknown

The same irregularity was found to be in evidence in recording cine club involvement – with no dedicated field recording the information. Cine club information, when it is present is located variously in the 'Title', or 'description', or 'admin history' fields – and sometimes

only at collection or item level. Where cine club information was identified in any of these locations it has been noted under 'Cine Club Affiliation'.

Phase 2 also facilitated the identification of what this study has termed 'organisational collections'; collection level entries that are catalogued according to the depositing body. For example: AV180 Southampton City Heritage (Southampton Museum Films). This collection contains 132 reels from multiple filmmakers, amateur and professional but the filmmaker's names do not necessarily appear in the collection level entry (although some do). At this phase in the survey, collections designated 'Organisational' were appropriately categorised as such to allow further exploration at a later stage.

Phase 3 -standardising entries and addressing anomalies

Sharing collection level attributes

Each stage of the initial Phase 1 collection survey progressed according to issues or challenges flagged up when handling the data. It was apparent that recording 'Collection Title/name' details at collection level only, omitted important detail required to interpret item level entries. For example:

Collection level entry: *AV1003 Southampton and Christchurch films*

Item level entries: *Chopra Family films reel #*

The collection level entry Title/Name fails to attribute the films to a filmmaker, and the item level Title/Name similarly fails to geographically locate the films. With both titles read in tandem it confirms both the familial attribution of the films and their origin. The collection level data was transposed into each item entry to ensure maximum visibility of such details in the survey.

Standardising dates

Dates can be recorded in CALM in a variety of ways, according to the most appropriate method for each item. In many cases it is not always possible to apply an exact date and therefore date ranges are used. For every variation of date format, this study has extrapolated the earliest and latest dates that are inferred by the catalogue's dating system. These are recorded in separate columns as: 'Catalogued date from' 'Catalogued date to'.

This standardised dating of collection level entries was carried through onto item level entries where the earliest date falls within the 1895-1950 time period.

Addressing anomalies

The resultant focused dataset was extracted from the overall broad dataset to facilitate further analysis. At this stage there were range of issues that needed to be addressed:

- Collections that had been identified as 'Organisational collection with multiple authors' may contain multiple filmmakers, whose names do not appear at collection level – but may do at item level.
- Collections that had been identified as 'Early film' needed to be examined more closely to consider how they contribute to a definition of amateur/professional in the context of this collection.

Organisational collections

When items are deposited as a collection, particularly when the depositor is an organisation (i.e., a museum, local authority) filmmaker names can become obscured in the catalogue when working at collection level for a number of reasons.

Collections deposited by organisations rarely mention filmmakers' names in the title of the collection and they do not consistently include individual filmmakers' names in the collection description. Therefore, one of the only sure ways of extrapolating filmmaker names is to check each item level entry. By doing this, individual names can be included in the survey and therefore ensure visibility of amateur filmmakers within organisational collections. Once these collections had been checked at item level, the names of individual filmmakers and their genders was recorded. To ensure this process was accurate and not discriminatory, a manual check was undertaken to ensure that these filmmakers appeared in the graded search.

Film Stock Gauges

As noted in this methodology, the CALM search function at WFSA does not allow for a sorting of film items by film gauge. Film gauge data had to be manually harvested from the exported data for each collection and item level entry. The following categories were allocated for gauge in this survey:

- 35mm
- 16mm
- 9.5mm
- 8mm
- S8mm
- 17.5mm
- Tape (taken to denote any tape format)
- Catalogue does not state
- Multiple within collection

In these initial stages the latter two selections allowed for a range of variables which would need to be addressed with closer examination of the collections. The 'catalogue does not state' option referred to the public facing catalogue and returned 15 collection level entries. Clarification was sought directly from WFSA on the possible reasons for this and as a result an additional option of 'WFSA does not hold originals' was added. In 14/15 instances it was found that WFSA held only copies of these items. Possible reasons for this include originals having degraded to an irretrievable state and been disposed of, either by WFSA or before the copy was deposited with WFSA or only a copy was deposited with WFSA and original was either retained elsewhere or disposed of.

Phase 4 -Developing a grading matrix

The collated data up to this point represented a significant number of collections, which to include in their entirety would have proven unmanageable in the timeframe allowed for this project. In order to reduce the quantities of filmmakers included in the focused research a weighted grading matrix was applied to the relevant collections/items.

Stage 1 Grading

Grading took place after the initial dataset formation and before further data collection. Working solely with the information collected from the public facing CALM entries the matrix was designed to draw on key criteria that would assist in gauging the 'quality' of data that is held on each filmmaker. The matrix used a weighted grading system, that aimed to prioritise the work of female filmmakers and those from (possibly) lower income backgrounds, who may have been using 9.5mm film and later, 8mm film – both cheaper alternatives to 16mm. Each category of information held for a collection was assigned a weight, and additional weighting was added for collections where the filmmaker was known to be female, or to have been using 9.5mm film stock. The aim of this was to ensure that these filmmakers would rise to the top of the process and be prioritised for detailed study.

Stage 2 Grading

The aim of the second grading phase was to surface collections where the greatest amount of data was already present. This phase gave precedence to female filmmakers, collectives, and couples and then to those working with 9.5mm film. The long list derived from this process included:

- All the named female filmmakers working within the 1895-1950 period
- All the collectives working within the period
- All the couples working within the period

And then:

- Male, named filmmakers working within the period with 9.5mm
- Male, named filmmakers within the period

For balance a selection of others have been added to the long list that includes (these would be typically lower scoring on the grading matrix):

- Unknown filmmakers working with 9.5mm film
- Male, named filmmakers working with other gauges of film

Shortlisting and depositor contact questionnaire

The outcome of this sorting and grading process was a long list of 321 filmmakers and a short list of around 60 filmmakers. The group of 60 filmmakers form the major focus of this study, with case study profiles being built around each filmmaker. The long list was shared with WFSA to facilitate outreach to depositors and has been used to gather high level quantitative data.

In the early stages of this research a good working relationship with WFSA was fostered to enable access to depositors for gathering contextual information on collections and filmmakers within the archive. Formal ethical procedures were strictly adhered to in the creation of a filmmaker/depositor questionnaire⁹⁶⁷ which was disseminated to interested depositors following an initial contact from WFSA. Only a very small proportion of depositor contacts were returned with less than 10 getting in touch to indicate interest in being involved in the project. This is quite possibly a result of outdated contact details remaining

⁹⁶⁷ See Appendix # Figure # for questionnaire

on file for the depositors. Of these 10, only 5 completed the questionnaire and 2 took part in recorded interviews.

Questionnaire development

The depositor questionnaire⁹⁶⁸ was devised to establish clarity in a number of key areas:

- The road to accession
- Basic biographical data on filmmakers
- Enhanced questions around the filmmaker's: perceived disadvantage, living conditions, location, occupation, occupation category based on ISCO-08 major groups, education, consumption of newspapers/magazines, international travel, home ownership, if cine equipment was bought or borrowed, production of colour films and acquisition of film stock.
- Economic information on the filmmaker's parents and wider family
- Details around filmmaking activities

The questionnaire was devised with a keen awareness that 'class' is a construct based on a matrix of influences. The headings included in the questionnaire became key areas for development within the filmmaker profiles and a standardised system for classifying occupation was introduced -ISCO-08.

⁹⁶⁸ See Appendix #

Appendix B List of primary sources consulted via Ancestry & The British Newspaper Archive

World War II Allied Prisoners of War (1939-1945), Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England (1958-1955), England, Andrews Newspaper Index Cards 1790-1976, England & Wales, Civil Registration Birth Index (1916-2007), England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index (1915-2007), England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index (1837-1915), England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index (1916-2005), England and Wales Register (1939), London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns (1754-1936), London, England, Electoral Registers (1832-1965), UK, Army Registers of Soldiers' Effects, (1901-1929), UK, City and County Directories' (1766-1946), UK, Navy Lists (1888-1970), UK, Silver War Badge Records' (1914-1920), UK, Soldiers Died in the Great War (1914-1919), UK, World War I Service Medal and Award Rolls (1914-1920), UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists (1914-1920), UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists (1890-1960), West Yorkshire, England, Electoral Registers (1840-1962).

Regional and national newspapers and periodicals accessed via *The British Newspaper Archive* supplement this genealogical approach have allowed for inclusion of regionally specific news reporting. Regional publications include, but are not limited to: *Portsmouth Evening News*, *Hampshire Chronicle*, *Hampshire Advertiser*, *Western Morning News*, *Reading Standard*, *Andover Chronicle*, *Hampshire Telegraph*, *Reading Observer*. National press also contributed to profiles and sources such as *The Tatler and the Bystander*, *Daily Mirror*, *Illustrated London News* and *The Gazette* were also consulted.

Appendix C Depositor Questionnaire



**Study Title: Exploring gender and class in the amateur film collection of Wessex Film & Sound Archive
(WFSA) 1920-1950**

Filmmaker questionnaire

Researcher: Zoë Viney Burgess

ERGO number: 61562

Before completing this questionnaire, please read the enclosed '*Participant Information Sheet_v.03*'.

Some of the questions contained in this questionnaire are personal or sensitive in nature, please only provide information that you are comfortable in sharing. There is **no** requirement to submit information, you **can** skip questions.

- **If you made the film (s) in question, then please answer the questions in this questionnaire about **yourself**, and those who made the films with you. You will need to complete 'CONSENT FORM A: FOR FILMMAKER COMPLETION'**
- **If you did NOT make the film (s) yourself, and the filmmaker is deceased, then please answer the questions in this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge about the person(s) known to have made the film. You will need to complete 'CONSENT FORM B: FOR DEPOSITOR COMPLETION'.**
 - **If you did NOT make the film (s) yourself, and the filmmaker is living, then please answer the questions in this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge about the person(s) known to have made the film. The person you are answering on the behalf of will need to complete 'CONSENT FORM C: FOR FILMMAKER COMPLETION'**
 - **If you are the depositor and will be answering questions about someone else, who is living, but who is unable to give informed consent. Consent must be given by a proxy on the following form: 'CONSENT FORM D FOR FILMMAKER PROXY COMPLETION'**

GDPR legislation applies only to living individuals, and as such, you must make clear at the start of the questionnaire if you are answering questions about yourself, someone else, or a deceased individual. This information sheet lays out our commitment to data protection legislation, and how we will meet these requirements in relation to the data that you submit.

On the right is a column which asks you to indicate if you would like a particular piece of information to '*Remain confidential and only be used in aggregated data and internal database*'. All other data shared will be made available through filmmaker profiles and the CALM catalogue.

This form was designed to be printed and filled in by hand. If you would prefer to complete an online version of the form please let us know and we can email you a link.

Name of the person completing this questionnaire: _____

If you wish an item
to remain confidential
and only be used in
aggregated data
Tick in this column

Who is the filmmaker?

1. Are you the filmmaker? You are listed as the depositor for items held at WFSA. Are you also the maker of these film(s)?

Yes No

If no, please supply the filmmaker(s) names

2. How did you come to acquire the films?

If you have answered Yes for Q1 please continue to answer the following questions for yourself. If you have answered no to Q1, please answer the questions for the person, or persons known to have made the film(s).

About the films deposited at WFSA

3. When did you deposit the films in question with the archive?

4. How did you come to deposit them with the archive?

5. What is your relationship to the filmmaker/how do/did you know them?

About the filmmaker

6. Please supply the date of birth of the filmmaker if known (and, if relevant, date of death)

Date of birth: DD/MM/YY Date of death: DD/MM/YY

Are these dates: Exact Approximate

Is the filmmaker still living?

Yes No

If yes, please ensure the filmmaker has completed 'CONSENT FORM C: FOR FILMMAKER COMPLETION'

7. What best describes the filmmaker's gender?

Male Female Prefer not to say Prefer to self describe

8. What best describes the filmmaker's marital status (during the 1920-1950 period)?

Married or in a civil partnership
 Unmarried but living with partner
 Single
 Widowed

Religious beliefs

9. Please indicate if the filmmaker identified with a religion:

No religion
 Buddhist
 Christian
 Hindu

- Jewish
- Muslim
- Sikh
- Prefer not to say
- Other

□

Ethnicity

10. Please indicate which ethnic group the filmmaker would consider themselves to belong to:

Asian

- Asian or Asian British-Indian
- Asian or Asian British – Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian

Black

- Black or Black Caribbean
- Black or Black British -African
- Other Black

Mixed

- Mixed -White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed – White and Black African
- Mixed White and Asian
- Other mixed

White

- White -British (to include N. Ireland, Scotland and Wales)
- White -Irish
- White – European
- Other White

Other

- Ethnic identity unknown
- Prefer not to say
- Other

11. Would the filmmaker have considered themselves to have come from a disadvantaged background?

- Yes
- No

12. During the 1920-1950 period, where did the filmmaker live? *E.g. lived in London and then moved to Southampton in 1935. If you can supply an address for this period, that would be helpful.*

□

13. How would you classify the filmmaker's occupation, during the 1920-1950 period?

You can select more than one option. You can provide more detail in the comments section below.

- Unemployed – no income
- Unemployed – financially independent
- Unemployed – financially dependent on spouse/family
- Unemployed – worked in the home

Employed

List extracted from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO)

- ISCO-08 Major group 1: Manager e.g chief exec, managing director, hotel manager, service manager
- ISCO-08 Major group 2: Professional e.g architect, doctor, teacher, finance professional, solicitor
- ISCO-08 Major group 3: Technician e.g science technician, pharmacist, specialised secretary, fitness worker
- ISCO-08 Major group 4: Clerical support worker e.g typist, customer service, bank teller
- ISCO-08 Major group 5: Service and sales worker e.g cook, waiter, housekeeping, shop assistant, child care worker
- ISCO-08 Major group 6: Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker e.g market gardener, hunter, farmer

- ISCO-08 Major group 7: Craft and related trade worker eg: builder, electrician, plumber, cabinet maker, mechanic
- ISCO-08 Major group 8: Plant and machine operator eg: mine plant operator, weaver, train driver, bus driver, ships' deck crew
- ISCO-08 Major group 9: Elementary occupation eg: domestic, cleaner, labourer, street vendor, refuse collector
- ISCO-08 Major group 10: Armed forces eg: commission armed forces officers, non-commissioned armed forces officer, other armed forces rank

Comments on occupation:

□

14. What were the occupations of the filmmakers parents? You can select more than one option. Please provide more detail in the comments section below e.g. mothers job, fathers job.

- Unemployed – no income
- Unemployed – financially independent
- Unemployed – financially dependent on spouse/family
- Unemployed – worked in the home

Employed

- ISCO-08 Major group 1: Manager e.g chief exec, managing director, hotel manager, service manager
- ISCO-08 Major group 2: Professional e.g architect, doctor, teacher, finance professional, solicitor

- ISCO-08 Major group 3: Technician e.g science technician, pharmacist, specialised secretary, fitness worker
- ISCO-08 Major group 4: Clerical support worker e.g typist, customer service, bank teller
- ISCO-08 Major group 5: Service and sales worker e.g cook, waiter, housekeeping, shop assistant, child care worker
- ISCO-08 Major group 6: Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker e.g market gardener, hunter, farmer
- ISCO-08 Major group 7: Craft and related trade worker eg: builder, electrician, plumber, cabinet maker, mechanic
- ISCO-08 Major group 8: Plant and machine operator eg: mine plant operator, weaver, train driver, bus driver, ships' deck crew
- ISCO-08 Major group 9: Elementary occupation eg: domestic, cleaner, labourer, street vendor, refuse collector
- ISCO-08 Major group 10: Armed forces eg: commission armed forces officers, non-commissioned armed forces officer, other armed forces rank

List extracted from the International Standard Classification of Occupations.

Comments on occupation:

□

15. What was the highest level of education that the filmmaker obtained?

- School left at age ____
- College
- University (BA, MA etc)
- Post Doctoral (PhD etc)

Please provide details

16. Did the filmmaker travel abroad (during the 1920-1950 period)?

- No
- Less than 2 times a year
- More than 2 times a year

Was this for: business leisure

17. Did the filmmaker own their own home during the 1920-1950 period?

- Yes
- No

Select the option that most closely describes the filmmaker's main home/s

- Flat, apartment or shared lodging (less than 3 rooms)
- Small house (terraced, cottage) (less than 4 rooms)
- Mid sized house (detached, or semi detached, terraced, cottage) (less than 6 rooms)
- Large house (detached or semi detached more than 6 rooms)
- Mansion/manor/estate (more than 6 rooms, associated lands and other properties)

18. Did the filmmaker (or the filmmaker's close family) own more than one home during the 1920-1950 period?

- Yes
- No

19. Did the filmmaker have children during the 1920-1950 period?

Yes No

How many?

