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### **Original Citation**

Nicholson, Heather (2010) '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. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21-35. ISBN 9780230243385

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**‘Old world traditions... and modernity’ in Cunard’s transatlantic films, c.1920 – 35: making connections between early promotional films and urban change**

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Where cities meet the sea, their pasts intermesh with the changing histories of trade and migrations. Their biographies, and those of their individual buildings, brim with signs, memories and chronologies in which local particularities collide with regional, national and global considerations. Such waterfronts may also testify to former times of mercantile strength and ruthless ideologies of exploitation. The style, scale and symbolism of commanding harbour buildings and port facilities may offer littoral urban-scapes still inscribed with clues to past imperial and commercial ambitions. Alongside these relics of contested pasts that often increasingly now survive mainly as valued cultural heritage resources within leisure-orientated urban economies, are signifiers of more contemporary urban identities. Retailing, recreational and residential places and spaces adjoin, encroach, replace and transform former quayside and adjacent urban environments. Historical traces and spaces have long survived where conservation interests have been accommodated within plans to entice corporate and commercial interests (see, for instance, Hoyle and Pinder, 1992; Raco, Henderson, and Bowlby, 2008). Past memories and material remains of where once vital urban functions met the water’s edge sometimes continue only in the names of public plaza, apartment block and dining facility, fascia embellishment or the occasional piece of commissioned public art and themed street furniture (Buurma, 2008, p.41) Where decline, neglect and decay have given way to regeneration and transformation, waterfronts may have been re-stitched physically and experientially (Vigarié, 1983; Bruttomesso, 1993) back into the tissue of adjacent urban areas. Yet, perhaps, as Grenville hints in broader discussions of urban conservation, they may remain severed visually and psychologically from their former role as points of arrival and departure (Grenville, 2006, 2007). Has moving image a role in linking the past and present experiences of such urban spaces?

Archive film, like many urban waterfronts, has undergone profound reappraisal during recent decades and particularly with the advent of digitization. After years of being

neglected and rather side-lined within wider narratives of cinematic endeavour, archive moving image now has both value and distinct cache as resource and inheritance of public significance. For not entirely unconnected reasons, the life-cycles of both archive imagery and the quayside environments of settlements large and small have extended as changing aesthetic, economic and technical opportunities have bestowed new significance upon these respective distinctive components of visual heritage and urban areas. Each has now become a commodity with an associative exploitable value that, in some way, may conflict with concerns about more intrinsic interest, historical value or integrity. How does the apparent freedom of the market, whether considered in relation to the waterfront or archive film, create imaginative spaces for reuse without contribution to forms of visual and historical amnesia? Can archive footage contribute to re-connecting past urban spaces with some of their former significance? Are there places for encountering archival footage of past quayside activity within our re-conceptualizing of urban waterfronts? Can juxtaposing two seemingly different forms of inscribing past urban experience contribute to how we encounter regenerated urban space? Can flickering images of past times, like maps and photographs, inform and enrich contemporary urban experiences (Pulling, 2007)?

This discussion of urban waterfront-related archive footage may be set within the broader context of considering changing relationships between film and urban spaces, identities and meanings during the past century (Clarke, 1997; Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2001, 2003; Barber, 2002; AlSayyad, 2006, Brunsdon, 2007). Attention focuses on promotional footage produced for the shipping company, Cunard, and the associated water frontages depicted in advertising transatlantic routes between Liverpool and North America during the 1920s and 1930s (Norris Nicholson, 2007). Reference to Cunard's use of Liverpool, in particular, to strengthen its own corporate identity and reputation, contrasts with other urban identities presented in company films but permits wider discussion of how archive footage, changing urban identities and memories intermesh in relevant and creative ways that contribute to emerging research and creative practice in the fields of film, architecture and urban design.

It would be misleading to overstate the analogy between urban waterfront regeneration with how digitization of archive film is bringing about its re-discovery and widening access. However, several shared similarities occur. Neither development occurred without deliberate intervention and both involved much dedicated campaigning. The battle that helped to reposition once neglected archive imagery within more inclusive cinematic histories and more nuanced understandings of past visual cultural practice (see for instance, Houston, 1994; Ishizuka and Zimmerman 2007, pp.2-3) was not unlike early campaigns to safeguard urban waterfronts as valuable and distinctive but disappearing components of wider urban and international histories (Mann, 1988; Hoyle, Pinder and Husain, 1988; Norcliffe, Bassett and Hoare, 1996). Treatment has been uneven in both areas too. Some archive film long remained more readily available than other footage, its selection determined in part by geography, convenience, cost and familiarity as well as the name of its original producer or distribution (Norris Nicholson, 2001). Newsreel, actuality films, documentaries and professionally produced footage were used repeatedly to confer visual authenticity and realism. Then programme researchers became familiar with regional archives that had searchable on-line catalogues as well amateur film holdings that were often available for use with fewer copyright and cost restrictions. Likewise, geographical specificities, economic circumstances and prevailing ideologies ensured that some waterfronts survived longer or underwent regeneration earlier than others. It is to the issue of selective re-use and reworking that attention next turns.

