

'British Landscapes in Pre-Second World War Film Publicity'

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A romanticised concept of pastoral life was widely established in British culture by the start of the twentieth century, having been popularised by, amongst others, the pre-Raphaelites as an 'idealised medieval vision'¹ since the late 1800s, and used as shorthand for the essence of the British national character, the pedigree of which was located in the 'green and pleasant fields' of the (mainly English) countryside. This conflation of land and identity circulated through popular, commercial forms and contexts for mass consumption - and there was no medium as potent or ubiquitous as the cinema. Film was able to transport its audience to actual, authentic locations, not mere pictorial or literary representations, and its bucolic depictions of the countryside ensured that it would be indelibly associated with the British landscape in the public consciousness.

As early as 1903, the *British Journal of Photography* would extol the benefits that the relatively new medium could offer to the portrayal of rural life, declaring

[What] would not the rural councils in our now almost depopulated agricultural districts give, if they could show in the neighbouring overcrowded towns animated photographs of English rural life and industries! Actual scenes from farm life would do more to reawaken the love of country life than the most eloquent and impassioned speeches.²

But it was the rapid increase in cinema building in the wake of the 1909 Cinematograph Films Act that helped to cultivate the development of film publicity and its appeals to

national identity, as distributors had to convince a far larger audience than before of the connection they shared with the characters on screen, and ensure that this message would transfer seamlessly to a variety of venues across the country. Thus, the landscape was often referred to, with its rural complexion presented as possessing almost mythic qualities, that were common to every person raised within the British Isles.

By the 1910s, regular features about film productions began to appear in publications other than the film trade press, initially via magazines directed at the theatregoing public. *Playgoer and Society Illustrated* began its regular series 'The Picture Playgoer', and these articles helped to disseminate similar ideas to those seen in pressbooks from the decade, whether independently or directly as a result of the content of the film company's publicity materials. The review of the artist Sir Hubert Herkomer's forays into filmmaking (he produced and directed *The Old Wood Carver* (1913) at Bushey) highlighted the scenery of his home where his films were set, which provided 'some perfect rural pictures', and *Playgoer's* approach to most British product followed a similar format.³ For example, the adaptation of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (Frank Wilson, 1913) as rendered by the Hepworth Manufacturing Company, was described as 'essentially English' and praised for its 'high-class style of photography...combined with the beautiful scenery of Surrey and Kent'.⁴ Likewise, it greeted the release of the London Film Company's adaptation of Arthur Conan Doyle's *The House of Temperley* (Harold Shaw, 1913) with great praise, declaring it to be 'perfect as possible in every detail', and effusively praising its 'national' qualities:

The story of “The House of Temperley,” as is well-known, is British from every point of view, and as it was enacted amid English surroundings, with every national characteristic, its realism was complete.⁵

As filmmakers and critics were still striving to establish cinema as a respectable form of entertainment, there were many reviews of this nature which highlighted what was perceived to be the defining quality of film - the realism or authenticity of the images portrayed on screen. Pressbooks would often refer to location filming as if it was an indicator of merit, with the implication that the more ‘realistic’ the setting, the more authentically British it was.

This approach was adopted even for films that did not fall within the complementary confines of historical or literary adaptation, such as George Pearson’s *Ultus, The Man From the Dead* (1915), which in its pressbook had its rural surroundings presented as emblematic of its ‘Britishness’, and integral to its commercial appeal. A section describing the film’s locations argued that “British” is stamped all over it. One part of the country has provided the desert scenes; another the wonderful scenery among the hills.⁶ This theme was maintained in the publicity for the film’s sequel, *Ultus and the Grey Lady* (George Pearson, 1917), which highlighted ‘Delightful settings on the tranquil upper reaches of the Thames and on drowsy Cornish hills and dales, [which] furnish agreeable backgrounds to many of the incidents.’⁷ The ideology present in publicity like this clearly permeated the trade press, with, for example, *The Cinema* describing *The Gay Lord Quex* (Maurice Elvey, 1917) as ‘notable for some quite exceptional outdoor scenes’, arguing that its ‘glorious old English gardens, and some fine river scenes, will still more heighten its thoroughly English atmosphere.’⁸

