Toulmin, Vanessa. "This is a local film': The Cultural and Social Impact of the Mitchell & Kenyon Film Collection." *The Public Value of the Humanities*. Ed. Jonathan Bate. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. 87–102. The WISH List. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849662451.ch-007>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 12:22 UTC.

Copyright © Jonathan Bate and contributors 2011. You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

7. 'This is a local film': The Cultural and Social Impact of the Mitchell & Kenyon Film Collection

Vanessa Toulmin (University of Sheffield)

'In 1994, the history of British film changed for ever. In fact, British history as a whole would never look the same again. In a basement in Blackburn, Lancashire, three metal drums were discovered, containing more than 800 reels of original camera negatives of films languishing unseen since 1922. The past was about to be reinvented': so wrote Christopher Wood in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* on 1 July 2005, reporting on the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection. This is the story behind the discovery and how the unimagined popularity of the BBC2 series *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon*, broadcast in January 2004, together with the public engagement undertaken by the British Film Institute (bfi) and the National Fairground Archive (NFA), helped to reinterpret the first decade of the twentieth century.

Before the creators of the television series 'The League of Gentlemen' and the fictional village of Royston Vasey popularized the idea of the 'local town for local people' through their anarchic view of the vales of Derbyshire, a small film company from Blackburn called Mitchell & Kenyon were sending out cameramen to shoot local views of towns and villages across Edwardian Britain. From 1900 to 1913 they filmed the men, women and children of the time so that cinematograph showmen could reveal a new novelty – moving pictures. The footage that survived to become known as the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection is now a treasure trove of international importance that reveals snapshots of the working class at work and play, watching football (both association and rugby), participating in civic and religious events, and enjoying a range of other leisure activities. Individually, these long lost and forgotten films can be described as vignettes capturing fragments of larger and more complex events, but on a more human scale the modern audience response to them is complex and emotional. The faces frozen on nitrate now gaze out at us a century later, revealing the secrets of Edwardian Britain. Described by historians as the lost generation, since so many of them died on the battlefields of the First World War, thanks to Sagar Mitchell and James Kenyon these dead souls are now forever captured in a celluloid tapestry of smiles, gestures, motion and poetic grace, ghosts of the past who beckon the modern viewer into the dawn of the twentieth century.

How were these ghosts brought back to life? What was the process that enabled fourteen million viewers to watch the BBC2 series 'The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon'?¹ Why did the material release such an emotional response

Figure 7.1 Frame stills from the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, British Film Institute, and flyers for touring shows from 2005 to 2008. © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

Figure 7.2 Cover of BBC2 series 'The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon', released in April 2005. © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

in the British public, and how were the films researched, contextualized and brought to life? This is my attempt as the curator and primary researcher of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection to answer these questions; to bring together the real story of the research, the collaboration and often frustrating journey behind the television series, and to demonstrate in the words of Italian art critic, Giovanni Morelli, that 'In people's faces there is always something of the history of their time, if one knows how to read it' (Burke 2001). This is the story of how we learned to read the faces of our grandparents' generation and how from 2001 onwards, with the aid of an Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) grant, the British Film Institute (the holders of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection) and the University of Sheffield's National Fairground Archive, we joined together with scholars, film archivists, historians and enthusiasts around the country to bring the treasures of the past back into the public domain.

The Mitchell & Kenyon Collection is now the third largest film collection in the world relating to the output of a single company from the early 1900s.² The Collection was acquired by the British Film Institute in June 2000 from Peter Worden, a local businessman in Blackburn who rescued the films, and