From the past obscurity of regional archival holdings, scholarly attention now lifts early footage shot at factory gates (Toulmin et al., 2004), roll of honour films (Hammond, 2000) and the visual abundance of amateur cinema (Ishisuka and Zimmerman, 2007; Craven, 2009; Norris Nicholson, 2010a). Such material is now being reinstated within more complete visual histories of regional, national and global significance. Instances of such footage being shown regularly to public audiences or imaginatively edited, reworked or creatively included in diverse forms of outreach and community engagement are increasingly widespread as shown by working papers, annual reports and newsletters from film archives in Britain and overseas. They derive from partnerships rooted in shared wishes to kindle wider interests – from school child or scholar to senior citizen.

They rely on funding arrangements that often bring private and public sources imaginatively together as well as considerable determination.

Yet, despite such advocacy of archive material and, in particular, the recent explosion of interest in amateur footage witnessed in writing, television series and forms of public outreach, other kinds of imagery are still often overlooked. While important work highlights the significance of early topicals (BFI, c.2003) and various genres of educational and instructional footage (BFI, c.2002; Peterson, 2010; Ostherr, in press), other kinds of promotional material remain less explored. Commercial material, with some notable exceptions including work on Canadian Pacific Railway's use of film to advertise their travel services (Melnik, 2004: 15-16), and on the exhibiting of film in the Wanamaker department stores in New York and Philadelphia to educate staff, attract shoppers and encourage sales of children's toys (McGrath, 2009) have attracted less attention. Many more early promotional films still lie untouched in archives. Easily derided for their apparent lack of sophistication or visual ambition, they are nonetheless, important components of advertising media history. They readily point to early recognition of moving imagery as a persuasive marketing tool. Within the present discussion of city and moving image, urban identities may be identified as important components of advertising films made by rival shipping companies in the early decades of the twentieth century (Norris Nicholson, 2007). As with the examples mentioned above, imagery and inter-titles sought to be informative and entertaining, and are reminders that watching moving imagery was still a novelty for many people, particularly those living beyond easy access to public newsreel screenings and locally arranged film shows.

Promotional films, made between the early 1920s and mid thirties to advertise Cunard's routes between Montreal/Quebec City and Liverpool/Southampton, for instance, were essentially about encouraging people to travel by boat. But amidst all the shipboard scenes of how passengers travelled – obviously filmed on reassuringly sunny days when the ships did not roll - the footage also reveals extensive water-front scenes - at either end of the journey - and passed en route. Cunard's early films were travelogues that were shot

and edited for maximum appeal. That meant showing the boat and its different decks of accommodation and facilities, as well as contented passengers who were happily occupied with shipboard activities and sightseeing, while making their journeys. Reassurance about safety, speed, comfort and catering meant films included shots of lifeboats and safety drills, cabins, different areas for recreation and relaxation, dining and engine room, bridge and kitchen scenes, as well as nursery facilities. Such scenes featured between lengthy quayside sequences during embarkation and landfall, as well as ports of call along the route. The opportunities for on board shooting from varied angles, in different settings including the challenges of boiler room shots, and filming on crowded decks, plus the scope for amusing vignettes of local life ashore and busy harbour scenes attracted commercial production companies to undertake such commissions.

Much less appealing than the colourful poster art of the same period, these grainy monochrome films are valuable visual travel texts that articulate issues of class, gender, sexuality within frameworks of empire and the changing geographies of twentieth century mobility (Norris Nicholson, 2002; in progress, 2010b). They offer insights into contemporary metropolitan identities too as well as socio-cultural history during decades when speedy travel by ships and new scales of urban architecture became familiar symbols of modernity (Redford, 1929). Tall buildings, bridges and other advertising icons of civic culture and urban economies were already familiar through prints and still photography by the early 1900s. They assumed new potency in promotional cinematic travelogues, as film seemed ideally suited to capture the dynamism, mobility and scale of the urban environment and the equivalent qualities of the modern transatlantic passenger ship. The Cunard footage was made by the Ontario Motion Picture Bureau (OMPB), one of three agencies making film for different governmental departments in Canada by 1920 (Norris Nicholson, 2007). The company mainly produced documentary and educational material and produced some travel films during the 1920s, sending film crews overseas, including to Britain. Although perceived as exotic extravagance and never adopted for classroom use, the agency's travelogues, remained popular with audiences, and the making of promotional films provided OMPB with income through until the early 1930s.

