

My Ancestors Died Here: *Requiem for a Village* and the horror of modernity and socio-cultural change in rural England

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In this chapter I will focus on David Gladwell's elegiac *Requiem for a Village* (1975), a film that sits on the periphery of current critical formulations of the folk horror genre, but which nevertheless shares many of the genre's key themes and concerns and much of its iconography. As Adam Scovell points out, 'Gladwell's film deserves to be more widely seen and discussed because it exemplifies a key theme in Folk Horror; the breakdown of the everyday normality that occurs through an obsession with the seemingly normal.' (Scovell 2017: 83) The film centres on the experience, thoughts, memories and visions of one old man (Vic Smith), who, while slowly and carefully tending graves in a village churchyard in 1970s Suffolk, talks about his memories of people who now lie buried there, and witnesses (or imagines) these long-dead villagers rising from their graves in two extraordinary slow-motion sequences. Paying close attention to the rich aesthetics of the film, I will argue that through its Soviet montage-influenced editing scheme, which dialectically collides images of nature and timeless rural activities with images of the uniform architecture of a new suburban housing estate and rural fields being prepared by huge machines for further new housing, *Requiem for a Village* locates horror in an ongoing battle between the 'old ways' which are in danger of being eradicated on the one hand and modernity and rapid socio-cultural change in rural England on the other. I argue that *Requiem for a Village* develops a complex and fragmented vision of the 'monstrous', which is at once located in the

memories and/or visions and experiences of the unnamed old man, but also in modernity broadly conceived, symbolised by the vast digging and earth-flattening machines.

David Gladwell is best known for his work as editor on Lindsay Anderson's *If...* (1968) and *O Lucky Man!* (1973), and on the 1972 BBC television series *Ways of Seeing*, presented by the art critic, John Berger. Gladwell also made the films *A Summer Discord* (1955), *Miss Thompson Goes Shopping* (1958), *28b Camden Street* (1963) and *An Untitled Film* (aka *The Killing*) (1964). The director has made it clear that his influences were drawn primarily from European art cinema: 'Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Prévert, Claire, Bunuel, Cocteau, Fellini, Resnais, Vigo.' (Gladwell 2011: 14) I will demonstrate that there is clear evidence of the influence of the work of Eisenstein and Pudovkin on display in *Requiem for a Village*. But Gladwell has also signalled the fact that the main inspiration for the film was the English painter, Stanley Spencer: 'People emerging from graves as embodied spirits in the clothes they wore in life, waking from a long sleep, yawning and rubbing their eyes: stretching and catching sight of friends and relatives among the living.' (Gladwell 2011: 15) Some of the camerawork in the film is by Walter Lassally, a key figure in the Free Cinema and British New Wave movements. The music in *Requiem for a Village*, by David Fanshawe, plays a crucial role in conjuring up the sense of a deep communal past in one rural location. As Elisabeth Sussex put it, Fanshawe's music is 'evocative of a once immovable faith'. (Sussex 1975/76: 60) But the music also creates a profoundly melancholy atmosphere in the film, which, when juxtaposed with the images, evokes a communal, shared sadness at what is being lost from rural England, while at the same time evoking the ghostly voices of the long dead. The formal qualities of *Requiem for a Village* pose problems for straightforward genre classification, because, while the images often seem to be like documentary footage, linking

the film to the earlier Free Cinema movement, the use of a fragmentary, intercutting, Soviet montage-influenced editing style lends the film a modernist aesthetic, problematising, as it does, linear time and space. But there is plenty in the film, visually, thematically, and performatively, to consider it within the critical contexts of folk horror. Funded by the British Film Institute Production Board, *Requiem for a Village* was shot on location in rural Suffolk and features the villagers of Witnesham and Metfield. After fading into obscurity, the film was released as a dual DVD/Blu-ray by the British Film Institute in 2011 as part of its 'Flipside' series. This package included a booklet with contributions from the director David Gladwell, as well as Shona Barrett and Rob Young, among others. This BFI release has further enshrined the cult status of the film.

