

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Walking and talking: topographies of memory in Kingston-upon-Hull

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by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the relationships between different memory narratives within the unglamorous, everyday spaces of the city, drawing upon ideas of memory as a fluid and dynamic process that is under constant negotiation. It is increasingly argued that we can read places as possessing multiple, overlapping temporalities that have the potential to erupt or dissolve at any time. Therefore social memory should not be considered a pre-determined narrative based upon shared pasts and associated with (and represented by) specific sites. Instead, the production of memory should be recognised as an ongoing process, constantly (re)formed by interaction with a range of narratives and traces of the past that are encountered through everyday spatial practice. Using in-depth empirical research from Kingston-upon-Hull; a modern, post-industrial British city, the thesis argues that the city's everyday spaces should be seen as part of wider topographies of memory. It goes on to explore how these topographies might be interrogated through a combination of traditional and more innovative methodologies, using both visual and participatory techniques (including photo-elicitation and walking practices) along with personal accounts and oral histories, to trace the production of memory across a range of everyday spaces. Central to this work is the development of a virtual walking tour methodology which, it is argued, presents new possibilities for engaging with different memory processes across the wider city.

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**List of Abbreviations**

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ANT	Actor Network Theory
APPRA	Avenues and Pearson Park Residents Association
ARC	Architecture, Regeneration, Community (the Humber Centre for Excellence in the Built Environment)
BOCM	British Oil and Cake Mills
GIS	Geographic Information System
KHCC	Kingston-upon-Hull City Council
NaSA	Newington and St. Andrew’s
NRT	Non-Representational Theory
RDT	Rose Downs and Thompson
STAND	St. Andrew’s fish dock Heritage Park Action Group

## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Questions**

This project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), and investigates the everyday memories of a contemporary city. The research is based in Kingston-upon-Hull; a city that has undergone many social, economic and physical changes over the past 30 years. The work develops an engaged methodology, using walking and photo-elicitation alongside more traditional qualitative research methods, to explore the co-production of memory and everyday space across a number of different districts within the city.

### **1.1 Overview of the research**

The work presented in this thesis considers the relationships between personal and so-called social memories within the mundane spaces of the city, exploring memory as a fluid and dynamic process that is constantly negotiated through the spatial practice of everyday life (Crang and Travlou 2001). Academic thinking increasingly argues that we should understand all places as possessing multiple, overlapping temporalities that can potentially erupt or dissolve at any time (Atkinson 2008). At the same time work across a number of disciplines has increasingly developed ways of apprehending memory through the exploration of everyday space, investigating memory as a dynamic, fluid process through imaginative methodologies (Till 2006 and 2008) and embodied practice (Pinder 2001, Anderson 2004, Butler 2006, Plate 2006).

This thesis draws upon these debates to explore ways of following and apprehending memory across different parts of the city. An imaginative methodology is developed, combining visual and walking techniques (including 'virtual' photographic tours of the city) and archival research, with the collection of personal accounts and local histories. Through a series of different case-studies the research then considers how residents imagine and shape the spaces around them, and how social and economic changes in Hull over the past thirty years continue to affect the ways in which parts of the city are imagined, negotiated and shaped. These include the 'haunted' and ghostly spaces

created by industrial decline as well as those produced by more recent regeneration attempts, alongside a series of lived-in spaces and more formal sites of commemoration.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

The research questions that shaped my work are as follows:

1. How (and why?) do different residents understand and value relic urban landscapes, and to what extent do these landscapes constitute topographies of memory?
2. What is the relationship between personal memories (or topographies of memory) of residents, and wider collective and public memories associated with these landscapes?
3. How can we interrogate urban topographies of memory?

The thesis will address these questions within a framework provided by the concept of topographies of memory. Topography is derived from the Greek word 'topos' meaning both a place in discourse, and a material place in the World (Boym 2001:77). 'Topographies of memory' are increasingly discussed by contemporary commentators debating memory issues (Atkinson 2008:381). These commentators argue that the past is not neatly or chronologically layered throughout society (Till 2005:10), but instead exists as 'infinite fragments' interwoven through both the present and the future in myriad, often messy, overlapping and confusing ways (Boym 2001:78). Articulating and sharing memories is one way that people make sense of these fragments (Blokland 2001, Radstone 2005). However, as part of any articulation, memories also inevitably come into contact with other narratives and understandings of place (Till 2006). These multiple, co-existing narratives form a complex collection of real and imagined spaces that are shaped by actions and events both past and present, creating what have been described as 'topographies of memory' (Boym 2001, Hebbert 2005, Atkinson 2007a). Exploring memories as part of a wider topography potentially allows us to take these different narratives into account and recognise the often unacknowledged ways they shape how

and why different places are remembered. This approach also allows us to move beyond formal sites of commemoration and follow memory 'wherever it flows' (Atkinson 2007b:23).

### **1.3 Thesis Structure**

The first part of the thesis explores current debates about the production of memory within everyday spaces, along with the methodologies employed to apprehend and understand memory in different contexts. The second part applies this literature to Kingston-upon-Hull: a major British port with a population of around 300,000 people. Hull suffered heavy industrial decline during the late twentieth century, and is currently undergoing large-scale regeneration to revamp some of its inner-city industrial and residential areas. This makes it a valid and useful case-study for the exploration of everyday memory (as will be discussed in the following chapters). The thesis considers three particular districts within the city: the River Hull Corridor (a predominantly industrial area flanking the river through the centre of the city); the Newington and Saint Andrew's area (a mixed industrial and residential area associated with the city's former fishing community); and the Princes Avenue area (a residential suburb in the north-west of the city). A walking tour consisting of memories and other archive material collected throughout the project is presented for each area, along with a discussion of how these case-studies contribute to the wider debates about memory in mundane, everyday environments.

A different element of memory is explored in each chapter. In the Newington and Saint Andrew's chapter I examine the interaction of personal memory and 'official' narratives about the past through a range of formal and unofficial sites of memory. I also consider the ongoing effect of the large-scale regeneration of this area on memory processes and debates. In the Princes Avenue chapter I explore the role of buildings and architecture in shaping everyday memory. I examine the effect of the social and economic changes of the past thirty years and how this has created a number of collective narratives that continue to affect the ways that some parts of the area are imagined, negotiated and



shaped. I also consider how some of these memories are entwined with current political and socio-economic debates. In the River Corridor chapter I explore connections between the present environment (currently in various states of regeneration) and memories of the city's industrial past - paying particular attention to the former spaces of work and (often unsanctioned) play that many former industrial sites represent to local residents. Finally, I highlight the many connections between the different districts covered in the thesis. I suggest that when our study of memory is democratised – that is, when we move beyond monuments, museums and official sites of memory to the ordinary spaces and realms of the city (Atkinson 2008:382) - the city emerges as a complex and interconnected topography through which past, present and future are continually debated and reshaped. Within this topography, districts that may have been considered unimportant historically, or that lack 'formal' sites of remembering, are revealed as being richly textured with all kinds of memories and significances.