While many of these examples were merely subtly suggestive allusions to the importance of the countryside to the British character, others, such as the pressbook for *The Manxman* (George Loane Tucker, 1916), sought to make this connection explicit. Set on the Isle of Man, the film's marketing began with the familiar notion of a simple, quaint rural idyll, describing how 'The people of the island live very simply, and there is surprisingly little difference in the manner of living between the upper and lower classes.'⁹ But this theme was developed further, conflating the initial location search into an evocation of the British race:

For nearly a year little actual production was done. The time being spent in studying not only the different parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, but in becoming steeped in the atmosphere, environment and psychology of the different races, that warring in the past have united their blood, and whose descendants are the product of invasion and conquest of the Briton, by Angle, Saxon, Dane and Norman French. The modern Briton in different parts of the United Kingdom clings extraordinarily to racial characteristics of the original stock.¹⁰

It is interesting that an island with a complex relationship with British national identity was portrayed in this way, yet, for a film that was potentially a problematic commercial proposition for the distributor, this attempt to draw parallels between the heritage of the island and the wider United Kingdom was one method of attracting an audience throughout Britain. It said to the public that the characters and stories they were seeing on the screen had relevance to their own lives, and as the British landscape was a universal

feature of this audience's daily experience, it was regularly employed by publicists as a metaphor for a national commonality.

On occasion, 'Britishness' would be supplanted by individual British national identities, such as in the pressbook for *A Welsh Singer* (Henry Edwards, 1915), which described the film's main protagonist, Mifanwy, as possessing

the wonderful voice that seems nature's gift to so many of the daughters of Wales, and while tending to her sheep on the wind-swept slopes it was her delight to sing - unheard though she might be save for the distant hills, the mists, majestic Snowdon.¹¹

However, the format followed – that of the presentation of the ethereal, timeless qualities of the environment – were identical to the portrayals of other landscapes identified as 'British', and was reinforced in reviews of the film, with *The Bioscope* arguing that

The various camera studies, so beautifully arranged and reproduced, which are a leading feature of the film throughout, are never introduced for their own sake alone, but serve a legitimate purpose by intensifying the emotional force of the situation in which the players and scenario writer have equal shares.¹²

A Welsh Singer was also indicative of the trend throughout the teens to attempt to situate the characteristics of this enduring 'stock' in an individual feamle character, who would embody the inherent qualities of the rural landscape she inhabited. And as these

promotional techniques developed, publications like *Nash's and Pall Mall* magazine would run feature articles which sought to impose the same qualities associated with the British landscape onto the actresses themselves, not just the characters they portrayed. These articles quoted stage actresses who had begun to work in film, and explored the perceived heightening of reality that filming on location was said to produce. Mary Manners, in a piece titled 'The Drama of Reality', was quoted as saying

[The] photo-drama is nearer to nature than any spoken play, placed in ever so real a setting. The reality of the scenes in which the cinema players move and have their being, the enormous variety of places in which the action can be worked, and the knowledge on the part of the spectator that he is looking upon actualities, all contribute to the cinema's fascination.¹³

Even Sarah Bernhardt, describing her new role in a film version of *Jeanne Doré*, said

I like it better even than the stage...In the first place I have always had a great aversion to shams – on the stage, as elsewhere. I have always wanted things to bear close inspection. I prefer always the real. Tinsel or any tawdry glitter always offended my taste. In moving picture work it is possible to employ real scenery. It is superb. In all moving picture art the scenery can be actual.¹⁴