Male Female

20. Did the filmmaker read any particular magazines or periodicals during the 1920-1950 period?

Filmmaking

21. When did the filmmaker begin making films?

- Before 1912
- Between 1912-1922
- Between 1922-1931
- Between 1932 -1945
- Between 1945-1950

22. Why/how did they get interested in making films?

23. Did they screen the films that they made, publicly? (*Outside of the home*)

Yes No

Where?

24. Was the filmmaker a member of, or have any involvement with, any film societies? (If so, which?)

Yes No

If yes, which?

25. Did the filmmaker have an earlier interest in photography?

Yes. No

26. What kind of cine camera did the filmmaker use?

27. Did the filmmaker involve anyone else in the filmmaking process?

Yes No

Who?

28. In your opinion, what was the filmmaker's key motivation for making films?

29. Did the filmmaker own, borrow, or rent their filmmaking equipment?

Own Borrow Rent Other, please state

30. Did the filmmaker make any colour films?

Yes No

31. Did the filmmaker make more films than those deposited with WFSA?

Yes No If yes, how many?

If yes, do you know where these are now?

32. How/where did the filmmaker obtain film stock?

33. When did the filmmaker stop filmmaking?

34. Why did they stop filmmaking?

Please tell us anything else that you feel may be relevant on the following page. If you have lots to say, you can send a separate page with notes, or you may wish to take part in an interview.

Would you like to take part in a recorded oral history interview (via MS Teams) to share your memories? The recorded interview will be deposited into the WFSA collection on completion of the study.

Yes I would like to be interviewed No I would not like to be interviewed

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please use the stamped addressed envelope to post the questionnaire back to us.

Appendix D Average Skilled Tradesman wages in lowest denominator

Average Skilled Tradesman wages in lowest denominator			
Year	Daily rate of pay for skilled Tradesman (d)	Approx monthly income (d)	Weekly income
1920	84	1680	504
1925	84	1680	504
1930	84	1680	504
1935	480	9600	2880
1940	480	9600	2880
1945	480	9600	2880
1950	480	9600	2880
1955	480	9600	2880

As provided in [Currency converter: 1270–2017 \(nationalarchives.gov.uk\)](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/1270-2017)

Appendix E Case Study Profiles

I have provided profiles below of only those women highlighted as case studies in this thesis, as an example of the biographical approach deployed. I have compiled similar profiles for all of the women present in WFSA and referenced in this thesis either by name and/or in the aggregated statistics.

Louisa Laura (Lulie) (née Butler) Gauvain (17 August 1880-15 March 1945)

Louisa Laura (known affectionately as 'Lulie') was born in Kensington, London on 17 August 1880 to William J Butler MRCS, IMS and his wife Ellen Moira.⁹⁶⁹ Butler was a surgeon in the Indian Medical Service (Madras Army) and his own father (William Butler senior) served as superintending surgeon in Hyderabad.⁹⁷⁰ This suggests that Louisa could have spent some of her youth in India with her parents, although there is supporting no documentary evidence to corroborate this.

The 1881 census locates her living as an infant with her family at 168, Holland Road, Kensington, London. On census day her mother, Ellen Moira, is listed as the head of the household, implying that either her father was overseas, or simply not present that day. At this time Louisa had an older brother, William, and the family employed three domestic staff – a housemaid, a cook and a nursery nurse.⁹⁷¹ In 1891 the family had grown - with two new siblings for Louisa: Mabel Victorine (b.1883) and Stephen (b.1889) and they resided at 24 High Street Castle Donnington, elder brother William was living away at school in Folkestone.⁹⁷² The family employed only one domestic servant at this time, possibly reflecting a change in circumstances.

As a young woman, it appears as though Louisa became independent - with the 1901 census indicating she may have taken lodgings at 45 Regent Square, London, where she took a room in a lodging house. Her means are recorded as 'dispenses sub med'.⁹⁷³ It is thought that this notation indicates that Louisa worked dispensing medicine as an apothecary's assistant. The role of apothecary's assistant is one which evolved during the nineteenth century and provided 'respectable employment dispensing medicines in institutions and doctors' surgeries'.⁹⁷⁴ This role, in particular, demonstrates how educated women became 'entrants onto the stage of female employment and among the earliest into scientifically and medically based occupations'.⁹⁷⁵ Adams' study of the rise (and subsequent fall) of this profession pays careful attention to the class background of over one hundred women known to have sat the necessary examinations for this role and notes that the majority of

⁹⁶⁹ 'Church of England Births and Baptisms'-1920.

⁹⁷⁰ Homeward Mail from India, China and the East , p. 2.

⁹⁷¹ 'Census Returns of England and Wales' (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1881).

⁹⁷² 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁹⁷³ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁹⁷⁴ Derek Westwood Adams, 'The Rise and Fall of the Apothecaries' Assistants 1815-1923' (University of Herefordshire, 2010), p. 3.

⁹⁷⁵ Adams, p. 9.

these women originated in families with between one and two domestic servants. Louisa's own familial background positions her just outside this majority at birth when the Butlers employed three staff – this later reduced to only one domestic in 1891. While Louisa is not thought to appear on the list of qualified Apothecary's Assistants, it is thought likely that she occupied a dispensary role – this would correlate with her father's medical profession as well as her own interest in photography, and later, cinematography.

Firm records to evidence Louisa's life between 1901 and 1913 are scarce. At the time of her marriage to Dr Henry Gauvain in 1913 she is noted to have been living in the Parish of St Johns, Upper Holloway – and is recorded as a spinster with no profession and her age is given as 'full age'. Louisa's marriage was announced in *Homeward Mail from India, China and the East* and took place on Saturday, 5 April 1913 at Holy Trinity Church, Kensington Gore, an Anglican church:

A reception was afterwards held at the new banqueting room of the De Vere Hotel, Kensington. Among the guests were Alderman Sir William Treloar, Alderman Sir William Dunn, Sir Thomas and Lady Blake, Dr. and Mrs Hancock, Dr Armstrong and Mr Colebrook.

The De Vere Orchestra played selections during the reception.⁹⁷⁶

Much of what is known about Louisa is derived from the roles occupied men in her immediate family – her father, grandfather and then her husband. Louisa was not a young bride aged thirty three or thirty four, which raises questions about the absence of information about her life before 1913. Indeed, a discrepancy in her age recorded in baptism records does not correlate with later records which are definitively linked to her. Birth and baptism records indicate a birth year of 1879 (baptism 15 October 1879). Her future husband's birth year was 1879, and it is possible that vanity caused her to shed a year from her true age. The production of the film *Plaster of Paris*,⁹⁷⁷ falls within the year of her marriage and likely before the birth of her first child in 1914 (Catherine Joan Suzette). Much of the work thought to be attributable to Louisa was produced between 1913 and 1920, with the abovementioned film and at least one album of still photographs dating to this period. Records maintained by the Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital, and entries in the electoral registers indicate Louisa's residence was split between Alton Park, Alton and 126 Harley Street,⁹⁷⁸ apart from a short spell in a nursing home outside Winchester, shortly before her death in 1945.⁹⁷⁹ While the family alternated consistent residence between Alton and London – they also travelled widely for Henry Gauvain's work. First travelling to Canada in 1926 for a lecture tour,⁹⁸⁰ where Louisa is noted as being a 'housewife'. Next Henry and daughter Catherine travelled with Lady Helen Leyland to Brazil in 1929.⁹⁸¹ Louisa accompanied her husband and daughter to South Africa in 1931 and in 1936 travelling first class.⁹⁸² Henry Gauvain himself made a number of solo trips to New York between 1935 and 1939.⁹⁸³ The last known trip abroad by Louisa was made with her daughter in 1938 to

⁹⁷⁶ Portsmouth Evening News 'Portsmouth Evening News', p. 5.

⁹⁷⁷ AV90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) / WFS / Film.

⁹⁷⁸ ('London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Electoral Registers)', 1832-1965)

⁹⁷⁹ 'Index of Wills and Administrations' (England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1995. Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 1858)-1995.

⁹⁸⁰ 14 August 1926 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

⁹⁸¹ 1929 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

⁹⁸² 1931, 1936 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

⁹⁸³ 1935, 1939 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

Jakarta, Indonesia.⁹⁸⁴ After 1920 Louisa is attributed the honorific of 'Lady' as a result of her husband's recognition for services to medicine. The majority of electoral records describe Louisa as having 'private means' and only occasionally is she described as a 'housewife'.⁹⁸⁵

Louisa survived her husband by two months, dying on 15 March 1945 at a nursing home outside of Winchester. The probate registers indicate that she died with an estate worth more than £10,000.⁹⁸⁶

Lady Edith Mary (née Palmer Howard) Congleton Aldridge (7 April 1895-1979)

Edith was born in London on 7 April 1895 to parents Robert Jared Bliss Howard Dr. OBE. MRCS. Frcs (1858-1921) and Margaret Charlotte Smith Second Baroness, Strathcona and Mount Royal (1854-1926) both born in Canada. She had three brothers: Arthur Jared Palmer Howard Hon Captain (1896-1971), Robert Henry Palmer Howard Hon Second Lt (1893-1915), Donald Sterling Palmer Howard Capt. (1891-1959) and one sister Frances Margaret Palmer Howard Hon (1889-1958). In 1901 Edith is recorded as living with her family in Marylebone⁹⁸⁷- no domestic servants are listed, and her father is said to be working of his 'own account' as a surgeon; suggesting perhaps that while her mother had inherited the family title, she had not yet received a great deal (or any) monetary inheritance at this stage, although it is clear that Edith was in possession of considerable wealth in later years. Later reports make much of Edith's lineage and note that she was descended from 'Donald A Smith founder of the Canadian Pacific Railway',⁹⁸⁸ "the Grand old Man of Canada," who, starting work for the Hudson Bay Company, as a humble lad and became Governor of that company'.⁹⁸⁹

World War I

Edith worked as a VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachment) as part of St John Ambulance Brigade during the First World War,⁹⁹⁰ she signed up in September 1915 as a volunteer and was stationed at first at the 'Wounded and Missing Enquiry Department of the Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, at 18, Carlton House Terrace'⁹⁹¹⁹⁹² and she is described as being a 'good worker'.⁹⁹³ During 1916 and 1917 she worked as a 'packer' at the St John's Warehouse and attracted praise for her work where she:

...helped here liberally & efficiently both as a packer, & a contributor when marriage
obliged her to leave London. [signed] Agnes Jekyll⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁸⁴ 14 March 1938 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

⁹⁸⁵ 'Electoral Registers'.

⁹⁸⁶ 'Index of Wills and Administrations'-1995.

⁹⁸⁷ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

⁹⁸⁸ (Saturday 16 November 1935 'Hampshire Advertiser', 1800, p.4)

⁹⁸⁹ Saturday 06 May 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 9.

⁹⁹⁰ Wednesday 28 August 1918 *Dly. Mirror*, p. 6.

⁹⁹¹ The Sketch - Wednesday 24 July 1918 *The Sketch*, p. 9.

⁹⁹² The Sketch - Wednesday 24 July 1918 *The Sketch*, p. 9.

⁹⁹³ 'VAD Card: British Red Cross'.

⁹⁹⁴ 'VAD Card: The British Red Cross'.

Later in the war (from 16 March 1916 to 17 May 1919) Edith took a position as 'Nursing Sister' at St. John Ambulance Brigade Hospital, 6, Kensington Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne and undertook 'Part time hospital work up till marriage'.⁹⁹⁵ It seems likely that she resigned her position before 17 May 1919 as her first child was born in March 1919, a year following her marriage to John Brooke Molesworth Parnell Lord. Sixth Baron Congleton (1892-1932) on 6 April 1918. During the war Edith's brother Robert was killed in action in Belgium.⁹⁹⁶

Married life

On their marriage certificate her husband John is listed as 'Peer of the realm Lieutenant of the R.N' he was living at 28 Green Street, London and Edith at number 46. Edith's father is listed as a surgeon, and John as a 'Peer of the realm'.⁹⁹⁷ John fathered nine children with Edith and they lived fourteen years together before his death following an operation on Wednesday, 21 December 1932.⁹⁹⁸

Their first daughter's birth is announced in *The Tatler* (*The Tatler*, Wednesday, 05 March 1919, p.39), and further evidences the society position that Edith occupied; full page photographs of her appeared in both *The Sketch* and *The Tatler*⁹⁹⁹ in the years preceding. In later life she was in a position to be able to engage the society portraitist Frank Salisbury to produce a work featuring her children entitled 'My Turn next'.¹⁰⁰⁰

Edith and John had nine children together, two of whom sadly died during childhood.

- Mary Elizabeth Parnell Hon 1919–2015
- Harry Douglas Parnell Hon 1920–1928
- Jean Margaret Parnell Hon 1922–2014
- Sheila Helen Parnell Hon 1923–1999
- William Jared Parnell 7th Baron Congleton 1925–1967
- Ann Bridget Parnell Hon 1927–2003
- Heather Doreen Parnell Hon 1929–2005
- Christopher Patrick Parnell 8th Baron Congleton 1930–2015
- Timothy John Parnell Hon 1931–1936

It is apparent from birth records for her offspring and records held by The Minstead Trust that Edith relocated to the New Forest in 1924.¹⁰⁰¹ Such was her activity and standing in the community that she, and her family were described as 'new forester[s] by adoption'.¹⁰⁰² Records of the 1930s evidence a flourishing social calendar and engaged member of the community, the start of a busy period in Edith's life following the markedly more private years of the 1920s when much of her time was spent childbearing and rearing. She was a

⁹⁹⁵ 'VAD Card: The British Red Cross', 1918.

⁹⁹⁶ 'UK, Soldiers Died in the Great War' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007, 1914)-1919.

⁹⁹⁷ 1918 'Westminster, London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns'-1936.

⁹⁹⁸ Wednesday 21 December 1932 *Belfast News-Letter* (Belfast), p. 14.

⁹⁹⁹ Wednesday 30 January 1918, 24 July 1918 *The Sketch*-1999, p.99; Wednesday 30 January 1918 *The Tatler & Bystander*-1999, p.95.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Saturday 15 May 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰¹ 'The Story of Minstead Lodge'.

¹⁰⁰² Saturday 24 September 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 9.

regular attendee at the New Forest Hunt Ball,¹⁰⁰³ won awards for her horticulture at the New Forest Show,¹⁰⁰⁴ and hosted hunting meets in the grounds of Minstead Lodge.¹⁰⁰⁵

Edith travelled widely during her lifetime. She made a number of trips to Canada and New York, (1920-1936) and later the Virgin Islands (1962). The family owned a second home in Canada - Strathrona Lodge, Tolique River, Nictan, NB.¹⁰⁰⁶ In the immediate post war period she purchased the Scottish island of Ulva for a fee of £10,000¹⁰⁰⁷ – where she designed to have a cottage built.¹⁰⁰⁸ She was well positioned to afford luxury travel, and in 1935 deployed her means to secure the safe transport of her daughter, Jean, from the continent in an air ambulance.¹⁰⁰⁹ She evidently also spent time exploring the continent herself and is recorded as having shared ‘impressions of her travels in Germany and Austria’ at a youth meeting held at King’s house in Lyndhurst.¹⁰¹⁰

When living in the New Forest, Edith and her family resided at Minstead Lodge, Minstead, a property to which they made considerable improvements to during their occupancy: ‘During the 1920s an east wing was built [...] It doubled the size of the Lodge to 40 main rooms including 23 bedrooms’. The 1939 register provides a staggering contrast to the 1901 census that records Edith in her father’s household. In 1939, Edith and family employed over thirteen domestic servants in the Lodge; and in The Bothy, Minstead Lodge a team of four gardeners. Further cottages (presumably on the estate) housed yet more domestic staff, with the implication being that they too were employed at the house.^{1011 1012} The Congletons’ made connections with other local families – including the nearby Hanbury family, residents of Castle Malwood, who feature in Edith’s films. Edith’s daughters were bridesmaids at a Hanbury family wedding in 1936.¹⁰¹³

While resident in Minstead Edith’s activities are well documented in the Hampshire Advertiser. She was an active member of the political community in the area, and voiced strong views during the course of her activism. She was a keen member of the Women’s and Christchurch Conservative Association, and was elected president in 1935¹⁰¹⁴ she was also a member of the Women’s Constitutional and Conservative Association - although this is possible this the same group by another name.¹⁰¹⁵ In 1938 she was elected chair of the Totton Townswomen’s Guild¹⁰¹⁶ and she was an ardent supporter of the Junior Imperial League - a Conservative youth movement, known as the ‘IMPs’ and was known to give impassioned addresses to such groups on the need to encourage freedom of thought and expression particularly to avoid ‘many of the tragic happenings we see on the Continent’.¹⁰¹⁷ In the 1930s one commentator remarked that Edith ‘speaks at meetings most evenings, and

¹⁰⁰³ Saturday 18 May 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Saturday 03 August 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Saturday 26 January 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ‘UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists’-1960.