Migration agents and transport companies had used film from early in the century to attract potential new settlers into Canada and elsewhere. From the early 1920s, shipping companies saw the benefits of using films to *also* promote recreational cruise travel and thus reinvent themselves after the First World War during which Cunard had lost much of its Canadian fleet. Migration flows were changing too and there were new restrictions on passengers entering the United States. Cunard seized the initiative to promote new possibilities of comfortable peacetime travel and commissioned a fleet of redesigned vessels for its Canadian route. Film helped to sell the idea of recreational cruise travel in purpose built accommodation to a middle class market on both sides of the Atlantic. The strict delineation of onboard space for passengers travelling on different tickets is articulated through careful visual framing of separate gangways, dining rooms, recreational areas and cabin accommodation, even as the dense quayside crowds seem visually united in a vast flutter of raised white handkerchiefs as by-standers wave off departing ships.<sup>1</sup>

OMPB's surviving Cunard films are silent, monochrome and titled in English. Some sequences have been edited into different films for British and North American audiences. The films were made originally on 28mm safety film stock – Ontario's fire regulations did not allow 35mm film in many rural exhibition venues - but later transferred as part of an ambitious but ultimately flawed expansion in the later 1920s. Imagery would thus have been seen by rural and urban audiences. The filming is straightforward. Each story line is simply the journey from embarkation to landfall. Scenes inform potential passengers about life aboard and the efficient transfers between boat and train for travellers continuing onwards. The films became part of a wide-ranging campaign to sell transatlantic crossings, holiday cruises and inclusive holidays in Britain and mainland Europe. They reveal Cunard in a transitional phase, still offering a migration service but also aiming for the holiday traveler (Babcock, 1931, p.169ff). Clothing and luggage styles indicate that migrants from southern and eastern Europe were still journeying westwards in search of new lives as well as the mix of more westernized urban passengers in working clothes and suits seen boarding on different gangways with cases and sometimes porters and nannies in tow.

Cunard operated between Liverpool - Belfast and later Southampton - and the St Lawrence Seaway as a summertime route that combined adventure, history and still for some migrants dreams of new futures, with the practical advantages of a shorter open sea crossing. The 900mile journey along the St Lawrence offered strong visual contrasts. Seeing French Canada en route to Europe is highlighted as a particular bonus for travelers from outside Quebec – probably the majority - given contemporary demographics in eastern Canada. ‘It is like adding to their itinerary a new country, with all the delightfully strange customs, sights and idioms of language, of a people and civilization entirely different from that of any other of America.’ (Cunard, c.1927).

Antiquity and modernity are juxtaposed repeatedly in text and image. The sleek, funnelled ships denote speed, efficiency and technological supremacy over nature. Filming tries to replicate the optical illusion that suggests a ship cannot pass under the Quebec Bridge and different versions of this particular sequence recur in many of the Cunard travel films. Girders, rivets and engineering feats offer visual interest for the filmmakers: they echo the rhythmic efficiency of disciplined team work onboard in the kitchens, printing and engine rooms, and on the navigational bridge. In some re-edited sequences, long shots disclose Montreal’s once teeming industrial waterfront. Few of its grain elevators, berths for ocean-going vessels and piers for river steamers now flank the repaved and tree-planted restyled public spaces. Successive regeneration programmes, pioneered by the city’s hosting of Expo ’67, have redesigned the former quaysides right back to street level where the designation of warehouses and offices as heritage buildings with new uses have maintained a few reminders of former function and visual distinctiveness. Footage of an emerging high-rise skyline symbolizes the city’s commercial wealth and metropolitan character that contrast with the historical associations of other smaller settlements passed elsewhere downstream. Upper deck passengers are invited to follow Cunard’s route on fold out annotated maps that link them to other modern communications systems too: at the Victoria Jubilee Bridge they learn how it ‘carries the motorist to Albany and New York’ and, much further on, they pass the ‘giant towers for transatlantic wireless transmission.’ Cunard’s promise of effortless



travel sets tropes of modernity alongside a montage of unchanging riverine rural life scenes.<sup>2</sup>