In conclusion I argue that all places have the potential to be (re)imagined in myriad ways by the people who interact with them (Crang and Travlou 2001, Till 2005). Yet these individual interpretations are also often connected to wider, *shared* frameworks of reference that encompass a range of different times and places (Boym 2001:53). In turn, both of these individual and shared understandings are also in constant interaction with other narratives and understandings of place and the past (Till 2006 and 2008). These numerous frameworks, along with the many individual memories that they both shape and are shaped by, form shifting topographies of memory through which some things are remembered and many others are forgotten. This thesis proposes a number of ways in which we might explore these frameworks and follow the multiple, often slippery, fragmented memories and engagements with the past that continually unfold through the everyday spaces of the city.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

Since the 1980s there has been a burgeoning interest in memory within the humanities and social sciences (Radstone 2005:138). Arguably, the current fascination with memory has its roots in the growing interest in heritage, and critical evaluations of the active production of the past through historical sites and narratives, which emerged during the 1980s (see for instance Lowenthal 1985 and Hewison 1987). This interest in representations and narrations of 'the past' within social contexts has continued to grow, and over the past decade an increasing number of research projects have attempted to cover memory in a variety of forms, prompting some to talk of a period of 'memory crisis' within the social sciences (Huyssen 2003). A new '*Memory Studies*' journal was also established by SAGE in 2008, with the aim of covering a wide range of different approaches to memory from disciplines as diverse as history, geography, sociology, art, psychology, and physiology. However, this cross-disciplinary approach has already raised a number of issues, particularly in terms of how, or indeed whether, to combine the very different viewpoints, approaches, and terminology in order to arrive at a 'common conception' of memory (Brown 2008:261). This chapter examines some of these different approaches, focusing on the large body of work that addresses the complex relationship between memory and space. It discusses how understandings of memory have changed over the past thirty years, and explores the implications of recent theoretical developments on how memory is both interpreted and apprehended within current academic work. It concludes that memory should not be seen as a predetermined narrative associated with specific sites, but as a dynamic process through which numerous narratives and ways of thinking about 'the past' are constantly (re)negotiated across everyday space (Crang and Travlou 2001).

### **2.1 Academic approaches to memory**

A distinction has traditionally been drawn between individual memory and social memory. Individual memory is often theorised as internal; that is, located in mental images, dreams and experiences. Social memory, on the other hand, is generally

theorised as external; that is, located in sites, objects and narratives (Till 2006:330). There has also traditionally been a distinction drawn between memory and history (Radstone 2005). Individual memories in particular have been viewed sceptically by some academic historians, who note that personal accounts 'seem to fragment the historical reality so much as to make impossible the historian's obligation to generalise, to explain and to interpret' (Morgan 2009:225). However, these traditional divisions are increasingly being challenged. In recent years there have been attempts by academics to acknowledge and address the binary opposition between social and individual memories that has underpinned much previous memory work, and to view different sorts of memory as interactive, dynamic processes that take place in particular places at particular times (Radstone 2003 quoted in Legg 2007: page 456). The relationships between memory, history and 'the past' are also increasingly being explored, and the boundaries between them challenged (Radstone 2005). All of which has led to calls for academics to be clearer about the terminology they use in discussing memory, and for some academics to question whether the term 'memory' should even be applied to social, or collective, commemorative processes (Radstone 2005:137). Recent changes in thinking about memory, both individual and collective, have also reflected wider changes in Geography, and other disciplines, about the construction of history, the production and consumption of social space, and the impact of the built environment on human experience. However, before discussing this in more detail, it is necessary to discuss some of the theoretical approaches that have characterised memory studies over the past 30 years.

## **2.2 Sites of Memory**

### *2.2.1 Social Memory*

Social or 'collective' memory is commonly used to describe memories of the past that are shared amongst a group of individuals and often implicated in expressions of identity (Johnson 2003:3-4). Early memory theorists suggested that social memory was based upon shared experiences within established social groups connected by ties of kinship,

religion or class (Johnson 2003:3). However, more recent research has demonstrated that, within modern societies, as memories are shared they are also transformed and that social memory is therefore not fixed, but is constantly recreated through continuing social discourse (Johnson 1995 and 2003). The concept of collective memory was first developed by French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs in the early twentieth century (although his work was not translated into English until 1980). Halbwachs saw all memory as inherently social, arguing that even the most private, personal memories are based within collective, or social, knowledge and activity (Halbwachs 1980:48). He also argued that memories need a common foundation within specific social milieus, and therefore separation from the group with whom a memory is conserved causes individuals to forget (Halbwachs 1980:31). His approach to collective memory has been criticised for being too normative and monolithic, and for adopting the notion of a 'Durkheimian' collective conscious (Till 2005:233). Halbwachs' work, however, has exerted a highly significant influence on late-twentieth and early twenty-first century analyses of memory, and is still widely cited.<sup>1</sup>

One element of Halbwachs' work that has been particularly influential is his argument that space is intimately connected with memory, with memories produced and stored within the public sphere (Olick 1999). This concept was adopted by researchers, particularly geographers, during the 1980s and 1990s (Legg 2005). For instance, Pierre Nora, drawing on the work of Halbwachs and other twentieth-century philosophers, argued that modern society is characterised by the breakup of 'real environments of memory' and their replacement by specific 'sites of memory' (*Les Lieux de Memoire*) through which a sense of the past is negotiated in the present (Nora 1989). Over the last 20 years, the concept of the negotiation of social memory through specific locales has been utilised by human geographers in their analyses of intended commemorative sites, particularly public monuments and designated heritage sites (Legg 2005:484). These geographers have argued that public symbols of commemoration, such as memorials and statues, play a significant role in the negotiation of social identity by providing a vehicle

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<sup>1</sup> Although often more as a 'totemic' reference rather than a substantive one (Olick 2007:5)

for the construction of 'imagined communities' that are formed and maintained through the continuing production and reproduction of social memory (Johnson 1995 and 2003).

The concept of forgetting as part of the commemorative process has also been central to discussions of social memory. Monuments render certain stories and identities tangible and permanent, and in so doing also convey statements about who and what is worth remembering, and therefore, by implication, what can also be forgotten (Johnson 1995 quoted in Atkinson 2005: page 145). As Owain Dwyer explains,

forgetting is intrinsic to the act of commemoration inasmuch as a monument dis-embodies memory, dislodging it from its context and focusing scarce attention on the particular at the expense of the whole.

