

Power, speed and glamour

The naming of express steam locomotives in inter-war Britain

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This article assesses the cultural and political significance of the locomotive naming practices of the 'Big Four' British railway companies during the inter-war years, illustrating the prevailing attitudes from some of the controversies that arose within and beyond the companies themselves, and pointing out the ways in which the chosen themes reinforced an identification between political conservatism, tradition, speed and modernity, fitting in convincingly with other aspects of the inter-war years and especially the 1930s. The argument is that the four major regional railway companies that resulted from the 'grouping' of 1923 adopted naming policies for their high-profile express steam locomotives that responded to and reinforced elite assumptions about the kinds of knowledge that were important and suitable for propagation and celebration. In allocating themes that invoked empire, royalty, aristocracy, the public schools, the armed forces, civic pride and elite recreations to the naming of locomotive classes, they were also reinforcing the established social and political order. The hegemony of these assumptions about the 'proper', 'patriotic' subject matter for express train locomotive names was such that the same assumptions persisted into the post-nationalisation era, with aristocratic, military and especially naval themes remaining well to the fore in the 1950s and 1960s, when enthusiastic interest in railways was still widespread among men of all ages (but especially younger ones), as is indicated by the success of the specialist Ian Allan publishing firm (and later the railway history specialists, David & Charles), and the emergence and development of the railway preservation movement.¹ A significant political dimension to this was that the Conservative Prime Ministers Sir Winston Churchill and Harold Macmillan had main-line locomotives named after them, but their Labour counterparts Clement Attlee, under whose government the railways were nationalised, and Harold Wilson were not so favoured. But the relationship between locomotive naming and the endorsement and propagation of a broadly conservative and imperial world view was, I suggest, at its strongest in the inter-war years, and it may be viewed as an extension of the 'propaganda and empire' thesis advanced by John MacKenzie in 1984 about the relationship between imperialism and popular culture in Britain, and developed by many other writers during the interven-

ing years.² As we shall see, matters were not always as simple as this broad introductory thesis suggests, and there were assorted cross- and counter-currents, especially when the railway companies of the 1920s and 1930s had to engage with commercial considerations, and influential expressions of attachment to earlier naming traditions, that pulled policies in other directions; but the overall argument is robust.

This is, of course, part of a much wider picture. The naming practices contributed to the establishment and perpetuation of the cultural hegemony of the ruling class at a point where its aristocratic, business/technocratic and military incarnations came into particularly close contact, and under circumstances where challenge and negotiation were conspicuous by their absence. To choose, classify and publicise the names of powerful objects with strong symbolic connotations is to exercise more than just discretion: it is to mould perceptions of what is to be celebrated and what to be ignored, in ways that both reflect and reinforce established cultural and, in important senses, political assumptions and priorities. As readings of (for example) Gramsci and Foucault might suggest, this is no trivial matter. It might even be incorporated into a version of the 'dominant ideology' thesis that Abercrombie, Hill and Turner criticised cogently some years ago without actually destroying it. The work of Slavoj Žižek reinforces this in highly pertinent ways. Žižek argues that nations (or national elites) seek to reinforce national unity by appealing to tradition even as they pursue economic policies that undermine what they wish to affirm. They vest that identity in signs and symbols, and Žižek is particularly interested in the power of names to sustain such illusions, relying on the 'symbolic fiction' of shared assumptions that underpins the consensus of daily living. This can in turn be referred back to Berger and Luckmann's analysis of the 'social construction of reality', through the construction, ordering and naming of the parts and hierarchies of a reassuring 'symbolic universe' designed to impose a vision of reassuring order on the chaos of wilderness and night. The protocols of the naming of locomotives fit such analyses very convincingly, as we shall see.³

The British practice of giving names to railway locomotives dates back to the beginning of steam traction: it originated before the *Rocket* won the Rainhill trials of 1829, remained widespread on many but not all Victorian and Edwardian railways, revived strongly after the First World War and has continued through occasional vicissitudes ever since. Locomotives (as opposed to train services, which were frequently given names for publicity purposes) were sometimes named in other cultures but never in as systematic or thoroughgoing a way as in Britain. The adoption of themed name series associated with particular classes of engine began on the Great Western Railway in 1837 and developed in earnest after the Highland Railway and the Great Western itself took it up again from the 1890s. As H. C. Casserley remarked forty years ago, 'It is curious that the practice of giving names to locomotives has been much more widespread in the British Isles than elsewhere . . .'⁴ It is perhaps even more curious that several full-length books have been devoted to descriptive histories and glossaries dealing with the practice, aimed at the

very substantial railway enthusiast market, but with very little in the way of serious critical reflection. Casserley himself commented in passing on the surprising absence of composers and musicians in the lists of locomotive names (with the significant exception of Sir Edward Elgar, who was very much part of the patriotic agenda) and on the lack of explorers, who would certainly have enhanced an imperial theme.⁵ Some speculative comments by John Goodman, one of the large number of railway enthusiasts to have come from the ranks of the Church of England clergy, do anticipate some of the arguments of this article, but from a different set of assumptions and values:

It was a sense of national pride that brought about the series of warships at the turn of the century, and the names of the components of the Empire at the time of the Silver Jubilee of King George V. It was the pressure of competition which provided the name Royal Scot, an inspired response to the Great Western claim to be the 'The Royal Road'.⁶

This combination of patriotism and public relations in the naming of locomotives was indeed a recurrent theme, which complicates the argument of this article.