While this link between authenticity and the 'new style' of film acting was not unique to Britain – a similar process took place in Germany during the 1910s with its film critics and

actors – what was different about the British experience was how this was linked so often to the landscape.¹⁵ And once this notion was established, any female character that did not conform could be presented as representing the dangers of the city, and the superficial pleasures that it entailed. Thus, *The Lure of Crooning Water* (Arthus Rooke, 1920) would present these threats as embodied by Georgette Verlaine (Ivy Duke), an actress from London who is sent by her doctor to Crooning Water Farm to convalesce, only to tempt the farm owner, Horace Dornblazer into an affair. A special supplement to Stoll's Editorial News, dedicated to *Crooning Water*, described her first arrival at the estate in glowing terms, in contrast to Georgette's diffidence:

The station for Crooning Water was a little wayside halting place, down where the flowers grew and the sweet breath of the countryside laved all with health and brightness. But the pampered darling sitting by a pile of trunks on the platform had no eyes for beauty, no sense of smell for the redolent air.¹⁶

However, over time Georgette learns to value what the farm has to offer, but the potential she has to usurp the simple lifestyle of Horace and his family is ever-present:

Gradually, the girl began to appreciate the country and its quiet life. The busy life of the farm brought unwonted interests and the morning at Crooning Water was morning not noon. Georgette was wise enough to realise that she was benefitting and she remembered, too, that she was a woman, that this taciturn man gave her no thought. That was a challenge to her witchery.¹⁷

Horace leaves his wife and follows Georgette to London, only to be rebuffed after witnessing her at a supper in which ‘the lady did not comport herself as he expected Georgette to do’.¹⁸ Georgette is revealed, like the landscape she originates from, as *uncultivated*, and Horace returns to Crooning Water to be reconciled with his wife and the honest, unpretentious rural lifestyle the film’s marketing portrayed.

Of course, there were already several notable examples of female characters in British art and literature who had been explicitly associated with the rural environment, from Cathy in Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* (1847), via Millais’ *Ophelia* (1852), through to Hardy’s *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* (1891). Yet in the main, these women embodied the unpredictable and destructive forces of nature, in contrast to the tranquil and reassuring qualities that were projected in early film promotion. There were several factors that contributed to the latter portrayal, not least the reorganisation of traditional gender roles that took place during the interwar period, which was accompanied by an increasing sense of ‘male unease’ about the status of women in society.¹⁹ That women could be presented as passive, inextricably linked to a countryside that was pliable and suggestive of centuries of submission to male will, was one way of asserting the continuation of existing patriarchal systems. And as the majority of the cinema audience and readership of fan magazines was female, this was also a message to women, promising that an understated, homely private life would bring them happiness. By locating this domestic idyll in a rural environment that was largely unfamiliar to cinema’s predominantly urban audience, filmmakers and their publicity departments could employ the aspirational appeal of living in the countryside to affirm the importance of maintaining the status quo. In other words, in a world in which men were rapidly losing dominance, the old archetype of the wild, female free spirit ready to be tamed,

that had dominated British culture for centuries, was no longer sufficient. Instead, the authoritative male was removed from the equation and female audiences were encouraged, via a variety of wish-fulfilment narratives, to be the agents of their own capitulation.

Yet this was an approach doomed to failure, for as many contemporary British publications would lament, what most young British cinemagoers aspired to was to be found in American movies, which cast the urban, material pleasures most British films sought to disparage in a much more positive light. While much of Britain's cinematic output followed suit and shifted towards more urban productions by the 1920s, there remained a small number of filmmakers, roughly bracketed together as part of a 'pictorialist' movement, who continued to produce films in a rural setting which espoused traditional 'British' values. Cecil Hepworth was the leading figure of this approach, having developed his style since the early days of British cinema into a distinctive poetic approach. With his *Alf's Button* (Cecil Hepworth, 1920), *Tansy* (Hepworth, 1921), *The Pipes of Pan* (Cecil Hepworth, 1923), and, most importantly, *Comin' Thro' the Rye* (Cecil Hepworth, 1923) he forged a place for this style in the British cinematic consciousness. *Comin' Thro' the Rye's* pressbook declared that Hepworth had 'captured the true spirit of the story, and depicted the romantic story in authentic costumes of the period in settings that are beautiful beyond words.'²⁰ The front cover was adorned with a striking still of Alma Taylor as Helen Adair, surrounded by a vast field of rye and once more making explicit the connection between the natural landscape and femininity. The rapturous reviews were also eager to emphasise the film's rural authenticity, with the American fan magazine, *Photoplay*, explaining to its readers that 'For this production six acres of rye were especially grown.'²¹ For *The Cinema*, the 'charm of the settings' were an integral part of a 'perfect whole',²² and