(Dwyer 2004:423)

The process of collective remembering (and forgetting) presented through official sites of memory inevitably excludes rival interpretations, which then raises the potential for alternate readings, or contested versions of the past, in which people either refuse to forget, or choose to remember differently (Legg 2007:459). These disputed versions of the past have been the focus of memory studies that have explored the multiple (and dissonant) readings of commemorative sites, and examined the use and manipulation of the past through the creation of shared narratives as a controversial and political process (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, Johnson 2003, Till 2005). Memory studies have also explored the ways in which the significance of monuments and official sites of memory can be actively changed over time through a process of symbolic accretion (Foote 1997 quoted in Dwyer 2004 page 420).<sup>2</sup> This process, whereby the meanings of monuments are reinforced or challenged by physical changes to the monument itself, or by the construction of additional monuments nearby, is highly

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<sup>2</sup> As seen for instance in the reworking of the nineteenth century Liberty Monument in New Orleans (USA), which was reinterpreted through an additional plaque which challenged the monument's original celebration of the 'White League' a white supremacist organisation, and instead praised those who died fighting the League, which has turned the monument into an anti-monument to white supremacy, and a rallying point for Civil Rights Activists (Dwyer and Alderman 2008:170).

politicised, as alterations to existing sites serve to stabilise or disrupt the narratives (and versions of the past) that these sites convey (Dwyer 2004:421). This is demonstrated by the fact that alterations or additions to existing monuments or sites of memory are often highly contested (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, Dwyer 2004, Gough and Morgan 2004). This work reinforces the concept of collective memory as a dynamic, on-going political process, whereby remembering and forgetting are shaped through the evocation of the past in the present.

While human geographers have been exploring sites of commemoration, concurrent work in heritage studies has highlighted the ways in which official heritage narratives, promoted through heritage parks and other heritage sites, should be recognised as social constructs, espousing a shared, collective past that prioritises the perspective and position of one social group at the expense of any other (Atkinson 2005). Such narratives tend to sanitise the past, removing or smoothing over difficult or unpleasant events and issues in order to render it more easily consumable (Lowenthal 1997). This commodification of the past is also demonstrated in the use of heritage as part of the place-marketing strategies that have been seen in many cities over the past 20 years (Atkinson 2005). These strategies tend to promote certain aspects of a city's heritage that are felt to be desirable and tourist-friendly and ignore other aspects that are felt to be less exploitable or appropriate (Atkinson et al 2002).<sup>3</sup> The concept of heritage as a shared collective past is also used to manipulate public space through national policies of preservation and regeneration (for instance, of historic landscapes and buildings). Such policies inevitably prioritise certain periods and places at the expense of others for both economic and political reasons (Atkinson 2007a). Heritage is therefore inevitably entwined in political struggles over who is remembered (or perhaps more importantly *how* they are remembered) and who is not (Lowenthal 1997). It has therefore been argued that urban regeneration and the post-industrial remodelling of urban space is a form of enforced forgetting in which the past is increasingly commodified, translated and

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<sup>3</sup> As seen in Hull with the rejection of the histories of the city's fishing industry in favour of less 'smelly' aspects of the city's past for the purposes of place-marketing in the 1980s and 1990s (Atkinson et al 2002).

confined to the spaces set aside for it (Edensor 2005a). This argument has been further strengthened by Marc Auge's work on non-spaces (Auge 1995), which argues that modern living is increasingly characterised by bland, mundane, 'history-less' spaces in which people undertake faceless activities (Moran 2004:54).<sup>4</sup>

### 2.2.2 *Social or Individual?*

Another important discussion within memory studies over the past 30 years has been that surrounding the relationship between social, or collective, memory and individual memory. As set out in the introduction to this chapter, individual memory and social memory have been viewed very differently by academic memory studies (Till 2006). There has therefore been much debate on the relationship between the two. This has raised doubts as to whether public representations of the past should be referred to as 'memory' (Radstone 2005, Poole 2008), a concern often based on the assumption that there is an essential difference between individual and collective remembering (Radstone 2005). However, the increasing conceptualisation of memory as a process, as opposed to a fixed narrative, and explorations of the multiple personal, social and political processes through which memory is formed and articulated, challenges the binary opposition between individual and collective memories (Hodgkin and Radstone 2005:133).

The term 'social memory' often embraces a variety of other definitions, including public, popular, cultural and collective memory, which all have their own connotations, but which generally refer to the memories of social groups, expressed through symbols and interpretations of the past within the public sphere (Assman 1992 quoted in Olick 2007: page 6). It is generally accepted that social forms of memory are not entirely reducible to individual experiences, and that there are wider frameworks and long-term external processes that affect social forms of memory (Olick 1999). In this sense, collective memory is 'a social fact in and of itself' (Olick 2007:7). To be social, a memory must be

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<sup>4</sup> Although the notion of modern developments as memory-less spaces has been increasingly challenged in recent years (see Section 2.4 below).

both articulated and transmitted (Fentress and Wickham 1992 quoted in Radstone 2005 page 134), and these articulations and transmissions inevitably occur within specific socio-political contexts, and through a range of media, which each play a role in the ways in which memories are shaped and projected (Till 2005). However, it has also been argued that labels such as 'collective memory' or 'social memory' are generalised terms that are used too loosely, without enough attention being focused on the specificities of memory, or the complex and ongoing processes through which memory is negotiated (Radstone 2005). It has been contended, for instance, that there is a difference between collective and *collected* memories (Olick 1999 and 2007), and that the term collective memory should be used to refer specifically to public discourses about the past that speak (or aspire to speak) for different social groups, whereas the term collected memory should be used to refer to aggregated individual memories such as those encountered in informal group discussions about the past (Olick 1999:338). It has also been suggested that, through ongoing public articulation, collected memories have the potential to *become* collective memories, although this mediation will inevitably involve contact with other forms of narrative and public media (see Till 2005). Moreover, through these relationships, collective memories are able to emerge as shared social frameworks, within which multiple individual recollections are able to co-exist and overlap (Boym 2001:53).

Accordingly, in recent years, it has been argued that, although there are differences in the ways that individual and collective remembering and forgetting are articulated, these should be seen as part of the same complex and dynamic process through which the past is mobilised in the present (Kenny 1999:437). It has been suggested that academics need to understand memory as the 'continuous reframings and reimaginings of the past in both public and private domains.' (Hodgkin and Radstone 2005:123). All of this implies that memory researchers should be thinking about *all* memory in terms of multiple, potentially overlapping narratives that are able to exist concurrently, constantly unfolding on a variety of different scales and through a wide range of different media. In



this way memories become stabilised, structured, reworked and dissolved through public (and private) articulation, and contact with other narratives about 'the past' (Till 2006).