The practice of locomotive naming embraced all shapes and sizes of motive power, and the prevalent form it took varied accordingly, although the smaller the locomotive, and the more local, informal and potentially subversive the naming process, the less it tells us directly about the official attitudes, and the propagation of messages about what was culturally important, with which this article is concerned. The naming of a small diesel shunting engine after the depot cat tells us less about overarching attitudes and values than does the allocation of the names of members of the royal family to highly visible main-line express locomotives.⁷ But the naming of steam locomotives, in particular, which was later extended to other forms of railway traction, seems to express a sense that this most sensitive of machines, which responds so precisely to the touch and style of an individual driver, is a veritable 'iron horse' with a kind of quasi-life of its own: as a contributor to the *Railway Magazine* put it in 1926, 'so many people have come to associate an element of personality with locomotive engines'.⁸ That the elite's love affair with the horse should be extended and transferred to the steam locomotive makes it less surprising that, as we shall see, so many London & North Eastern engines were named after racehorses, despite the absurdity (on certain assumptions) of some of the names that resulted (such as Blink Bonny and Spearmint).⁹ Enthusiasts' commentaries on naming practices sometimes reveal a sense of propriety, at least as regards main-line engines, and Michael Collins denounced informal and unofficial namings, such as 'Tog' on an ageing passenger diesel locomotive, as 'border[ing] on the edge of graffiti' and 'cheapen[ing] the whole naming concept'.¹⁰ Such comments reflect the enduring nature of a widespread contemporary perception within the industry and its enthusiast following that main-line locomotives should carry impressive names with august connotations, and, as well as criticising some of the racehorse names, Casserley himself commented adversely on the brief pre-1914

Great Western practice of naming express locomotives after flowers, which he thought inappropriate and demeaning.¹¹

This article deals, then, with official locomotive naming practices and their meanings at the highest level of the system, at the point when they were at their most visible, and most closely connected with the public image of the railway operator. It focuses on the express passenger locomotives that, up to the Second World War and for some time afterwards, were the epitome of speed, displacement and the glamour of the romantic journey. The naming of such locomotives gave them a special prestige, and contemporaries were well aware that naming practices related railway hierarchies to those of the wider human society. Here is E. P. Leigh-Bennett, for example, writing about Battersea locomotive shed in 1930:

One hundred and eleven engines are domiciled here, of varying social positions in the hierarchy of the line. The aristocrats are, of course, the Lord Nelsons and King Arthurs. They haul the Boat Expresses, and, naturally, are entirely unaware of the lurking presence of the lower orders, especially of the 'truck punchers', who are to them merely the riff-raff of the engine universe. . .¹²

As this promotional article for the general public indicates, the choice of names itself acquired a significance that went beyond the system itself, and the large body of enthusiasts who followed its workings, to reach out to the public at large. The writer Ian Jack captures the broad and diffuse nature of the hinterland of influence by remarking, more than forty years later, that the train from London to Dover that introduced him to a new, lush, southern England in 1959 was pulled by 'a steam locomotive named after a public school', itself incidentally a product of the inter-war years. To a Scot travelling to the south of England for the first time, this clearly seemed itself to be a symbol of the affluent Home Counties.¹³

Direct evidence on the official thinking behind the allocation of names to locomotives and themes to classes is in short supply, although some revealing indirect examples drawn from correspondence are provided as the argument develops. As the well connected Rev. Eric Treacy, a future Bishop of Wakefield, remarked in 1949, in the first of his many books on steam locomotives and enginemen: 'I don't know who picks the names for locomotives; in the old days it may have been the General Manager's wife who had an inspiration . . .'¹⁴ Occasionally railway company minutes allow us to get a little closer to less fanciful sources of inspiration: when the London Midland & Scottish Railway relaxed its policy of refraining from naming locomotives in 1927, to recognise the publicity value of its new Royal Scot class, the preferred military and historic names were chosen by Sir Henry Fowler, the Chief Mechanical Engineer, himself, although they were then referred upwards to the President of the Executive for 'consideration and decision' and some changes were made, most obviously in the formality with which regimental titles were represented.¹⁵ But it would be naive to expect to find official sources such as board minutes, policy documents or even memoirs

setting out the aims and objectives of locomotive naming practices: these emerged from deeper sets of hegemonic cultural assumptions that did not need to be articulated to those who were assumed to share them, although (as so often when hegemony is at issue) it would be dangerous to assume that the chosen names bore the same significance when contemplated by engine drivers, railway or other trade unionists, the growing body of railway enthusiasts or the broader 'lay' public.

Eric Treacy commented pertinently on these issues in 1949, against the backcloth of recent railway nationalisation and the egalitarian atmosphere of the post-war Attlee government:¹⁶

Certainly, locomotive names will give the future historian some indication of the social history of the country. The Capitalist era perpetuates itself in the names of the Aristocracy, Hunts and Public Schools. I have often wondered whether the feelings of Socialist engine crews were considered in this connection. It is understandable that a driver who was a faithful Trade Unionist might object to driving an engine bearing the name of an aristocratic parasite whose very existence was a threat to the emancipation of the working class.

Treacy urged that British Railways' naming policy should adopt the common touch: Thomas Handley, perhaps, in rather formal homage to the music-hall performer, or Monty, honouring not just the general but the men he led. He would have preferred to see express locomotives named after Cumberland mountains or Yorkshire fells rather than duchesses, however fragrant; and he proposed a democratic naming policy for a new class of express engines to coincide with the Festival of Britain: 'Let these names reflect the British heritage, and let the whole class be known as "Britannia".' Something of the sort came to pass, while the mountain theme was used a little later for main-line diesel locomotives, but in his book the future bishop was striking new chords for new times, and times that were not to endure. The naming of a post-war express locomotive on the London & North Eastern Railway after a former General Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen did not start a trend, and W. P. Allen was greatly outnumbered at the time by locomotives named or renamed after directors of the company.¹⁷

As Treacy also commented, whether most drivers cared one way or the other about the cultural significance of the names of the locomotives they drove was at best a moot point; but where a driver regularly drove the same engine and became attached to it, the name could acquire a totemic significance for him in its own right. Norman McKillop, the historian of ASLEF, remarked in 1950 that 'It's not so very long since one of my older colleagues died in his house, with the name of his engine inscribed above the door.' That kind of pride and sense of identity with the symbols of the craft was very much alive in the inter-war years.¹⁸

