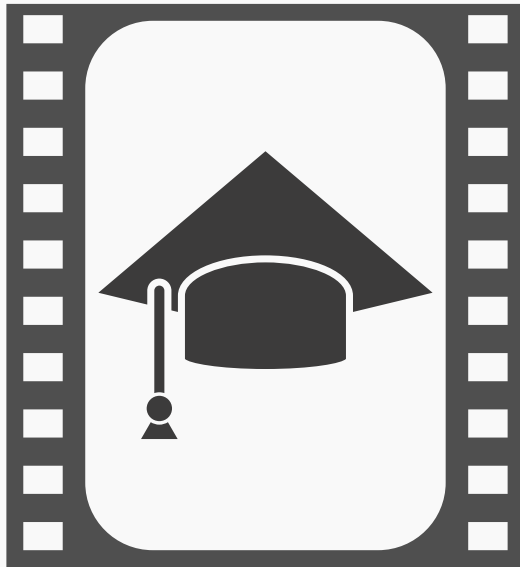
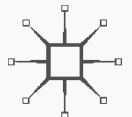


The British School Film

From Tom Brown to Harry Potter



Stephen Glynn



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Representations of Secondary Education in British Cinema

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PART I

Introduction

The School Film: A British Genre?

1 INDUCTION

In 1994, the British Film Institute commissioned a documentary series on national cinemas to commemorate the centenary of the motion picture industry. The opening instalment, entrusted to Leicester-born director Stephen Frears, begins by quoting François Truffaut on ‘a certain incompatibility between the terms “cinema” and “Britain”’ (1978: 140). Retorting over the title-card with a robust ‘well, bollocks to Truffaut!’, *Typically British* (Channel 4, 2 September 1994), Frears’ ‘Personal History of British Cinema’, commences with a sequence of clips from British school films, each showing a teacher either promising to cane or soundly caning a pupil. First to account is *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1939) where the ferociously hirsute Headmaster (Lyn Harding) informs a cowering class of his intention to thrash them all: ‘You will present yourselves at my study tomorrow afternoon, in alphabetical order at intervals of three minutes, starting at three o’clock. I believe I can promise you that I have lost none of my vigour!’ Perhaps not, but maybe there was a leniency in the announced timing since, to ‘really tell this story’, Frears next avails himself of an archive Alfred Hitchcock interview. ‘At college’, Hitchcock recalls with his distinctive laconic delivery, ‘the method of punishment was rather a dramatic thing, I felt: if one had not done one’s prep, the form master would say “Go for three!” Going for three, that was a sentence. And it was a sentence as though it were spoken by a judge.’ Frears explains how Hitchcock’s teachers would tell him on a Monday that he

was going to be beaten on a Friday and concludes: ‘that’s how he learnt about suspense’. As we reflect on that (frequently cited) formative connection with Hitchcock’s own ‘masters of suspense’ at his Jesuit boarding school, St Ignatius College, London (Russell Taylor 1978: 29–30; McGilligan 2003: 18–20), we cut to *Housemaster* (1938) where Otto Kruger takes two canes from his office cupboard and tests them to decide which would—at the appointed hour—have greater purchase (Fig. 1.1). While Frears recalls how his class would gather every Saturday afternoon to watch films that ‘the school thought appropriate for children to watch: George Formby; Will Hay; typically British films, often about school itself’, we witness Alastair Sim beating a pupil in *The Happiest Days of Your Life* (1950) and a similar scene from *The Guinea Pig* (1948) where Leicester’s finest, Richard Attenborough, is caned for burning the toast. As Frears recounts that the first film he saw at school was *Boys Will Be Boys* (1935), the extract shown reverses the power dynamics, with headmaster



Fig. 1.1 ‘If you can wait and not be tired by waiting’

Hay being tossed on a blanket by his pupils outside the school gates—‘in that very British, benign sort of way’, Frears notes. The sequence ends with Frears recalling the British school film on which he worked as Assistant Director, Lindsay Anderson’s *If...* (1968). This was much less benign: as the rebellious Crusaders (Malcolm McDowell and Christine Noonan) take aim from the roof tops of Cheltenham College, Frears concludes: ‘We *shot* the headmaster in *If...*!’