These debates have also filtered into discussions about the definition of history, and the differences between history and memory in its various forms (Radstone 2005). That the very process of remembering (and forgetting) continually changes the past has been seen as a weakness in memory and oral history narratives, which are often seen as less 'accurate' and more subjective than history based upon documentary sources (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:14). As an academic discipline History generally sees itself as more detached and analytical, and less emotional than Memory Studies (Radstone 2005:139). Formal histories also tend to present 'the past' as a broadly linear narrative, with events occurring in chronological succession, whereas memory studies generally present an often timeless past, with mixed or overlapping temporalities, which pose a direct challenge to the historical sense of time and chronology (Radstone, 2005:138). However, in recent years academics have argued that history also needs to be recognised as 'the work of a thousand hands' (Samuel 1994:18), and that history and memory need to be seen as part of the same dynamic process through which the past is understood within the present (Radstone 2005). It has also been argued that memory can play a significant role in the study of history, by enabling us to rethink and reimagine temporality, and 'the multi-temporal character of human life.' (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:6). It has also been suggested that if we approach memory in terms of practice as opposed to a pre-determined narrative, then the dynamic aspects of the process of remembering - often seen as memory's greatest weakness - can instead be seen as a strength. This attribute enables a greater number and variety of people to work and engage with the past (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:14). As Morgan argues:

The great advantage of the recall and recording of memories [...] is that it enables individuals, 'ordinary people' to become protagonists of their own pasts. They are not just observers, but participants, players in their own right.

(Morgan 2009:224)

In this sense, interpretations of the past are democratised through an increasing engagement with memory (Atkinson 2008:385). This has important implications, not only for how we think about the ways in which memory and other narratives about the past are negotiated and (re)produced, but also the places in which these articulations emerge.

## **2.3 Rethinking Sites of Memory**

### *2.3.1 New sites of Commemoration*

As discussed above, understandings of space and place have been central to changing concepts of memory and memory production over the past thirty years. During this period, geographers have discussed memory in relation to an increasing variety of different spaces, places and landscapes.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, other disciplines have also dealt with space and place in reference to memory. For instance, the artist and writer Lucy Lippard defines place as 'space combined with memory' (Lippard 1997:9). She continues:

Place is latitudinal and longitudinal within the map of a person's life. It is temporal and spatial, personal and political. A layered location replete with human histories and memories, place has width as well as depth. It is about connections, what surrounds it, what forms it, what happened there, what will happen there.

(Lippard 1997:7)

Within geography, places are now generally understood as performed spaces, but more than this, they are also understood as having a role in shaping the performances by which they, in turn, are shaped (Cresswell 2004). Non-Representational Theory (also referred to as NRT), as championed by geographers such as Nigel Thrift (2000 and 2008), emphasises the production of space through performance. NRT examines the processes through which relationships and interactions are enacted, as opposed to merely studying the results or representations of these interactions, conceptualising places as 'living'

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<sup>5</sup> For some key readings on different approaches to space and memory within Geography see Legg 2007

rather than 'lived' (Amin and Thrift 2002:48). Others have explored the possibilities of different temporal rhythms and the significance of disturbed and non-linear temporalities on the ways in which people are affected by, and in turn use and understand, different places.<sup>6</sup> This has had an impact on our understanding of memory, which is increasingly seen as emerging not only through official sites of commemoration, but also in other contexts (see following sections). It has also led to renewed discussion about sites of memory, and the ways in which they are not only actively involved in the production and shaping of memory, but also the ways in which sites are thereby shaped and reproduced *by* memory, through peoples' ongoing experiences and expectations of them (Johnson 2003, Till 2005).

At the same time as this theoretical shift in understandings of place and memory, there has also been a change in the production and material form of sites of commemoration. During the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries there has been an increasing focus on individual experience of monuments and other sites of memory. This has resulted in the creation of a variety of new forms of monument which pay attention to space, and the ways in which space affects individual memories and experiences. These new sites of commemoration explore the possibility of presenting or allowing multiple ways of remembering and representations of the past to co-exist, as opposed to promoting a pre-determined collective narrative (Dekel 2009). Early attempts to deal with commemoration in new and imaginative ways led to the production of counter-memorials in Germany during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Till 2005:18). These counter-memorials, which include the Ashrott Fountain in Kassel, and the Harburg Monument against Fascism,<sup>7</sup> were developed by artists in an effort to interpret Germany's difficult Nazi history in a way that was intended to promote reflection and encourage active engagement of individuals with the site as a way of actively reforming memory (Lupu

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, this has been a central theme of discussion in psycho-analytical approaches to memory and history in recent years (Radstone 2005:149).

<sup>7</sup> For more detail see Section 2.3.3

2003:132).<sup>8</sup> The counter-memorials attempted to move away from a representative approach towards the past and towards a more embodied experience where memories are evoked in the imagination of those observing the monument (Lupu 2003:150). However, it has been argued that, in reality, peoples performances of these 'new' monuments are still framed within traditional expectations of engagement with more traditional monuments and commemorative spaces (Till 2005). In the case of the counter-memorials this underlying conceptual framework was exposed when there were non-traditional engagements with the site, such as graffiti, which caused widespread offence (Lupu 2003:144).

This process is also evident at the Memorial for Murdered Jews, a more recent, and in many ways more traditional, monument in the centre of Berlin (Lupu 2003:144). At this monument there is an emphasis on personal engagement and interpretation. There are, however, clear (and enforced) rules on how to behave within the monument, and transgression of these rules causes public comment, and in some cases offence (Dekel 2009). This implies that, although monuments may have changed in style, and the ways in which they use and shape space may have become increasingly creative, engagement with these sites still operates within traditional boundaries and accepted patterns of commemoration. In recognition of this, memory studies have now started to consider sites of memory where expectations of behaviour are not yet fixed. For instance, Gutman's paper, which explores the treatment of Ground Zero after the 9/11 bombings, discusses the ways in which the proposed rebuilding of the site created a 'temporary realm of suspension' (Gutman 2009:56). This subverted the usual linear temporal relationships (between past and future) embodied at official memorial sites, and allowed an increased number of creative (re)imaginings of both the past and the future, which took place through social interactions in and around the Ground Zero site (Gutman 2009:56). He also discusses the ways in which the later redevelopment of the site resulted in a decrease in the range of unofficial commemorative practices, and a shift

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<sup>8</sup> For more discussion on counter-memorials see Till's discussion of *Erinnerungsarbeit*, or 'memory work' (Till 2005, chapter 1).

towards more traditional engagements. Gutman's work reflects recent discussions about other liminal spaces, or 'time-spaces' (Crang and Travlou 2001), such as ruins and derelict places. These discussions have explored the ways in which these sorts of sites open up new possibilities for creative memory practices and personal engagements (Edensor 2005a, De Silvey 2006).