¹⁰⁰⁷ ‘And Finally...Scottish Island Yours for £5m’.

¹⁰⁰⁸ ‘Isle of Mull, Salen, Ulva Cottage (Catalogue Ref: E 1248)’.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Saturday 26 January 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ Saturday 02 July 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 4.

¹⁰¹¹ ‘England and Wales Register’.

¹⁰¹² ‘England and Wales Register’.

¹⁰¹³ Saturday 13 June 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 36.

¹⁰¹⁴ Saturday 18 May 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 10.

¹⁰¹⁵ Saturday 28 September 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰¹⁶ Saturday 19 March 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁷ Saturday 26 June 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 12.

must be finding it very hard work these days'.¹⁰¹⁸ The following excerpt details the content of one of Edith's talks in February 1937:

SIN OF APATHY

An interesting address was given by Lady Congleton, who urged the women of the country not to fall into the sin of apathy. They could not live to themselves alone, and it was indisputable that they had great responsibilities to those among whom they lived. The present terrible state of affairs in Spain she thought had been brought about largely by public apathy, which led to dictatorship. They owed a duty to those around them. Let them take an intelligent interest in what was going on. She often thought that elections were not won by the people who voted, but were lost by the people who did not vote. That applied not only to elections, but a great many other things which went to make up life. So many things failed because people would not do things and not because of all people who realised their responsibilities and tried to help.¹⁰¹⁹

In addition to her political activities Edith engaged in matters of the church and was the diocesan representative¹⁰²⁰ and a contemporary of Reverend Horton (whose films are also held by WFSA), she assisted in the organisation of at least one community event where locally produced cinefilm was screened by Rev Horton.¹⁰²¹ She was a member of the Minstead Church Parochial church council¹⁰²² and took on the role of 'school manager' of Minstead village school.¹⁰²³ In July 1939 she joined the Lymington area Guardians – an organisation to relieve the poor.¹⁰²⁴

World War II

The years preceding the outbreak of war saw an increased awareness from Edith in her activities of rising international tensions, and it is of little surprise to observe that she stepped up her community activities in line with the looming threat of war. She reprised her relationship with the Red Cross Society as early as 1937 and took a lead on supporting the work of the local VAD – hosting, at Minstead Lodge, a drill of trained recruits.¹⁰²⁵ She was also a keen fundraiser for the Red Cross¹⁰²⁶ and Assistant County Organiser for Southern Hampshire for WRVS.¹⁰²⁷ She demonstrated a knack for rallying community spirit and leadership ability; taking a lead in the paper salvage collection in the district¹⁰²⁸ and

¹⁰¹⁸ Saturday 09 November 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰¹⁹ Saturday 13 February 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 6.

¹⁰²⁰ Saturday 16 March 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 10.

¹⁰²¹ Saturday 28 December 1935 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 15.

¹⁰²² Saturday 06 March 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰²³ Saturday 02 April 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰²⁴ Saturday 29 July 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰²⁵ Saturday 29 May 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 11.

¹⁰²⁶ Saturday 21 October 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 8.

¹⁰²⁷ Saturday 09 March 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 6.

¹⁰²⁸ Saturday 17 February 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 7.

administering the work of working parties to produce woollen items for soldiers.¹⁰²⁹ Minstead Lodge became a so-called 'Comfort Depot' housing all of the collated efforts of the community ahead of their shipment to wounded soldiers.¹⁰³⁰ Her voluntary services to civil defence saw her awarded an MBE in 1941.¹⁰³¹

Post war

After the war Edith remarried and wed Alfred Eric Rowland Aldridge (1898–1950) on 5 July 1946. Alfred and Edith had very few years together, and he died in 1950.

Edith held many official offices during her lifetime, she was a Member of Hampshire County Council, Chairman of the New Forest Rural District Council, was a 'Justice of the Peace between 1948 and 1956 and was also awarded the Order of Mercy with bar'.¹⁰³²

Edith's son, William, inherited the Barony on his father's death in 1932 when he was just seven years old and would have come of age in 1943. Later records show that at his death in 1967 Minstead Lodge was sold for death duties.¹⁰³³ Edith's whereabouts between 1967 and 1979 when she died are unknown.

Edith was known by a number of names during her life and these include:

- Edith Mary Palmer Congleton
- The Honourable Edith Mary Palmer Aldridge
- Edith Lady Congleton

Dorothy Cicely Lavinia Bacon (29 December 1906-August 1998)

Dorothy Bacon was born in Southsea on 29 December 1906 to parents Sir Admiral Reginald Hugh Spencer Bacon KCB KCVO DSO (6 September 1863–09 June 1947) and Lady Cicely Isabel Surtees (20 June 1871 – 18 June 1955)¹⁰³⁴ who married 2 June 1894. Dorothy had two elder brothers Dudley (29 August 1895– 1 November 1915) and Robin (30 December 1900– 10 February 1919), both of whom perished during World War I. Her eldest brother, Dudley, was Eton educated. Dorothy's family experienced a great deal of loss in the early part of the twentieth century, with a number of close family members dying within a short space of time: Dorothy's half-aunt Elizabeth Ellen Surtees (d.31 May 1914), her brother Dudley (d.1915), her maternal grandmother Mary Isabella Adams (d.20 January 1916) and her second brother, Robin (d.1919).¹⁰³⁵

The Admirals' job required much mobility and according to archived documents his family lived an almost itinerant lifestyle as his duties dictated. The 1911 census records a residence in Wolston, Warwickshire where the family retained eight servants including a chauffeur and a footman (they apparently owned a motor car).¹⁰³⁶ The Admiral's profession is listed in this census as 'Rear Admiral -retired' and the notes add that at this time he was carrying on

¹⁰²⁹ Saturday 04 November 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 6.

¹⁰³⁰ Saturday 22 June 1940 *Hampsh. Advert.*, p. 3.

¹⁰³¹ 12 June 1941 *The London Gazette*, p. 3290.

¹⁰³² Lundy.

¹⁰³³ 'AV254 Congleton of Minstead | WFSA | Collection'.

¹⁰³⁴ 'Church of England Births and Baptisms'.

¹⁰³⁵ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index'-2007.

¹⁰³⁶ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

'ordinance works'. The Roll of Honour commemorating their eldest son records another home address - Fleet House, Dover. It is clear from contemporary newspapers (*The Hampshire Advertiser* and the *Hampshire Chronicle*) that the Bacon family made a settled home in the village of Braishfield outside the market town of Romsey, in Hampshire, this is corroborated elsewhere – with the date of 1918 as the date given for the Bacon's ownership of Braishfield Lodge, which is described as 'A small late Georgian house with a C19 pleasure ground and kitchen gardens'.¹⁰³⁷

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the Bacon family took an active role in village life – with Lady Bacon and Dorothy evidently key members of the local Women's Institute – Dorothy's involvement in which is well documented in WI records of the time. The Bacons contributed to local causes including donating milk to children in the village suffering from measles,¹⁰³⁸ they were also the driving force in the creation of a Braishfield Club which was designed as a venue for male village residents to gather - it was exclusive, and women were not permitted entry -though Lady Bacon remarked in her opening speech that the WI had gracefully leant the club some cups.¹⁰³⁹

Dorothy was apparently a confident and articulate young woman and accounts record her involvement in WI activities – on one occasion she and one other member 'gave an amusing dialogue' by way of entertainment.¹⁰⁴⁰ The family had many interests and were active on the social circuit – with Lady Bacon hosting 'Took-Parties'¹⁰⁴¹ and the Admiral's (or rather, his gardener's) fruit and vegetable produce a regular feature at village fetes.¹⁰⁴² The family were apparently engaged in both filmmaking and screenings at this time- with the children of the village WI members being treated at Christmas 1936 to a screening of a 'cinematograph show, the film depicting young life in children, birds and reptiles'.¹⁰⁴³ The following year Dorothy demonstrated her motoring prowess at a village fete organised to raise money for repairs to the roof of the parish church. The fete featured a 'motor gymkhana' in which Dorothy Bacon was a contestant -and winner. She took prizes in the following races: 'musical chairs' –third place with her friend Miss Burford-Hancock, 'ball and bucket' – second place. She also placed in other motor car-based games including 'balloon bursting' – second place. The only races she didn't place in (or compete) was the 'shopping race' and a reversing challenge – which saw first and second place taken by male drivers. There were twenty prizes awarded and thirteen of these went to women – there was clearly a strong contingent of motoring women in the vicinity.¹⁰⁴⁴

Later that year Dorothy demonstrated an awareness to rising international tensions when she gave an instructive talk to members of the WI on 'the precautions that should be taken in case of an air-raid and showed the efficiency of a gasmask against the great majority of gases. She pointed out the value of being prepared, and so avoiding panic'.¹⁰⁴⁵ Her family hosted the annual WI exhibition at their home in 1938.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰³⁷ Hampshire Gardens Trust 'Braishfield Lodge'.

¹⁰³⁸ 'Hampshire Independent', *Hampshire Independent*, 1923, p. 9 (p. 9).

¹⁰³⁹ 'Braishfield Club', p. 9.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hampshire Advertiser 'Hampshire Advertiser', 5 August 1922, p. 8 (p. 8).

¹⁰⁴¹ 'Took Parties', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 12 January 1935, p. 9 (p. 9).

¹⁰⁴² 'Vegetables', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 3 August 1935, p. 15 (p. 15).

¹⁰⁴³ 'Braishfield Christmas Party', p. 3.

¹⁰⁴⁴ 'Prizes for Motorists', p. 15.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 'Air Raid'.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 'WI Exhibition', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 27 August 1938, p. 3 (p. 3).

The 1939 census records the family home as Braishfield Lodge -at which time the family employed nine servants. Dorothy is not listed as being resident at this time – but this is likely due to her enlistment in the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). When Dorothy entered the ATS she did so in the role of Company Commander – testament to her leadership and organisational skills, which she no doubt honed during her work with the WI. From 1941 she is listed as being Second Subaltern – a rank that was introduced that year, and the same rank occupied by HRH Princess Elizabeth.¹⁰⁴⁷ Dorothy filmed her ATS colleagues, and we know that she served with Madge Aitcheson, Mary McLaughten (née Moss), Mina Purdey, Peggy Woodley; attending Mary's wedding in December 1939.¹⁰⁴⁸ The whole family were keen to 'do their bit'; Lady Bacon was listed as fundraiser in the campaign for the New Forest Spitfire fund¹⁰⁴⁹ and Admiral Bacon was the Company Commander of the local Home Guard.¹⁰⁵⁰ Dorothy made a return appearance to her familiar WI in 1940, this time the former secretary was on leave from her military duties and gave a talk on 'war gases'.¹⁰⁵¹

In 1953, following her father's death, Dorothy moved with her mother into a smaller cottage in the village – Orchard Cottage, which is the residence listed when her mother's death is recorded in 1955. Dorothy made a number of films in the 1950s. She died in August 1998.

Audrey Alma Granville Soames née Humphries (16 July 1900-1990)

Audrey Alma Humphries was born 16 July 1900 to parents Horace and Frances Jane. At the time of her birth the family lived in Hampstead, London. The 1901 census records the family of four living at 5 Cotleigh Road, Hampstead and Horace's occupation is listed as 'Law Copyright – Civil Servant'.¹⁰⁵² The house had less than five rooms and was occupied by two others in addition to the Humphries. By 1911 the family had moved to 33 Cambridge Parade, Richmond Road, Twickenham which was a four room, semi-detached, house. At that time Audrey's Father's profession is listed as 'Civil Servant Second division clear, Inland revenue, Somerset House' – no domestic servants are listed in their household. Audrey had two sisters – Mildred (b.1897) and Lesley (b.1905). Up to her first marriage in 1923 she was known by the name of Audrey Alma Humphreys, little else is known about her during this early period of her life.

In January 1923 Audrey married Vernon H Rivers in Reading¹⁰⁵³ and from this date used the name Audrey Alma Rivers (or Mrs V H Rivers). The wedding 'ceremony was performed by the Rev. Fitzwilliam J C Gilmoor, Vicar of the parish, and only immediate relatives were present. [...] The happy pair were subsequently entertained to luncheon at the Great Western Hotel [...] The newly married couple subsequently left for Bournemouth where the honeymoon is being spent'.¹⁰⁵⁴ Vernon Rivers was a journalist, who had worked for a time at his father Walter's newspaper *The Reading Standard*. Audrey's new husband's family were of considerable standing within the Reading area and Walter Rivers was a noted

¹⁰⁴⁷ 'UK, British Army Records and Lists 1882-1962'.

¹⁰⁴⁸ 'ATS Wedding', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 30 December 1939, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴⁹ 'Spitfire Fund', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 1940, p. 5 (p. 5).

¹⁰⁵⁰ 'Company Commander', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 16 November 1940, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵¹ 'Gases', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 28 September 1940, p. 2 (p. 2).

¹⁰⁵² 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

¹⁰⁵³ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index'-2005.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Saturday 13 January 1923 *Reading Standard*, p. 7.

philanthropist, credited as having received personal thanks from Lord Baden Powell for fundraising to support the creation of the local Scout group, amongst other things.

Father and son did not get on well, reportedly due to the younger Rivers' 'wild ways', which raises some interesting questions about he and Audrey's marriage and subsequent divorce.¹⁰⁵⁵ Vernon was evidently very active on the local sporting scene and took energetic roles in hockey, tennis and golf clubs.¹⁰⁵⁶ He was a key member of Sonning Golf Club – where Audrey also demonstrated considerable sporting prowess. She is a regular mention in golfing competitions held at the club in the early 1930s,¹⁰⁵⁷ where she is noted as having a handicap of seventeen.¹⁰⁵⁸ The couple are noted in contemporary publications as having attended a number of weddings and funerals together in the 1923-1933 period,¹⁰⁵⁹ but little else appears after 1933. It is known that sometime between 1933 and 1937 Vernon and Audrey separated. On the 1939 register Vernon, whose profession is recorded as 'journalist,' is noted as being 'divorced' and has relocated to Maidstone in Kent.¹⁰⁶⁰

Audrey's elder sister, Mildred, married Major Cyril Augustus Drummond in 1930. Her brother-in-law, Major Drummond was a significant landowner (Cadland House at Fawley), and was a 'keen yachtsman'¹⁰⁶¹ and member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, the exclusive yacht club whose yearly regatta at Cowes was (and still is) a prominent social sporting fixture. It seems likely that it was through this connection that Audrey met her second husband, Colonel Ronald Sloane Stanley.¹⁰⁶² Their engagement was shared in a low-key announcement on Tuesday, 13 April 1937 in *The Times*.¹⁰⁶³ The ceremony was similarly low key and 'took place quietly, at Christ Church, Westminster'¹⁰⁶⁴ in April 1937 – her new spouse was considerably older than her (b.1867-d.1948), being seventy at the time of their nuptials. Her marriage to Ronald marked a significant shift in her means, and indeed, social status – and coincides with her earliest filmmaking activities. Ronald Sloane Stanley was of a military background; acting as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Hampshire Yeomanry and having served (and been severely wounded) whilst serving in the Sixth Lancers, between 1887 and 1902 during the South African War. He served as Justice of the Peace for the County of Southampton.¹⁰⁶⁵ Ronald's father, Francis, had been a close friend of King Edward VII, whom he had known as Prince of Wales.¹⁰⁶⁶ His familial Royal connections persisted through his own interactions in society, and he is regularly mentioned in *Court Circulars* published in *The Times*. Evidence in periodicals and newspapers indicates that many of the couples' social activities were through Ronald's yachting connections – the Royal Yachting Association, The

¹⁰⁵⁵ A T Watts, 'The Newspaper Press in the Town of Reading 1855-1980' (University of Stirling, 1990), p. 260
<<https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwiPoLOL-oryAhVHe8AKHeSwBNUQFjAAegQIBRAD&url=https%3A%2F%2Fdspace.stir.ac.uk%2Fbitstream%2F1893%2F2585%2F1%2FWatts%2520%25281990%2529%2520-%2520The%2520Newspaper%2520Press%2520in%2520the%2520Town%2520>>.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Saturday 04 September 1920 p.1, Saturday 31 July 1920 p.9, Friday 14 May 1937, p.23 *Reading Standard*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Saturday 07 June 1930, p.13; Saturday 07 March 1931, p.14; Saturday 14 May 1932, p.15 *Reading Standard*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Saturday 23 May 1931 *Reading Standard*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Saturday 21 May 1932 *Reading Standard*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁶⁰ 'England and Wales Register'.