Pictures and Picturegoer went even further, exploring the possibility that Hepworth's approach might herald a fresh wave of films focusing on outdoor settings:

Producers are all beginning to wake up to the fact that natural backgrounds are more beautiful than anything the property man can devise. A fact that Cecil Hepworth has been demonstrating all his movie life.²³

Picturegoer's prediction proved to be false, with the financial collapse of Hepworth's company before the release of *Comin' Thro' the Rye* heralding the dominance of urban locations throughout British cinema in the latter half of the 1920s. Nonetheless, by the end of the decade, the main tropes of the representation of the rural landscape in British film publicity had been established, and would cast a long shadow over future portrayals of pastoral environments in the nation's cinema. Thus, even in the late 1920s, *A Cottage on Dartmoor* (Anthony Asquith, 1928) was presented as a film that was 'deliberately set in ordinary surroundings', although this appeal to authenticity extended to the film's metropolitan locales as well.²⁴ But the apparent verisimilitude offered by the British landscape would even encompass reproductions of foreign locations, as seen in the small boom in First World War dramas instigated by *The Battles of the Coronel and Falkland Islands* (Walter Summers, 1927) and *The Somme* (MA Wetherell, 1927). The pressbook for the latter highlighted the importance of terrain to the production's authenticity, describing it starkly as about 'mud, guns, men', and noting that the mud featured in the film had to be specially manufactured.²⁵ But the significance of the landscape to the film's realism was identified on the pressbook's final page:

Many of the very big scenes were filmed on the actual ground where the incidents happened, whilst where this was found to be impossible...exact replicas of the country were sought and found in England.²⁶

By the end of the decade, the 1927 Cinematograph Films Act would help to foster not only an indigenous industry, but also an influx of foreign capital and personnel, who were keen to establish the 'Britishness' of their productions in the face of intense pressure from critics and unions, concerned about the erosion of national identity and the number of jobs available to British-born workers. Importantly, by emphasising those aspects of 'Britishness' that had the greatest cultural capital and international commercial appeal, these filmmakers often turned towards stories that lent themselves to exploitation as products of British heritage, and which featured the British landscape prominently. As the owner of the largest filmmaking concern in Thirties Britain, Alexander Korda's London Films was the most explicit in this respect. But despite successful 'historical' films such as *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (Alexander Korda, 1933), it was not until the opening of Korda's Denham Studios in 1936 that British cinema would return to producing a range of lushly photographed films ostensibly set in the British countryside. These locations were promoted as integral to the films' 'Britishness', often in the form of 'filmgrams' - short souvenir booklets for fans that were distributed on the release of a new production. Thus, London Films' pastoral drama *South Riding* (Victor Saville, 1938), would feature in its filmgram a section entitled 'Yorkshire on the Screen', which explained that the fictional location of South Riding was the 'only synthetic part of the picture'.²⁷ Victor Saville was praised for creating a 'Yorkshire of convincing reality', and the reader was advised that 'this intense realism will come as a refreshing tonic to audiences over the world'.²⁸