### 2.3.2 *Ruins as Sites of Memory*

In her 'excavations' of a derelict Montana homestead, Caitlin DeSilvey argues that 'entropic' processes of decay open up the possibilities for new ways of remembering by breaching the categories we use to structure our understandings of the world (DeSilvey 2006:321). This work draws on concepts of 'the mutable identity of things' that have emerged in recent years in opposition to the traditional notion of artefacts as having a fixed identity determined by their stable material form (DeSilvey 2006:324) (see also section 2.4.2). For DeSilvey, it is the blurred boundary between nature and culture, human and non-human, which is central to her reading of the changing identity of decaying artefacts. However, the wider concepts of the changing materiality of decaying things from abandoned buildings to discarded ephemera, are also useful in considering the ways in which these objects serve to disrupt the usual order of seeing and understanding the world, creating space for the articulation of other histories, and ways of remembering. DeSilvey argues that artefacts release their meanings as they decay (DeSilvey 2006:328), which has implications not only for the ways in which we might understand memory, but also in the ways in which we interrogate it. As she notes:

Memory, in this sense, is based on chance and imagination as much as evidence and explanation; the forgetting brought on by decay allows for a different form of recollection. Such recollection fosters an acknowledgement of agencies usually excluded from the work of interpretation.

(DeSilvey 2006:328)

Tim Edensor has also explored the ways in which different levels of memory are able to overlap and co-exist together in the 'haunted spaces' of dereliction in the context of industrial ruins (Edensor 2005a and 2005b). Edensor argues that these ruins contain traces of past lives and experiences manifest in artefacts, decoration, graffiti, and elements of the building itself (including sounds and smells), that are fragmentary and incomplete, and which offer an excess of meanings and possible interpretations that can only be understood through individual experience (Edensor 2005a:141). Through individual experience and the ongoing interpretation of these 'ghosts' memories are stimulated and recreated both consciously and subconsciously on a variety of different and overlapping scales (Edensor 2005a:141). Edensor interprets the unsanctioned, fragmented materiality of these spaces as having a central role in initiating and (re)producing memory, as opposed to naming specific sites and linking them to individual histories and contexts. More recently, Dylan Trigg (2009) has also discussed the temporality of ruins in relation to former sites of trauma, arguing that the testimony of these sites is 'guided by voids rather than points of presence' (Trigg 2009:89). He contends, for example, that the ruined remains of Nazi concentration camps have an ambiguous spatiality, allowing them to 'articulate memory precisely through refusing a continuous temporal narrative' (Trigg 2009:87). This raises questions as to whether these sites should be seen as sites of memory, or sites of forgetting, or both.

### *2.3.3 Sites of Forgetting*

In recent years there has been increased interest in exploring forgetting as an important and dynamic aspect of the 'act of memory' (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:238). The assumption that forgetting is merely a failure to remember has been increasingly challenged (Connerton 2008:59). Instead, the process of forgetting is increasingly recognised as an important element of commemoration, as well as a significant and dynamic force in the production of place that takes many forms, and interacts with space in a number of different ways (Legg 2007, Connerton 2008, Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:13-24). It has also been argued that forgetting should not be seen as the binary

opposite of remembering, but instead should be recognised as the 'active agent in memory' (Suleiman 2002 and 2006 quoted in Legg 2007: page 460), forming an essential part of the same interconnected and complex process (Legg 2007:460). Paul Connerton has identified seven types of forgetting (Connerton 2008). These categories include forgetting enforced by the state (both acknowledged and covert), forgetting as part of the formation of new identities (where forgetting takes the form of tacit silences alongside newly shared memories), forgetting as planned obsolescence (an essential element of capitalist markets), and forgetting as 'humiliated silence' (Connerton 2008:67). Throughout his discussion Connerton makes a point of explaining that silence does not necessarily imply forgetting (Connerton 2008:68). It is important to bear in mind that absence is also not the same as forgetting. In fact, it has been argued by some that absent presence, or 'present absence' (Lupu 2003:152), can be as significant, or in some cases potentially *more* significant, in terms of commemoration as physical presence and materiality (DeLyser 2001:27 quoted in Della Dora 2006: page 224). It has been suggested that fragments, or fragmentary traces of past actions and events, are significant to memory processes because they evoke a sense of absence and loss (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:12).

This has been explored in the context of ruins and places of visible decay (see section 2.3.2), where felt or imagined absences disrupt our sense of order and thus initiate and shape both remembering and forgetting in often fragmentary and uninvited ways (Edensor 2005a). The significance of absence has also been explored in discussions of the German counter-memorials, many of which employed ideas of absence or inverted space (Lupu 2003, Till 2005). For instance, the Harburg Monument against Fascism was gradually lowered into the ground over a period of months, with the intention of it becoming a 'non-site' (Lupu 2003:146). However, in reality the space left by the gradual disappearance of the physical monument has become a monument in itself, with its absence creating another 'site' of memory in which the monument cannot be seen or touched, only imagined. As Noam Lupu explains, 'It is the very absence of the monument

– or perhaps its invisible presence – that still maintains its meta-narrative.’ (Lupu 2003:146).

Karen Till also discusses the power of present absence in relation to the German counter-memorials, with particular reference to the Ashrott fountain in Kassel (Till 2005:99). The artistic reconstruction of this fountain was designed to leave an intentional ‘open wound’ where the original structure - which was destroyed during the Second World War because of its Jewish connections - had stood (Till 2005:101). Till argues that this sort of invisible presence creates ‘an irritation in everyday space’ through which past and present collide, reawakening memories, and forcing (often unwitting or accidental) participants in the site to confront the ghosts of uncomfortable national and personal histories (Till 2005:102).<sup>9</sup>

The potential of specific sites to contain multiple spatial and temporal dimensions, which affect processes of remembering and forgetting, has also been explored in discussions of official and unofficial sites of commemoration. For instance, returning to Gutman’s work on Ground Zero (discussed in section 2.3.1 above), Gutman interprets different parts of the site as having different spatial realities (Gutman 2009:60 - see section 2.3.1), with the two most notable realities being the ‘official’ site within the fence that surrounds the centre of the demolition/regeneration, and the unofficial ‘street’ site which exists outside of the fence (Gutman 2009:60). These two parts of the site have different rules of conduct, and encourage different sorts of engagement and commemoration, focusing the gaze of the visitor in different ways and in different directions (Gutman 2009:60). Gutman’s interpretation therefore recognises the changing relationships between different temporal and spatial realities that occur within the Ground Zero site, and the ways in which these affect (and are affected by) how different groups and individuals use and experience the site; as a site of memory, a tourist experience, and through a whole range of other mundane, political and economic activities.

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<sup>9</sup> These ‘ghosts’ will be discussed in more depth in section 2.4.1



This work appears in the context of an increasing number of studies of monuments and commemoration which recognise that the temporal and spatial context of monuments, or sites of memory (including unofficial sites such as ruins and derelict spaces), has a significant effect on their continuing meaning and interpretation (Dresser 2007:164).<sup>10</sup> This raises issues about the changeable and fluid nature of sites of memory, and has led to increased discussion of the potential of memorial sites to produce (and be produced by) overlapping, polyvalent memories, which can co-exist as opposed to being necessarily contested (Switzer and Graham 2009). Memory studies are also increasingly acknowledging that official sites of memory form only part of interconnected landscapes operating within wider networks of knowledge and symbolic significance (Johnson 2003, Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008), and that therefore these sites should 'be thought of in terms of their connections, rather than what they contain.' (Dwyer 2004:425). As Yannis Hamilakis and Jo Labanyi state,

Collective and personal memories and identities are rarely produced and enacted in conditions of geographical and spatial fixity. Even if they appear to emerge and develop in a fixed locale, they assume, cite and reference, directly or indirectly, many other locales, some of a concrete nature, others imagined and ideational.

(Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:11)

This has implications for the ways in which academics view not only specific sites of commemoration, but also the places and spaces around them. This sort of work also reflects the increasing interest in sites of memory within everyday places, and the ways in which the places in which many of us live the majority of our lives have a fundamental effect upon the ways in which we remember and forget.

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<sup>10</sup> See also Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth Foote's recent paper on historical space as narrative medium, in which they discuss the ways in which historic (or to my mind heritage) sites present a linear sense of time through planned spatial narratives which deliberately link time and space sequentially (Azaryahu and Foote 2008:185)

#### 2.3.4 *Everyday places as sites of memory*

Non-Representational Theory argues that cities should be understood as spaces of everyday practice that are scripted and shaped by place names, public art (including graffiti) and physical or topographical features (including buildings and architecture), which all form 'landmarks in the imagination' (Amin and Thrift 2002:24). Cities are therefore continually formed by the names or labels they are given, and by people responding (sometimes unconsciously) to those labels through spatial practice (Amin and Thrift 2002:23). Over the past decade the shaping of everyday places has been recognised as particularly significant in memory production. For instance, street naming (commemorative or otherwise) is now generally acknowledged as a culturally and politically significant act that incorporates a particular version of the past into everyday spatial practice (Azaryahu 1996:321 quoted in Alderman 2000: page 674), and as one of the ways by which 'memory and place are woven into the fabric of everyday life' (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:350). Geographers now recognise streets not just as networks, or spaces that connect and prescribe movement, but also as important arenas of cultural and political activity (Alderman 2000:674). Accordingly, like commemorative practices surrounding monuments and other official sites of memory, commemorative street naming is implicated in the continuing political struggle to locate specific memories, and interpretations of the past, in specific places (Alderman 2000:681). The same applies to the installation of growing numbers of heritage plaques (Dwyer 2004). As the English Heritage website explains, these markers of 'historic significance' are usually attached to physical structures within everyday environments to explain the historical importance of former residents.

Blue plaques celebrate great figures of the past and the buildings that they inhabited. They open a window into another time by showing us where the great and the good have penned their masterpieces, developed new technologies, lived or died. Actors, authors, politicians, painters, scientists, sportsmen, campaigners

and reformers – people from different countries, cultures and backgrounds – have all been commemorated in this way.

(English Heritage website 2009a)

The English Heritage blue plaque scheme, which began in 1867 (English Heritage website 2009b), only operates in London.<sup>11</sup> However, an increasing number of local authorities, civic societies and other local interest groups around the country have now set up their own heritage plaque schemes,<sup>12</sup> alongside various brown and green plaque schemes, which tend to commemorate figures and events of more local significance.<sup>13</sup> This deliberate placing of material objects is part of an ongoing process through which parts of the landscape are deployed in the presentation of a particular version of the past. Places are enlisted as 'sites of memory' by the deliberate accretion of symbolic meaning, for instance through the construction or reworking of monuments, or through seemingly mundane changes such as changing place names, or installing information plaques (Dwyer 2004:431). This does not just apply to recognised historic places, or sites of official (or unofficial) commemoration. Dwyer concludes that *all* places, as performed space, inevitably have memories attached as a condition of that performance, but that most remain anonymous until they are drafted into collective narratives by the deliberate accretion of symbolic meaning through the spatial practices involved in acts of commemoration (Dwyer 2004:431).

There can, in effect, be no memory-less places since the process of producing a place requires that a portion of space must be imbued with meaning, however trivial it might be.

(Dwyer 2004:431)

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<sup>11</sup> Although there have been recent pilot schemes by English Heritage in cities such as Liverpool and Birmingham (English Heritage website 2009a)

<sup>12</sup> See for instance <http://www.hullwebs.co.uk/content/l-20c/plaques/plaques.htm> for a list of plaques installed by Hull City Council.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance the Westminster green plaque scheme:  
<http://www.westminster.gov.uk/services/leisureandculture/greenplaques/>

However, alongside such debates, there has been a move *away* from studies of symbolism and symbolic meaning and towards an examination of the role of the materiality of apparently mundane places and objects in memory production. Indeed, some argue that everyday places should be seen as contexts for remembering (Boym 2001:77) and forgetting (Legg 2007), rather than symbols of memory.

## **2.4 Memory as Everyday Spatial Practice and Materiality**

The concepts of haunted places, everyday spatial practice and materiality may appear somewhat disjointed, and it is in some ways difficult to fit them together. However, it makes sense to do so. Recently attention has been focused on phantasmagoria (Pile 2005, Edensor 2008) and the haunted nature of places, as well as on materiality, and how that affects our everyday lives in numerous, complex and overlapping ways. In combining these concepts researchers have turned their attention to the mundane spaces of everyday life (Latham and Conradson 2003). In the quotidian, interstitial spaces of the city, it is argued, there is a 'flattening out' of experience as people engage in the multiple, repeated habits and routines that make up the major part of our daily lives (Binnie et al 2007:515). However, it is also argued that these shared routines have significant implications for the ways that we think both about memory, and also about the places in which memory emerges (Moran 2004).

### *2.4.1 Ghosts in the City*

Post-structuralist thinking in geography argues that *all* places should be seen as multiplicities constructed of a myriad of differing spatial practices and forms of belonging (Murdoch 2006:18). Discussions of the production of memory through everyday spatial practice have been particularly concerned with cities and other urban spaces, with Steve Pile and Doreen Massey arguing that cities have particular distinctive and generative effects due to their density (as collections of people, things and social structures) and the diversity of interactions this inevitably involves (Massey, Pile and Alan 1999 quoted in

Amin and Thrift 2002: page 2).<sup>14</sup> Traditionally, cities and built environments have been seen as 'theatres of memory', providing a range of prompts that stir and structure memory by representing elements of the past within the present (Samuel 1994). However, it has also been argued that urban landscapes should be seen as shifting environments - a dynamic and changeable collection of people and things connected through spatial practices and social relations (Mitchell 2005), which have the ability to shape, and be shaped by, memories and ghosts of the past. This in turn suggests that the range of spaces through which memory emerges may be far wider and varied than has often been assumed.