Figure 7.3 Child workers leaving Alfred Butterworth and Sons, Glebe Mills, Hollinwood (1901). © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

researched by my team at the University of Sheffield. Since then, numerous books (Toulmin *et al.* 2004; Toulmin 2006a), articles and DVDs have been produced on the Collection, and 40,000 copies of the DVDs have been sold.³ Millions of people have seen the films on television and, in venues from Sunderland to San Francisco, Leeds to Luxembourg, and Blackburn to Boston, over half-a-million cinema-goers have watched the films. The Collection is now internationally recognized as one of the world's most important visual records of Edwardian life and society, and it has been embraced by more than just the academic community, but by the public at large. Students have made their own films on YouTube in the style of Mitchell & Kenyon, modern bands such as In the Nursery and Lemon Jelly have written new soundtracks, and Flatpack Festival, an arts festival in Birmingham, commissioned new material from local band the Destroyers in 2009. A key to understanding why the material has been embraced by this atypical new audience is found in the words of Lemon Jelly's Fred Deakin who remarked, 'films like this are an emotional trigger – in song writing you tend to create your own brief and then try to fulfil it, but when you have the Mitchell & Kenyon films as a starting point it's already clear what your colours are' (Hodgkinson, 2006).

However, in the period between the rediscovery in 1995 and the AHRC-funded research project in 2001, the material was stored in a fridge in Blackburn and was generally regarded as inconsequential in the larger

picture of film archiving and scholarship. Indeed, the small number of films that were restored at great expense by Peter Worden were rarely seen outside the rarefied and elite surroundings of film festivals and conferences. At a time when Worden was trying to persuade the British Film Institute and the University of Sheffield to work on restoration of the collection, a representative of the Film Council, the lead agency for film in the United Kingdom, queried the relevance of acquiring and preserving non-fiction local material. Fortunately, such doubts did not kill off the project.

Once the Collection was safely at the National Film and Television Archive in Berkhamsted, an extensive programme of restoration and research collaboration was discussed, planned and timetabled for the next four years, with funding for restoration to come from the bfi and support for the research process from the University of Sheffield and the AHRC.⁴ It was essential that the two processes worked hand in hand, as without the restoration process the material would be inaccessible, but without the research process the newly restored material would go undated, with no location details or sense of how the 826 rolls of films could tell a story and were part of a larger picture. Only a small percentage of the material had any identifying features on the negatives, such as the name of a showman or a factory, or just a location or an abbreviated title of an event. In the case of the film of a Manchester United v Burnley football match, the date '6 December 02' was inscribed on the first frames of the negative. An extensive three-year research process funded by the AHRC was undertaken in 2001 in order to match the films to the events and locations. It was this funding that provided the key to unlocking the material, as the names and dates inscribed on the negatives directly related to the exhibition routes of travelling showmen who operated around the turn of the century.

The research trail

Tracing the showmen was relatively easy, since these larger than life personalities left a trail of advertising in local newspapers and on handbills, posters and programmes which were held by the National Fairground Archive. Linking these to the films and the locations became part of the research and two research assistants, one in the bfi and one in the NFA, scoured local archives, libraries, newspapers and private collections to put forward a pattern of exhibition that could lead to dates and locations, and then verification from the experts brought together for the project. As the working list of these dates, titles and possible locations was assembled, specialist historians and local enthusiasts came to the University of Sheffield to view the material and to help identify the content on the film, possible locations or to corroborate our findings.

One memorable afternoon saw the historians of Sunderland, Middlesbrough and Newcastle football clubs watching the local derby and reeling off the list of players, scores and match reports of games that had been played in 1901, 1902

and 1904. Programme collectors sent copies of match reports, as enthusiasts and die-hard football fanatics joined forces with academics and historians to help unlock the secrets in the newly restored material. A set of films showing Everton v Newcastle, which we believed to be from 1902, was actually two different matches played a year apart, proven because of the presence of burly centre forward Brian Appleyard, the Newcastle legend. Appleyard was spotted by Alan Candlish, the club historian. Elsewhere, the first sight of William 'Fatty' Foulkes, the Sheffield United goalkeeper, bringing his twenty stone mass to bear on a slightly built Bury centre forward brought cheers from the assembled football enthusiasts who came in their own time and at their own expense to help identify the players on screen.⁵

The Bradford City club historian verified that the 1903 title was the first home game ever played by the team in its newly reformed status as an association football club, formed when it switched from Northern Rugby Football Union (known as Northern Union) in 1902. As a thank you for his help, the bfi agreed to screen the Bradford v Gainsborough game to mark the club's centenary in September 2003. Five hundred supporters crowded into the National Museum of Photography in Bradford to see the films and laughed as they were told that Bradford not only lost the game but missed a penalty and had a man sent off! Tony Collins, the rugby league historian and Professor of the Social History of Sport at Leeds Metropolitan University,

Figure 7.4 The infamous Fatty Foulkes captured during Sheffield United v Bury (1902).

© Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

Figure 7.5 Hunslet players line up for the camera in *Hunslet v Leeds* (1901). © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

explained the complexities of the Northern Union games that were filmed less than five years after the great split that separated the two rugby codes forever, and rugby league historian Robert Gate located match reports and verified the dates of the matches.

Professor John Walton brought his immense knowledge of Blackpool and all things seaside to the project and also gave us the key to understanding the social context of the time with his detailed understanding of Lancashire and its industries. This sense of sharing of scholarship and research for the greater good occurred in all the specialist areas that were reflected in the Collection. The National Tramway Museum demonstrated that expert knowledge, attention to detail and contextual understanding could bring the material back to life: they dated a film purely by viewing a tram track and made us all honorary tram enthusiasts. Hundreds of individuals allied with a team of academics to provide the contextual background that would help illuminate the world and time that the animated figures sprung from.

'The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon'

The three-part television series that was commissioned by the BBC and produced in collaboration with the bfi directly benefited from this intensive two-year process as the material selected by the producers had already

been dated, contextualized and identified prior to their involvement. I was hired by the BBC as historical consultant and full access to the research project was granted for the purpose of identification and selection of material. However, as the research process was part of the story, it was agreed that dramatic reconstructions of some of the research visits could be portrayed by the presenter Dan Cruickshank, in order to aid the viewer's understanding of how the material had been dated. Although the BBC was not directly concerned in any aspect of the research process, because of these programmes the Collection achieved national status. The BBC brought added value to the project by interweaving the story of the films and the lives of individuals captured on camera; dramatizing personal stories was a good way to interpret the whole collection. The team from the BBC selected key individuals from the films and researched them by advertising in local newspapers, on regional television, in libraries and record offices with the intention of finding any living descendents. The grandchildren or children became living testimonies and the means of telling the story of the lives flickering in film. In addition, the BBC programmes showed the delicate nature of the archive and the scale of the investment in the Collection by the bfi in order for the films to be conserved and made available.⁶

By the end of its transmission, the three-part series had attracted over 14 million viewers, and was described by *Broadcast* magazine as 'an instant hit for BBC2' (Broadcast 2005), with subsequent repeats on BBC4 achieving audience figures of an average of 1.6 million per episode. Other reviewers referred to 'The Lost World' as the 'a near (if not parallel) equivalent to the finding of Tutankhamen's tomb or the Dead Sea Scrolls' (Jack 2005), with *The Times* critic commenting that 'they offer a startlingly vivid portrait of working class life in the North of England a century ago' (Chater 2005). The television series not only widened public access but created an insatiable public demand for more material than the two hours of actual archive footage used by the BBC. The Collection had indeed gone beyond the lecture theatre, the academy and the text, and, to paraphrase the filmmakers, the next stage of dissemination and public engagement had to be the 'local show for local people'.

'Local films for local people'

'Local films for local people', Mitchell & Kenyon's original advertising slogan from a 1900 handbill, provided the key to how the material could once again be revealed to what was and still is the core audience for the collection – local people. The local film was something that cinema historians had always known about and although it had aroused some academic scrutiny, on the whole this type of material was seen as merely a footnote in the canon of film scholarship. However, to the regional film archive the local is more than just a stepping stone: it is often the means by which an archive can engage with its public, as people

become increasingly occupied with and obsessed by the history of their families, their houses and their towns. This need to look back and seek a direct link to the past is the basis of the popularity of recent television series' such as 'Who Do You Think You Are?'. The personal story format as presented in 'The Lost World ...' was certainly part of the reason for its success with the viewers, alongside the stunning visual quality of the archival footage. However, the emotional impact aroused by the films was the cry of recognition when the viewer spotted images of their town or city or village. Such was the flood of interest by cinema owners, film societies and local history groups that the bfi and the NFA offered a selection of material that combined the touring programme with local views specifically tailored to each area. By the end of January 2005, it was clear that the original 12-venue programme would have to be increased. Five years and over 100 shows, lectures and presentations later, over 20,000 people have seen the films in their home town. Events have included the Liverpool Capital of Culture show in front