¹⁰⁶¹ 13 March 1938 'Pictures from North and South', p. 467.

¹⁰⁶² 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index'-2005.

¹⁰⁶³ 'Marriages', p. 19.

¹⁰⁶⁴ 'Marriages', p. 19.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Sloane-Stanley, Ronald Francis Assheton, (3 Nov. 1867–19 Aug. 1948)' (Oxford University Press, 2007)

<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U231848>>.

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Bay House School: History'.

Solent Classes Sailing Association, The Royal Yacht Squadron¹⁰⁶⁷ and the Royal Southampton Yacht Club.¹⁰⁶⁸ Indeed, Audrey's social circle, contacts and future husband seem to have been connected through their involvement with yachting.

Up to 1946 the family appeared to occupy a number of properties including Bay House, Alverstoke, Hampshire¹⁰⁶⁹ and according to the City of Westminster Electoral rolls - Flat 33, Hill Street, Westminster (1938 and 1939).¹⁰⁷⁰ After 1946 they made their permanent home at Hardwicke Cottage, Cowes, IOW,¹⁰⁷¹ ideally placed for yachting society.

Audrey's second marriage brought wealth and social status, and a new sense of mobility. She travelled widely from 1938 onwards—her travels are documented in her films. In March 1938 the couple holidayed in St Moritz,¹⁰⁷² the same month that Ronald was presented to the recently crowned George VI at The Kings' Levee.¹⁰⁷³ On 25 Nov 1938 Audrey sailed first class from Southampton alone with the Duke of Sutherland, destined for Portugal aboard the *Cap Arcona*,¹⁰⁷⁴ it is believed this departure formed part of an extended (and inadvertently eventful) voyage undertaken with the Sutherlands, which is documented in her films. Audrey holidayed with the Duke and Duchess on 'their large motor yacht 'Sans Peur RYS' from Florida to Alaska'¹⁰⁷⁵ – presumably having made the transatlantic crossing from mainland Europe, as no records document a direct departure and it is unlikely the Sutherland's vessel was fit for a transatlantic crossing.

This leisurely social cruise was an eventful one with a number of stops along the way. In December 1938 Audrey is noted as having arrived in Miami on the *Sans Peur*—where she stayed with Miss L Rosemary Kerr at the Brazilian Court Hotel.¹⁰⁷⁶ Later on 21 February 1939 the yacht *Sans Peur* hit a rock in the Gulf of California. *The Daily Telegraph* sent a reporter to cover the event as it unfolded, along with a diver to assist in repairing the ship:

The diver made temporary repairs, driving wedges into the hole and correcting ship's dangerous list. For six days the crew of 27 had been compelled to keep the pumps going. As it was, three holds forward and amidships were already flooded and only the bulwarks saved the yacht from foundering. A large part of the food and water supplies was fouled by sea water. The Duke of Sutherland, who seemed delighted to see a British journalist come alongside so unexpectedly, appeared to be in excellent spirits. [...] 'We all realised that we had a narrow squeak' he said. 'We crashed during the afternoon soon after getting under way for Guaymas, across the gulf having fished these waters for several days. The *Sans Peur* was making ten knots when we hit that submerged rock with a dreadful shock. Capt

¹⁰⁶⁷ Heckstall-Smith, p. 21.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'Yacht Racing', p. 4.

¹⁰⁶⁹ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹⁰⁷⁰ 'Electoral Registers'.

¹⁰⁷¹ 'Court Circular', *The Times*, 1946, p. 5 (p. 6)

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS101007977/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=401c1c76>.

¹⁰⁷² Our Own Correspondent, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷³ 'Presentations at the King's Levee', p. 21.

¹⁰⁷⁴ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹⁰⁷⁵ 'AV343 Granville Soames Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹⁰⁷⁶ 'Edgar I. Sawyer Is Host to College Set at Palm Beach: Wisconsin U. Student Honors Miss Alice McCluskey, of Easton, Pa., at Patio Special to the Herald Tribune', *New York Herald Tribune*, 22 December 1938, p. 22.

Thomas' presence of mind saved the situation'. [...] The Duchess remained perfectly calm[...]¹⁰⁷⁷

Audrey was on board with a number of other guests including William Dudley Ward, Miss Elizabeth Leveson Gower, Lady Margaret Egerton and Viscount Monsel.¹⁰⁷⁸ The party were assisted in the first instance by T.O.M Sopwith on his yacht *Philante*.¹⁰⁷⁹ Audrey finally made her way home in May 1939 – arriving alone in Southampton on 15 May 1939 on the *Queen Mary* inbound from New York (cabin b94). The 1939 register finds her at Bay House, listing 'private means' and ten domestic servants and a Lady's Maid in her employ.¹⁰⁸⁰

Audrey's war time activities are evident in her filmmaking. At the outbreak of war, she volunteered as a driver (possibly through the ATS), and was stationed variously at Sandbeck Park, Wentworth Woodhouse and Welbeck Abbey.¹⁰⁸¹

Her elderly husband Ronald died in July 1948 at their home on the Isle of Wight aged eighty.¹⁰⁸² Probate calendars evidence an estate of £24058 11s. 1d.; settled land granted in 1949, effects stood at this point at £28060 and probate was granted to a solicitor and retired banker - not to Audrey. This is interesting as Ronald appears to have been still alive when Audrey entered into her third marriage. Divorce records for this period are not available.

Audrey's third marriage was to Arthur Granville Soames OBE (January 1948).¹⁰⁸³ Soames' son Christopher was Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food¹⁰⁸⁴ and married Mary Churchill, daughter of Sir Winston¹⁰⁸⁵ and his sister was Olave Soames who went on to marry Lord Robert Baden Powell. Soames and Baden Powell were both Freemasons and members of the same Lodge. Soames was active on the yachting scene, and had owned two yachts,¹⁰⁸⁶ it is possible he and Audrey met through their yachting connections.

Travel continued to be a feature of Audrey's life, although Arthur was clearly more keen on accompanying his wife than Ronald had been. On 26 January 1950 Audrey sailed first class from Southampton to Bermuda with Arthur (giving the address of Sheffield Park, Uckfield, Sussex), records indicate his status of 'landowner'.¹⁰⁸⁷ The couple arrived back in Southampton 5 March 1950 having travelled via New York. During this time Audrey also travelled to Buenos Aires; Montevideo; Santos; Rio de Janeiro; Salvador; Las Palmas; Madeira and Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁸⁸

¹⁰⁷⁷ Our Special Correspondent, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Our Special Correspondent, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Our Special Correspondent, p. 15.

¹⁰⁸⁰ 'England and Wales Register'.

¹⁰⁸¹ 'West Yorkshire, England, Electoral Registers, 1840-1962' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2010., 1840); 'AV343 Granville Soames Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹⁰⁸² 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index'-2007.

¹⁰⁸³ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index'-2005.

¹⁰⁸⁴ 'Obituary', *The Times*, 7 July 1962, p. 10 (p. 10)

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS170222311/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=75f471d2>.

¹⁰⁸⁵ '£2,000 Haul', *Daily Mail*, 17 November 1949, p. 5 (p. 5).

¹⁰⁸⁶ our Estates Correspondent, 'Bequest to Minister of Agriculture', *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 September 1962, p. [1] (p. 1) <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0702500916/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=2e1e2ada>.

¹⁰⁸⁷ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹⁰⁸⁸ 'Inwards Passenger Lists' (The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and successors: Inwards Passenger Lists.); 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

Financial security was clearly something that concerned Audrey throughout her life, having no guaranteed income of her own she was very much reliant upon her various husbands to support her lifestyle. While it is not unusual that upper class money matters draw attention in the press, discussion of her high-ranking spouses does feature disproportionately in relation to other women examined in this study; only upon drawing these strands together in analysis of Audrey's life does it become apparent how important a role money played in shaping her life.

Of particular note is Arthur Soames, whose finances appeared to be in a state of flux during the time that he and Audrey were together. It is apparent that early on in their marriage Arthur 'made a financial settlement' on Audrey, although there is no amount given for this, nor explanation.¹⁰⁸⁹ Within a year of being married the family home had been victim of a burglary in which £2,000 worth of valuables, including two cameras, had been stolen.¹⁰⁹⁰ Later, in 1952, the 3,300 acre Sheffield Park estate was sold at auction,¹⁰⁹¹ for over £200,000. The property is widely recognised as the birthplace of cricket – W.G Grace played there at a private cricket ground.¹⁰⁹² Soames is quoted as saying regarding the sale 'It is difficult to keep up a place of this size nowadays. In the old days there were twenty-three gardeners, I have four'.¹⁰⁹³ The sale of the property and its contents was widely reported that year, and the Soames' continued to liquefy their assets into 1954,¹⁰⁹⁴ even after the purchase of Hays Lodge, Chesterfield Hill, Mayfair,¹⁰⁹⁵ the former home of Sir Bernard Docker.

Much of the knowledge accessible about Audrey is found in the public lives of her husbands, and as a result she is unavoidably defined in relation to her male relatives. We learn that during February 1958 she was holidaying on the French Riviera with her husband and was visiting the ailing Winston Churchill at his sick bed – *The Sunday Times* quotes her as saying: 'Sir Winston is doing fine. We are all very happy about his magnificent recovery'.¹⁰⁹⁶ We do not hear about her again until the death of Arthur in July 1962, when much was made of the estate – Arthur's son Christopher inherited over £100,000 of the £749,000 estate, with £489,761 paid in cripplingly large death duties.¹⁰⁹⁷ Audrey was granted £40,000.¹⁰⁹⁸

Audrey died in Lymington in 1990.¹⁰⁹⁹ Her address at death was Court Lodge, Court Close, Lymington¹¹⁰⁰ and she had an estate of £21399.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Correspondent, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁰ '£2,000 Haul', p. 5.

¹⁰⁹¹ May 1952 'Sales By Auction', *The Times*, 20 May 1952, p. 12 (p. 12)

<<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS201543348/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=572383b4>>.

¹⁰⁹² Daily Telegraph Reporter, 'Estate Sold by Capt. A. G. Soames', *The Daily Telegraph*, 1953, p. 7 (p. 7)

<<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0702289237/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=5e9afc59>>.

¹⁰⁹³ Daily Telegraph Reporter, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹⁴ 'Sotheby & Co', 1954, p. 80 <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EX1200300111/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=5fb228c2>>.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Correspondent, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁶ John Izbicki The Sunday Times Representative, 'Sir Winston: Progress Maintained', *The Sunday Times*, 23 February 1958, p. 1 (p. 1) <<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/FP1800339406/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=f4f858c9>>.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Daily Mail Reporter, '9 Miss Legacy from Winnick', *Daily Mail*, 13 September 1962, p. 6

<<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865135592/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3d150dd6>>.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Correspondent, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁹ 'Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England'.

¹¹⁰⁰ 'Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England'.

Doris Campbell née Craven-Ellis (18 May 1909-28 September 2006)

Doris was born to parents William Craven-Ellis and Grace Emily Stanley on 18 May 1909, in Bowdon Cheshire.¹¹⁰¹ The 1911 census records her father's occupation as 'Auctioneer [and] valuer' and the family employed two domestic servants. The family home was an eleven room house in Hale, Altringham,¹¹⁰² where William Craven-Ellis served as Chairman of the Urban District Council (1915-1916).¹¹⁰³ Doris had one sister, Vera (b.1911- d.2005). Doris' grandmother, on her mother's side was an avid traveller and made magic lanterns slides – giving shows of them.¹¹⁰⁴

Family background

Doris's father, William Craven-Ellis was the eldest son of 'Thomas Ellis, Manchester' and 'grandson of William Craven, founder of Craven Brothers (Manchester) Ltd, machine tool makers'.¹¹⁰⁵ In a clear nod to his proud northern industrial heritage William adopted, by deed poll, the surname 'Craven' in addition to his own, thus becoming 'Craven-Ellis'. Being from a prosperous family, William was educated at Manchester Grammar School.¹¹⁰⁶ His own business interests were in auctioneering and real estate¹¹⁰⁷ and he is listed as being involved in a range of companies including: Ellis & Sons Amalgamated Properties Ltd (second, third and fourth iterations), Ellis & Sons (Southern) Property Investments Ltd, E & S Builders, Ltd, Ellis & Sons Amalgamated Investments Ltd, Piccadilly Building Society and Craven Brothers (Manchester) Ltd.¹¹⁰⁸ He had well established business interests and a keen eye for politics – first sitting as Conservative Chairman of Hale Urban District Council in 1915 to 1916, immediately following his military service in World War I. He was elected as MP for Southampton in 1931 and served in that role until he lost his seat in 1945. He was a member of the Royal Automobile and Royal Southampton Yacht clubs as well holding the Freedom of the City of London. He was also a Master of The Worshipful Company of Glovers of London (1943 to 44).¹¹⁰⁹ In addition to his documented attributes, he was clearly a supportive father and held progressive views in support of women, expressing in 1936 that 'Women do have more political common sense than the average man'.¹¹¹⁰

Attribution of films

The WFSA catalogue attributes the AV176 collection in several confusing and, I argue, misleading ways. At collection level the *title* reads: 'Amateur films mostly of local scenes and events in Southampton, taken by W Craven-Ellis'.¹¹¹¹ At collection level the *description* adds to this in saying: 'taken by the late W Craven-Ellis and his daughter Mrs Doris Campbell'.¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰¹ 'Church of England Births and Baptisms'.

¹¹⁰² 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

¹¹⁰³ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹⁰⁴ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams'.

¹¹⁰⁵ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹⁰⁶ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹⁰⁷ 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

¹¹⁰⁸ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹⁰⁹ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹¹⁰ Saturday 05 December 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.12.

¹¹¹¹ 'AV176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹¹² 'AV176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

It is proposed that the correct attribution for the majority of this collection in fact lies with Doris Campbell née Craven-Ellis, Grace Craven-Ellis and possibly Vera Craven-Ellis.

Travels

As a young woman Doris travelled widely on the continent with her family – taking multiple trips to France in the late 1920s and early 1930s. These trips not only serve to document Doris' travels but also to give helpful insights into how passengers self-described, the class they travelled, their home address and sometimes, their place of birth. The first of Doris' continental voyages is noted in Summer 1927 when the family departed on the 29 July for Mars, travelling First class on the P&O Naldera.¹¹¹³ The family's address is listed as 'Wood Court, Cobham, Surrey' on their return leg from Marseilles (19 August). They sailed aboard the P&O Ranpura and her father is listed on the ship's register as 'director of company'.¹¹¹⁴ A similar trip occurred the following year in August 1928¹¹¹⁵ and later in 1930. The 1930 (9 to 22 August) trip provides the family's home address as 21 Portland Place, WI – which is corroborated by other sources which expand upon this detail, providing '21 Duchess Mews' in addition to the Portland Place street address,¹¹¹⁶ a property that we later learn 'has a particularly spacious reception-room on the first floor, with a lovely Adam ceiling'.¹¹¹⁷ In her teenage years Doris attended finishing school in Switzerland and then secretarial college in Queens Way, London and later started work as her father's Parliamentary Secretary.¹¹¹⁸

In 1931 Doris's father was standing for election as MP for Southampton and local press reported that the Craven-Ellis' were to take a house in Southampton, to use at weekends;¹¹¹⁹ their first residence in the town was to be in Bassett on the leafy outskirts.¹¹²⁰ Despite a move to the South Coast the family remained very much engaged in Society life in London, with Doris and her sister Vera acting as bridesmaids at the new Mayor and Mayoress of London's wedding in November 1931,¹¹²¹ and later being presented at Court in 1933.¹¹²²

Film played an important part in Doris' life, evidenced by her prolific output and by multiple mentions of public screenings at which her (and her mother and sister's) was shown. The earliest documented mention of film in relation to the women appears in 1932:

Mrs. Craven-Ellis and Her Films

An interesting novelty in entertainment, which many Southampton people have enjoyed, consists of the films which Mrs Craven Ellis and her daughter have taken of social events in which they have had part. The Lord Mayor's Show and banquet are among these, and the budget also includes some travel pictures, which are very freshly handled because they are

¹¹¹³ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹¹⁴ 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹¹⁵ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹¹⁶ 'Craven-Ellis, William - Who's Who'.