Several films of the late 1960s and early 1970s depict historical rural British communities in which evil stirs. Examples include *Witchfinder General* (Michael Reeves, 1968), *The Plague of the Zombies* (John Gilling, 1966), *Blood on Satan's Claw* (Piers Haggard, 1971) and the portmanteau horror film *And Now the Screaming Starts!* (aka *Fengriffen*) (Roy Ward Baker, 1973). But other films of the period depict horror unfolding in contemporary rural British places. Key examples include *Doomwatch* (Peter Sasdy, 1972), *Neither the Sea Nor the Sand* (Fred Burnley, 1972), *The Wicker Man* (Robin Hardy, 1973), *Straw Dogs* (Sam Peckinpah, 1973), *Killer's Moon* (Alan Birkinshaw, 1978) and *The Shout* (Jerzy Skolimowski, 1978). These films depict strange or disturbing activity on the remote edges of mainstream 1970s British socio-cultural experience. As such, all these films fit within (or at the very least on the periphery of) most extant critical formulations of folk horror. After all, as Scovell usefully remarks, the folk horror cannon is not rigid (Scovell 2017: 81), and is best seen, 'not simply as a set of criteria to be read with hindsight into all sorts of media, but as a way of opening

up discussions on subtly interconnected work and how we now interact with such work.’ (Scovell 2017: 5-6) Moreover, Simon J. Bronner has advocated that while ‘folk’ on the one hand can suggest a community, it can ‘also be construed as an adjective meaning “traditional”,’ bound up in the processes of ‘intergenerational transmission and localized culture’ (2017: 1). *Requiem for a Village* certainly focuses on the experience of ‘folk’; of rural, common people, across time.

Folk horror films are often spatially complex. Indeed, it is often ‘anxieties about modernity and modern social change’ that explain the appearance of what Peter Hutchings (2004: 29) terms an uncanny ‘British anti-landscape’. What comes across in Hutchings’s important work is how far rural horror in British films often develops out of a distinct spatial tension between proto-modern, modern and postmodern urban centres (and London and the Home Counties particularly) and distant, seemingly backward peripheral places in which things/cultures/ideas that lie buried might rise at any time. In a recent article on space, place and the horror of rural landscapes, James Thurgill usefully argues:

Existing writing on folk horror has presented the topophobia of rural landscapes as a priori, suggesting that pastoral spaces are conceived of in the popular geographic imagination as inherently threatening. This suggests that, at their core, ‘countryside’ geographies are read as problematic spaces due to their perceived isolation and backwardness, supporting the idea that modernization is both oppositional to the identity of rural communities and rejected by them. In this context, folk horror demonstrates a co-opting of the (largely) metropolitan understanding of rurality as a homogenous spatiality. Observed through the lens of the ‘urban gaze’, the nuance of

pastoral landscapes is lost in reductive articulations of rurality as singular and static.

(Thurgill 2020: 34)

While several folk horror films depict rural places as threatening and dangerous (the most obvious example being *The Wicker Man*), this threat tends to be most obviously felt by unwanted incomers or socio-cultural outsiders. However, in *Requiem for a Village*, any sense of threat or danger is instead experienced by locals and insiders; people who are evidently fearful of the rapid and uncontrollable change being brought to their rural English village by faceless mechanical harbingers of modernity.

Writing about the growth of suburbia in the US in the 1950s, Lewis Mumford argued: 'In the suburb one might live and die without marring the image of an innocent world, except when some shadow of evil fell over a column in the newspaper. Thus, the suburb served as an asylum for the preservation of illusion. Here domesticity could prosper, oblivious of the pervasive regimentation beyond. This was not merely a child-centered environment; it was based on a childish view of the world, in which reality was sacrificed to the pleasure principle.' (Mumford 1961: 494) In the decades after the end of the Second World War, England saw many new housing developments built, which allowed young families to move out of bomb-damaged and often dilapidated cities to brand new, clean, controlled, safe environments such as suburbs and new towns. Such new environments saw the development of a new way of life in England, caught between the agrarian and the urban worlds, often defined by socio-cultural conformity and an embrace of the growing practice of consumerism. The new housing estate seen in *Requiem for a Village* – and the fields being prepared for further development – speak, in rich, poetic ways, of tensions at the heart of