Similar sentiments were presented throughout the filmgrams, with even films that were not strictly 'rural', legitimised by their connection to an 'authentic' British landscape. The first film produced by MGM-British and recorded at Denham, *A Yank at Oxford* (Jack Conway, 1938), even had the provenance of its artificially-created landscapes identified for fans. In a section entitled 'Supplying Turf For Films', its filmgram explained that in the two years prior to the film's release, 'more than 25,000 pieces of turf [had] been used for garden and woodland settings in British films made at Denham'.²⁹ In the case of *A Yank at Oxford*, 3000 turves had been used to create the grass court in the set of the Oxford college quadrangle, and it was made explicit that this had been sourced from a local horticultural firm based in Middlesex. And just in case the reader was in any doubt as to the authenticity of similar scenes filmed at the studio, they were assured that artificial turf had 'never been used in any Denham production'.³⁰ This claim to authenticity, once established and reinforced throughout the range of Denham promotional material, could be applied to a number of films produced by the studio, and provide its output with an integrity and prestige lacking in other indoor studio-bound productions. More importantly, it could also help to assert the 'British' qualities of productions that had an international cast and crew and hence, a controversial position within the the British film industry.

This type of promotion would be adopted wholesale by the popular fan magazines, which would also embrace the conflation of femininity with the British landscape that was developed during the teens. For example, the *Film Weekly* supplement promoting MGM's *The Citadel* (King Vidor, 1939) depicted the lead actress, Rosalind Russell, sitting by the banks of the River Colne, her arms held aloft and surrounded by the picturesque beauty of the Denham countryside. Despite being American, the supplement's profile followed the same format as those of her British antecedents; first, the establishing of Russell's star

status, as in the description of her as possessing 'all the physical qualifications of a glamour queen', followed by the suggestion that she 'gladly - even eagerly - shed her customary smartness to play the cheaply dressed village schoolteacher', her character in *The Citadel*. The reader was once again left in no doubt as to Russell's personality, being informed that she was 'that kind of a girl - down to earth, level-headed, free from false ideas.'³¹ Actresses were meant to be glamorous, but not too remote from the lives of the average reader, and these down-to-earth qualities were ideally represented by the image of the British countryside, as rendered by Denham Studios and the filmmakers who worked there. But crucially, this also represented the increased blurring of distinctions between reality and film in these publications, and the further merging of the identities of the star and her character.

However, perhaps the most interesting development of this type of portrayal in the late Thirties was how it began to be employed for profiles of male British stars too. This is most prominent in the portrayals of Robert Donat and Leslie Howard from the end of the decade. For example, in the *Film Weekly* supplement for *The Citadel*, the reader was presented with an image of Donat knee-high in the River Colne, actively enjoying some fishing, which the reader was told was one of his 'few sports'. This depiction of Donat as an active man of nature, at one with the environment, was integral to the studio's desire to cast him as a dynamic, romantic hero, yet it also served to ground him, and make him accessible to the public in much the same way as had been employed with Russell and a number of British actresses previously. Similar to this was the two-page photo-spread dedicated to Leslie Howard in *South Riding's* filmgram, in which he was shown 'off-duty', outside his countryside residence, tending to his flowers in an inset image and inspecting his horses at their stables. He is portrayed, like Donat, as the active man of the earth,