It is a striking montage, and its central trope is as old as British cinema itself. In *The School Master’s Portrait* (Bamforth, 1898) a disorderly pupil is discovered drawing cartoons of his teacher on the blackboard, and is soundly caned: film over. It is also a deep-seated montage: as well as comprising a demotic dismissal of Truffaut’s celebrated insult, Frears’ filmography of flagellation raises a second, earthy, Anglo-Saxon finger, again across the Channel, to Jacques Rivette who explained his neighbouring nation’s mediocrity thus: ‘British cinema is a genre cinema, but one where the genre has no genuine roots’ (1985 [1957]: 32). Wrong, Rivette! So argues Mark Sinker who, in his monograph on *If...*, emphasises the appositeness of Frears’ headmagisterial exposition: ‘The boarding school story *is* a British genre, with genuine roots: central to the Romance of Empire, its history as a genre—both literary and otherwise—is a map of the fortunes of Empire, from mid-life crisis, to zenith to dismantlement’ (2004: 20). There is more, it seems, to this catalogue of canings than a Midlander’s cinematic nostalgia. Time to define our terminology.

2 LESSONS IN GENRE

Can we talk of a British school film genre? Genre *tout court* is a troublesome constant in film studies. Is it a theoretical concept of analysis or a function of industry and market forces? Is it best assessed as a product or process? At its most reductive a film genre can be adjudged to display distinct narrative patterns and a secure iconography: ‘Put simply, genre movies are those commercial feature films which, through repetition and variation, tell familiar stories with familiar characters in familiar situations’ (Grant 2007: 1). Many of the films under examination here clearly possess common properties, telling of errant pupils (or staff) finding their way to an acceptance of societal norms in a visual cadre of classrooms, common rooms, playing fields, gowns, mortarboards and, enduringly it seems, canes.¹ Genres, though, are seldom well-behaved: for Steve Neale they ‘are not to be seen as forms of textual codifications, but as systems

of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject' (1980: 19). It is a useful enlargement of scope and this study will replicate such a tripartite structure for its case studies, investigating production histories, the film 'texts' themselves, and their consumption both critical and commercial. Categorisation is further complicated since films often demonstrate varying degrees of overlap, aka 'generic hybridity'. Many of the films treated here could equally, if not primarily, be classified as examples of comedy or tragedy, the musical or horror film, social realism or romantic drama. Or multiples thereof: *To Sir, With Love* (1967) is a 'Swinging London' musical drama—and a school film; *Never Let Me Go* (2010) is a dystopian sci-fi romance—and a school film. Moreover, a genre study must investigate its intertextual relationship with other media. Film is rarely generically pure, evident if we consider the medium's derivative entertainment heritage (Hayward 1996: 161), and pertinent for this genre study would be music hall, theatre, newspaper cartoons, television series and, especially, the novel. Steve Neale contends that film constantly refers to itself as a cross-media generic formation (1980: 62) and this will be explored for the British school film which is composed of several 'intertexts' that rework, extend and transform the norms that codify it.

A further problematising factor is that genre is never 'the simple reproduction of a formalistic model, but always the performance of a politically and historically significant and constrained social process' (Threadgold 1989: 109). Many commentators see mass media genres as 'reflecting' or 're-presenting' values dominant at the time of their production and dissemination. John Fiske, for instance, contends that generic conventions 'embody the crucial ideological concerns of the time in which they are popular' (1987: 110), while their evolution indicates for Leo Braudy how they serve as a 'barometer' of the socio-cultural concerns of cinema audiences (1992: 431). Such an approach operates with the belief that the culture itself is the prime 'author' of the text since filmmakers can only work the representational conventions available within that culture. Thus, through its study of a discrete film genre, this book also functions as a work of social history. This holds whatever a film's temporal placement since, as Pierre Sorlin has explained, 'we can only understand characters and events in historical films by referring to the years in which those films were produced' (1980: 83): hence *Another Country* (1984), though set in a boys' public school of the early 1930s, reveals as much of the 'heritage' and homophobic values permeating Thatcherite Britain as does the

explicit professional aspirations of a mid-1980s co-educational secondary modern headmaster in *Clockwise* (1986).