¹¹¹⁷ Saturday 26 June 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

¹¹¹⁸ Burgess, 'Interview with Michael Campbell 17 November 2021 Recorded Audio Visually in MS Teams'.

¹¹¹⁹ Saturday 07 March 1931 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

¹¹²⁰ Saturday 19 November 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

¹¹²¹ Saturday 14 November 1931 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

¹¹²² Saturday 20 May 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

more or less chance snapshots. Patients at the Home of Recovery amid the trees of the northern town border are among those who have enjoyed this interesting little show.¹¹²³

It might be reasonable to assume, given that this is the first public mention of the Craven-Ellis women's films and that some of the work is described as 'freshly handled' that the women had only recently begun filmmaking. The earliest date assigned to the AV176 collection is 1931. A further screening in Southampton is credited to the 'Misses Craven-Ellis', implying that both Doris and Vera were responsible for the filmic output:

MISSES CRAVEN-ELLIS

Their Pictures of Civic Centre Opening

The women's branch of the Southampton Conservative and Union Association held an Empire -'Bring and Buy tea" at the Chantry Hall, Southampton, on Tuesday. [...] Considerable interest was taken in a display of cinematograph pictures of local and topical events "shot" by the Misses Craven-Ellis, these including an excellent pictorial record of the recent visit to Southampton of the Duke and Duchess of York on the occasion of the opening of the Civic Centre, as well as of the previous visit of their Royal Highnesses to the Royal Show in July. Pictures were also shown of the "National" outing to London and Ashridge College in the summer, of the departure from Southampton and return home of the delegates to the Ottawa Conference, of a visit paid to the Treloar Homes the ex-Lord Mayor and ex-Lady Mayoress of London (Sir Maurice and Lady Jenks), and of many other interesting events.¹¹²⁴

The family moved out of town, to a country residence in December 1932 to Roundhill, Bramshaw -in the New Forest ¹¹²⁵[Possibly shown in AV176/22]. Despite maintaining this second home, Doris' registration on the electoral roll records Portland Place as her main residence throughout the 1930s.¹¹²⁶ From their country seat the Craven-Ellises continued to actively engage in Southampton life - Doris attending monthly dances at Southampton Amateur Athletic club¹¹²⁷ - while also stepping up efforts to make connections in the forest community. In 1933 Doris was presented at court and could begin to fully engage in society social life. She was 'presented by her mother, wore a dress of white crepe satin, the full silk organdie flounce appliqued with satin flowers, as was the train. She had a pearl headdress, and carried a posy of sweet peas'.¹¹²⁸

Adding to knowledge of documented screenings, Doris was also involved in the Conservative and Unionist Film Association, a fact substantiated by her attendance (and active participation in) the 'Big Ben Ball' a ball held in aid of the Association and held at Grosvenor

¹¹²³ Saturday 20 February 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

¹¹²⁴ Saturday 26 November 1932 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.7.

¹¹²⁵ Saturday 31 December 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949. p.11.

¹¹²⁶ 'Electoral Registers'.

¹¹²⁷ Saturday 23 September 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.8.

¹¹²⁸ Saturday 20 May 1933 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

Hall in May 1934.¹¹²⁹ In this cited illustrated article Doris appears in costume as a Police Officer – possibly as part of a filmed caper sequence. This glimpse into her involvement with the association raises interesting questions around her involvement with other cine users, as part of a formal organisation or simply with interested peers.

After entering society, Doris continued to travel with her family - to South Africa in 1934,¹¹³⁰ and Lisbon in 1935.¹¹³¹

1936 was a busy year for the family and for Doris and her filmmaking. One local commentator expressing 'Mrs. Craven-Ellis is having a very strenuous summer, with a great deal of entertaining to keep her busy; two parties in London this week, several garden parties in the Forest later on in the summer, and numerous other projects'.¹¹³² The Craven-Ellis women apparently divided the social labour and Doris deputised for her mother on more than one occasion, including at a Round Hill garden party in August 1936.¹¹³³ That year Doris was elected Vice President of the Woolston British Legion in October 1936.¹¹³⁴

Country life involved the inevitable participation in the Hunt, and while it is not known if Doris was directly involved in the hunt itself she was certainly present when the New Forest Beagles met at Round Hill. She is pictured, cine camera in hand, capturing her father with 'the pack'.¹¹³⁵ That Doris is filming in this photograph is significant; this aspect of her life continued to attract public attention and comments on this particular event indicate that it was a familial affair: 'Miss Doris and Miss Vera Craven-Ellis and one or two friends, were getting busy with cine-cameras'.¹¹³⁶ Coincidentally, it seems likely that her future husband was present at the same event – as the same source documents the presence of Colonel Campbell, who was father to Colin.

Later, in November the same year over three hundred people at the Women's Branch of the Southampton Conservative Association were treated to a 'film display by Miss Craven Ellis'.¹¹³⁷ Large audiences continued to be entertained by Doris' work, with over 200 'Young Britons' enjoying 'After tea [...] entertainment [...] provided by Miss D Craven-Ellis with her cine-camera'.¹¹³⁸

Records of Doris and her family's travels are not scarce, with passenger lists and local newspaper commentary providing ample evidence for their many and various trips abroad. There are, however, a number of trips which feature in Doris' films, which do not tie up with paper documentation for sea voyages. The possible reason for this is introduced in 'Air travel notes',¹¹³⁹ where the family are said to be taking a [...]short holiday to Switzerland', returning on April 19th'. Our oft cited social commentator's column 'Letters from Anita' provides further detail on the trip:

¹¹²⁹ Wednesday 09 May 1934 *The Tatler & Bystander*-1999, p.4.

¹¹³⁰ Saturday 22 December 1934 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.9.

¹¹³¹ 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹³² Saturday 04 July 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11.

¹¹³³ Saturday 01 August 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.8.

¹¹³⁴ Saturday 10 October 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

¹¹³⁵ Saturday 21 November 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.16.

¹¹³⁶ Saturday 21 November 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11.

¹¹³⁷ Saturday 28 November 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.2.

¹¹³⁸ Saturday 12 December 1936 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.14.

¹¹³⁹ Saturday 27 March 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

I hear from Mrs. Craven-Ellis that her husband and Miss Doris Craven-Ellis leave for Lugano this Thursday for a holiday after a strenuous winter, while their other daughter, Miss Vera Craven-Ellis, joins friends in their yacht for a trip which will include a visit to Le Touquet. They are looking forward to a busy time entertaining overseas visitors for the Coronation, so are wise to take a holiday while they can!¹¹⁴⁰

Evidently the 1930s were a prosperous, if hectic, decade for the Craven-Ellises whose social commitments add colour to a litany of political affairs betwixt international travel, and rising tensions elsewhere in Europe, of which the family were not unaware. Following a family summer holiday Doris' father visited Germany during 1937, and possibly Hungary as part of a 'Road Delegation', on which trip he appears to have borrowed his family's cine camera.¹¹⁴¹

In 1937 she is given a voice, when she opens a Salvation Army bazaar with her father, giving a 'charming little speech'¹¹⁴² on the occasion. In 1938, she fell foul of the law:

SPEED AT CHANDLER'S FORD

A letter pleading guilty was received from Miss Doris Craven-Ellis of Portland-place. W.1, who was summoned for exceeding the 30 m.p.h. speed limit in Chandler's Ford, on Sept.

18. P.C. Baldwin said the speed was 38-42 m.p.h. Defendant was fined £1.¹¹⁴³

The affair was settled quietly by letter, but very helpfully indicates that Doris was a motorist and travelled under her own steam in the wider Southampton and New Forest Area.

The first mention of Doris producing/screening colour film dates to November 1938:

COLOUR FILMS Shown to Women Conservatives

Stalls were arranged by the ward organisation [...], during the evening, Miss Doris Craven-Ellis gave an interesting film show. Among the films shown was one taken at Torquay on the last annual outing. Others were of Switzerland, the New Forest Beagles and Hunt.

Several of the films were in colour.¹¹⁴⁴

As the prospect of war grew ever closer, social activities seem to have been pared down and reportage of the movements of the family decreased. 1939 saw significant change in many lives, and Doris' was no different – if her social activities had not been given 'in service' of her father's political aims, certainly her war time activities were credited as such with the *Hampshire Advertiser* leading with 'Southampton M.P.'s Offer to Government' and proceeding to detail the war commitments of his two daughters. Doris served in the Land Army, and signed up ahead of her planned marriage to Colin Bruce Campbell (b.1916) – the wedding had to be postponed, she with her farming commitments and he as a member of a

¹¹⁴⁰ Saturday 27 March 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11.

¹¹⁴¹ Saturday 31 July 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p9.

¹¹⁴² Saturday 27 November 1937 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

¹¹⁴³ Saturday 22 October 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.14.

¹¹⁴⁴ Saturday 26 November 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.6.

'bomber squadron of the RAF', had other priorities.¹¹⁴⁵ Despite the initial delay to their nuptials the wedding was able to proceed in October 1939 in Marylebone.¹¹⁴⁶ *The Bystander* records details of their nuptials.¹¹⁴⁷

The wedding took place at All Souls church, Langham Place, London and Doris, who was given away by her father 'wore a clover-coloured wedding dress, with a short coat to match and a navy blue hat. She wore a spray of orchids, and carried the prayer-book which her mother used at her own wedding'.¹¹⁴⁸ The moments the happy couple walk down the church steps are captured by the Craven-Ellis camera, in colour, the vivid clover of Doris' wedding outfit is visible on film. The same source further explains that 'There were no bridesmaids, but the bride's sister, Miss Vera Craven-Ellis who would have been a bridesmaid in normal circumstances, was present'. Following the ceremony 'about 50 guests attended a luncheon at Claridge's'.¹¹⁴⁹ Her husband 'Colin was educated at Harrow and his father was a senior partner Messrs Robert Escombe, Campbell and Co stockbrokers'.¹¹⁵⁰ The 1939 register documents that upon their marriage Doris moved into Colin's family's home at 'Flat 21 St Marylebone, London' at this time he is listed as a being a 'member of the London stock exchange' and Doris is listed under her maiden name of Craven-Ellis and as having 'private means'.¹¹⁵¹

Collin was educated at Harrow School with both Richard Fairey and Jeffrey D. Haviland.

Piecing together details of Doris's life after her marriage to Colin poses a challenge – it appears as though her filmmaking activities slowed in the 1939-1950 period, not an unusual feature of many amateur filmmakers' work during this time. This coincides with the arrival of Doris' only son, Michael. When working in the Land Army she worked at Beaulieu's Home Farm, a property that he family had rented from around 1930. After the war and separating from her husband she took on the running of the farm alone. She worked as a tenant dairy farmer there until 1950, after which she moved to Sussex to run a larger farm supported by her father. Doris had one son, Michael Campbell c.1945.

Doris died on 28 September 2006, in Guildford age 97.

Eda Isobel Moore (16 April 1908- 19 August 1995)

Eda Isobel Moore was born to parents Francis James and Isabella Martin Moore (known affectionately as 'Belle') in Johannesburg in 1908. Her birth records are absent in UK archives, but her birth date is corroborated by both the WFSA catalogue and the 1939 register.¹¹⁵² Eda had one sibling, a sister - Mary who was two years her junior (b.1910-d.1991). It is believed that she went to school in Natal,¹¹⁵³ though she made many trips between the UK and South Africa over the years before permanently settling in England sometime after 1923. It is believed her family remained in South Africa for the duration of

¹¹⁴⁵ Saturday 16 September 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.4.

¹¹⁴⁶ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index'-2005.

¹¹⁴⁷ 18 October 1939 *The Tatler & Bystander*, p. 28.

¹¹⁴⁸ Saturday 14 October 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.8.

¹¹⁴⁹ Saturday 14 October 1939 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.8.

¹¹⁵⁰ Saturday 31 December 1938 *Hampsh. Advert.*-1949, p.11.

¹¹⁵¹ 'England and Wales Register'.

¹¹⁵² 'England and Wales Register'; 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'; Harrison.

¹¹⁵³ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

World War I.¹¹⁵⁴ By 1923 they had made a permanent relocation to Salisbury in Wiltshire – their address recorded in the ship's manifest for a journey made that year records 'The Beeches, Park Lane, Salisbury',¹¹⁵⁵ though they maintained family ties in South Africa and Eda and Mary send 'audio letters' to family there in the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹⁵⁶ The family's many sea voyages were always made in the comfort of First class.

As a young woman Eda studied drama and speech training at the London Guildhall and Royal Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in London, and while there lived at '6 Castlebar Road, W.5' (Ealing, London).¹¹⁵⁷ Later she would teach at Shaftesbury High School and St Mary's Convent, Shaftesbury, and would also offer private tuition.

The family would occupy a number of Salisbury addresses including 'The Beeches, Park Lane, Salisbury' (1923) and 'Grove House, Shady Bower, Salisbury', the family home inherited by Eda on her parents' death and lived in until her own death in 1995.¹¹⁵⁸ Grove House was a six bedoomed, double fronted Victorian property with ample grounds and was among the most expensive in its area. Her father, Francis Moore was an Alderman for Salisbury and is listed as being a 'Managing Director' of a company, according to passenger records for 1936.¹¹⁵⁹ He was a bootmaker by trade (which his father had also been) and owned his own shop,¹¹⁶⁰ which features on one of Eda's films (AV509/18). Francis later served as Mayor of Salisbury (1954-1955).¹¹⁶¹

The 1939 register records Eda living in Salisbury, with her parents and working as a 'teacher of music', the register also notes that she was a member of the Women's Voluntary Service,¹¹⁶² evidencing her war time occupation. Eda travelled widely during her lifetime, and often recorded her explorations on film. She is known to have travelled to South Africa (where she was born and spent time as a child), Malta, Italy, and Greece.¹¹⁶³

The WFSA catalogue records a number of sources where Eda has been the subject of newspaper coverage in the later part of the twentieth century, with one article coining the moniker 'The First Lady of Salisbury Film'.¹¹⁶⁴ She exhibited her films publicly, both to friends and family on her trips back to South Africa and to local groups within Salisbury where they were received with enthusiasm (Eda's own recollection as recorded in the WFSA catalogue entry).¹¹⁶⁵

Filmmaking came naturally to her, and she was accustomed to carrying her cinecamera with her in order to catch moments of interest as they occurred, she is quoted in 1963 as saying: 'I had my small Cine Camera in my handbag as usual and hope I have secured a few pictures in black and white'.¹¹⁶⁶ Her commitment to filmmaking in the Salisbury area brought her

¹¹⁵⁴ 30 July 1914 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁵⁵ 23 July 1923 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁵⁶ Harrison.

¹¹⁵⁷ 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists'; 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection'.

¹¹⁵⁸ 'Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England'; 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁵⁹ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁶⁰ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection'; 'Census Returns of England and Wales'.

¹¹⁶¹ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection'.

¹¹⁶² 'England and Wales Register'.

¹¹⁶³ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹⁶⁴ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹⁶⁵ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹⁶⁶ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

acclaim, and the her films were deposited with WFSA through links with the BBC who broadcast a TV programme about her and her work in 1996.¹¹⁶⁷ She was keen to experiment with new technologies and was more active in the 1960s than earlier periods. She produced many audio recordings, some to accompany her films and others mapping her interest in both local history and music.¹¹⁶⁸

Eda was independently wealthy at the time of her death and the Probate registries indicate she had an estate of £655,219,¹¹⁶⁹ she did not marry and had no offspring.