More important in terms of sheer numbers was the important railway enthusiast constituency that already existed in the inter-war years, although it probably peaked in the 1950s and 1960s. The phenomenon of what was

later to be labelled the ‘train spotter’, who haunted railway stations in pursuit of locomotive numbers and, presumably, names, was apparently new in the later 1920s: at any rate, Bertram Joy, writing on ‘The fascination of the locomotive’ in the *Railway Magazine* in 1927, recounted as a strange novelty a recent encounter with a number taker on a train journey from Manchester to London.¹⁹ But lists of locomotive stock by railway, class and dimensions were beginning to be published, apparently beginning with those of the Great Western Railway in 1911, when only the named locomotives were listed, and developing during the 1920s as part of that railway’s rapidly expanding publicity machine.²⁰ The London & North Eastern followed suit a few years later, with a modest but elegant little publicity folder listing named locomotives, while the London Midland & Scottish seems not to have joined in until 1947, with an elaborate publication aimed at schoolboy ‘engine spotters’ but costing a formidable 2s 6d.²¹ By the 1920s the monthly *Railway Magazine*, founded in 1897 by the self-styled ‘railwayac’ George Augustus Sekon as the first specialist journal for railway enthusiasts, had long been featuring detailed accounts of locomotive movements and innovations, especially unexpected appearances of locomotive types away from their usual haunts.²² The *Railway Observer*, founded in 1928 as the journal of the Railway Correspondence & Travel Society, offered a great deal of additional detail on matters of this sort.²³ Some contributors to railway enthusiasts’ periodicals were already adopting locomotive numbers and names as noms-de-plume. In 1929 it was worth the Great Western Railway’s while to advertise surplus nameplates withdrawn from engines for sale to enthusiasts.²⁴ Beyond this level of involvement and identification, a contributor commented in 1926 on the widespread nature of a more general and (perhaps) less obsessive interest:

[A] very large proportion of the travelling public, not entirely in the junior section, is as much, if not more, interested in the locomotives themselves and in the work they do. One has only to note the little group of interested onlookers which can be seen in the neighbourhood of an engine attached to a principal express train on almost any line, to realise that this interest is real . . .²⁵

E. P. Leigh-Bennett echoed this in a Southern Railway promotional publication of 1930: ‘The laity of England loves its engines. When we are small boys we sprawl on bridges or trespass elsewhere on railway property to watch them thunder by, and to collect their names and numbers in a grubby notebook . . .’²⁶ The excitement generated by the inaugural long-distance non-stop runs of the rival Royal Scot and Flying Scotsman trains in 1927 attracted large crowds at stations and all along the lineside near population centres, and the LNER had already made good use of the eponymous *Flying Scotsman* locomotive for publicity purposes, offering cheap booklets, posters, postcards featuring the engine, and cardboard models. Here was a whole industry in the making.²⁷ The humorous magazine *Punch*, then still close to the height of its influence, published in late 1927 a set of verses entitled ‘Engines’, for ‘the young of all ages’, which consisted in large part of

a celebratory litany of locomotive names which readers were presumably expected to recognise.²⁸ All the evidence suggests that this was a highly gendered interest, and the response of specialist publishers to its existence did not grow rapidly until the immediate post-war years, to be supplemented by the nostalgia market that emerged in the 1970s, serviced exclusively by male authors.²⁹ But that it was already widespread and significant in the 1920s and 1930s cannot be gainsaid.

The companies themselves understood this to be the case, as is suggested by public relations campaigns, elaborate naming ceremonies and occasional discussions of aspects of naming policy. But before we discuss these issues, we need to introduce the names themselves, and how the patterns of naming adopted by the major companies changed over time. The 'Big Four' companies, established through amalgamation in 1923, were the London Midland & Scottish, the Great Western, the Southern and the London & North Eastern. Each inherited a different, and sometimes conflicting, array of attitudes to the naming of locomotives from its predecessor companies, and, as we saw earlier, it was, and remained, seldom clear exactly how the decisions were taken, and how responsibilities were divided between the board of directors (or perhaps a single enthusiastic or interested member of it), the senior salaried officials and the locomotive superintendent/chief mechanical engineer. We are told, for example, that F. W. Webb, locomotive superintendent of the London & North Western, had more or less a free hand in the choice of names. This apparently accounts for the otherwise incongruous appearance of the Sir Walter Scott character Jeanie Deans among a series of locomotives otherwise named after White Star liners (themselves reflecting the importance of Liverpool port traffic to the railway, and of interlocking directorships), after personal representations had been made by the chairman of the engineering section of the Edinburgh Exhibition of 1890.³⁰ On the London Brighton & South Coast Railway, on the other hand, the replacement of Billinton by Marsh as locomotive superintendent in 1905 led to the immediate abandonment of locomotive naming.³¹ Jim Pike comments jocularly (but plausibly) that 'There is a slight correlation between anonymous engines and Quaker locomotive superintendents', and on the diversity of practice before the grouping. He points out that 'there were railways like the London & North Western which reserved names for express passenger engines, while others, like the London & South Western, reserved names for only the smallest dock shunters'.³² Casserley argues that, apart from the Great Western, the major companies were retreating from the practice of naming locomotives by the First World War, but that the grouping, by intensifying competition between large companies which soon became highly conscious of the need to project an attractive corporate image, brought about a revival, as they 'embarked on a definite policy of naming their newly constructed express passenger locomotives'.³³ But there were certainly company traditions from the pre-war years that played their part in the working out of that policy.

The Great Western and London & North Western companies followed the most consistent policies of naming express locomotives before 1923. The

former passed unchallenged and almost unchanged into its new incarnation, keeping its traditions intact. It had followed a widespread Victorian pattern of allocating names from classical mythology to its express engines, but topographical, aristocratic and royal names featured increasingly from the turn of the century as well as flowers, birds and heavenly bodies. When the systematic, themed naming of passenger engines by class came in with the 'Castle' class from 1923, the company adopted an almost universal policy of celebrating stately homes, first on its own system, then farther afield, as the 'Halls' (1928), 'Granges' (1936) and 'Manors' (1938) followed the 'Castles'. In what appears to have been a reflection of the perceived hierarchy associated with landed society (or the status claims that were associated with attachment to it in the difficult inter-war years), the most powerful locomotives were identified with the largest or most ancient and 'historic' of the buildings, as the classes shaded down through the 'Halls' to the more yeoman-like 'Granges', with their intermediate passenger and express goods role, and the modest 'Manors' for lighter traffic on the secondary routes.³⁴ This apparent obsession with articulating the gradations of landed society was reinforced by the introduction in 1927 of the 'King' class for the heaviest and most prestigious express services, which celebrated male English and then British monarchs since the twelfth century. Neither Queen Elizabeth I, nor Queen Victoria, nor Oliver Cromwell featured on these imposing brass nameplates. Every speed record, every acceleration of services, every advertisement for a new named express train featured the name or class of the locomotives concerned and reinforced the message that the glamour of the railways was identified with the traditions and hierarchies of landed society. This evidence about the cultural priorities of the name givers, railway directors and senior managers who lived in or aspired to the charmed circle of that part of landed society that was finding new sources of income for new times might be used to provide support for Martin Wiener's argument that industrial Britain continued to be dominated by the values of an older landed society, in conjunction with the National Trust's growing concern to save the 'stately home' and the imagined way of life of the country estate, and the proliferation of a nostalgic celebratory countryside literature in the 1930s, in which the railways played their own part.³⁵ There is, of course, a lot more to it than that, and the flaws in Wiener's argument have been thoroughly exposed in subsequent literature, but the connections remain highly suggestive.³⁶