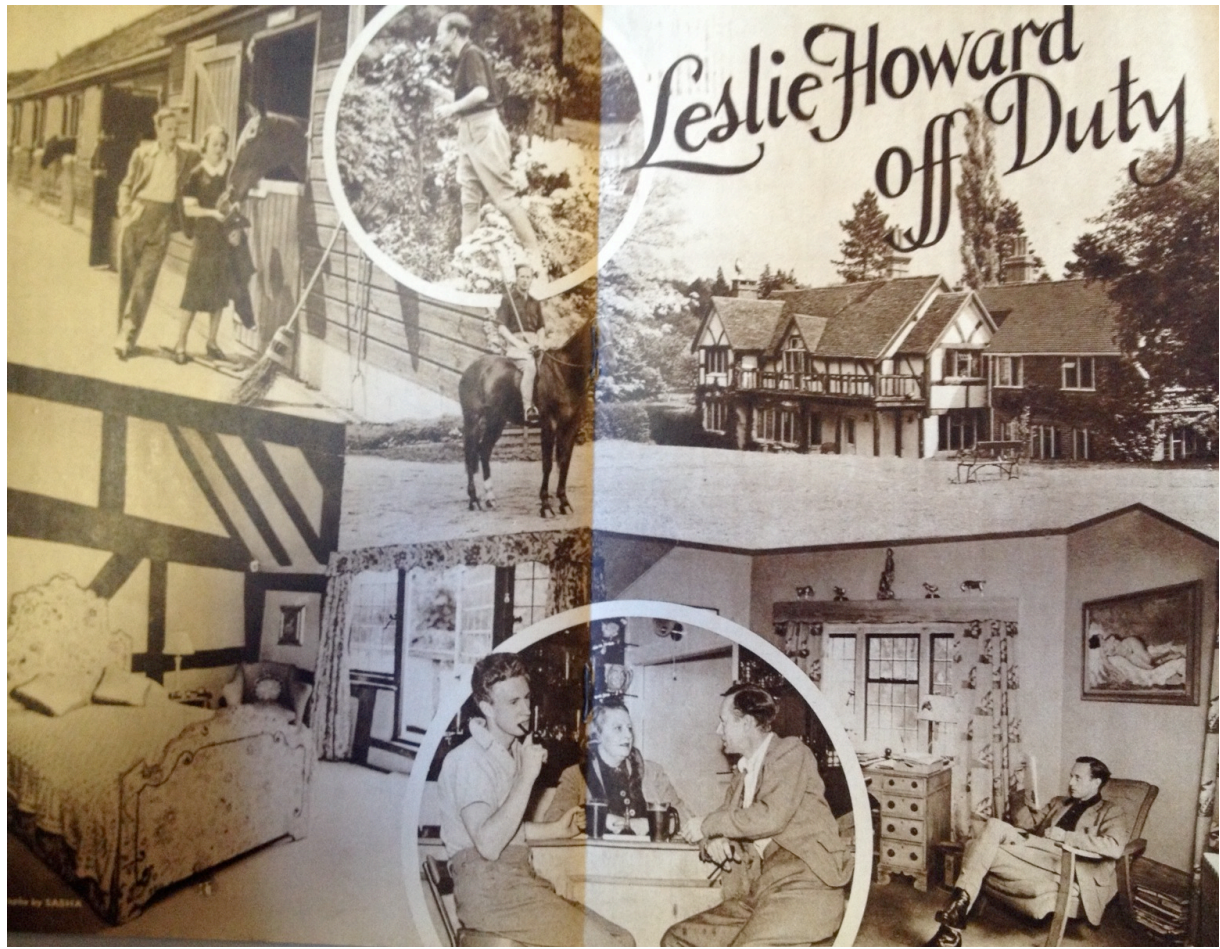


Figure 1: Filmgram for *South Riding*

never happier than when at one with nature. Of course, this representation differed from the more passive connection with the pastoral ascribed to actresses in British films, but nonetheless continued to emphasise the equation between the landscape and authentic British life.

The link between male British characters and dynamic British landscapes was also apparent in the promotion of two films from the Thirties which portrayed the literal and metaphorical outskirts of the British Isles, *Man of Aran* (Robert Flaherty, 1934) and *The Edge of the World* (Michael Powell, 1937). Both drew on the notions of authenticity that had been employed by the marketing of other British films, but in contrast to the Arcadian fantasies of films like *Comin' Thro' the Rye*, the advertising for *Man of Aran* and *The Edge of the World* depicted man in direct confrontation with the landscape. The front covers of