Much of the recent work on everyday space and memory within cities has drawn on the work of early twentieth-century theorists, including the French surrealists who explored the 'haunting quality' of areas of Paris in the 1920s and 1930s (Pinder 2000:376). Another French theorist who has explored the concept of 'ghosts' within urban spaces is Michael de Certeau, who argues that all inhabited places are inevitably haunted by a myriad of spirits that people can choose to invoke or not (Till 2005:13).<sup>15</sup> De Certeau also challenges the notion that memory is structured by particular sites, arguing instead that memory is stirred through the 'disruption of coherence' caused by the past, which interrupts and fractures consciousness (De Certeau 1992:12 quoted in Crang and Travlou 2001: page 172). He therefore interprets urban space as being 'torn open' by 'drifts and leaks of meaning' (de Certeau 1984:107 quoted in Edensor 2008: page 236). Drawing on De Certeau's thinking some academics have argued that we should approach everyday urban space not as a sequence of moments, but as a 'depthless synchronic collage' (Crang and Travlou 2001:163) or a 'vast medley of past, present and future' (Edensor 2008:324) in which disparate, disjointed, elements are folded, pierced and crossed (Crang and Travlou 2001 quoted in Edensor 2008 page 324). De Certeau also discusses the practice of walking in the city, describing the ways in which the actions of pedestrians

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<sup>14</sup> The term 'urban' is often considered a problematic and 'woolly' definition, and its use raises a number of theoretical issues (Amin and Thrift 2002). I don't have the space to discuss these here, however I would just like to clarify that I use the term in this context to mean within a city or town.

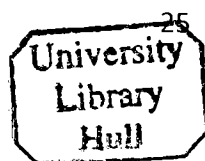
<sup>15</sup> Derrida also talks about this, although he refers to these spirits as the 'cinders of past existences' (Thrift 1999 quoted in Atkinson 2007: page 253).

enunciates and manipulates spaces through the 'myriad of creative tactics' employed in everyday spatial practice (De Certeau 1974 quoted in Pinder 2005: page 401). He describes inhabitants of cities as 'everyday artists' who, through their spatial practice, 'turn the city into an immense memory where many poetics proliferate' (de Certeau 1998:141). This notion has also been taken up in recent years by geographers who have argued that memory needs to be understood as a fluid dynamic process, played out across everyday space through individual and shared activities (Crang and Travlou 2001:162).<sup>16</sup>

Another French theorist who has been highly significant in discussions about the importance of the everyday and spatial practice is Henri Lefebvre, who argued that one of the most significant elements of everyday life is recurrence (Lefebvre 1971:18 quoted in Moran 2004: page 53). He also suggested that everyday spaces exist as 'a sphere in which the modern and residual can co-exist' (Moran 2004:56), which has implications for the relationships of both memory and history within everyday space (Moran 2004:56). As discussed earlier (section 2.3.2), the concept of ghosts and haunting has been used to describe our experiences of fragmentary traces of the past within the present in ruined and derelict places. However, this concept of 'haunting' has also been used widely in recent years to describe experiences of the everyday, lived-in places of urban space (cf Pinder 2001, Pile 2002, Till 2005, Edensor 2008). The concept of haunted places has also been discussed in the context of specific sites of memory in cities such as Berlin, where people are forced to (or in many cases choose to) confront the ghosts of difficult or uncomfortable pasts (Till 2005). However, it has also been argued that *all* places are potentially haunted by the intangible presences that we feel as part of our experience of space - the aura of past social actions (Bell 1997:821). These so-called 'ghosts' can disturb and unsettle us, but they can equally give us a sense of attachment and belonging (Bell 1997:821). It has also been argued that these memories (and memory processes) are different to the processes of voluntary and active remembrance associated with

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<sup>16</sup> These ideas have also been explored by psycho-geographers, including writers and artists such as Ian Sinclair and Rachel Lichtenstein, who have attempted to explore the ghostly topographies of everyday space in recent years. This will be discussed in the next chapter.



heritage sites and official sites of memory (Game 1991:141 quoted in Moran 2004: page 58). The memories associated with everyday places are often involuntary, fragmented memories, emerging in unplanned, uncontrolled and often unpredictable ways (Samuel 1994 quoted in Moran 2004: page 58).

Joe Moran has explored the production of memory in everyday places such as service stations and inner-city suburbs (Moran 2005). These everyday places, spaces 'within which most urban dwellers carry out quotidian practices associated with dwelling, working and leisure' (Edensor 2008:314), have previously been dismissed as mundane and history-less (Auge 1995). However it has been increasingly argued that, within the spaces of everyday life, the modern and the residual past often co-exist through intangible phenomena such as smells, sounds, gestures, habits and routines that are invoked and experienced through bodily actions (Moran 2004:56-7). Within the mundane spaces of daily life the memories (or ghosts) invoked through everyday spatial practices surround us; however, these ghosts tend to be fragmentary and elusive. They are stirred by 'memory's shadows' and therefore tend to overlap and co-exist, emerging at unpredictable times in unexpected places (Samuel 1994:27 quoted in Moran 2004: page 58). These fragmentary memories are essentially individual, based on past experiences and personal recollections (Moran 2004:59). But they are also unavoidably interwoven into shared social routines and experiences and therefore play an important role in the production of social memory (Moran 2004:59).

Tim Edensor has also discussed the production of memory in the context of everyday spaces, arguing that the past 'is everywhere folded into the fabric of the city, and especially possesses its mundane spaces' (Edensor 2008:325). In his discussion of the phantasmagoria of working class suburbs he describes the places he passes on his daily commute to work through the suburbs of Manchester, and gives a sense of these mundane spaces as haunted by overlapping histories, memories and fragments of the past that are both unsettling and affirming, scary and comforting, unexpected and familiar (Edensor 2008:314). Edensor draws attention to the effect of visible remnants of

the past within everyday spaces: objects, ranging from street names and ephemera, to street furniture and buildings. His work therefore contributes to a growing body of work which suggests that, in order to understand the production of memory within everyday places, we need to pay more attention to the 'things' (objects, structures and actions) that make up those places, including the myriad ordinary or banal objects that we see or use on a daily basis, but that we inevitably tend to take for granted.

#### 2.4.2 *Everyday objects and the work of 'things'*

Objects such as monuments, museum exhibits and other recognised 'historic' artefacts have traditionally been implicated in discussions of memory, and have generally been understood as 'memory prompts', as demonstrated for instance in the widespread use of historic photographs and museum exhibits in oral history interviewing (Slim at el 1998). However, scholars have begun to perceive a wider range of objects as dynamic actors in their own right, with the potential to shape both memory and place, rather than as mere representations of the past. For instance, in his recent book, *The Comfort of Things*, anthropologist Daniel Miller explores the personal possessions of residents in a London street, and discusses not only what these seemingly mundane objects tell an observer about the individuals who have collected them, but also how these (or in some cases the lack of) material possessions continually act to shape the lives of the people to whom they belong, or with whom they have a daily connection (Miller 2008:286).