Figure 7.6 Programme for Mitchell & Kenyon in Liverpool, part of the City of Culture Programme of Events, St George's Hall, 13 May 2008. © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

of 800 people on 13 May 2008 at the St George's Hall, while 1,000 people in Blackburn attended a show in February 2010 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the local cinema. Ten per cent of the collection can be found on the bfi's own dedicated YouTube channel with the latest in Web2 technology enabling viewer comments and interaction between the institution and the end users.⁷

One of the highlights of the touring shows took place in Chorley in 2006. The Chorley Electric Palace, built in 1911, was the original venue where the films were once presented as part of the 1911 Coronation celebrations and 400 people packed into two sell-out shows to see views of local mills, church exits and the Coronation celebrations. Another memorable evening was the show created to help Oldham Rugby League Club to commemorate its history with a special showing in the local art gallery of the Oldham v Swinton match of 1901. Touring shows, complete with live commentary, played to packed houses in Sheffield, Derby, Bristol, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, Preston, Leicester, Stoke, Lancaster, Carlisle, Birmingham, Hull and other towns and cities, with audience participation being a memorable feature of each show. Faces, places and lost buildings were brought to life not only by the images on screen but also at the end of each screening through the local response and knowledge, during the question and answer session. These sessions were good opportunities to acquire additional information about the films. Locations were always familiar to the local audience, churches were

Figure 7.7 The 'hands' leaving work at North Street Mills, Chorley (1900). © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

Figure 7.8 Flyer for Mitchell & Kenyon show at the Grand Theatre, Blackpool, Sunday 13 January 2008. © Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, the British Film Institute

named, streets and roads identified, and the trajectory of the journey or angle filmed by Mitchell & Kenyon was as marvellous to the modern viewer as it would have been to the Edwardian audience. In addition, the questions posed by the audience at the end of the show became part of the wider research rationale for the Collection. Ultimately, the research became more about understanding the films as social and historical documents than merely the process of dating and naming a location.

For me, as curator and primary researcher, the local shows became the highlight of the project and it became apparent that the audience needed to feel part of the performance. The project was not about academics presenting their findings but more about engagement and knowledge exchange; in return for seeing the films, local people provided intimate knowledge of the area and its stories that brought the material to life. Sheffield was once again seen in its prewar splendour before the 1960s development changed the city and reactions ranged from amazement at the splendour of the Edwardian cities to shock at seeing thousands of mill girls in East Lancashire with their heads covered. A rendition of the old football chant 'who ate all the pies' rang out from the audience in Sheffield as the aforementioned goalkeeper 'Fatty' Foulkes once again patrolled the nets at Bramall Lane. Sometimes the films

appeared particularly topical with the footage of the women factory workers covering their head and faces with large shawls, striking a chord with the audience with parallels drawn on the issue of British Asian girls and the hijab. The North Lancashire show saw half the audience identify a previously unknown factory exit as Vickers and Maxims of Barrow-in-Furness, with the railway bridge in Doncaster recognized as being the exit from the Great Northern Railway works. The appeal of the material was not only local or regional but also international as the touring programme *Electric Edwardians* played in over twenty American cities including San Francisco, Boston, Chicago, Seattle, Washington, DC and New York. Festivals in Italy, Luxembourg, Austria and Germany showed parts of the Collection; the *Electric Edwardians* DVD was distributed by Milestone Films and in 2007 a German language edition was issued.