the pressbooks for both productions featured images of the rocky cliffs of their respective islands, with *Aran* illustrating violent waves that dwarfed the protagonist, Colman King, seen in the distance.³² While Powell's film was a relatively low-key affair and was marketed very simply with a plot description, some stills and little else, *Aran's* marketing is particularly instructive, as its association with Gainsborough Studios ensured that the pressbook was especially rich in detail and differed from the more prosaic approach taken by Powell's independent distributor. In the pressbook's plot synopsis for *Aran*, while the islanders lifestyle was described as primitive, the reader was informed that the 'joy of *real living*, however, was there' [my italics].³³ The notion of authenticity was once more directly linked to the land, yet in this portrayal, the relationship with the islander's 'desperate environment' was described as a 'fight from which he will have no respite until the end of his indomitable days'.³⁴ Likewise, the American pressbook continuously referred to the 'conflict between the rugged inhabitants of the rocky isle of Aran and the raging, unrelenting sea.'³⁵ While these films were of course partly about humans conquering inhospitable landscapes, the way these stories were depicted provided an interesting contrast to the serene countryside of rural Britain so often portrayed in British cinema, yet retaining much of its ideological direction, which emphasised the importance of the landscape to the British character. The potency of this portrayal can be seen in the later marketing of imperialistic fantasies, like Korda's Empire trilogy. It did not take a great leap of imagination to move from representations of man defeating natural obstacles in *Aran* and *Foula*, to the India or Sudan of *The Drum* (Zoltan Korda, 1938) and *The Four Feathers* (Zoltan Korda, 1939) respectively. In the promotion of films of this ilk, the British countryside was always implicit, presented as the calm, tranquil alternative to the wild, uncivilised locales of the British Empire.

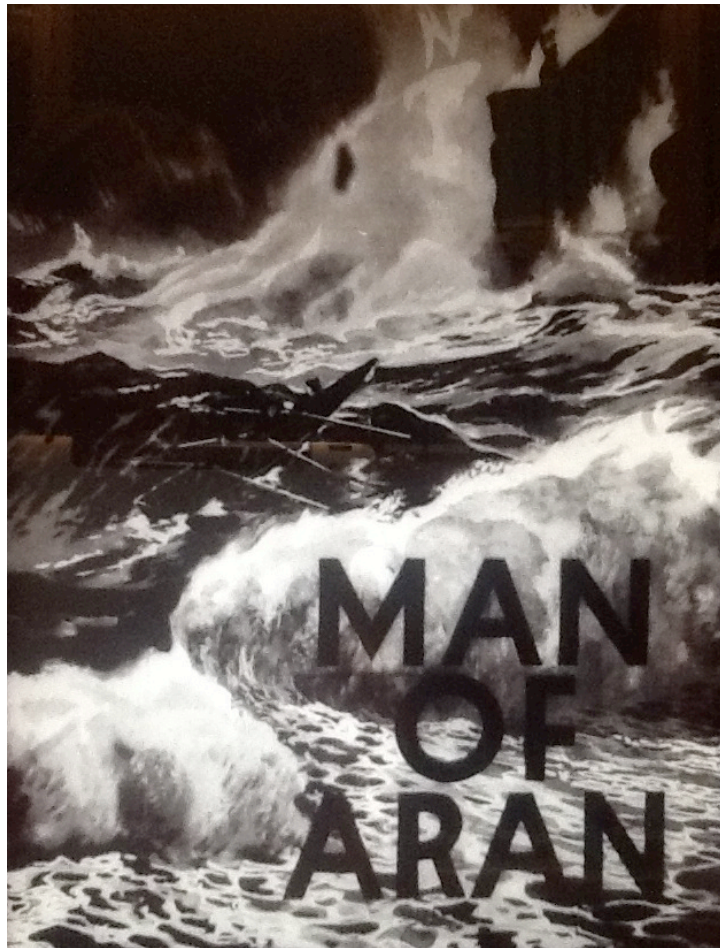


Figure 2: Pressbook for *Man of Aran*

Rural landscapes, as portrayed by pre-Second World War British film publicity, consisted of people who lived simply and naturally, and to whom material pleasures were inconsequential. While the city was presented as the place to make one's fortune, it was only back in the country where emotional life could be seen to blossom. Likewise, publicists began to conflate these landscapes with similar stereotypes about women, who were seen to embody these sentimental notions and hence, the enduring qualities of the British character. Once this conception was entrenched, then the reverse – that women from the city also embodied the threatening, shallow materialism of the urban environment – was also presented as true, building on the Madonna/whore dichotomy that while already established in popular culture, was in British film publicity systematically linked to notions of the British countryside. As these depictions began to focus more closely on male protagonists, this environment was reconfigured as less peaceful, which enabled