The OMPB wished to maximize its distribution so it evoked both old and new, particularly in its representation of Quebec City as ‘the one city in Canada full of old world traditions and the romance of martial France...’. Inter-titles emphasize these visual juxtapositions, somewhat unequally, offering both ‘reminders of the past’ and ‘symbols of the present’. Telegraph poles and wires crisscross through the pattern of shadows and early morning sunlight of intersecting and steep residential streets, as signs of modernity’s penetration towards the congested dwellings, pitched roofs and washing-hung narrow alleys and entrances of the Upper Town. Quebec’s contemporary economy is also captured in views of the ‘magnificent harbour ... port of entry into the heart of a continent’. OMPB’s constant care to describe Quebec as ‘city of *life*, history and tradition’, suggests a filming brief to make Cunard’s cruises equally attractive to those in search of age and modernity on either side of the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

Liverpool’s waterfront, by contrast, is busy, motorized and has building and crowds on an enormous scale. For the Canadian-based production company, the clichéd shots were accessible to OMPB’s camera crew who, as revealed by printed sources and other films, were prepared to travel in search of unusual filming opportunities. Yet, a quick succession of views of streets and key buildings adjacent to Pierhead essentialize the city for domestic and overseas consumption and company marketing. These Cunard sequences have an immediacy in capturing the city’s waterfront identity.<sup>4</sup> Liverpool was already an established symbolic and literal gateway between Old and New Worlds. Ships and waterfront, in the Cunard footage, seem extensions of each other, as passengers and crew are seen to flow between the crowds ashore and those lining the upper deck rails. The liners physically extend the company’s and city’s reach across water as well as bearing witness to the political and economic power of the nation. Maritime influence quite literally transcended and exceeded the spatial limits of both city and country. Moreover, as Cunard’s mercantile links with the city dated to 1840, it was a fitting place for the company’s new headquarters building to be built in 1917. The Cunard Building’s

commanding position on Pierhead, as one of the three most prominent waterfront buildings, foregrounds its quayside role in the company's subsequent films. It virtually starts one 1923 film, as it comes after a now damaged opening sequence that shows a Cunard vessel sailing across a maple leaf. The long held shot allows viewers time to absorb image and text. Slow movement up and across the building's numerous storeys permits an audience to appreciate its structure, its size compared to older dwellings nearby and its compatibility - in scale if not design and style- with its neighbours, the Royal Liver Building and the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Offices.

OMPB's camerawork echoed the architectural hyperbole associated with the Cunard Building's development five years earlier. The structure was an amalgamation of old and new and a material expression of Cunard's service to its passengers and economic global strength. The company's influential role in Liverpool's maritime and commercial expansion and its wish to re-assert its mercantile strength and post-war recovery, were given visual expression in footage of the massive new building in Portland stone. The building's features borrowed stylistically from the mid sixteenth century Farnese Palace in Rome and assert authority, or give, as Cunard's own staff wrote, an 'impression of rugged strength and forcefulness' (Cunard Steamship Company, 1917, p.76). 'Behind the massive solid elegance suggestive of great spaciousness and comfort' (p.25) however, were reinforced concrete and steel. Other descriptions could equally fit the fleet's passenger liners: 'massive dignity and strength, combined with refined classic beauty.' And yet, from both shipboard scenes below deck and promotional brochures, the ships themselves carried many reassuring motifs drawn from antiquity and later historical periods. It seems as if Tudor furnishing, rococo interiors, medieval tapestries and even 'Tourism Third Class' dining rooms and deck activities visually and materially helped to cocoon passengers on different liners on different tickets from the dislocating effects of unprecedented forms of speedy, mass passenger travel by sea.<sup>5</sup>

Boats and building linked in various ways. Prospective passengers would pass through the company headquarters, which replaced earlier premises nearby in Water Street, each according to their status, using different entrances to access the waiting rooms, ticket

offices and other facilities. Third class travellers entered, for instance, on the lower ground floor (on one of the basement levels) that was 'specially designed (to meet) the perculiar and exacting demands of this section of the North Atlantic passenger trade' (Cunard Steamship Company, p. 54). At whatever level, on seeing the new building, the intending passenger 'must carry away a mental picture in which massive grandeur, chaste refinement grandeur, and a general pervading air of comfort have been artistically blended.' (p.53). Like the company's vessels, the Cunard Building was a potent symbol 'enshrining as it does the brain centre of the company's world wide operations' (p.28).