the identity of a 1970s England undergoing profound socio-cultural changes and struggling through the tensions brought about by processes of modernisation. Anthony Alexander points out that 'Environmental determinism – the notion that crime and immorality were created or amplified by the urban environment – led to a tacit view that a better environment would therefore produce a better society.' (Alexander 2009: 72) The growth of the new housing estates in post-War England was pushed by planners along balanced and healthy lines, and primarily sprang from a moral imperative (Saint 1988: 147) Suburbs have much in common with New Towns, architecturally and socially. They are, after all, places which have become synonymous with family values and community (Short 1991: 50) Suburbs and New Towns also resist stable and separate spatial categories such as 'urban' and 'countryside', instead suggesting that socio-cultural tensions could develop between new and old ways of maintaining personal and community identities. Interestingly, Short points out that 'By the 1970s the suburbs had become part of the psyche and intellectual landscape and supporters of the suburbs began to emerge.' (Short 1991: 52) But the geographer David Matless recognises that the suburb became a 'contentious English landscape', 'valued by some as essentially English in its modest scale, domestic values and humdrum life, and castigated by others for the same characteristics'. (Matless 1998: 34) Comfortable suburban life certainly became a fixture in some notable British television sitcoms of the period, in which it was celebrated and critiqued. These include *Happy Ever After* (BBC, 1974– 78); *The Good Life* (BBC, 1975– 78); *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin* (BBC, 1976– 79); *Butterflies* (BBC, 1978– 83); and *Terry and June* (BBC, 1979– 87). But these representations of suburban life were often marked by dramatic tension fuelled by differences in class, race, and differing levels of socio-cultural conformity. Suburbs also featured widely in sex comedy films of the 1970s, such as in *Confessions of a Window*

Cleaner (Val Guest, 1974), in which a level of sexual depravity or sexual freedom (depending on your viewpoint) previously hidden from view, behind closed curtains, was thrust onto the surface of suburban English life.

The opening shots of *Requiem for a Village* feature images of the roofs of a new suburban housing development (shot on the Stoke Park estate in southern Ipswich), with television aerials prominently visible, signalling the flow of mass culture and consumerism into the living rooms of the families living here. The close-up images of architectural details of the houses emphasise their uniform nature: all clean lines and fresh bricks, clearly symbolising socio-cultural conformity. Over these images, on the soundtrack we hear the quotidian sounds of a transistor radio, overheard conversations, and babies crying. This is a new space, then, designed for new family life. But the film nevertheless shows that for one older resident, this new life has invaded the fields of an old England he has always known. The old man (Vic Smith) lives in a house on this new suburban development, but he appears to be an incongruous figure here, with his scruffy hair and his unkept demeanour. He rides his bicycle slowly through the quotidian architecture of this new, modern, suburban England; cars neatly parked on the side of the street. There is an overwhelming sense of newness here; of a place where a brand-new culture is developing, and where any trace of an ancient rural English past has been erased.

Gladwell cuts from this image of an archetypal, 1960s or 1970s-built suburban English street to a shot of a cultivated field with mature trees in the distance. The visible juxtaposition between these spaces is made clear. The agrarian past is still evident in this rural field in a way it is not obviously present in the housing estate. We see a leafy old country lane.

Gladwell then cuts to a shot of an old cottage, and then to an old village graveyard; lichen covering the weathered headstones. We also see shots of well-trodden rural paths. The old man then arrives on his bicycle at a busy dual carriageway. He is also an anachronistic figure at this modern roadside; cars swerving, roaring past him as he wobbles slowly along on his bicycle. Gladwell cuts again to another shot of the new housing estate. Here, a bright pink ice cream van waits in the centre of the frame. The jarring juxtaposition between old and new is further continued through the editing scheme, as Gladwell then cuts to a shot of old cottages, and a series of close-up images of their architectural specificities. This is followed by the first of several shots of the huge land-flattening equipment in a field; giant, yellow vehicles in the livery of the Wimpey Homes construction company.