The near-concurrent commissioning of these two films demonstrates how school life is both a common and singular experience. As James Hilton wrote in his 1938 follow-up to *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*: ‘Schooling is perhaps the most universal of all experiences, but it is also one of the most individual... No two schools are alike, but more than that—the school with two hundred pupils is really two hundred schools, and among them, almost certainly, are somebody’s long remembered heaven and somebody else’s hell’ (1938: 11–12). The happiest days of your life? It is the sorrow that often predominates. In the course of a personal selection of the world’s ‘top ten’ school films, Peter Bradshaw questions why more, if not all films, are not set in schools: ‘For many, it’s the most intensely felt period of their lives: more emotionally raw and vivid and painfully real than anything in adult existence. It’s a period when we are judged with terrifying candour and finality, when we will be exposed to adult emotions but without the adult prerogatives, adult status, and the adult carapace of worldly wisdom that protect us from humiliation. Who cannot close their eyes and mentally walk, in cinematic detail, down every corridor of their old school?’ As with Frears, Bradshaw homes in on Britain’s caning trope, again choosing *If...* and musing on the scene where Malcolm McDowell’s character awaits a caning from the privileged prefectorial oligarchy: ‘McDowell is caught between gloweringly accepting his fate, and ferociously realising that he doesn’t have to accept it. They are just boys like him—how dare they presume to beat him?’ (Fig. 1.2). For Bradshaw ‘this is the sixth-form crisis writ large: a growing and overwhelming sense of your own possibilities as an adult, yet still treated as a child’ (‘Starring You and Me’, *Guardian*, 24 February 2004). The scene highlights both the individual and the general, the way a school setting frequently underpins a troublesome ‘coming of age’ story, a site for the British *bildungsfilm*. On this theme, Josephine May notes how, especially with the increased secularisation of society, the individual’s rites of passage to adulthood, once signalled through traditional ‘staged’ religious ceremonies and processes, have largely been transferred to education, with the leaving of school now arguably the primary marker of the closing of childhood (2013: 5). In *Tell England* (1931) the inexpressive Edwardian father invites his son, on leaving school and entering army training, into his study for a drink: this formal familial gesture has few words but intense emotion and signifies the son’s ascent to man’s estate. This study will demonstrate how British cinema has long been keen



Fig. 1.2 School—the new religious rite of passage

to explore this transitional temporal and spatial terrain: a trend intensified since the 1950s when unprecedented challenges from suburbanisation, television and other leisure pursuits led film studios to target the remaining youthful market by drawing on aspects of teenage culture and catering for teenage interests, tastes and concerns. This newly important cinematic audience was coupled with an increased school attendance beyond the compulsory age of 16, a demographic that helped to render depictions of schools other than those in the private sector both financially and ideologically viable.

3 LESSONS IN NATIONHOOD

While acknowledging this expedient commercial exploitation of market segmentation, the school narrative allows filmmakers to comment on explicit educational and broader socio-cultural issues. This study answers

Bradshaw's question by showing that British filmmakers and studios *have* consistently presented cinematic discussions of schools, pupils and teachers, encompassing issues such as the nature of 'public' (i.e. fee-paying) and state schooling, the values of single-sex and special schooling, the role of male and female teachers in society and culture, and the nature of adolescence itself. Beyond this, often more implicitly, these cinematic representations have addressed issues of gender, race and class, and, more broadly, have broached issues pertinent to British national identity.