The case of the London & North Western, with its subsequent influence on the London Midland & Scottish, reinforces this theme, but with its own distinctive features. The company's early naming practices adopted a scatter-gun approach, mixing characters from classical and other mythologies, literature, place names, directors of the company and politicians (of both major parties: Gladstone and Disraeli both featured, as did Richard Cobden, although the engine bearing the name of Cobden's 'Manchester school' ally John Bright was later renamed *Glowworm*).³⁷ This period produced names that were later the object of ridicule, especially *Sisyphus*, which conjured up

visions of never-ending journeys, and *Liver*, more readily associated with a troublesome part of the body than with the mythology of a great port. From the turn of the century, however, a much more determined attachment to the celebration of British heroes, military might, elite pastimes and traditions, and imperial expansion made itself felt, beginning (fittingly) with the first 'Jubilee' class of 1897–1900, the year of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, which showed a new preoccupation with heroes and battleships. The 'Alfred the Great' and 'Precursor' classes developed similar themes, which reached their pre-war apogee in the 'George V' class of 1910–15, where heroes and imperial possessions jostled with industrialists and railway directors, hunting dogs and game birds, and (in a directly commercial touch) health and pleasure resorts served by the company, to offer a parodic panorama of the political landscape and social changes of the period. Later express classes reverted to a more anarchic mix, with poets and novelists appearing in the 'Prince of Wales' class of 1911–21 along with instant commemorations of First World War battles, even disastrous episodes like the Gallipoli landings. The naval influence remained especially strong, and the first nine locomotives after the title engine of the 'Prince of Wales' class were said to represent the warships in which he had served. British heroes of all kinds continued to be celebrated, from Lady Godiva to the iron and steel innovators Cort and Bessemer, and the strongly patriotic note was exemplified by the christening of a member of the 'Claughton' class (1913–21) with the name *Patriot*, with a suitable inscription, as the railway's war memorial engine.³⁸

When the LNWR was absorbed into the LMS in 1923 the influence of the Midland Railway was at first predominant within the new combine, with its preference for small, unostentatious locomotives and a related lack of interest in locomotive names. In 1923 the LMS Rolling Stock Committee minuted that no new names were to be issued, though existing ones could be kept, suggesting a compromise that favoured the Midland ethos. But, as Goodman argues, 'naming locomotives had from the start created interest, and was popular'. Rival companies were gaining from the associated publicity. As we saw earlier, in October 1927 another minute approved a list of names for the first of the new 'Royal Scot' class, impressive express engines that were a departure from previous LMS policy. Soon afterwards the old LNWR policy of passing on the names of life-expired locomotives to new ones of similar status was quietly reintroduced, and the stage was set for a naming campaign that went far beyond that of the Great Western in its endorsement of empire and of the traditions associated with royalty, aristocracy and military might.³⁹

The 'Royal Scot' class of 1927 celebrated famous regiments, but the original list of names also included commemorations of early locomotives, mainly from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which included a range of classical, evocative and sometimes archaic nomenclature: *Fury*, *Velocipede*, *Lancashire Witch*. A good deal was invested in this historical celebration, not least by the class's designer, Sir Henry Fowler, and special plaques were constructed to accompany the nameplates, providing outline

drawings and brief descriptions of the original locomotives. We should note the assumption that these would attract a lot of attention. This appeal to the internalist traditions of the railway community was soon superseded, and between 1929 and 1936 regimental names replaced the historical ones. But a more general switch to stronger themes for individual classes was delayed by the complicated case of what became the 'Patriot' class. These were originally, and allegedly, rebuilds of the earlier 'Claughton' class, from 1930 onwards; and they began to inherit 'Claughton' names, thus reconstituting the mixed bag of broadly patriotic nomenclature associated with the last years of the LNWR. The 'Patriot' theme was thus broadly suitable, but the class was not so named until 1937, after a campaign to reinstate the war memorial locomotive identity, which had been lost with the scrapping of the original *Patriot*. So a new *Patriot* was installed, and the class was officially named after it, at least in part to discountenance the unofficial class name of 'Baby Scots', which had been adopted by the rank-and-file work force to fill the vacuum and was disapproved of by management as frivolous and demeaning.⁴⁰

It was, however, the second 'Jubilee' class of 1935 that really reinforced the tendency introduced by the 'Royal Scots' and identified the LMS systematically with Crown and empire in the era of the National Government. Celebrating the silver jubilee of King George V, the class was named after colonies, dominions and outposts of empire, together with naval battles, warships (many of which, confusingly, in turn carried names from classical mythology), admirals and (in a few late cases) early locomotives whose names had been lost as a result of the name changes to the 'Royal Scot' class. Many of the other names were recycled from earlier LNWR engines, but the strength and consistency of the themes was entirely new. These were middle-rank passenger locomotives, covering the whole of the LMS main-line system, and highly visible in a wide range of settings. For the top expresses of the west-coast main line there were, alongside the 'Royal Scots', the 'Princess' class of 1933, responding to the publicity opportunities provided by the births of Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret, and the 'Coronation' class of 1937, whose names celebrated duchesses and the civic pride of cities on the LMS system. Hierarchy trumped gender in these naming practices, and 'Kings' were already taken, although Dukes were available. The 'Coronations' were streamlined locomotives for the new Coronation Scot express train, an epitome of contemporary glamour and modernity, and it is highly significant that their names were identified with the traditional aristocracy and with cities whose charters were derived by royal warrant. The celebration of royal events was a very strong theme in LMS naming practice through the 1930s, firmly identifying the company with royalty and, in turn, the royal family with contemporary modernity and up-to-the-minute industrial design.⁴¹