Developed by Soviet filmmakers and theorists such as Lev Kuleshov, Dziga Vertov, Esfir Shub, Vsevolod Pudovkin and Sergei Eisenstein, montage theory stems from the idea that connecting a series of images through film editing can allow a filmmaker to convey complex ideas and illicit an intellectual response from the audience. For Sergei Eisenstein, montage was a highly political form of filmmaking. Montage could contribute massively to the ideological and intellectual power of a film. Inspired by the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism (the process by which social and political change occurs), Eisenstein famously introduced montage to his films *Strike* and *Battleship Potemkin*. This montage had the effect of creating a synthesis out of two sets of images; a synthesis which conveyed an unmistakable political message by affecting pathos and emotion in the audience (see Eisenstein 1987: 3-6; 198-99. See also Eisenstein 1998: 93). In *Requiem for a Village*, Gladwell primarily employs a Soviet-style intellectual montage in order to communicate to the audience that radical and violent changes to this ancient rural English landscape are

being brought about by faceless, gigantic mechanical leviathans. These huge machines being are represented here, then, with the aid of the dialectical editing scheme, as monstrous invaders and destroyers of an old England; laying waste to the old ways; brutally digging up the earth and flattening trees and shrubs.

The montage continues. Gladwell cuts again to the old man, now tending a grave, with Fanshawe's haunting music returning. This is the beginning of one of the most remarkable sequences in *Requiem for a Village*; a sequence that perhaps most obviously marks the film as an example of folk horror. The old man looks up. His attention has been drawn to something. As Gladwell cuts to a point-of-view shot, we see that the old man has spotted the surface of a grave moving. Hands appear out of this grave, and gradually, in slow motion, a man rises up, wearing his Sunday best. Elsewhere in the graveyard, other villagers in period clothing subsequently start to shake off the earth and lift themselves out of their graves, slowly making their way into the church. The old man eagerly follows them, still holding his shears, and with another cut we see him, young again, arriving at his own wedding. This is followed by striking images of the villagers' faces in the church, communicating the fact that this is a close-knit community. Then Gladwell cuts to some painterly shots of rural folk making hay in the fields, as they would have done for generations. These images are intercut in a montage with the marriage ceremony, which functions as a kind of folk ritual, bringing the community together for a shared celebration. Thurgill argues: 'Time and history are integral components of folk horror, emerging as either a survival of the past, a returning of the past, or a returning to the past. The tripartite organization of time in folk horror, while often displaying overlap, offers a useful way of thinking about how spatial experience is inflected and unsettled by the passing of time.'

(Thurgill 2020: 45) Thurgill also usefully notes that analyses of folk horror have turned to ideas of spectrality and hauntology, a concept initiated by Jacques Derrida (1994) to describe the haunted political situation at the end of the twentieth-century, 'and specifically the haunting of and by Marxist political thought, hauntology shares its lineage with a number of 'endist' writings that emerged between the late 1970s and early 1990s.' (Thurgill 2020: 45) As the writer Mark Fisher claims: 'Haunting can be seen as intrinsically resistant to the contraction and homogenization of time and space. It happens when a place is stained by time, or when a particular place becomes the site for an encounter with broken time' (Fisher 2012: 19). *Requiem for a Village* is a profoundly hauntological text, centrally concerned with broken time; with distant memories of a place informing this place as it rapidly changes in the present day.

FIGURE 1

In order to communicate the buried nature of much of English history and culture, and what can happen when this history and culture breaks through into contemporary life, folk horror films often focus on the symbolic materiality of the earth as a surface through which elements of this long-dead past might reappear. This is particularly the case in *Blood on Satan's Claw* (Piers Haggard, 1971), in which one sequence has the camera placed in a field at ground level (Newland 2016) in order to emphasise the human relationship to the earth itself, and to signal the fact that disturbing secrets might lie beneath the surface of things. Dawn Keetley makes an important point about how this sense of a culture lying buried but with the potential to resurface can have a dramatic effect of events unfolding in the contemporary moment in folk horror films: 'If folk horror often serves to 're-enchant' the

world with belief in the supernatural, its evocation of a prior and now vanished enchanted world can also serve to emphasize exactly how profoundly disenchanted the contemporary world is.' (Keetley 2020: 16) *Requiem for a Village* is also a film which explores 'potential pasts under the surface top-layer of the landscape', as Scovell puts it (2017: 46). Rob Young employed the folklorist George Ewart Evans' phrase 'the pattern under the plough' to describe what he calls the 'sense of the past lying just behind the present' in Gladwell's film (Young 2010: 18).