'School is the world in miniature', announces headmaster Frank Simmons (Sam Livesey) at the start of *Young Woodley* (1930). It is more commonly interpreted as the nation in miniature, a metonym for the contemporary social situation. Jeffrey Richards evaluates the British public school, as Braudy did for genre, as 'the microcosm of society and a sensitive barometer of change in society', be it the training of an Evangelical middle class, an imperialist elite or a business plutocracy (1988: 181). Tony Garnett, producer of *Kes* (1969), saw the role of post-war comprehensives as to teach their pupils 'the bare necessities to be thrown onto the labour market' as fodder for factories and coalmines (1970: n.p.). Whatever their size or status, as an entity schools are so ubiquitous a part of the everyday fabric of British lives that one rarely stops to consider the various socio-cultural meanings that (echoing Bradshaw's 'carapace' metaphor) they are adjudged to carry like 'invisible shells' (Burke and Grosvenor 2008: 188). As such, the reality of and the cultural fabrications around British schools imperceptibly yet significantly shape opinions, expectations and behaviours.

This is school as an ideological commonplace—and the films discussed here thus form an important subset of the diverse and contested notion of British 'national cinema'.² Charles Barr, in his pioneering *Ealing Studios*, offered to cut through possible obfuscation by advancing that, 'If national "character" seems an old-fashioned, impressionistic term, it is worth noting that it could perfectly well be replaced by "ideology"' (1977: 108). It is, at best, a quasi-equivalence and, as with genre itself, the nuances of the concept of ideology have since been much debated within film studies. Ideological doctrine contends that the dominant elite not only rules but regulates the way other classes are perceived or represented. The most influential explanation of this theory, notably on Britain's *Screen* magazine, came from the writings of Louis Althusser, who saw the practice of reproducing patterns of social inequality as a matter of collusion rather than imposition and primarily achieved by the reassuringly encompassing nature of 'national identity'. A key strategy by which dominant groups

win consent for the institutions through which they rule those without power is by the careful employment of consensual terms such as ‘*our* government’, ‘*our* economy’ and, not least, ‘*our* schools’. Althusser emphasises the latter: ‘one ideological State apparatus certainly had the dominant role’ and ‘this is the School’, functioning to provide pupils with ‘a certain amount of “know-how” wrapped in the ruling ideology’ (1971: 155). Tim Edensor, in his study of national identity, similarly concludes that it is through the institution of the school that the state most markedly enacts its responsibility of ‘enforcing and prioritising specific forms of conduct, of inducing particular kinds of learning experiences, and regulating certain “good” habits amongst its citizens’ (2002: 20). British schools, thus, do much more than teach the three ‘r’s. As both material and cultural entities, they work ideologically, in their formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities as in their overarching practices and value systems, to render coherent and consensual local, national and wider levels of British experience. More than this, because of their ubiquity in society, being so ‘naturalised’ a concept and so intimately enmeshed in the personal histories of its subjects (not citizens), British schools become accessible institutional structures through which to explore cinematic discussions of the nation.

This constitutes a potent, ‘seamless’ combination since, as with ideology, mainstream cinema is commonly viewed as functioning consensually in its mediation of hegemonic values. With its habitual employment of a classic realist style, the audience is not aware of how cinema produces meaning, and through this ‘invisible’ rendering of dominant class interests cinema reveals them again as ‘natural’ and therefore incontestable, desirable by all. In short, cinema ‘puts ideology up on screen’ (Hayward 1996: 215). Thus, in film treatments of ‘*our* schools’, the overlaying of subject matter and medium forms a popular and powerful tool of consensual national identity. Such a function was not unknown to those within the film industry: Lorraine Noble, who worked for MGM’s writing team at Denham Studios, expressed her hopes for the ‘sincere effort’ made to provide a portrayal acceptable to the teaching profession with *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*: ‘For both film makers and teachers have a vast body of common interest. Both teach and mould the youth of a nation’ (1939: 27). This consensus may have been the dominant trope in the British school film throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but ideology, like genre, is never fixed, and its contradictory, contested elements can at times be deduced through close analysis of the film text, exposing an internal criticism which ‘cracks the film apart at the seam’ (Comolli and Narboni 1977 [1969]: 7).