Camera attention thus promoted quaysides, the vessels themselves and passenger services.<sup>6</sup> Among numerous high angle sequences that stressed the ships' size and passenger capacity, more individual cameos occur too; private farewells cut short by awareness of the camera's intrusive gaze; the agitation of station porters wheeling trolleys, closing train doors and passengers leaning from gaping windows, clutching hats and children. These familiar visual tropes of departures and silenced last words, despite their anonymity and distance, evoke lost memories, experiences and the emotional geographies of specific localities. Such scenes are private but intensely theatrical too. Liverpool's waterfront is described as a floating stage. The vessels are 'ocean leviathans' that tower like 'giants among pigmies' (Cunard Steamship Company, p. 28) 'over cosmopolitan crowds from every nation under the sun.' Through these clichéd descriptions, maritime spectacle is exploited to sell travel and migration opportunities. Yet personal responses glimpsed through gesture, body language and expression are also powerful reminders of a myriad real life dramas, emotions, ambitions and regrets that routinely swirled through those points of contact and separation at the water's edge.

All archive film, including early promotional material, may be approached from multiple positions. Based upon a commercial imperative, promotional films, might seem one-dimensional and cruder, arguably more naive filmic forms than other genres of archive imagery. Yet they clearly disclose how people sought to show, share and shape meanings about their products, their prospective consumers and the world around them. Cunard's footage weaves its message of reassurance combining innovation with tradition, in ways

that mirror wider expressions of modernity's unevenness, complexity and interconnectedness. As global imperatives transformed older transatlantic associations, the particularities of key urban functions re-defined spatial form, fabric and practice. While changing technologies impacted on urban waterfronts and redesigned ships for pleasure rather than mass migration, cameras became indispensable to the promotion and consumption of leisure. Advertising films borrowed stylistically from actuality, newsreel reportage and comedy to construct their persuasive narratives. Fiction films set aboard ships, particularly those involving melodrama, mystery, murders or robberies became popular feature films (Norris Nicholson, 2009a). Passenger ships, like the waterfronts and skylines of the huge ports they connected, attracted admiration. Yet memories of the *Titanic* disaster and wartime losses were not yet distant. The new Cunard Building was completed only five years after one of the worst losses of civilian passengers in shipping history. Complex identities and meanings are thus embedded within Cunard's visual interweaving of old world/new world imagery and the particularities of places where ships and people met.

Such material sensitizes us to the archived memories and invisible traces of past experience associated with urban waterfronts. Archive film represents visual testimony to the plethora of human experiences that lie outside many other historical texts. Here, the impersonal focus captures moments that complement individual travel texts of diaries and holiday accounts (Norris Nicholson, 2006) or the visible rupture to normality that attracts the news gatherer in search of an unusual and unexpected visual drama. Promotional footage provides an eye upon the working routines of weekly sailings and quayside activities and Cunard's promise of predictability for future travelers. Herein lies its value, both frame by frame and as moving history.

In theory, digitization offers a means to store data for the future, whilst acknowledging the unproven longevity of the technologies now in operation. As with finding new uses for old buildings, digital storage protects as long as the function remains useful or the technology continues to function. Digitization now also enables important access to more archive imagery than ever before, but easy availability does not automatically disclose



Historic archive imagery – with its evocative capacity to interest and simply to attract the human eye - connects with the gathering and shaping of place-related memories and identities in other ways too, of relevance to discussions on city and film. The imaginative use of open air projections that increasingly feature in urban marketing and festival animations illustrate the value of visual heritage in generating contemporary meanings and responses. The distribution of outdoor projected imagery at five locations across the city, including locally specific historical imagery, attracted critical acclaim at Trondheim's International Film Festival in 2005 (Sorensen, 2009), but such events form part of a longer trajectory of outside urban film shows. New media and digital technologies have generated diverse outdoor projection opportunities in many urban locations.