Gladwell gives us shots of blacksmiths at work, taking pride in their labour; their traditional, ancient craft. But then, in a strange sequence reminiscent of several period-set, location-shot British horror films of the early 1970s, we see a child capture a small frog and hang it by its leg from a tree near a stream. A sudden cut takes us on through time, eliminating weeks or even months, and now we see nothing than the frog's skeleton remaining. The bones are broken into pieces by hands in close-up and tossed into nearby water. In a continuation of the dialectical editing pattern, we see a shot of a horse captured in slow motion. The film then cuts to shots of a small dog on a lead, walking across the paving stones in a pedestrianised shopping precinct. The relative freedom of the horse in nature is thus symbolically and dialectically juxtaposed with the image of the domesticated pet animal being led-through a modern space of consumerism. Offering evidence of the influence of European art cinema, Gladwell has written that his interest in incorporating slow-motion shots came from his love of sequences such as the pillow-fight in *Zéro de Conduite* (Jean Vigo, 1933), the funeral procession in *Entr'acte* (René Clair, 1924), and the boy's nightmare in *Los Olvidados* (aka *The Young and the Damned*) (Luis Buñuel, 1950) (Gladwell 2011: 14-5).

Other sections of the film locate us firmly within the everyday lives of the past villagers in a more naturalistic way. Indeed, the charming longer sequence that covers the events around the wedding breakfast also has a documentary, or Free cinema-type feel to it. The gathered villagers sing old songs such as 'Daisy, Daisy', and show themselves to be an organic 'folk' community. Theirs is a simple, rural existence. A newly married couple's first night together is also captured as a slow-moving, fumbling, nervous ritual, silent but for the sounds of rustling clothes being discarded; tentative footsteps taken on creaking wooden floorboards. Gladwell then cuts to the scream of a woman in childbirth; her baby is seen emerging from her body. Time passes rapidly again via a cut, and this child, now an adult woman, watches her father (the old man – Vic Smith) leave the suburban house with his bicycle. At this moment in the film, a biker gang enters the new landscape. This gang performs a complex symbolic function in the film, evoking a US-influenced rebellious youth subculture, lawlessness and modernity. This gang will play a key part in the narrative later. Gladwell certainly exaggerates the aggressive nature of their faceless movements through space, and the monstrous roar of the motorbike engines. They burn off down a country lane under looming electricity pylons, which operate as symbols of the modernity of a new England.

In a key sequence in the film that works through the old man's view of changes occurring to the village, he enters a field in which one of the huge yellow earth-moving machines stands idle. He slowly circles it – a process which makes its monstrous size abundantly clear – and then attacks it with a clump of earth. Robin Wood has argued that in horror films, 'normality is threatened by the Monster' (1986: 78). In this sequence, the giant machinery, as we have seen through the previous montage, is violently bringing change to this rural landscape, and as such operates as a demonstrably monstrous presence. The 'monster' in horror can be

manifested in things a society represses or oppresses. In other words, the monster can operate is society's 'other'. David Bell explores 'articulations' of the rural through horror films in which he argues that the 'victim' is coded as urban and the setting and the 'monster' are coded as rural (Bell 1997: 95). Wood argues that through the figure of the monster, horror films stage 'the struggle for recognition of all that our civilization represses or oppresses' (1986: 75). In Wood's understanding of the monster, a vision of contemporary socio-cultural 'normality' is set against the repressed or oppressed 'other'. The boundaries between normality and the monstrous are transgressed, generating horror. But here, in *Requiem for a Village*, the monster is not simply coded as rural. Instead, the monster is coded as a vision of modernity which threatens the rural.

FIGURE 2

Requiem for a Village features disturbing moments of horror reminiscent of more obviously canonical folk horror films. In the visions of connections between the past and the present constructed in the film, things occur in the film that are morally repugnant. This is particularly the case with the rape sequence. This begins with an idyllic painterly country scene of farm labourers cutting corn on a warm day. Children bring lunch. We see fresh bread in close up; the hands of a woman cutting an onion; hunks of bread and cheese being shared. As the relaxed lunch unfolds, two of the men present follow a young woman away from the assembled villagers, and subsequently brutally force themselves on her and rape her. This sequence is intercut with shots of the male bikers raping a young woman in the graveyard in the contemporary moment. While horrific and disturbing, the montage here

appears to suggest that Gladwell wants this extreme sexual violence to operate on a symbolic level as well as an intellectual and emotional level.