The Southern Railway's constituent lines had hardly any tradition of locomotive naming, apart from the London Brighton & South Coast, where names were very widely used in the late nineteenth century, with a strong

topographical theme embracing the towns and villages served by the line. Stroudley's 'Gladstone' class, built between 1882 and 1891, paid homage to contemporary politicians on both sides, and at the turn of the century Billinton's express locomotives of the B2 and B4 classes included politicians, industrialists (including railway directors), heroes of empire (Cecil Rhodes, Baden-Powell) and Boer War battles. All this went into cold storage for twenty years after 1905, but two years after the grouping the Southern Railway's management realised that themed locomotive naming would be an asset to a company whose tourist traffic was substantial and growing. They began in 1925 with the new 'King Arthur' express locomotives, whose introduction was in part a response to bad publicity associated with an ageing locomotive stock. The Arthurian theme was particularly associated with plans to develop tourism in North Cornwall, around Tintagel, but the locomotives operated over the whole system. The romantic associations with Tennyson, Malory and the early mists of British history had wide currency at the time.⁴²

Subsequent express locomotive naming programmes moved closer to what was becoming a standard railway agenda by the late 1920s. The 'Lord Nelson' class of 1926, the Southern counterpart of the 'Royal Scots', celebrated heroic admirals. They were followed in 1930 by the 'Schools' class, one of which pulled Ian Jack's train in 1959, which acted as free advertisements for the 'public' schools which most of the railway's management and directors had attended, and which were central pillars of the inter-war establishment.⁴³ The appearance of the 'Merchant Navy' express locomotives during the Second World War, trading romance and commercial promotion with the shipping lines that the railway served through its boat and export merchandise trains (these were always mutual affirmations), continued a recognisable set of themes, as did the (tourist) topographical and military (squadrons, airfields, military leaders) nomenclature of the 'West Country' and 'Battle of Britain' classes of the immediate post-war years.⁴⁴

The most complex case was that of the London & North Eastern Railway. Most of its constituents had no developed culture of locomotive naming before the grouping, although the North British had celebrated Sir Walter Scott's characters and Scottish topographical features (Glens, Lochs), with obvious connections both to the tourist industry and to a sense of Scottish identity.⁴⁵ The company did not serve Burns country, the territory of the Glasgow & South Western, which did not go in for naming, but the enduring absence of Burns from the inter-war locomotive naming canon is interesting, and perhaps suggestive of who was and was not respectable, although more generally it should be added that Shakespeare is also conspicuous by his absence from the lists of locomotive names before the Second World War. The more democratic agenda of the committee that named the 'Britannia' express locomotives of British Railways was to find room for both of them, among a more inclusive collection of British worthies that also featured Robin Hood, Hereward the Wake, Byron and John Milton as well as Oliver Cromwell and Owen Glendower (but not William Blake). The

Great Central also took up naming in the early twentieth century, but it tended mainly towards more prosaic commemorations of its own directors, although it also commemorated First World War battles and named a war memorial engine *Valour*, a name that was not perpetuated, unlike *Patriot*, after the demise of the locomotive that bore it.⁴⁶

Like its rivals, and despite this limited inheritance, the LNER soon changed its management attitude to naming after the grouping; but its new east-coast express locomotives, the class that became the A3 Pacifics, were almost all named after successful racehorses. This was an excellent way to combine a sense of speed, glamour and ‘personality’ with aristocratic identity and popular recognition: the ‘sport of kings’ also had a strong working-class betting and race-going public, and Doncaster, the railway’s headquarters, was a famous horse-racing centre.⁴⁷ It also resulted in some unusual names, as indicated above; but even the jokes may well have provided welcome publicity. The animal precedent may also provide an explanation for the naming of the first forty of the wartime B1 locomotives after species of antelope, a seam that became exhausted very quickly. LNER eccentricity was perpetuated in the naming of its flagship locomotive class, the decidedly Art Deco streamlined A4 Pacifics of 1935. These distinctive locomotives attracted tremendous publicity, not least when *Mallard* broke the world speed record for steam traction, and their unique shape was wonderfully suited to poster and other visual advertising. Their names, however, were not strongly themed: there were directors and officials of the company (in an echo of Great Central tradition, but a common practice on other railways as well), imperial dominions, various names prefixed with ‘Silver’ for the ‘Silver Jubilee’ streamlined express for which the class was introduced, a related ‘Golden’ theme, and a collection of birds of prey, seabirds and other waterfowl ‘renowned for their power on the wing’.⁴⁸ Some of these gave way to directors of the company after the Second World War, when room was also made for Dwight D. Eisenhower. There was plenty of overlap here with the agenda of the other companies, but an unusual lack of focus, and the entertaining outcome that the world speed record holder was named after the commonest and most everyday species of duck. It was lower down the pecking order that the usual inter-war naming priorities asserted themselves more clearly, with classes of intermediate passenger locomotive named after counties, fox hunts, landed estates (the ‘Sandringhams’, which often hauled the royal train to the eponymous country residence), regiments (which at this time had strong territorial connotations) and, drawing on local patriotisms in a completely unexpected way, football clubs, although these latter might be deemed expendable when the opportunity arose to replace them with a regimental name. The steam railcars that were introduced on lightly loaded branch lines were named after stagecoaches, and a reward of 5s (25p) was offered for further information from passengers about the services so commemorated.⁴⁹ This Pickwickian touch reinforces a strong sense that the LNER’s overall naming policy expressed the kind of tolerant paternalism, supportive of gambling and ‘traditional’ sports, that went with ‘One Nation’

Conservatism in the manner described by Patrick Joyce when writing about popular politics in Victorian Lancashire, and to which Stanley Baldwin laid claim in the inter-war years.⁵⁰ Its agenda was less overtly elitist than those of its competitors, but entirely compatible with them.