Emma Louisa (née Cox) Fritchley (1902-1994)

Emma Louisa Cox was born in Portsmouth to parents Eliza Jane Cox (b.1864) and William Samuel Cox (b.1867) who married 9 January 1890. Emma had a sister (Amy Elizabeth b. 1893) and two brothers (Henry Luke d.1900 and Walter Guy b.1904), and the 1901 census (the year before Emma's birth) records that the family lived in Portsmouth. The 1911 census records her father's profession as 'warrant officer and editor of the warrant officers journal' and the family lived at 71 Wadham Road, North End, Portsmouth – no domestic staff are listed. The house is an Edwardian terraced house with highly decorated bays and decorative sash windows which remain (July 2021). Information about Emma's early years is sparse although Emma later recalled watching the Spithead Review of 9 July 1912 with her brother Walter, through the porthole of a ship. This particular Naval Review was historic as it was the first to showcase both aircraft and submarines – and rather than being held to mark a public occasion as was the norm, was designed as a demonstration of Naval might in what was an increasingly tense political atmosphere.¹¹⁷⁰

It is not known if Emma's father was posted to Bombay, or if his awareness of international relations led him to move the family – the Cox family relocated to India in 1913. Their ship 'P&O Himalaya' departed London on 1 October 1913 headed for Bombay, Emma is listed under her father's name as 'Miss. (11 ½)' she travelled second class with her younger brother, mother and father and their permanent residence is listed as 'Bombay', her father's profession at this time is given as 'Chief Gunner R.N'.¹¹⁷¹ It is believed that her father commanded the wireless station in Bombay. Emma and her family remained in India for the duration of World War I, and while living there she attended the Bombay Girls High School where she gained her school certificate.¹¹⁷²

As a teenager, while living in Bombay, Emma met and married Cecil Edwin Fritchley. Fritchley worked as an architect in his father's firm and was involved in the design of the Lalit Mahal Palace, Mysore, India in 1918.¹¹⁷³ His Father, Edwin Wollaston Fritchley, is credited with the design of the palace – which is thought to be the second largest of its kind in Mysore and was completed in 1921. Emma's father-in-law and her own father's positions

¹¹⁶⁷ 'AV509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹⁶⁸ Harrison.

¹¹⁶⁹ 'Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England'.

¹¹⁷⁰ 'HC Deb 15 July 1912 Vol 41 Cc52-3W' <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/written-answers/1912/jul/15/spithead-review-july-1912>>.

¹¹⁷¹ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁷² 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹¹⁷³ 'RIBA Architecture Library Catalogue'.

in India cement her upbringing very much within the realm of colonial experience at a time when the British Empire still held strong in India.

Emma's new husband, Cecil (1889-1961), 'had only one hand, due to an infection caused by a poisoned finger; she married Cecil when she was sixteen or seventeen and they returned to England in the early 1920s'.¹¹⁷⁴ It is thought that the couple returned to the UK in around 1922, although there are no official documents to confirm this date. Cecil's name is first mentioned in Kelly's Directory in 1927 for Portsmouth – as a private resident. His address is given as: 27 Magdala Road, Cosham, Portsmouth.¹¹⁷⁵ Despite the uncertainty around the exact date of the couples' return to the UK, a *Portsmouth Evening News* article locates Emma in Magdala Road as early as October 1923 when she was named as a winner in a Blue Cross matches competition (she won 10s).¹¹⁷⁶ There are a number of further sources corroborating the Fritchleys presence in Portsmouth in the early 1920s. Cecil Fritchley F.R.I.B.A is credited as having given an exhibition of exotic artifacts from his international travels in March 1924.¹¹⁷⁷ Emma is mentioned as having held a stall at a jumble staff to raised funds for the Cosham alms houses.¹¹⁷⁸ That same year Emma and her mother (Mrs Cox) became more active in community activities with Emma becoming involved around this time in the Women's Fellowship. The mother and daughter evidently had some musical talent and performed an instrumental accompaniment to a performance with other members of the congregation.¹¹⁷⁹

1929 was a busy year for the family - Emma's father, Lieutenant Commander W S Cox R.N was elected parish representative and her husband took on an involved role within the church as Vicar's Warden.¹¹⁸⁰ On 15 February 1929 at 'Rosegarth' (possibly her parents' home), Cosham Emma gave birth to her only daughter, Cecilia M,¹¹⁸¹ later Cecilia was schooled locally at St Benedict's High School.¹¹⁸²

In 1931 the Fritchley's continued to integrate into their adopted community and 'a kinema show' was hosted by Mr and Mrs Cecil Fritchley in the parish hall that was 'transformed into a fairyland'.¹¹⁸³ Cecil travelled to India on business in November 1932, at which time he took leave of his duties as Vicar's Warden.¹¹⁸⁴ Later the following year this leave of absence was made permanent and the local press reports that the Fritchleys had 'left the district'.¹¹⁸⁵ From Cosham the Fritchley's made the move to Fareham where Emma was quick to engage in community activities – she made a monetary contribution of 10s. to the Fareham Silver Jubilee Celebrations,¹¹⁸⁶ and was later introduced to the congregation amidst some fanfare as she opened the Fareham Methodist Church bazaar.¹¹⁸⁷ At this time her address is listed as 'Springfield, Fareham'.

¹¹⁷⁴ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹¹⁷⁵ 'UK, City and County Directories' (Provo, UT USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007), 1766-1946.

¹¹⁷⁶ Friday 05 October 1923 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 6.

¹¹⁷⁷ Friday 14 March 1924 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 4.

¹¹⁷⁸ Friday 09 March 1928 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 3.

¹¹⁷⁹ Friday 29 June 1928 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 3.

¹¹⁸⁰ Saturday 26 January 1929 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 9.

¹¹⁸¹ Monday 18 February 1929 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 4.

¹¹⁸² Friday 29 July 1938 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 5.

¹¹⁸³ Friday 20 November 1931 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸⁴ Friday 11 November 1932 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸⁵ Friday 05 May 1933 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 4.

¹¹⁸⁶ Friday 24 May 1935 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 5.

¹¹⁸⁷ Friday 31 May 1935 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 11.

The family enjoyed a holiday in 1937 – on 16 June 1937 they sailed third class aboard the Queen Mary to New York,¹¹⁸⁸ where they stayed for some two months before returning home on 27 August 1937 on the Berengaria¹¹⁸⁹ AV43/10¹¹⁹⁰ features a trip to the US and Canada which corresponds with this voyage. Later in 1937 Emma's father Lieutenant Commander W S B Cox R N, died (November).¹¹⁹¹

The following year both Emma and Cecil undertook training to become Air Raid Precaution (ARP) wardens and in September 1938 they were presented awards in recognition of this training.¹¹⁹² The 1939 register records Emma's occupation as 'Unpaid Domestic Duties' and living at Roxburgh, 91 Titchfield Road, Fareham (this address is confirmed on passenger lists from 1937 and from Cecil's Probate entry). Roxburgh appears to have been a detached property, most likely a bungalow built in the late 1920s – the street is wide and treelined. The register also has notes that indicates that both she and her husband volunteered as 'ARP wardens UDCF' (Urban District Council Fareham),¹¹⁹³ Cecil was retired from his work as an architect at this time.

During World War II Emma and Cecil worked as volunteer ARP wardens – which would have been an active role in Portsmouth, a city that suffered heavily during the Battle of Britain in 1940. Indeed, the Fritchley's former home in Magdala Road appears to have been impacted by bomb damage as a result of a bomb falling directly behind Magdala Road in Dorking Crescent on 14 November 1940 - the house no longer stands.¹¹⁹⁴

Local press in the late 1940s details some of the many activities that Emma was involved in. She was the 'Food lead' of the Townswomen's Guild of Fareham that operated out of Trinity Church House¹¹⁹⁵ and at one particular meeting 'came supplied with recipes for cooking whale meat, soon to be supplied in small quantities in local shops'.¹¹⁹⁶ She also acted as 'Drama Lead' during this time. Such was her standing within the Guild that she was appointed Chair of the Townswomen's Guild in November 1948,¹¹⁹⁷ in 1949 she was instrumental in organising a centenary celebration for Fareham.¹¹⁹⁸

In the 1950s Cecil and Emma inherited £8298 0s. 1d. from Cecil's sister (or sister in law).,¹¹⁹⁹ and later in 1950 Emma was elected to represent Fareham West Ward alongside Percy J Bennett,¹²⁰⁰ just a few months later she resigned from her role as chairperson of the Townswomen's Guild,¹²⁰¹ possibly to take a more active role in the Women Conservatives Association.¹²⁰² Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Emma cemented her position in the Fareham community through various events and activities – being elected as Chairman of

¹¹⁸⁸ 'UK and Ireland, Outward Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁸⁹ 'UK and Ireland, Incoming Passenger Lists'-1960.

¹¹⁹⁰ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry'.

¹¹⁹¹ 'England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index'-2007.

¹¹⁹² Friday 02 September 1938 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹³ 'England and Wales Register'.

¹¹⁹⁴ Bomb Map Layer 'WWII Bomb Raids Map Layer', *Dynamic Maps*

<<https://pcc.dynamicmaps.co.uk/MapThatPublic/Default.aspx>> [accessed 6 July 2021].

¹¹⁹⁵ Friday 25 October 1946 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹⁶ Friday 21 February 1947 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 11.

¹¹⁹⁷ Friday 19 November 1948 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 10.

¹¹⁹⁸ Thursday 20 October 1949 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹⁹ 'Index of Wills and Administrations'-1995.

¹²⁰⁰ Saturday 20 May 1950 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 13.

¹²⁰¹ Friday 21 July 1950 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 14.

¹²⁰² Thursday 17 May 1951 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 9.

Fareham of the District Council in June 1956,¹²⁰³ and as President of the Townswomen's Guild.¹²⁰⁴ Cecil Fritchley died in 23 January 1961 leaving £6104. 11s. 7d.¹²⁰⁵ to Emma.

Emma is known to have also been a 'leading figure in the Citizens Advice Bureau and WRVS'.¹²⁰⁶ Her role as 'Joint Local Organiser' of Hampshire Royal Women's Royal Voluntary Service is cited in the notice of the New Years' honours announced in January 1975 when she was awarded the British Empire Medal (BEM).

In later life Emma was a founding member of the film club in Fareham at the Ashcroft Centre (opened 1989) and was 'never adverse to going to see even the most obscure films'.¹²⁰⁷ Family members recall that Emma liked to involve the whole family in her filmmaking activities – with cutting and splicing becoming a family activity and Emma's enthusiasm for photography and film manifesting in her encouragement of her Grandson, Douglas, to make films. Throughout her life Emma took opportunities as they arose to use film in community settings – and film shows were a feature of many of the events that she was involved in.¹²⁰⁸ She enjoyed using film to 'replay history'¹²⁰⁹ and was fortunate enough to have 'early access to the innovative colour film [...] which it is] believed that she obtained early film stock through a relative in the United States'.¹²¹⁰ Her old projector would often be brought out at family occasions and is now within the collection of Hampshire Cultural Trust, along with her cine camera. Relatives recall how she sourced film stock from Kodak in London and how 'she often tried to be experimental, once trying to take a picture, on her old box brownie, of herself in a series of mirrors without the camera showing'.

Emma died on 28 October 1994.

¹²⁰³ Friday 01 June 1956 *Hampshire Telegraph*.

¹²⁰⁴ Friday 04 December 1959 *Hampshire Telegraph*, p. 7.

¹²⁰⁵ 'Index of Wills and Administrations'-1995.

¹²⁰⁶ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹²⁰⁷ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹²⁰⁸ Saturday 29 December 1951 *Portsmouth Evening News*, p. 5.

¹²⁰⁹ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

¹²¹⁰ 'AV43 Fritchley Films | WFSA | Collection'.

Appendix F Cine Equipment Costs

Brand	Gauge	Name of equipment	Item	Year	Cost	Cost in Pence (d)	New or second hand	Sales outlet/location detail	Notes/source
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Outfit	1923	£80	19200	New	Editorial	Westminster Gazette - Saturday 15 September 1923; P10; Daily News (London) - Thursday 20 December 1923 P5
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Outfit	1924	£80	19200	New	Editorial; Photographic dealer	Sheffield Daily Telegraph - Tuesday 22 January 1924, P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Camera	1925	£7 10s 0d	1800	New	Photographic dealer; Brand Advert	Sheffield Daily Telegraph - Tuesday 24 February 1925, p1; The Bystander - Wednesday 27 May 1925 P93
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Projector	1925	£6 12s 0d	1584	New	Brand Advert	The Bystander - Wednesday 27 May 1925, P93
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby film	Film	1925	3s 4d	40	New	Brand advert	90 feet, The Bystander - Wednesday 08 July 1925 P63
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1925	£40	9600	New	Brand advert	Advertised in The Tatler and Bystander The Bystander - Wednesday 18 November 1925 P123
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell & Howell 'Filmo'	Camera	1925	£51	12240	New	Photographic dealer	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Saturday 12 December 1925 P71
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell & Howell Projector	Projector	1925	£54	12960	New	Photographic dealer	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Saturday 12 December 1925 P71
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell & Howell Outfit	Outfit	1925	£105	25200	New	Photographic dealer	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Saturday 12 December 1925 P71
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Outfit	1926	12 guineas	3024	New	Photographic dealer	Westminster Gazette - Wednesday 17 February 1926 P12
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell & Howell 'Filmo'	Camera	1926	£51	12240	New	Photographic dealer	Westminster Gazette - Wednesday 17 February 1926 P12
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell & Howell 'Filmo'	Camera	1926	£54	12960	New	Photographic dealer	the Bystander - Wednesday 21 July 1926 P77
Zodelscope	16mm	Zodelscope	Projector	1926	£10 17s 6d.	2610	New	Photographic dealer	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Saturday 06 February 1926, p5
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Outfit	1926	£18 18s	4536	New	Photographic dealer	Westminster Gazette - Wednesday 17 February 1926 P12
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Camera	1926	£6 15s	1620	New	Photographic chemist	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Tuesday 18 May 1926 P1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1926	£16 6s	3912	New	Photographic chemists; Brand advert	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Tuesday 18 May 1926 P1; Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 23 May 1926, P7
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1926	£15 0s 0d.	3600	New	Brand advert	Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 23 May 1926, P7
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1927	£15	3600	New	Photographic dealer	Westminster Gazette - Wednesday 06 April 1927, P8
Kodak		Cine Kodak	Camera	1927	£16 16s	4032	New	Photographic dealer	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Friday 08 April 1927, P15
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope (Model C)	Projector	1927	£15	3600	New	Brand advert; Photographic dealer	Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 29 May 1927, P13 ;Worthing Gazette - Wednesday 30 November 1927, P13
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Camera	1927	£5	1200	New	Photographic dealer	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Friday 08 April 1927, P15;Worthing Gazette - Wednesday 30 November 1927, P13
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Projector	1927	£5/£6	1200	New	Photographic dealer	Hull Daily Mail - Thursday 01 September 1927, P7 ;Worthing Gazette - Wednesday 30 November 1927, P13
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Camera	1928	£5	1200	New	Photographic dealer	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Saturday 07 April 1928, P4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1928	£15 15s	3780	New	Photographic dealer	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Saturday 07 April 1928, P4

Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak with f.6.5 lens	Camera	1928	£18 8s	4416	New	Brand advert	Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 06 May 1928, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak with f. 3.5 lens	Camera	1928	£25	6000	New	Brand advert	Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 06 May 1928, p4
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1928	£16	3840	New	Brand advert	Weekly Dispatch (London) - Sunday 06 May 1928, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine Moto camera	Camera	1928	£10 10s	2520	New	Department store	The Sphere - Saturday 08 December 1928, p48
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak with f. 3.5 lens	Camera	1929	£25	6000	New	Brand advert	Daily News (London) - Wednesday 30 January 1929, p5
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby cine	Camera	1929	£6	1440	New	Photographic chemist	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Thursday 28 March 1929, p9
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak with f.6.5 lens	Camera	1929	£18 8s	4416	New	Brand advert	Daily News (London) - Wednesday 06 March 1929, p6
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1929	£18	4320	New	Brand advert	Daily News (London) - Wednesday 06 March 1929, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope camera	Camera	1930	£3 17s 6d.	924	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Thursday 30 January 1930, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé projector	Projector	1930	80s	960	Second hand	Photographic chemist	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 07 February 1930, p8
Kodak	16mm	16mm film	Film	1930	30s per 100ft	360	New	Editorial	Falkirk Herald - Wednesday 12 March 1930, p11
Kodak	16mm	16mm	Film	1930	30s reduced to 21s per 100ft roll	360	New	Editorial	Ashbourne Telegraph - Friday 02 May 1930, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model BB	Camera	1930	15 guineas	3780	New	Photographic dealer	North Wilts Herald - Friday 02 May 1930, p15
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1930	12 guineas	3024	New	Photographic dealer	North Wilts Herald - Friday 02 May 1930, p15
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Motocamera	Camera	1930	10 guineas	2520	New	Photographic dealer	Illustrated London News - Saturday 28 June 1930, p55
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope	Outfit	1930	£15	3600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Tuesday 03 June 1930, p15
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B	Camera	1930	£17 17s	4284	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Sheffield Daily Telegraph - Saturday 13 September 1930, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Kid	Projector	1930	55s	660	New	Photographic chemist	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Thursday 01 December 1930, p9
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Projector	1931	£2 15s	660	New	Specialist cine outlet	Belfast News-Letter - Friday 20 February 1931, p1
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1931	£12 12s	3024	New	Specialist cine outlet	Belfast News-Letter - Friday 20 February 1931, p1
Zeiss	16mm	Zeiss Ikon	Projector	1931	£23	5520	New	Specialist cine outlet	Belfast News-Letter - Friday 20 February 1931, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Cine	Outfit	1931	29s	348	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Sheffield Independent - Saturday 07 March 1931, p3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Motocamera Model b	Camera	1931	£6 6s	1512	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Motocamera	Camera	1931	£19 19s	4788	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Baby Pathé cine hand crank	Camera	1931	£2 10s	600	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model BBf.3.5 LENS	Camera	1931	£13 13s	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B	Camera	1931	£15 15s	3780	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Ensign	16mm	Ensign Autokinoecam	Camera	1931	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model k	Camera	1931	£25	6000	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Ensign	16mm	Ensign Superkinecam	Camera	1931	£45	10800	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope projector	Projector	1931	£8 17s 6d	2130	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 08 July 1931, p8
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model b f.6.5	Camera	1932	£7	1680	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Friday 29 April 1932, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak model BB f.3.5 lens	Camera	1932	£12	2880	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Friday 29 April 1932, p1
Ensign	16mm	Ensign projector Silent Sixteen	Projector	1932	£18	4320	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Friday 29 April 1932, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak f.1.9 lens	Camera	1932	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 03 August 1932, p11
Pathé	16mm	Pathé Lux Motocamera	Camera	1932	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 03 August 1932, p11
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé kid	Projector	1932	55s	660	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Kodak	16mm	Kodatoy	Projector	1932	£3 3s	756	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope	Projector	1932	£6 15s	1620	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Baby Cine Motocamera	Camera	1932	£6 6s	1512	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1