During the summer and autumn of 2009, spectacular examples of urban outdoor projection took place in Liverpool. They resulted from imaginative collaborations between cultural policy-makers and local authorities as well as archivists and other professionals. One city centre initiative during August 2009 provided highly innovative means of reaching to and involving public audiences (NWFA, 2009). Using interactive and responsive camera technologies, the *Places of Public Resort* installation at Clayton Square, in Liverpool, enabled bystanders' hand movements to generate sequential displays of pre-loaded archive footage. News reports and clips, from BBC footage dating between 1966 and 1986, thus featured in a busy public retailing space on a large-screen that normally displays current news and contemporary events. Old and new imagery interwove as the backdrop for passersby and enabled others to engage more directly. A few weeks later creative partnership transformed Pierhead and adjacent open air quayside spaces for watching a range of classic and new productions. Over a two day period, and undeterred by the vagaries of season and uncertain weather, events planners transformed the Museum of Liverpool's vast window space into a gigantic cinema screen on which people could watch locally produced short films and innovative contemporary moving images. Screening also included Eli Kazan's *On the Waterfront* and *The Long Day Closes*, the second of Terence Davies' autobiographical trilogy about growing in the

city.<sup>8</sup> Such transferable applications of public outreach and visual projection in specific venues and locations may contribute to enhancing people's relationships with their surroundings and foster a sense of place. Certainly, the publicity linked to such spectacles serves as a reminder of how particular urban locations once served other functions and held other meanings. Even if past maritime memories now reach the public as part of sometimes not unproblematic broader trends in leisure consumption and regenerated space (see for instance, Wharton, 2007), such visual links also connect to Liverpool's mercantile past and its status, since 2004 as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.<sup>9</sup>

Through an initial focus on early promotional film, and its depictions of particular locations, another argument for advocacy emerges. Early promotional commercial material, although a precursor to better known later productions developed on behalf of different public and quasi-public organizations at local, regional and national level, has attracted less scholarly attention than most other non fiction genres of early film. Its imagery may disclose specific nuances of place association during particular decades that may have contemporary relevance in the design, detailing and experience of urban spaces. Archive moving image, including early promotional pieces, is a diverse and remarkable expression of twentieth century experiences. Its study complements other ways of discussing relationships between film, architecture, and urban space. It offers both a source of visual stimuli that could be used in ways that generate urban distinctiveness and also to maintain historical connections. Such practical applications may help to offset contemporary processes that undermine urban identity, belonging and social cohesiveness. As regeneration trends swing through different urban locales, each with its own distinctive inheritance of challenges and opportunities, archive imagery may contribute in versatile ways to how we make real places relevant and meaningful. Our attitudes towards safe-guarding both the integrity and the meaning of archive moving image and the urban built environment may inform how we understand and bequeath components of our visual and material heritage to future generations.

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## Acknowledgements

Research on Cunard films and printed material held at the Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa was supported by a *Prix de Quebec*, awarded by the Government of Quebec (2007). Sincere thanks are also due

to those who have shared their memories of transatlantic passenger ship travel, former students for sharing my interests in waterfront regeneration projects and to staff at the North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University for their wonderful patience and help in making film and acquisition files available. Useful comments arose while presenting an earlier version of this paper at the *City in Film: Architecture, urban space and the moving image*, University of Liverpool, 26-28<sup>th</sup> March 2008.

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## Filmography

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<sup>3</sup> *In Old Quebec* (Ontario Motion Picture Bureau, undated) Library and Archives Canada, ISN 244225.

<sup>4</sup> *Travel Cunard Line - Canadian Route* (Cunard [Ontario Motion Picture Bureau], 1923). North West Film Archive, Manchester Metropolitan University, Accession no.55.

<sup>5</sup> *Cunard and Anchor Donaldson: Excerpts* (Ontario Motion Picture Bureau, undated) Library and Archives Canada, ISN 205694.

<sup>6</sup> *Cunard From Canada* (Cunard [Ontario Motion Picture Bureau], 1927). North West Film Archive, Manchester Metropolitan University, Accession no.56.

<sup>7</sup> North of Liverpool, amateur film footage contributes to trawler fishing industry presented at Fleetwood Maritime Museum. Fleetwood Maritime Museum, Lancashire, England, UK, <http://www.lancashire.gov.uk/acs/sites/museums/venues/fleetwood/index.asp?siteid=4049&pageid=16512&e=e> date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> September 2009. Personal communication with donor of footage, summer 2009 during research for H.Norris Nicholson (forthcoming, 2010a).

<sup>8</sup> *Film on the Waterfront* was produced in partnership with *Culture Liverpool*, Liverpool City Council's culture service, *Abandon Normal Devices* (AND), a new north west festival of cinema and digital arts, <http://andfestival.org.uk/siteNorm/home.php> date accessed 18 September 2009, and *Walk the Plank*, <http://www.walktheplank.co.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/film-on-the-waterfront-web-friendly-leaflet2.pdf>, date accessed 18 September 2009; see also, Foundation for Art and Creative Technology (Liverpool), <http://www.fact.co.uk/> date accessed 18 September 2009.

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