A strong case can thus be made that, across the board, the naming policies of the Big Four railway companies systematically conveyed to a wider public values that reinforced traditional authority in inter-war Britain. To argue that it was somehow a conscious exercise in propaganda would be (in a sense) excessive, and would miss the point. These ideas, carried into practice, about what was seemly and appropriate as a name for an express locomotive expressed deeply held assumptions about how the world should work. It does not matter that, once begun, a theme might be pursued mechanically to the point of exhaustion, as happened with the Great Western stately home series when the names of 'Halls', 'Granges' and 'Manors' were allocated in alphabetical order.⁵¹ A similar comment might be made about the Southern's 'King Arthurs', with the rider that those who allocated the names did not know the stories, with the result that single names were divided between two engines, characters who had two names appeared under both of them, and the traitorous Sir Mordred was briefly allowed on to the list. That these things mattered to contemporary critics said much about the tendency to attribute personalities to such inanimate objects, and this has much more significance than the lapses on the part of the name givers, to whom the theme was clearly more significant than the detail.⁵² Nor should the fact that themes were chosen to support publicity campaigns be allowed to undermine the significance of the choices that were made, from a very wide potential field, given that the outcomes demonstrate such a clearly-defined mind-set on the part of the name givers. Nor should it concern us that schemes for naming were not inevitable: the *Railway Observer* may have thought as late as June 1933 that classical names would be allocated to what became the 'Princess' class, but the outcome is what matters, although it would be interesting to recover the terms of any internal debate.⁵³ Nor should we worry unduly about the fact that a lot of the inter-war names used on the Great Western and LMS railways were recycled from earlier locomotives: the point is that they were recovered, in an increasingly selective and systematic manner, to contribute to a message which had hitherto been presented in a more random, scatter-gun way. The power of a traditionalist lobby to revive the names of early locomotives on some of the 'Jubilees' after they had been removed from the 'Royal Scot' class is indicative of a growing attachment to railway traditions in their own right, assimilating them to a broader attachment to nostalgia and commemoration that was shared by enthusiasts and officialdom alike, and lends further support to the overall argument.⁵⁴ Nor do the circumstances attached to individual names detract from the overall pattern. Some inclusions were almost accidental: *Giggleswick* became a 'Patriot' class name because the school had suggested the idea to a vice-president of the LMS when he presented the prizes there, and an ageing Great Western locomotive was renamed *Pershore Plum* at the request of the Worcester branch of the

National Farmers' Union, at a time when names commemorating towns and cities on the network were being withdrawn because passengers were confusing them with destination indicators.⁵⁵ Lord Rutherford of Nelson appeared among the admirals in the 'Jubilee' class but was actually a pioneer of nuclear science, whose inclusion arose from a visit to the LMS Railway's Derby engineering works; but none of this affects the overall thesis.⁵⁶ Similarly, that the school authorities at Uppingham apparently did not want a locomotive to carry the school's name might be thought the exception that proves the rule: Eton and Harrow did not object, and Bradfield did not mind taking Uppingham's place.⁵⁷ The LMS company's failure to transfer the name of Lance-corporal J. A. Christie, VC, to a new 'Patriot' locomotive allegedly arose from his having left the company's employment: those medal winners who had remained faithful servants of the LMS duly appeared on the new list, while remaining the only rank-and-file employees to be so honoured. This actually says a good deal about the nature of the exclusive and authoritarian paternalist values that prevailed.⁵⁸

The additional, reinforcing evidence in support of the thesis of this article is much stronger and less ambiguous. There is much to show that naming practices were carefully considered and raised issues of protocol and diplomacy as well as propaganda. Reactions to the First World War showed that names mattered: the names of enemy monarchs were removed from locomotives, and the LNWR ostentatiously crossed out *Dachshund* and *Germanic* on two of its locomotives in 1915, replacing them with *Bulldog* and *Belgic*.⁵⁹ The names of the 'King' class were kept up to date to celebrate the advent of new monarchs. *King Edward VIII* was introduced very quickly, and retained after the Abdication in 1937, and *King George VI* duly followed. The tone of the surviving correspondence between Great Western senior management and Buckingham Palace on this issue suggests that once royal permission for the use of the name had been accorded there could be no question of withdrawal on either side, even when a subsequent abdication pre-empted the expected coronation.⁶⁰ The LMS prided itself on the close relations between its directors and Buckingham Palace, and meticulous protocol was observed regarding the 'Princess' and 'Duchess' names and the imperial names that were a strong feature of the 'Jubilee' class. The latter involved close consultation between the railway management and the Dominion and Colonial Offices, and the naming of No. 5572, *Eire*, raised particularly delicate diplomatic issues. It was named 'very quietly' in July 1938, 'following an agreement made between the Government and the Irish Free State', and instructions went out from head office to the effect that 'there was no necessity for any publicity to be made out of the matter'.⁶¹

Perhaps the best illustration of the seriousness with which a choice of name might be imbued, the recognition of its potential value in reinforcing militaristic patriotism, and the broader ethos suffusing the whole process, is the correspondence surrounding the naming of 'Castle' class locomotive No. 4037 as *The South Wales Borderer* in 1937. It all began with a request from the regiment to the Great Western's C. B. Lockyer, from his brother Rupert:

I have noticed that a number of Regiments have had engines named after them. This I think may have some benefit on recruiting . . . I should like to get one of their new engines named 'The South Wales Borderer'. As you know, 'the King' is Colonel in Chief, and the Regiment is not without its 'moments of glory'.