Additional topics from the Collection were selected for exhibition, with leisure, sport and transport prominently featured in the material, while special subject DVDs were commissioned to curate all the sporting material and location-specific titles.⁸ This proved fascinating in terms of audience popularity and expectation. The special rugby league show outstripped the specialist football programme in audience figures. This reflected my belief that football supporters are tribal as opposed to the rugby league fans who can watch the sport as a whole. (For example only 58 football fans came to the show at the Cornerhouse Cinema in Manchester as opposed to 400 rugby league fans at Headingley Stadium in Leeds). From 2005 onwards, the touring collection criss-crossed the country, and was presented at two or three shows a month in the style of an Edwardian exhibition, with musical accompaniment and a lecturer to explain the films. The modern shows often opened with the same films that would have been exhibited at the venue a century before. These events would have been impossible without the infrastructure and support provided by the BFI and the University of Sheffield; public engagement was, and still is, at the heart of both institutions' outreach activities. In terms of the South Yorkshire shows, the then Registrar at Sheffield, Dr David Fletcher, actually sponsored the holding of the two free shows to commemorate the university's centenary and also used his local knowledge to give a live commentary on some of the titles.⁹

Public interest in all types of archival material has increased. On 25 November 2005 the bfi launched its new Archival Short Film Initiative to bring national film heritage to a wider cinema public. Short films drawn from the bfi's archival collections were offered free of charge to cinemas across the UK for screening with main features. To launch the series, the bfi invited filmmaker Jonathan Glazer to make a special short celebrating Mitchell & Kenyon and the completed two-and-a-half minute film, *Mitchell and Kenyon*, was released in conjunction with Stephen Frears's new feature, *Mrs Henderson Presents*. The bfi collaborated with cinemas across the country including City Screen, a range of independent art houses

and the entire Cineworld circuit to bring audiences in over 100 venues an exciting taste of a major archival collection. Specially produced Mitchell & Kenyon postcards were sent to each venue, enabling filmgoers to find out more about the Collection and about the other activities of the bfi. The short film, with the Pogues' 'Dirty Old Town' used as the soundtrack, was ultimately seen by over 150,000 people in one year alone. The funding of the trailer was partly aided by an AHRC dissemination grant which enabled the material to be shown to a younger cinema audience (ages 25 to 40) as opposed to the traditional archive audience of 50 years and over. This short film changed the demographics of the standard archival audience and challenged perceptions of where such material could be shown and enjoyed.

From the street to the archive and back

In the words of one colleague, 'the Edwardian era is now the Mitchell & Kenyon decade'. The films depict life as it was lived by ordinary people at the dawn of the twentieth century. They are images that present change and modernity, sadness and community as we gaze on the faces of a generation that in hindsight we know was lost on the battlefields of France and Belgium. Professor Mary Beard has stated that 'you can't have the superstructure without the substructure' (Reisz 2008) and without the substructure of the research funding awarded to the National Fairground Archive at the University of Sheffield by the AHRC, the films would still be largely unseen by the many millions who have accessed them in a variety of formats since January 2005. They would be unknown outside the specialized world of early cinema and lost to the wider cultural audience. For the archive community, the Collection has, according to Marion Hewitt of the North West Film Archive, transformed public perception of film archives and their usages in a variety of cultural activities for the wider community. Dr Jon Burrows, a film historian at the University of Warwick, emailed the NFA to say that 'his neighbours and colleagues were gripped by the films', while another colleague thanked me for making his dentist understand what he did for a living! The impact of the Collection widened to other disciplines when in 2007 researchers at University College London used the films to illuminate the decline of left-handedness in Victorian Britain (Elliott 2007).

The Collection has also given greater significance to the value of archival films as stories in their own right rather than as mere background illustration for other histories. The 'Lost World' idea or concept became almost a franchise or title under which to group archival film collections, with the 'Lost World of Friese Green' and the 'Lost World of Tibet' produced by the bfi and BBC largely on the back of the success of the Mitchell & Kenyon series. Within television and media circles, archival or historical programmes with large film content are now publicized or

described in relation to being similar or related to the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection. Ultimately the Collection has enabled the film community as a whole to understand the wider cultural value and significance of their holdings. Archive material that was previously thought of as arcane or of little interest to the general public is now discussed on news programmes by national and international broadcasting companies (there have been over sixty items since 2005). Feature articles have appeared in the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Observer*, *The Times* and *Times Literary Supplement* to name but a few. The wider international media coverage of the Collection has also been extraordinary, with requests from newspapers and television stations throughout Europe for the use of images. ABC Nightline in the US produced a thirty-minute programme on the films that was broadcast statewide and ARD Channel One, broadcasting in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, also featured the Collection.