As the film moves towards its final moments, the old man leaves his day at work in the graveyard and walks his bicycle out through the gate. Meanwhile, we see intercut images of the biker gang careering at speed down country lanes. The montage here indicates what is about to happen. The old man is violently struck by one of the bikers, and falls, twisted, onto the road. As Elizabeth Sussex puts it, this is the man's 'last on earth' (Sussex 1975/76: 60). But the old man – and this time the gathered villagers - witness (or imagine) the dead rising slowly up from their graves again. During this sequence, the soundtrack features a haunting musical refrain – ghostly lines sung by a lover as if from beyond the grave: 'God will give you to me again'. The film cuts to an empty rural wasteland; an area cleared for a new development. Now the singers join in on the lines: 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away'.

For the final shot of the film, Gladwell cuts again to the new housing development, with the biker gang roaring towards the camera, down the street. This is 1970s England; a nation poised on the cusp of modernity, but also unable to forget past traditions; a nation in which the past is ever-present, even if it is not always visible in the new developments springing up across the countryside. The spatial and socio-cultural tensions between newness and immaturity on the one hand, and oldness and maturity on the other, are explored by other films of the period which utilise the *mise-en-scène* of similar, New Town or suburban-type locations. For example, *Psychomania* (aka *The Death Wheelers*) (Don Sharp, 1972) tells the story of a biker gang that hangs out at a pagan stone circle situated in the English

countryside. They commit suicide so they can return as the 'undead', and then take trips into town in order to wreak havoc on the living. The bikers in *Psychomania*, led by Tom (Nicky Henson), call themselves 'The Living Dead'. A key sequence in this film features the gang terrorising shoppers in a provincial 1960s-built shopping precinct (shot in Walton-on-Thames, near Shepperton Studios). Here, as in *Requiem for a Village*, we see the fresh newness of the building development; the sleek, modern lines of the shops, and the colourful, abundant, ordered piles of mass-produced consumer goods on display in the supermarket. By 1974, ASDA had opened twenty-seven 'superstores' of more than 25,000 square feet in Britain; the Co-op had opened twenty-three; Fine Fare, twenty-one; Tesco, twenty; and Morrisons, eleven (Sandbrook 2011: 339). In 1970s films such as *The Offence* (Sidney Lumet, 1972), starring Sean Connery, it became clear that despite the promise of a safe new life offered by such new suburban housing developments, they would ultimately not always guarantee safety, security and happiness. In *The Offence*, set on a new housing estate, a young girl is abducted and raped. In Vincent Canby's words, this abduction takes place 'where lawns fade into scrubby fields that don't give one a feeling of space as much as emptiness.' (Canby 1973: 5)

Requiem for a Village is an example of 'rural cinema'. For Catherine Fowler and Gillian Helfield (2006), rural cinema can be distinguished from heritage cinema. As they point out, 'the heritage film may demonstrate a harmonious relationship between man and nature and between peasant and fellow members of the rural community [...] Within rural cinema, however, the mood is not always nostalgic, nor are the films' representations of the rural inhabitant necessarily positive'. (2006: 5-6) Furthermore, rural cinema is concerned primarily with the relationship between the land and its inhabitants, and how this

relationship develops in terms of a merging of physical and social landscapes. (2006: 6) As we have seen, *Requiem for a Village* certainly displays aspects of Fowler and Helfield's formulation of rural cinema, not least through one important feature that provides structure to the lives of rural inhabitants (but also to the film itself): natural cycles. These films take us through the seasons, linked cycles in agriculture, but also cycles of birth and death, and long-held cultural cycles (witness the religious events and folk rituals). Sarah Cardwell points out that 'Landscapes in heritage films are controlled, peaceful, unthreatening.' (Cardwell 2006: 26) But in contrast to this, there is an unremitting state of threat in *Requiem for a Village* - the threat of change; of newness; of modernity.

In conclusion, *Requiem for a Village* displays some of the generic markers of folk horror. It might be a folk horror film because it so obviously locates horror in the threat of change to a distinct rural location. But ultimately the film resists any easy generic classification. It functions as Soviet-style political film of ideological and intellectual force; as a rural drama; as a neo-modernist exploration of memory, time and place; as a rural documentary; and as a poetic meditation on changes to rural England. Overall, *Requiem for a Village* is a rare film about an English agrarian conservative impulse and the ongoing tensions between this impulse and the changes brought about by modernity, consumer culture and globalisation.

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