Lockyer passed the request on to Sir Robert Horne, emphasising the need to sustain the company's ties with South Wales, and the possibility of attracting good publicity in conjunction with the forthcoming ceremony of placing the regiment's colours from the battle of Rorke's Drift in Brecon Cathedral. A long discussion ensued on whether the regiment's long title could be shortened on the nameplate, but the commanding officer, General Morgan-Owen, resolved the matter by pointing out that the name had been selected and approved by the sovereign, 'and to give one of his Regiments another fancy title is impossible'. He pointed out that the LNER and the LMS already used regimental names, two of which were nearly as long as the proposed one, and set out his views on the practice: 'These Railway Companies doubtless, and rightly, considered that engines named after distinguished Regiments conferred an honour on their Company; and the Regiments on their part, in consenting, thought the public interest in their Corps would be increased by seeing the name of their Regiment placed on an engine serving their territory.' The locomotive superintendent, C. B. Collett, agreed that the full name could be used, and the King himself confirmed that this was acceptable. General Morgan-Owen thanked the company: 'It will be much appreciated by the Regiment and will, I hope, help to further cement the connections of the Regiment with its territorial district . . .' The general himself unveiled the name in a ceremony at Paddington Station, with press photographers present, in April 1937. The choice of venue, rather than (say) Cardiff, suggests that national press publicity was actually a more important consideration than the affirmation of local ties through a Welsh event. But here we see the full panoply of top management giving serious attention to such matters as how many letters could be fitted on a nameplate, always aware of the symbolic, populist and publicity value of what they were doing, and that these aspects were completely intertwined.⁶²

Naming ceremonies had already become regular events. Publicity apart, they might provide opportunities for what might now be called networking: when the Great Western decided to name a 'Castle' class locomotive *Lloyd's A1* at a ceremony at the Paddington terminus in 1936 a senior manager wrote to an executive of the insurers that 'It was a great pleasure to us to receive today so many important members of your Corporation and I would venture to express the great interest which I personally had in meeting you and in discussing so many affairs of mutual concern'.⁶³ *Lloyd's* was itself, of course, a great traditional British business institution, completely imbricated in the cultures of landed society, the City of London, the military and the public schools that the naming policies endorsed. Naming ceremonies might also be identified with civic pride, as when Sir Josiah Stamp of the LMS named a 'Patriot' class locomotive *Blackpool* at the town's Central Station and was

then awarded the freedom of the borough.⁶⁴ They were also an opportunity to associate the railway companies with 'official' values, especially military ones. Where possible, suitable people were found to officiate: Sir Robert and Lady Baden-Powell for the twin namings of *The Boy Scout* and *The Girl Guide*, the war-blinded MP Sir Ian Fraser for *St Dunstan's*, and so on. Pipers and military bands were in attendance, patriotic speeches were made, and a suitable lunch followed. Of the forty LMS naming ceremonies between 1929 and 1939, most were for 'Royal Scot' locomotives and the overwhelming majority were military occasions.⁶⁵

Relationships with regiments did not cease with the naming ceremonies. The LMS moved nine 'Royal Scots' to Scottish depots to be close to their regiments during 1931–32, and *Black Watch* and *The Scottish Horse* were transferred to their regimental headquarters town at Perth.⁶⁶ Regiments asked for 'their' locomotives to pull troop trains, and in 1935 *The Manchester Regiment* travelled many miles from its railway company's territory from Manchester to Southampton docks with soldiers' wives and children for a reunion.⁶⁷ The making of special arrangements and the placing of sentiment before apparent operational efficiency in this way are particularly strong indicators of the importance attached to the culture of naming and the relationships that went with it.

It is clear that the patterns of locomotive naming practice in the inter-war years were anything but random. They demonstrate the pervasiveness of assumptions about what it was suitable and important to commemorate, and about the values that great public companies should propagate. They emphasise the strength of the enduring synthesis between land and industrial capital, tradition and innovation, in inter-war Britain. The reception of these names by the newspaper-reading, travelling and enthusiast publics is another matter, of course; and the views of railway employees, from porters and engine cleaners to top-link drivers, might easily run against the intended grain. Personal recollection suggests that the political or cultural symbolism of many of the names was lost on those who encountered them. On the bridge at Chesterfield that provided a vantage point for viewing traffic on two intersecting routes at the beginning of the 1960s, *Eire* of the 'Jubilee' class might attract catcalls, but only because it was a regular performer and all present had already seen it; and to an audience of young teenage boys from state schools *Giggleswick* would attract pleasure, as an unusual visitor, and amusement at the strange name, rather than respect for an unknown public school. As so often, any notional 'social control' project would have foundered on the unresponsiveness of the popular audience, which in turn had the power to generate alternative meanings of its own. But the way in which the choice of names and themes articulated the assumptions and expectations of the inter-war ruling class is itself highly significant, as the work of Žižek suggests, even if it tells us more about the values of the rulers themselves than about the receptiveness or responsiveness of the ruled.