Coronet	16mm	Coronet Cine camera	Camera	1932	55s	660	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Camera	Camera	1932	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1932	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 16 December 1932, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Lux Motocamera	Camera	1933	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 04 January 19, p17
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak f1.9 lens	Camera	1933	£18 18s	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	The Era - Wednesday 04 January 19, p17
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope	Projector	1933	£2 15s	660	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 03 March 1933, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B	Camera	1933	£6	1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 03 March 1933, p2
Ensign	16mm	Ensign camera	Camera	1933	£9	2160	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 03 March 1933, p2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1933	£9 17s 6d	2370	New - UK launch	Editorial	Kinematograph Weekly - Thursday 23 March 1933, p3
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8 Projector	Projector	1933	£9 9s	2268	New - UK launch	Editorial	Kinematograph Weekly - Thursday 23 March 1933, p3
Ensign	16mm	Ensign Silent sixteen	Projector	1933	£14	3360	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 03 March 1933, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model BB	Outfit	1933	£25	6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Saturday 25 March 1933, p11
Coronet	16mm	Coronet Cine camera	Camera	1934	55s	660	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	North Devon Journal - Thursday 01 February 1934, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Cine Camera	Camera	1934	£5 10s	1320	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	North Devon Journal - Thursday 01 February 1934, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope kid	Projector	1934	55s	660	New	Photographic chemist	Ashbourne Telegraph - Friday 02 March 1934, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Cine Camera	Camera	1934	£6 6s	1512	New	Photographic chemist	West Sussex County Times - Thursday 29 March 1934, p7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Projector	Projector	1934	£7	1680	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Grantham Journal - Saturday 07 April 1934, p7
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model b	Camera	1934	£9	2160	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Hendon & Finchley Times - Friday 25 May 1934, p9
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak BB Junior	Camera	1934	£13 13s	3276	New	Brand advert	Illustrated London News - Saturday 16 June 1934, p36
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model K	Camera	1934	£35	8400	New	Brand advert	Illustrated London News - Saturday 16 June 1934, p36
Pathé	9.5mm	200 B Pathé Projector	Projector	1934	£15	3600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Saturday 24 November 1934P1
Pathé	17.5mm	Pathéscope Sound on film talkie projector	Projector	1934	£60	14400	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Saturday 24 November 1934P1
Kodak	8mm	Cine kodak 8	Camera	1935	£9 17s 6d	2370	new	Brand advert	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Friday 10 May 1935, p55
Kodak	8mm	Cine kodak 8 outfit	Outfit	1935	£20	4800	new	Brand advert	Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Friday 10 May 1935, p55
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak	Camera	1935	£13 13s	3276	new	Brand advert	'Prices from' Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News - Friday 10 May 1935, p55
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé projector	Projector	1935	£7 5s	1740	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 07 June 1935, P5
Kodak	16mm	Kodak projector	Projector	1935	18 guineas	4536	New	Specialist cine outlet	Kent & Sussex Courier - Friday 07 June 1935, P5
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope 200b Projector	Projector	1935	£12 12s	3024	Second hand	Photographic chemist	Hendon & Finchley Times - Friday 16 August 1935, p15
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8 projector	Projector	1935	£16	3840	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Tuesday 27 August 1935, p2
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope projector	Projector	1935	£2 13s	636	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Long Eaton Advertiser - Friday 25 October 1935, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1935	£6	1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Hull Daily Mail - Thursday 28 November 1935, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope film	Film	1935	2/7 per reel 2s developing	31		Specialist cine outlet	Shields Daily News - Wednesday 11 December 1935, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1935	37s 6d	450	New	Specialist cine outlet	Western Daily Press - Thursday 19 December 1935, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé IMP	Projector	1935	£4 12s 6d	1110	new	Specialist cine outlet	Western Daily Press - Thursday 19 December 1935, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope outfit	Outfit	1935	6 guineas	1512	New	Specialist cine outlet	Shields Daily News - Wednesday 11 December 1935, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Super IMP	Projector	1935	£7	1680	new	Specialist cine outlet	Western Daily Press - Thursday 19 December 1935, p4

Pathé	9.5mm & 16mm	Pathé 200 b	Projector	1935	£15	3600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Western Daily Press - Thursday 19 December 1935, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1936	27s 6d	330	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 15 February 1936, p12
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé IMP	Projector	1936	£3 12s 6d	870	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 15 February 1936, p12
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1936	£4 17d 6d	1170	New	Photographic chemist	Dundee Courier - Saturday 08 February 1936, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1936	37s 6d	450	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 15 February 1936, p12
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé IMP	Projector	1936	£4 12s 6d	1110	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 15 February 1936, p12
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Motocamera delux	Camera	1936	£13 13s	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 28 February 1936, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1936	£6 19s 6d	1668	New	Photographic chemist	Dundee Courier - Saturday 08 February 1936, p1
Kodak	16mm	Kodak Model BB Junior f3.5	Camera	1936	£13 13s 0d	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	Reading Standard - Friday 28 February 1936, p23
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Lux projector	Projector	1936	£12 10s	3000	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 15 February 1936, p12
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model BB Junior	Camera	1936	£9	2160	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Thursday 26 March 1936, p3
Coronet	16mm	Coronet Cine camera	Camera	1936	55s	660	New	Photographic chemist	Buckinghamshire Examiner - Friday 24 April 1936, p7
Dekko	9.5mm	Dekko Cine camera	Camera	1936	£7 16s 6d	1878	New	Photographic chemist	Dundee Courier - Saturday 09 May 1936, p11
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1936	£15	3600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Gloucestershire Echo - Thursday 21 May 1936, p5
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Motocamera B	Camera	1936	£5	1200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Saturday 09 May 1936, p11
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8 and projector	Outfit	1936	£11	2640	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Saturday 09 May 1936, p11
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8mm film	Film	1936	10s	120	New	Specialist cine outlet	Derby Daily Telegraph - Thursday 23 July 1936, p.5
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1936	£9 9s	2268	New	Specialist cine outlet	Derby Daily Telegraph - Thursday 23 July 1936, p.5
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Model B	Camera	1937	£4 4s	1008	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Saturday 20 February 1937, p12
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1937	£10	2400	New	Specialist cine outlet	Nelson Leader - Friday 30 July 1937, p18
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope Model EE	Projector	1937	£32 10s	7800	New	Specialist cine outlet	Mid Sussex Times - Tuesday 30 November 1937, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1937	37s 6d	450	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 11 December 1937, p12
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé H	Camera	1937	£5 17s 6d	1410	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 11 December 1937, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Model B.200	Camera	1937	£15	3600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 11 December 1937, p12
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak f3.4	Camera	1937	£17 10s	4200	New	Specialist cine outlet	Portsmouth Evening News - Tuesday 21 December 1937, p4
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1937	£13 13s	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	North Devon Journal - Thursday 09 December 1937, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model k	Camera	1937	£20	4800	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 11 December 1937, p12
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1938	£6	1440	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Saturday 22 January 1938, p1
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1938	£13 13s	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	Chichester Observer - Wednesday 05 January 1938, p5
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1938	27s 6d	330	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Fife Free Press, & Kirkcaldy Guardian - Saturday 12 February 1938, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé IMP projector	Projector	1938	£5	1200	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Fife Free Press, & Kirkcaldy Guardian - Saturday 12 February 1938, p2
Pathé	9.5mm & 16mm	Pathé 200b projector	Projector	1938	£12	2880	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Fife Free Press, & Kirkcaldy Guardian - Saturday 12 February 1938, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé moto camera f3.5	Camera	1938	£7	1680	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Fife Free Press, & Kirkcaldy Guardian - Saturday 12 February 1938, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak model b f3.5	Camera	1938	£8	1920	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Friday 04 March 1938, p15
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak 16mm Model BB	Camera	1938	£18	4320	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Friday 04 March 1938, p15
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak f3.58mm	Camera	1938	£10	2400	New	Specialist cine outlet	West Middlesex Gazette - Saturday 16 July 1938 p15

Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1938	£13 13s	3276	New	Specialist cine outlet	Western Daily Press - Saturday 22 October 1938, p11
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8mm outfit	Outfit	1938	£10 10s	2520	New	Photographic chemist	West Middlesex Gazette - Saturday 19 November 1938, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Talkie	Projector	1938	£30	7200	New	Photographic chemist	West Middlesex Gazette - Saturday 19 November 1938, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1938	37s 6d	450	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Wednesday 14 December 1938, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Motocamera	Camera	1938	6 guineas	1512	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Wednesday 14 December 1938, p1
Dekko	9.5mm	Dekko Cine	Camera	1938	£7 15s 6d	1866	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Wednesday 14 December 1938, p1
Pathé	9.5mm & 16mm	Pathéscope 200b	Projector	1939	£21	5040	New	Specialist cine outlet	Reading Mercury - Saturday 07 January 1939, p9
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope Model EE	Projector	1939	£27 10s	6600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Edinburgh Evening News - Saturday 28 January 1939 P12
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8 projector model 30	Projector	1939	£6	1440	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Tuesday 21 February 1939, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1939	37s 6d	450	New	Photographic chemist	Chichester Observer - Saturday 04 February 1939 P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope H Cinema	Projector	1939	£10 10s	2520	new	Photographic chemist	Chichester Observer - Saturday 04 February 1939 P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope delux Motocamera	Camera	1939	£4	960	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Tuesday 21 February 1939, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Motocamera	Camera	1939	£7	1680	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sheffield Evening Telegraph - Wednesday 24 May 1939,
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Motocamera	Camera	1939	£10 10s	2520	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Tuesday 21 February 1939, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model BB	Camera	1939	£10	2400	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Bristol Evening Post - Monday 01 May 1939, P21
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model K & PROJECTOR	Outfit	1939	£20	4800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Friday 26 May 1939, p11
Kodak	16mm	The Magazine Cine Kodak	Camera	1939	£40	9600	New	Brand advert	Illustrated London News - Saturday 08 July 1939, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Baby Cine Pathéscope	Projector	1939	£12	2880	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Newcastle Evening Chronicle - Tuesday 17 October 1939 P3
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1939	£10	2400	New	Specialist cine outlet	Mid Sussex Times - Tuesday 10 October 1939 P6
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8 f1.9	Camera	1939	£8	1920	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Manchester Evening News - Friday 27 October 1939, p13
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope model D	Projector	1939	£10	2400	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Belfast Telegraph - Friday 03 November 1939 P1
Coronet	9.5mm	Coronet Hand drive projector	Projector	1939	£5 5s	1260	new	Specialist cine outlet	Coventry Evening Telegraph - Saturday 16 December 1939, p3
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope Home 8	Projector	1939	£14 14s	3528	New	Specialist cine outlet	Coventry Evening Telegraph - Saturday 16 December 1939, p3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Vox Talkie	Projector	1939	£65	15600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Coventry Evening Telegraph - Saturday 16 December 1939, p3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Vox Talkie	Projector	1939	£45	10800	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Coventry Evening Telegraph - Saturday 16 December 1939, p3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope H	Projector	1940	£10 10s	2520	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Reading Standard - Friday 19 January 1940, p3
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1940	£14 14s	3528	New	Specialist cine outlet	Mid Sussex Times - Tuesday 16 January 1940, p6
Kodak	16mm	Model B Kodascope	Projector	1940	£20	4800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Chester Chronicle - Saturday 10 February 1940, p7
Kodak	16mm	Model B Kodascope	Projector	1940	£90	21600	New	Small ads/classified - private seller	Chester Chronicle - Saturday 10 February 1940, p7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Cine Camera	Camera	1940	£7 15s	1860	New	Specialist cine outlet	South Yorkshire Times and Mexborough & Swinton Times - Saturday 27 April 1940, p3
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Magazine	Camera	1940	£17 10s	4200	Second hand	Specialist cine outlet	Express and Echo - Saturday 08 June 1940, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Magazine	Camera	1940	£40	9600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Express and Echo - Saturday 08 June 1940, p1
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8 Outfit	Outfit	1940	£36 10s	8760	new	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Friday 30 August 1940, p2
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8 Outfit	Outfit	1940	£26	6240	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Friday 30 August 1940, p2
Pathé	9.5mm & 16mm	Pathéscope H Universal model	Projector	1940	£12 10s	3000	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Saturday 23 November 1940, P1

Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope ACE	Projector	1940	£2 10s	600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette - Saturday 23 November 1940, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope H Cine CameraPathéscope B cine camera	Camera	1940	£5 50s	1800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Tuesday 19 November 1940, p5, 147 Albert Road, Southsea)
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B and projector	Outfit	1940	£23	5520	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Courier - Thursday 21 November 1940, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak projector	Outfit	1941	£14	3360	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Saturday 03 May 1941, p1
	8mm		Camera	1941	£7 10s	1800	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Monday 19 May 1941, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B	Camera	1941	£12 10s	3000	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Saturday 13 September 1941, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Cine Camera	Camera	1941	£8 10s	2040	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Monday 15 December 1941, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Projector	Projector	1942	3 guineas	756	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Liverpool Echo - Saturday 21 March 1942, 1
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1942	8 guineas	2016	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Liverpool Echo - Saturday 21 March 1942, 1
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1942	£15 5s	3780	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Derby Daily Telegraph - Thursday 26 March 1942, p6
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1942	£18 5s	4380	New	Small ads/classified - private seller	Derby Daily Telegraph - Thursday 26 March 1942, p6
Kodak	16mm	Cine kodak modeal B	Camera	1942	£25	6000	New	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Wednesday 18 March 1942, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Cine camera	Camera	1942	65s	780	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Edinburgh Evening News - Saturday 25 April 1942, p6
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1942	£20	4800	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Monday 27 April 1942, p3
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodake 8	Projector	1942	£20	4800	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Saturday 04 April 1942, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak model 20 and kodascope	Outfit	1942	£45	10800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Worthing Gazette - Wednesday 26 August 1942, p8
Kodak	8mm	Cine kodak 8 outfit	Outfit	1942	£30	7200	New price	Small ads/classified - private seller	Surrey Advertiser - Saturday 10 October 1942, p7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope KID	Projector	1942	£6	1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Thursday 17 December 1942, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope	Projector	1942	£2	480	New	Small ads/classified - private seller	Shields Daily News - Thursday 24 December 1942, p6
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Camera	1943	£25	6000	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Morning News - Wednesday 13 January 1943, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak AND Kodascope	Outfit	1943	£25	6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Morning News - Thursday 14 January 1943, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé IMP	Projector	1943	50s	600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Chichester Observer - Saturday 13 February 1943, p4
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1943	£25	6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Wednesday 26 May 194311
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Baby Motocamera	Camera	1943	6 guineas	1512	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Liverpool Echo - Saturday 26 June 1943P1
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1943	£10	2400	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Surrey Advertiser - Saturday 27 November 1943, p7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope kid	Projector	1943	£5	1200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Monday 20 December 1943, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1943	£6	1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Lynn Advertiser - Friday 31 December 1943, P1
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak model 8	Camera	1943	£12	2880	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Portsmouth Evening News - Saturday 11 December 1943, p7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1944	£4 15s	1140	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Wednesday 05 January 1944, P2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1944	£30	7200	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Liverpool Echo - Tuesday 25 January 1944, p2
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1944	£25	6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Saturday 01 January 1944, p1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope 200 B	Projector	1944	£50	12000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Tuesday 04 January 1944, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope Talkie	Projector	1944	£95	22800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Derby Daily Telegraph - Saturday 01 January 1944, p7
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak	Outfit	1944	£50 77s	12924	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Monday 07 February 1944, p1
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak mdel b	Camera	1944	£30	7200	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Birmingham Mail - Thursday 11 May 1944, P2
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8mm	Projector	1944	£27 10s	6600	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Manchester Evening News - Tuesday 09 May 1944, p6

Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Model b Motocamera	Camera	1944	£8		1920	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Reading Standard - Friday 15 September 1944, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak MODEL c AND Kodascope	Outfit	1945	£70		16800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer - Friday 02 March 1945, p4
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak b	Camera	1945	£15		3600	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Coventry Evening Telegraph - Monday 14 May 1945P7
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1945	£38		9120	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald - Friday 10 August 1945P8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Kid	Projector	1945	£6 10s		1560	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Belfast News-Letter - Tuesday 18 September 1945, P2
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1945	£50		12000	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Bedfordshire Times and Independent - Friday 21 September 1945P2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1945	£60		14400	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Friday 30 November 1945 P11
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé ACE	Projector	1945	£6		1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Lincolnshire Standard and Boston Guardian - Saturday 15 December 1945P3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope	Projector	1945	£15		3600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Burnley Express - Saturday 01 December 1945, P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Cine	Camera	1945	£10		2400	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Burnley Express - Saturday 01 December 1945, P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope h	Projector	1946	£17 10s		4200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Cheshire Observer - Saturday 02 March 1946P6
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model E	Camera	1946	£40		9600	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Tuesday 19 March 1946P2
Pathé	17.5mm	Pathéscope Talikie	Projector	1946	£40		9600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Norwood News - Friday 15 March 1946, p7
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope C projector	Projector	1946	£21		5040	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucester Citizen - Tuesday 14 May 1946P3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Motocamera	Camera	1946	£7		1680	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Nottingham Evening Post - Wednesday 08 May 1946P2
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope de lux	Projector	1946	£75		18000	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucester Citizen - Friday 24 May 1946P3
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8 Model 20	Camera	1946	£16		3840	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Wednesday 25 September 1946P11
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Outfit	1946	£100		24000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Monday 07 October 1946, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope ace	Projector	1946	£6		1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dover Express - Friday 13 December 1946, p12
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak and kodascop	Outfit	1946	£40		9600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Bradford Observer - Wednesday 11 December 1946, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathéscope 200b	Projector	1947	£30		7200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Daily Press - Thursday 02 January 1947, p2
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Magazine and Kodascope	Outfit	1947	£200		48000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Morning News - Tuesday 01 April 1947, p4
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1947	25 guineas		6300	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Daily Press - Thursday 08 May 1947, P3
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8 and Kodascope	Outfit	1947	£45		10800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucester Citizen - Friday 20 June 1947, p2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1947	£20		4800	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Tuesday 05 August 1947, p2
Pathé	17.5mm	Pathéscope Home Talkie	Projector	1947	£40		9600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Exeter and Plymouth Gazette - Friday 31 October 1947, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé KID	Projector	1947	45s		540	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	North Devon Journal - Thursday 13 November 1947, p2
		Cine Kodak BB JuniorCine Kodak Model K	Camera	1947	£25/£60		6000	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	North Devon Journal - Thursday 13 November 1947 (£25, p2)Gloucestershire Echo - Tuesday 18 November 1947, P2 (60)
Kodak	16mm									Gloucester Journal - Saturday 27 December 1947P9
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé Cine	Camera	1947	£5		1200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Saturday 03 January 1948, P2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope	Projector	1948	£7 10s		1800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Saturday 03 January 1948, P2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope	Projector	1948	£11		2640	New	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Saturday 03 January 1948, P2
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8 Cine	Projector	1948	£30		7200	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Monday 26 January 1948, p6
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope and Kodak 8 Cine	Outfit	1948	£60		14400	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Wednesday 14 January 1948, P2
Kodak	8mm	Cine kodak 8	Camera	1948	£12		2880	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Torbay Express and South Devon Echo - Tuesday 11 May 1948P2

Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak BB Junior	Camera	1949	£35		8400	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Friday 16 September 1949, p2
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope model d	Projector	1948	£27		6480	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Saturday 25 December 1948, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathecope 200b	Projector	1948	£28		6720	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Saturday 25 December 1948, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescrop B cine	Camera	1948	£6		1440	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Saturday 25 December 1948, p6
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak BB Junior	Camera	1948	£26		6240	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	The Scotsman - Saturday 25 December 1948, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe KID	Projector	1949	£3		720	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Thursday 13 January 1949, P2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe cine and pathescope	Outfit	1949	£25		6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Rugby Advertiser - Friday 28 January 1949 P7
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe gEM	Projector	1949	£37 10s		9000	New	Specialist cine outlet	Gloucester Citizen - Friday 14 January 1949, p8
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe H Cine Camera	Camera	1949	£28 13s 4d		6880	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Courier - Monday 24 January 1949, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope GEM	Projector	1949	£37 10s		9000	New	Specialist cine outlet	West Sussex Gazette - Thursday 03 February 1949, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope 200 b	Projector	1949	£44		10560	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Manchester Evening News - Wednesday 23 February 1949, p6
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope C	Projector	1949	£25		6000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Torbay Express and South Devon Echo - Wednesday 23 March 1949, P2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1949	£25		6000	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Tuesday 29 March 1949, p2
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope	Projector	1949	£28		6720	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Monday 25 April 1949, P2
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8 and Kodascope	Outfit	1949	£50		12000	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Gazette - Friday 17 June 1949, p6
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe film	Film	1949	7s 6d		90	New	Photographic chemist	Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail - Friday 25 November 1949, p11
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe Motocamera	Camera	1949	£12		2880	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Derby Daily Telegraph - Tuesday 29 November 1949, p11
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Magazine	Camera	1950	£90		21600	Second Hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucester Citizen - Monday 20 February 1950, p3
Kodak	8mm	Cine Kodak 8	Camera	1950	£25		6000	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Western Daily Press - Thursday 04 May 1950, p3
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope ACE	Projector	1950	£2 10s		600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Rugby Advertiser - Tuesday 18 July 1950, P1
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathe H Motocamera	Camera	1950	£20		4800	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Shields Daily News - Friday 22 September 1950, p10
Kodak	8mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1950	£10		2400	second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Friday 06 October 1950, p2
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope	Projector	1950	£30		7200	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Friday 06 October 1950, p2
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8	Camera	1950	£33		7920	New	Specialist cine outlet	Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser - Saturday 28 October 1950, p7
Bell & Howell	16mm	Bell and Howell	Projector	1950	£237 10s		57000	New	Specialist cine outlet	Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser - Saturday 28 October 1950, p7
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope 8	Projector	1950	£25		6000	nEW	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 10 November 1950, p5
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8	Projector	1950	£33		7920	New	Photographic chemist	Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser - Saturday 18 November 1950, P14
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope GEM	Projector	1950	£37 10s		9000	New	Photographic chemist	Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser - Saturday 18 November 1950, P14
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope ACE	Camera	1950	£10 17s 6d		2610	New	Photographic chemist	Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser - Saturday 18 November 1950, P14
Kodak	16mm	Kodascope and cine kodak	Outfit	1950	£60		14400	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Gloucestershire Echo - Tuesday 21 November 1950, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope projector	Projector	1950	£3		720	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Boston Guardian - Wednesday 08 December 1950, p2
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathescope	Projector	1950	£5 17s 6d		1410	New	Specialist cine outlet	Portsmouth Evening News - Friday 22 December 1950, p4
Pathé	9.5mm	Pathé talkie	Projector	1942	£65		15600	Second hand	Small ads/classified - private seller	Yorkshire Evening Post - Saturday 24 October 1942, P7
Kodak	8mm	Kodak 8	Projector	1949	£30		7200	New	Specialist cine outlet	West Sussex Gazette - Thursday 03 February 1949, p1
Birtac	17.5mm	Birtac	Outfit	1899	£10 10s		2520	New		
Biokam		Biokam	Outfit	1899	£6 6s		1512	New		
Kodak	16mm	Cine Kodak Model B	Camera	1950	£52 10s		12600	New	Specialist cine outlet	Dundee Evening Telegraph - Friday 30 June 1950, p5

Filmography

The items included in this filmography represent the archival records consulted for this thesis. As archival objects many of the naming conventions do not translate readily to MHRA style and therefore I have endeavoured to make a distinction between archive objects (the film itself) and archival records (the entry created within the catalogue), both are listed here.

Citations in footnotes for films and collections of films will be included as follows:

Collection level entries are included as:

'[AV reference number] [Collection title] | [Archive name] | Collection'

Item level entries:

'[AV reference number] [Item title] | [Archive name] | Film', Date

In text references will, where possible, will be given as such:

Film Name (date)

If relevant these in-text references will be accompanied by a footnote that gives the full details as described above.

Citations for archival records (the entry created within the catalogue) for a collection of films are given as:

'[AV reference number] [Collection title] | [Archive name] | Catalogue Entry'

Citations for archival records (the entry created within the catalogue) for single film items are given as:

'[AV reference number] [Item title] | [Archive name] | Catalogue Entry'

AV	4/1	<i>Alfred West: Masonic Ceremony, Foundation Stone St Matthew's Church (1902)</i> WFSA Film
AV	5	Bealing Films WFSA Catalogue Entry
AV	5	Bealing Films WFSA Catalogue Entry
AV	5/4	<i>Bealing Films: Black and White Film (1946-48)</i> WFSA Film
AV	5/4	<i>Bealing Films: Black and White Film (1946-48)</i> WFSA Film
AV	14	Torrens Films WFSA Collection'
AV	14/10	<i>Torrens Films: Retribution (1931)</i> WFSA Film
AV	14/2	<i>Torrens Films: The Hand of Fate (1933)</i> WFSA Film
AV	14/4	<i>Torrens Films: The Broken Swastika (1932)</i> WFSA Film
AV	14/6	<i>Torrens Films: Where Bournemouth Dances (1931)</i> WFSA Film
AV	18/384	<i>Past and Present: Salisbury Films (BBC South Today) (1996)</i> WFSA Film
AV	39	Richardson of Winchester Films WFSA Collection
AV	43	Fritchley Films WFSA Collection
AV	43/10	<i>Fritchley Films: America and Canada, Parts 1 and 2 (1937)</i> WFSA Film
AV	43/11	<i>Fritchley Films: Royal Wedding: Princess Marina (1937)</i> WFSA Film
AV	43/16	<i>Fritchley Films: Southsea Model Railway and Canoe Lake (1937)</i> WFSA Film
AV	43/22	<i>Fritchley Films: Coronation Part 2 (1953)</i> WFSA Film

AV 43/23 *Fritchley Films: Elizabeth Is Queen* (1953) | WFSA | Film

AV 43/3 *Fritchley Films: George VI Coronation* (1937) | WFSA | Film

AV 43/4 *Fritchley Films: Portsdown Hill Fair* (1930) | WFSA | Film

AV 43/6 *Fritchley Films: Fox Hunt Meet at Fair Oak (Hampshire)* (1930) | WFSA | Film

AV 43/9 *Fritchley Films: George V Jubilee* (1937) | WFSA | Film

AV 57/1 *Gosport War Memorial Hospital, Laying the Foundation Stone* (1921) | WFSA | Film

AV 90/6 *Plaster of Paris* (1913) | WFSA | Film

AV 100 Worley of Portsmouth Films | WFSA | Collection

AV 100/1 *Worley Films: The Southsea Review* (1938) | WFSA | Film

AV 104 Horton of Minstead Films | WFSA | Collection

AV 159 *Mayoral Procession to Romsey Abbey* (1913) | WFSA | Film

AV 176 Mrs Campbell's Films | WFSA | Catalogue Entry

AV 176/3 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 3* Reel 3 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1930s)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/4 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 6* Reel 6 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/5 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 5* Reel 5 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. D. Campbell) [...] (1932)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/7 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 7* Reel 7 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis & His Daughter Mrs D Campbell in the 1930s [...] (1931)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/18 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 18* Reel 18 a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr. W. Craven- Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs. Campbell) in [...] (1932-1933)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/29 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 29* Reel 29 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1937)* | WFSA | Film

AV 176/38 *MRS CAMPBELL'S FILMS, REEL 38* Reel 38 of a Collection of Amateur Films Taken by the Late Mr W Craven-Ellis and His Daughter (Mrs D Campbell) [...] (1938)* | WFSA | Film

AV 180/15 *Veale Films: Events in 1937 (Southampton Museum Films)* (1937) | WFSA | Film

AV 180/B1 Bealing Films: Southampton Museum Films | WFSA | Collection

AV 254 Congleton of Minstead | WFSA | Collection

AV 260 Turner Films: Victory Day in Romsey and India Scenes | WFSA | Catalogue Entry

AV 260/1 *Colourful Romsey* (1946-1957) | WFSA | Film

AV 335 King's Royal Rifle Corps/Rifle Brigade Films: World War One Trenches* | WFSA | Collection

AV 343 Granville Soames Films | WFSA | Collection

AV 343/13 *Alaska* (1939) | WFSA | Film

AV 343/14 *Pacific 1* (1938-1939) | WFSA | Film

AV 343/15 *Pacific 2* (1939) | WFSA | Film

AV 343/16 *Africa* (1947) | WFSA | Film

AV 343/18 *Dunrobin Castle* (1930-1960) | WFSA | Film

AV 343/22 *Cavalcade of War* | WFSA | Film

AV 343/27 *British Pathé, AV343/27 Churchill's Grandson Christened* (1947) | WFSA | Film

AV 409/6 *Prall Films: Mayoral Films - Assize Judges at Cathedral* (1950s) | WFSA | Film

AV 414 Glasspool of Alton Films | WFSA | Collection

AV 509 Eda Moore | WFSA | Collection

AV 509/3 *Eda Moore Films: Salisbury Then and Now* (1963) | WFSA | Film

AV 509/4 *Eda Moore Films: Salisbury Through the Seasons* (1935-1970) | WFSA | Film

AV 509/14 *Eda Moore Films: Heart of England - in Place, Time and Spirit* (1950s) | WFSA | Film

AV 509/37 *Sails Set for Africa, Part 1* (1934) | WFSA | Film

AV 509/38 *Sails Set for Africa, Part 2* (1934) | WFSA | Film

AV 526	Amateur Film[s] Taken by Molly [Elizabeth] Coleman and Commercial Film about Royal Tour of South Africa (1930s) WFSA Collection
AV 548/1	<i>Southampton - Hampshire Boy Scouts Rally</i> (1912) WFSA Film
AV 577	Portsmouth Film Society WFSA Collection
AV 577/1	<i>What's in a Name?</i> (1938) WFSA Film
AV 587	Totton: Regent Film Society WFSA Collection
AV 587/1	<i>Elizabeth Tudor</i> (1936) WFSA Film
AV 615	Totton Film Society WFSA Collection
AV 691	Braishfield - Bacon Films WFSA Collection
AV 691/1	<i>Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1950s) WFSA Film
AV 691/2	<i>Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1950s) WFSA Film
AV 691/3	<i>Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1950s) WFSA Film
AV 691/7	<i>Italy/Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1930s) WFSA Film
AV 691/8	<i>Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1930s-1950s) WFSA Film
AV 691/19	<i>Braishfield - Bacon Films</i> (1940s) WFSA Film
AV 1119	Lindfield Films WFSA Collection
AV 1291	Lymington Camera Club WFSA Collection
AV 1549	Ridgway Family Films WFSA Collection

British Pathé

British Pathé, *Mary Churchill's Baby Christened* (1948) <<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/mary-churchills-baby-christened/query/churchills+grandson+christened>>

—, *Westerham*, 1948

<<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/westerham/query/churchills+grandson+christened>>

—, *Indian Village And Market*, 1934 <<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/indian-village-and-market/query/indian+market>>

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