Thus, even in the doubly hegemonic school film genre, one can follow John Hill in conceiving of ‘a national cinema, in the sense of one which works with or addresses nationally specific materials, which is none the less critical of inherited notions of national identity, which does not assume the existence of a unique or unchanging “national culture”, and which is quite capable of dealing with social divisions and differences’ (1992: 17). Especially in the second half of the century, but with important earlier interpolations (e.g. the safety-valve relief of Will Hay’s headmaster) and later eulogies (e.g. the nostalgic mythopoeia of Peter O’Toole’s Chipping), British national cinema, and its school film microcosm, have re-presented the diversity of British society, challenging the hegemonic function of our ‘imagined community’ that, as Andrew Higson points out, ‘must be able to hold in place—or specifically to exclude—any number of other experiences of belonging’ (1995: 6). As with Britain’s educational system and its cinematic history, the British school film will be seen to have two broad types or tiers, polarising around what Thomas Elsaesser has called ‘an “official” cinema and an “unofficial” cinema, a respectable cinema and a disreputable one’ (1993: 64). Charles Barr noted that, ‘if the school in *If...* “is England”, then so is that in *The Happiest Days of Your Life*’ (1974: 116). This study will explore even wider polarities, with examples ranging from *The Browning Version* (1951) to *The Yellow Teddybears* (1963).

Parameters must be drawn, however. Christine Gledhill counsels that there are no ‘rigid rules of inclusion and exclusion’ since genres ‘are not discrete systems, consisting of a fixed number of listable items’ (2008: 254, 259). Yet even, or especially, with a flexible, ‘unfixed’ model where a *genius loci* allows a secure generic location, pragmatic assumptions will need to operate. This study will examine the cinematic treatment of secondary schools catering for pupils aged 11–18, with pre-11 education possessing a very different set of objectives and methodologies—it thus omits films where pupils are exclusively of junior/prep school age such as *Mandy* (Alexander Mackendrick, 1952) or *A Feast at Midnight* (Justin Hardy, 1994). It also limits itself to films made for theatrical release, omitting television-made fare such as David Leland’s 1982 *Tales Out of School* quartet or Jack Rosenthal’s *First Love* series, texts which have a different economic, stylistic and exhibition dynamic.³ Returning finally to the reductive, Alan Williams categorises three ‘principal genres’ of narrative film, experimental/avant-garde film and documentary (all other categories being ‘sub-genres’ thereof) (1984: 121–5). This study has limited

its scope to fictional narrative films, partly because of the paucity of avant-garde work with a secondary school setting, and partly because documentaries necessitate a different set of generic criteria already rehearsed elsewhere (Renov 1993; Ward 2005), but mainly because the frequency of fictional treatments points to the importance of schooling not only in the everyday rhythms of national life but also, and especially, its immutable place in Britain's social and cultural *imaginary* landscape. The school film's enduring popularity can be deduced from the British Film Institute's 1999 poll to find the top 100 British films of the twentieth century: it featured six secondary school films, of differing types and eras: 94—*The Belles of St. Trinian's* (1954); 72—*Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1939); 61—*The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* (1962); 30—*Gregory's Girl* (1981); 12—*If...* (1968) and, predominant in people's reflections, 7—*Kes* (1969).