For my colleagues in both the archival and academic communities the restoration and research of the films, together with the phenomenal public interest, represent a sea-change in attitudes to how this material could and should be utilized. The academic and archival community as a whole has a responsibility to preserve, enhance and enable understanding of the material we collect and catalogue. Ultimately, in the case of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection, it is a moving record of our society at work and play. From the leaving of Liverpool to the leaving of work, the growth of leisure and expansion of professional sport, and the rise of modern consumer society, all aspects of this lost world have now been recorded and researched for posterity. The past is no longer hidden away but restored to its rightful place at the heart of the communities that lived in it. Without public funding for humanities research the fantastic journey undertaken by all involved would not have been possible.

Notes

- 1 The three-part BBC2 series was transmitted 14 January 2005 for three consecutive Fridays. According to the website Broadcast Now, the first episode reached a peak viewing audience at 9.25 of 4.4 million, a 19 per cent capture of the viewing figures.
- 2 The two larger collections are the Edison Films held by the US Library of Congress and the Lumière Brothers titles held by the Cinémathèque Française.
- 3 For the DVDs see *Mitchell & Kenyon in Ireland* (bfi 2007), *Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Sports* (bfi 2007) and *Electric Edwardians: The Films of Mitchell & Kenyon* (bfi 2005), selected by Dr Vanessa Toulmin, with a 28-page illustrated essay/booklet to accompany the films, as well as *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon* (BBC Productions 2005).
- 4 The AHRC research grant totalled £178,000 with the bfi committing to the costs of full restoration of the negatives with additional funding for post production work. Each part of the project involved the full expertise and experience of the various bfi departments ranging from distribution to exhibition. This was before its new curatorial model was introduced in 2006–7.

- 5 Further details of the football films can be found in David Russell, 'The Football Films in the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection' (Russell 2004).
- 6 This investment, according to personal communication with the bfi, totals over £4.5 million pounds from 2000 onwards.
- 7 For City of Culture show see <http://www.liv.ac.uk/08/video/mk-video.html> and for the bfi YouTube channel see <http://www.youtube.com/user/BFIfilms>, where over 72 titles can be viewed.
- 8 For an overview of the sporting material see 'Edwardian Sport on Film' (Toulmin (2006b) and David Russell, 'The Football Films in the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection' (Russell 2004).
- 9 The local shows still continue at the rate of six to eight per year.

Bibliography

- Broadcast (2005), 'BBC Beats Bex', *Broadcast*, 17 January, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/news/multi-platform/news/bbc2-beats-bex/1018460.article> [accessed 18 July 2010].
- Burke, P. (2001), *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Chater, J. (2005), 'Television', *The Times*, 15 January 2005.
- Elliott, J. (2007), 'Left-handers on roll as numbers triple', *The Times*, 16 September, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article2461315.ece> [accessed 18 July 2010].
- Hodgkinson, W. (2006), 'Snapshot', *Guardian*, 21 April, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2006/apr/21/2> [accessed 19 July 2010].
- Jack, I. (2005), 'The Lost World', *Guardian*, 7 January, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2005/jan/07/1> [accessed 18 July 2010].
- Reisz, M. (2008), 'Soul Searching', *Times Higher Education*, 14 February, <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storycode=400543> [accessed 18 July 2010].
- Russell, D. (2004), 'The Football Films', in V. Toulmin, S. Popple and P. Russell, (2004), *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film*, London: British Film Institute, 169–180.
- Toulmin, V. (2006a), *Electric Edwardians: The Story of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection*, London: British Film Institute.
- Toulmin, V. (2006b), 'Edwardian Sport on Film', *International Journal of Sport in History*, 26: 2.
- Toulmin, V., Popple, S. and Russell, P. (2004), *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film*, London: British Film Institute.

This page intentionally left blank