characters to demonstrate their vigour in the process of taming nature. By appealing to the 1930s Hollywood trend for dynamic masculine leads, British film publicists were able to attract a wide audience while adding uniquely British characteristics to this conception. As in its British literary and artistic precedents, it was the qualities of the rural landscape which asserted this 'Britishness'. That the portrayals of this landscape in modern British film publicity maintains much of the character of these early approaches, is a testament to the potency of these notions, which while having a long lineage in British culture, were cultivated and developed throughout the opening decades of the twentieth century.

¹ D. Lowenthal (October 1991), 'British National Identity and the English Landscape', *Rural History*, 2: 2, p. 213.

² Anon (10 July 1903) 'The Application of Animated Photography to Science and Education', *The British Journal of Photography*, p. 26.

³ Ariel (October 1913) 'The Picture Playgoer', *Playgoer and Society Illustrated*, 9: 49, p. 32.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ariel (November 1913) 'The Picture Playgoer', *Playgoer and Society Illustrated*, 9: 50, p. 71.

⁶ British Film Institute (BFI): James Anderson Collection: Pressbook for *Ultus, The Man From the Dead* (George Pearson, 1915).

⁷ BFI: James Anderson Collection: Pressbook for *Ultus and the Grey Lady* (George Pearson, 1917).

⁸ The National Archives: Public Record Office: HO 45/10955/312971.

⁹ BFI: James Anderson Collection: Pressbook for *The Manxman* (George Loane Tucker, 1916).

¹⁰ Ibid.

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- ¹¹ BFI: Pressbook for *A Welsh Singer* (Henry Edwards, 1915).
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ M. Manners (December 1914) 'The Drama of Reality', *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine*, 54: 260, pp. 342-43.
- ¹⁴ S. Bernhardt (January 1915) 'The Divine Sarah on Cinema', *Nash's and Pall Mall Magazine*, 55: 261, p. 572.
- ¹⁵ M. Silberman, 'Soundless Speech, Wordless Writing: Language and German Silent Cinema', *Imaginations*, <http://www.csj.ualberta.ca/imaginations/?p=181> (Accessed 16 May 2012).
- ¹⁶ BFI: Anon (12 February 1920) 'The Lure of Crooning Water', *Stoll's Editorial News*.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ J. Greenfield, S. O'Connell & C. Reid (1999), 'Fashioning Masculinity: *Men Only*, Consumption and the Development of Marketing in the 1930s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 10: 4, p. 459.
- ²⁰ BFI: James Anderson Collection: Publicity material for *Comin' Thro' the Rye* (Cecil Hepworth, 1923).
- ²¹ H. Howe (4 March 1924) 'Close-Ups & Long Shots', *Photoplay*, 25: 4, p. 54.
- ²² BFI: James Anderson Collection: Publicity material for *Comin' Thro' the Rye*.
- ²³ M. Mayne (January 1924) 'The New Masters', *Pictures and Picturegoer*, 7: 37, p. 41.
- ²⁴ BFI: Nasreen Kabir Collection: Publicity Material for *A Cottage on Dartmoor* (Anthony Asquith, 1928).
- ²⁵ BFI: Pressbook for *The Somme* (MA Wetherall, 1927).
- ²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Hillingdon Local Studies Archive (HLSA): Filmgram for *South Riding* (Victor Saville, 1938).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ HLSA: Filmgram for *A Yank at Oxford* (Jack Conway, 1937)

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Anon (4 March 1939), 'The Citadel' *Film Weekly Supplement*, p. 11.

³² BFI: Pressbook for *The Edge of the World* (Michael Powell, 1939).

³³ BFI: Pressbook for *Man of Aran* (Robert Flaherty, 1937).

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ BFI: American Pressbook for *Man of Aran*.