4 SCHOOL READING LIST

A bedrock of the British school film, especially in its early phases, is the fictional 'school story'. Ostensibly beginning with Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857),⁴ a flurry of school-based literature followed, stretching from light-hearted periodicals such as *Magnet* and *Gem* featuring the multi-pseudonym Frank Richards, critical texts such as Rudyard Kipling's *Stalky and Co.* (1899) and E.M. Forster's *The Longest Journey* (1907) and restorative 'middle-brow' fare such as *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*, all of which mirror the film genre's first phases, while novels such as E.R. Braithwaite's *To Sir, With Love* (1959), Muriel Spark's *The Pride of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961) and Barry Hines' *A Kestrel for a Knave* (1968) would regularly inform its subsequent developments before finding a world-reaching apogee with J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series. The school novel has attracted a relative wealth of critical literature, especially its early public school manifestations. A critical review would award joint school prizes to (film critic) Isabel Quigly's literary investigation *The Heirs of Tom Brown* (1982) and P.W. Musgrave's sociological analysis *From Brown to Bunter* (1985) with Jeffrey Richards commended for his definitive history *Happiest Days: the public schools in English fiction*. While Richards offers a brief evaluation of each case studied novel's film and television versions, this work does not intend to undertake detailed comparisons between source texts and films with the concomitant value judgements rooted in the concept of fidelity. The danger of this approach is to root evaluation in a hierarchical medium specificity that still commonly privileges literature

and reading over screen and viewing, highlighting restrictions such as film's inability to convey internal knowledge, how cinematic realism denies the dimension of a reader's imagination, how the voice-over is intrinsically non-cinematic, etc. Such evaluative comparisons constitute a constant feature of contemporary press reviews for the films explored here, but also hold for much current adaptation theory, suggesting a formative literary background or even what Robert Stam has called 'iconophobia', i.e. a 'deeply rooted prejudice against the visual arts' (2004: 5). Even critics that admirably challenge this approach can, at times, become prescriptive, as when Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan claim that 'The films of Harry Potter can only offer us a pale imitation of the fiction' (2010: 81). While acknowledging that faithfulness matters to many viewers, and that films often foreground their precursor for the associated cultural capital, this study will not restrict its analysis to 'literary' qualities such as narrative and theme and ignore aspects that are essential to film analysis such as genre and star casting, mise-en-scène and music, editing and acting style.

Anthony Lane has confessed to dreading few genres 'more than the teaching movie', largely because 'more often than not, the mechanics of actual teaching are side-lined in favour of a public lecture on Ways to Inspire' ('Academic Questions', *New Yorker*, 4 July 2011). Nonetheless, several academic studies have explored the treatment of educational themes across a range of contemporary media. Front runners here would be Roy Fisher et al.'s *Education in Popular Culture* (2008) which, from a sociology of education perspective, examines how teacher performance, the curriculum and pupil behaviour are mediated in predominantly American (plus some British) popular fiction, film, television and song lyrics. Their investigations explicitly aim to provide a framework through which educators can relate these popular representations to their own professional values and development, and demonstrate how such works interconnect with professional and political discourses about education. Close behind, Ulrike Mietzner et al.'s *Visual History: Images of Education* (2005) concentrates on visual media, ranging from the picture schemes used in Victorian classrooms to contemporary European film representations of schooling. Without presenting an overriding orthodoxy the essays invite theoretical reflection on methodology and modes of representation in the field of the history of education. There exists also a considerable literature with a precise focus on school films, but these are again predominantly written with the emphasis on *school*, i.e. studies that foreground issues of social and pedagogical history, rather than placing the emphasis on *film* and its

signifying practices, i.e. an approach highlighting formal aspects and film history. In a British context, school colours would go to Susan Ellsmore's 2005 monograph *Carry on Teachers! Representations of the Teaching Profession in Screen Culture*. Employing American and British films and television series as a source for educational theory, Ellsmore explores the 'reel' teacher as a charismatic figure, uniquely able to address student problems and deprivations to create that special life-changing bond, and contrasts it with the researched reactions and experiences of 'real' classroom practitioners. A broader contextual study of the place of school in a national cinema is found in Josephine May's 2013 *Reel Schools*. Looking at Australian education through the lens of its national cinema, May argues, much as this study will do for Britain, that the cinematic school is a pervasive metaphor for the Australian nation and, alongside commenting on the relationship of schools to the Australian class structure, demonstrates how Australian films about schools have increasingly explored issues of gender, race and ethnicity. Nonetheless, the book foregrounds film as social history: May defines her study as 'not a work of film criticism: it does not focus on or critique the quality of the films it discusses' (2013: 13–14). This study *is* a work of film criticism, and will undertake a complementary aesthetic critique, necessary to its dual investigation of the genre's formal and socio-historical import.