Notes

- 1 Ian Carter, *Railways and Culture in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 5; Nicholas Whittaker, *Platform Souls: the Trainspotter as Twentieth-century Hero* (London, 1995), p. 70. Whittaker also comments, with reference to the Great Western and LMS railways, that their naming policies made 'Railways . . . at the end of the day, part of the establishment . . . tied up with patriotism and British values in a big way', thereby anticipating aspects of the argument that follows (pp. 47-8).
- 2 John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1984). Attlee and Wilson may, of course, have refused invitations to be thus commemorated.
- 3 Robert Boccock, *Hegemony* (Chichester, 1986); M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London, 1974); N. Abercrombie, S. Hill and B. Turner, *The Dominant Ideology Thesis* (London, 1980); *id.* (eds), *Dominant Ideologies* (London, 1990); Jon Cook, 'Relocating Britishness and the break-up of Britain', in S. A. Counce *et al.* (eds), *Relocating Britishness* (Manchester, 2004), citing Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject* (London, 1999); P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London, 1967; paperback 1971), pp. 110-46.
- 4 H. C. Casserley, *British Locomotive Names of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1963), pp. 7, 9. The point also applies to parts of the British Empire, such as Nigeria: Colin D. Garratt, *Twilight of Steam* (London, 1972). See also Frank Burridge, *Nameplates of the Big Four* (Oxford, 1975), which is concerned primarily with the design, lettering and dimensions of the nameplates.
- 5 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 10.
- 6 Rev. John Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names* (Lincoln, 1994), p. 4.
- 7 Jim Pike, *Locomotive Names: an Illustrated Directory* (Stroud, 2000), introduction, for the shed cat example.
- 8 'Advertising value of spick and span locomotives', *Railway Magazine* 58 (1926), pp. 494-5. See also Carter, *Railways and Culture*, p. 118, for the 'iron horse' theme in Zola's *La Bête humaine*.
- 9 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 10.
- 10 Michael J. Collins, *Named Locomotives on BR* (London, 1984), p. 101. It is fortunate that he did not see 'Slug' applied to a similar engine (personal observation by the author).
- 11 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 10.
- 12 'Enginuity', *Over the Points: a Quarterly Review of Matters concerning the Southern Railway*, March 1930, p. 10, in National Archives, RAIL 652/2.
- 13 Ian Jack, 'The sharp taste of summer', *The Guardian Review*, 28 June 2003, p. 7.
- 14 Eric Treacy, *Steam up!* (London, 1949), pp. 61-2. I owe this reference, and many other helpful suggestions, to a particularly positive and knowledgeable anonymous referee.
- 15 National Archives, Kew, RAIL 418/6, LMSR Board Minutes, 28 July 1927, 27 October 1927; RAIL 418/49, Locomotive and Electrical Committee, 26 October 1927.
- 16 Treacy, *Steam up!*, p. 61.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 62; P. W. B. Semmens, *Bill Hoole: Engineman Extraordinary* (London, 1966), p. 102.
- 18 Norman McKillop, *The Lighted Flame* (London, 1950), p. 61.
- 19 Bertram Joy, 'The fascination of the locomotive', *Railway Magazine* 60 (1927), p. 345.
- 20 *GWR Engines: Names, Numbers, Types and Classes: a Reprint of the Engine Books of 1911, 1928 and 1946, with some Pages from that of 1938* (repr. Newton Abbot, 1971, fifth impression, 1982); R. Burdett Wilson, *Go Great Western: a History of GWR Publicity* (Newton Abbot, 1970). Further discussion can be found in Alan Bennett, *Great Western Lines and Landscapes* (Cheltenham, 2003).
- 21 National Archives, RAIL 399/94, 429/9.
- 22 *Railway Magazine* 85 (1939), pp. 82-6.
- 23 *Railway Observer*, May 1938, pp. 148-50, for a potted history.
- 24 *Railway Magazine* 65 (1929), p. 232.
- 25 'Advertising value of spick and span locomotives' (n. 8).
- 26 'Enginuity' (n. 12), p. 12.
- 27 *Railway Magazine* 57 (1925), p. 349, and 61 (1927), p. 159.
- 28 *Punch*, 23 November 1927, cited in *Railway Magazine* 62 (1928), p. 147. See also, for example, W. G. Chapman, *Locos of the 'Royal Road': a New Railway Locomotive Book for Boys of all Ages* (1936, repr. Newton Abbot, 1987).
- 29 This can be confirmed by the list of authors and titles published by the specialist firm of Ian Allan from the mid-1940s onwards.

- 30 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 4; Semmens, *Bill Hoole*, p. 12.
- 31 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 8.
- 32 Pike, *Locomotive Names*, introduction.
- 33 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 9.
- 34 This seems to be more a matter of expressing hierarchy than celebrating buildings on the company's own territory, as the numerous 'Hall' class, in particular, bore names from far beyond the Great Western's direct constituency.
- 35 Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge, 1981); David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, 1998).
- 36 F. M. L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture* (Oxford, 2001); see also Harvey Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- 37 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, pp. 50-1.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-65; Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 18, 32. It is interesting that during the inter-war years admirals were commemorated far more systematically than generals, and that Second World War land and sea battles, as such, were never celebrated in this way, although the airborne Battle of Britain had a whole Southern Railway class devoted to it.
- 39 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 6-8; National Archives RAIL 418/6, 28 July 1927, referring back to board minute of 1 June 1923. The Great Western also recycled some names from older locomotives, including a few in the 'Castle' class, where some Second World War fighting aircraft were commemorated during and just after the Battle of Britain in 1940-41.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 58; Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 82; *Railway Observer*, March 1936, letter from J. P. Bardsley of Jodhpur, p. 80.
- 41 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 65. I have found nothing in the LMS board minutes at the National Archives to throw direct and circumstantial light on the motives behind these naming policies.
- 42 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, pp. 113-26; *Railway Magazine* 56 (1925), pp. 300, 321; James Vernon, 'Border crossings: Cornwall and the English (imagination)', in G. Cubitt (ed.), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester, 1998).
- 43 Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: the Public Schools in English Fiction* (Manchester, 1988).
- 44 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 129. There was also some use of topographical names in the form of headlands and rivers for Brighton line express locomotives.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 89. The London Brighton & South Coast also had a war memorial locomotive, *Remembrance*, part of a class that was otherwise named after locomotive engineers on rebuilding by the Southern Railway in the mid-1930s (Burridge, *Nameplates*, pp. 46-7). So did the Great North of Scotland (*Gordon Highlander*) and the Great Western (*Great Western*). It has been suggested that such locomotives were kept particularly clean in honour not of the company but of the lost comrades they commemorated: comments by anonymous referee.
- 47 Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914* (London, 2000).
- 48 Cecil J. Allen, *The Coronation, and other Famous LNER Trains* (London, 1937), p. 80.
- 49 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, pp. 106-7. Whittaker, *Platform Souls*, praises the LNER as an exception to the conservative naming agenda of the other companies (p. 48), but without going into detailed analysis.
- 50 Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics* (Brighton, 1980); P. Williamson, *Stanley Baldwin: Conservative Leadership and National Values* (Cambridge, 1999).
- 51 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 30.
- 52 Pike, *Locomotive Names*, introduction; *Railway Magazine* 58 (1926), p. 153.
- 53 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 86.
- 54 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, pp. 52-4, 82; Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 6 and especially p. 67.
- 55 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 59; *Railway Magazine* 61 (1927), p. 158.
- 56 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 65.
- 57 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 128.
- 58 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, p. 59.
- 59 Casserley, *British Locomotive Names*, p. 32; Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 23, 25, 28.
- 60 National Archives, RAIL 1014/12/21, correspondence between R. S. Horne and Lord Wigram, 5 and 6 May, 18 and 22 December 1936.

- 61 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 65, 67, 89.
62 National Archives, RAIL 257/65, for the full correspondence.
63 National Archives, RAIL 257/54, Sir Robert Horne to Neville Dixey, 17 February 1936.
64 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 117–24, for much of what follows.
65 *Ibid.*, and see also pp. 59, 70. These developments might be assimilated into Michael Paris's analysis of the 'pleasure culture of war': *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850–2000* (London, 2000).
66 Goodman, *LMS Locomotive Names*, pp. 82–3.
67 *Ibid.*, pp. 83–4.

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