Ellsmore and May are honourable exceptions since, secondly, almost all such literature, whether prioritising historical educational content or modes of cinematic depiction, concentrates on North American schools. These again vary in approach: they include Mary M. Dalton's foregrounding of critical pedagogy in *The Hollywood Curriculum*; the psychological explorations of Jo Keroes' *Tales Out of School*; the cultural studies approach of Henry A. Giroux's *Breaking in to the Movies* and the sociological investigations of Robert C. Bulman's *Hollywood Goes to High School*. There are no extant studies with a dedicated focus on and critical exploration of British secondary education as depicted on film. Of broader works with a discrete section on school films Jeffrey Richards again heads the class with his chapter entitled 'The Old School Tie' in his *Visions of Yesterday*. Here Richards establishes the tenets of a public school education ethos as expounded in both film and literature: sandwiched between page and screen surveys are examples of the public school archetype put to work in an imperial setting, mostly resulting in 'heroic defeat' as in *Scott of the Antarctic* (Charles Friend, 1948). Jim Leach also devotes a chapter to 'The Ruling Class: Ideology and the School Movie' in his *British Film*, an

exploration of British cinema in its social, political and cultural contexts. The centrepiece of Leach's survey is a comparison of the extremes of social status and educational provision revealed by *If...* and *Kes*, together resonantly defined as 'Acts of Class Villainy' (2004: 182–98).

5 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This book will highlight a similar socio-educational polarisation. It explores the cinematic framing of the British educational experience by examining a wide variety of films that feature significant representations of secondary schools and schooling. It explores the ways in which teachers, pupils and schooling in general are represented on the British screen and what these representations signify, both 'wittingly' and 'unwittingly'.⁵ Though some of the expedient film groupings may strike one as being as arbitrary as the awarding of Hogwarts house points, this work aims to demonstrate that, for the first half of the twentieth century, British film treatment of education comprised a near-total concentration on the role and (largely positive) value of the fee-paying 'public' school. Later films will more openly problematise school's capacity to be relevant to the lives of its charges and to achieve both local and national goals, often exploring the increasingly unstable role of teachers and articulating contextually generated concerns about the ability not only of its schools but of the nation itself to control and shape social change, embodied in its young. Finally, through the lens of the school film, this study simultaneously offers a historical study of British cinema itself, highlighting its evolving and varying practices of production, exhibition, star-billing and artistic merit.

Class begins.

NOTES

1. On the institutionalisation of corporal punishment in British schools, see Jacob Middleton (2012) 'Spare the Rod'. *History Today*, 62, 11. The practice was only banned in British state schools in 1987.
2. For a full treatment of 'the idea of a National Cinema', see Higson 1996: 4–25
3. For instance, Channel 4's *P'tang, Yang, Kipperbang* (Michael Apted, 1982) was given a limited theatrical release in the summer of 1984: 'The larger dimensions of the cinema screen don't help this romantic comedy', noted Ruth Baumgarten. *Monthly Film Bulletin*, September 1984: 283.

4. The first school story is commonly attributed to Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* (1749). While approximately 60 school stories preceded Hughes' novel, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* 'popularised the genre as a whole'. Robert Kirkpatrick (2000) *The Encyclopaedia of Boys' School Stories*. Farnham: Ashgate: 2.
5. On the distinctions between the intentional and unintentional evidence provided by primary sources, see Arthur Marwick (1989) *The Nature of History*. London: Macmillan: 216–8.

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