The agency of apparently mundane objects, or the 'little things' (Thrift 2000:280, Jacobs 2006:13), has also been explored in some depth by academics using Actor Network Theory (also known as ANT), based on the work of Bruno Latour. ANT is concerned with the networks of interaction between human and non-human actors that constitute our shifting worlds at any given time, and explores the ability of apparently mundane objects to create both space and time (Amin and Thrift 2002:88). Post-structuralist theories such as ANT have argued that *all* things have their own agency and the potential and ability to act within human and non-human networks (Amin and Thrift 2002:35). From this theoretical point of view, social interactions are always mediated by things (Amin and



Thrift 2002), which are in turn always a product of networks of interaction and previous knowledges, bringing into question the traditional binary opposition between absence and presence (Law 2002).

It has been argued that all objects should be seen as having 'life-paths', or biographies, that can be traced and explored (Appadurai 1986 quoted in Hoskins 2007: page 437). Moreover, the argument runs, people and things relate to (and collaborate with) each other in unpredictable and irregular ways (Hoskins 2007:453). We therefore need to recognise even apparently mundane objects as potentially unruly participants in the production of memory and (re)interpretation of the past (Hoskins 2007:453). It has also been argued that, alongside the symbolic meaning of particular artefacts, the materiality of objects is equally as important in their continuing role in remembering, and practices of remembrance (Hoskins 2007). Objects have the capacity to change, both temporally and spatially. For instance, the use of objects can change, as can their situation (even the ones that appear to be very static and stationary, such as buildings or monuments). Objects also have the ability to be multi-temporal, co-existing in different temporalities, and at once enacting different temporalities, thus challenging our traditional understanding of time as a successive chronology (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:6). This rethinking of mundane, everyday objects therefore has implications for the ways in which we might investigate the productions of memory within different places, and the ways in which objects both affect, and are affected by, these processes.

Some memory studies have used such ideas to explore the ways in which commonplace objects of the recent past can take on unstable and elusive meanings within the present (Moran 2004:51). For instance, Joe Moran has considered how unwanted or discarded objects often viewed as 'rubbish' can affect the everyday as uncanny survivals of past lives (Moran 2004:61-66)<sup>17</sup>. Some objects survive the period of their creation more frequently, or at least more visibly, than others. Amongst these are buildings, which have (therefore) played a significant role in discussions of memory production in recent years.

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<sup>17</sup> This will be discussed further in section 2.4.4 (below)

### 2.4.3 *Buildings*

Buildings have traditionally been viewed as immobile, unchanging objects which play an important role in shaping the spaces around us. Some of the earliest work on the sociology of buildings was published by Giddens and Bordieus, who both saw buildings as having an important role in structuring and reproducing social structures (Gieryn 2002:37). More recently geographers have argued that buildings are also shaped by the actions of people, and should therefore be seen as being subject to constant change, both in terms of their material presence, but also in terms of their ability to both evoke and withhold memories and narratives about the past (Gieryn 2002). Those adopting a Non-Representational Theory approach have argued that buildings and architecture should be interpreted as being constantly transformed through use and interaction and as 'simultaneously made and capable of making' (Gieryn 2002:37). As Thomas Gieryn explains:

Buildings don't just sit there imposing themselves. They are forever objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation – and meanings or stories are sometimes more pliable than the walls and floors they depict.

(Gieryn 2002:35)

Accordingly, buildings are neither stable nor static, but (like all objects) are complex, heterogeneous and shifting (Tait and While 2009:735). In particular temporal and spatial contexts some buildings can perform as what Latour would call 'immutable mobiles', things that serve to stabilise relationships across time and space (Tait and While 2009:728). However, this is by no means a predetermined state. All buildings are subject to constant change and (re)negotiation and have multiple potential existences depending on who, and what, is interacting with them (Tait and While 2009:724).

It has also been argued that buildings should not be seen as predetermined entities, but as variable collections of 'stuff' that are attributed properties (and a collective identity) through the action of naming (Tait and While 2009). Further, the components (or 'stuff')

that make up these collections can change, for instance when windows or other fittings are replaced, although the building still persists as ‘the building’ in a familiar sense (Tait and While 2009) maintaining its identity (or multiple identities) through the verbal and physical articulations of groups and individuals (Tait and While 2009:724). This ability to change whilst still retaining a recognisable character allows buildings to embody a range of concurrent (and often visible) temporalities (Tait and While 2009:725). This has implications not only for the memories instigated by the changing materiality of the building, but also for the ways in which the building itself may be changed and shaped by these memories; for instance, in the form of the names, stories and expectations associated with the building that are shared collectively by people and things (Tait and While 2009:725).

Traditional accounts of buildings have also tended to ‘black-box’ individual structures, and take for granted the formal boundaries, or edges, created by their physical form (Jenkins 2002:223 quoted in Jacobs 2006: page 11). However, more recent accounts have suggested that buildings should be understood in terms of overlapping connections that stretch beyond the walls and ceilings of the structures themselves (Jenkins 2002:233). Buildings, it is argued, need to be seen not as fixed, homogenous units that can be understood purely in terms of their history, symbolism (or social meaning) and architectural form, but as inter-connected, potentially unruly actors that continually shape and are shaped by particular networks of association (Gieryn 2002). All of this has implications for the ways in which we understand not only buildings, but also other objects within the built environment, in terms of memory. Recent memory work has also suggested that these issues may be particularly important in terms of understanding the production of memory in the context of urban change and redevelopment.<sup>18</sup>

#### *2.4.4 Urban Regeneration*

It has also been suggested that the memories associated with everyday life become more visible when the spaces they are connected to are changed, or become threatened with

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<sup>18</sup> This also has implications for built heritage conservation policies (Tait and While 2009).

change (Boym 2001:54-5). For instance, in discussing attempts to rebuild parts of Berlin after the demolition of the Berlin Wall, Michael Hebbert considers the reactions of resident Berliners to the ongoing redevelopment of the city (Hebbert 2005). He discusses how, despite the removal of the Wall and plans to reconnect the city's streetscape, many Berliners still structure their everyday lives on the spaces of discontinuity created by the Wall, and left by its demolition. As Hebbert explains, '[t]he wall had gone but the 'wall in the head' between Osis (easterners) and Wesis (westerners) remained.' (Hebbert 2005:590).

This work suggests that memory, negotiated through everyday spatial practice, can be exposed by changes to the environments within which those practices occur, and illustrates ways in which change can highlight spatial practice that might otherwise have been considered mundane, everyday and unworthy of comment, let alone contention (Hebbert 2005). This sense of dynamic, shifting urban landscapes constructed by fragmented (and easily disrupted) layers of memory has also influenced how some writers have interpreted the eruption of memory in different places and at different times. Some have argued that the social frameworks of memory only become visible as they start to break down (Boym 2001:54). This in turn suggests that periods of change and regeneration create temporal windows through which it is possible to investigate topographies of memory, as the different layers and fragments of memory become momentarily exposed by physical and social changes across the urban fabric (Boym 2001:54). For instance, Svetlana Boym suggests that:

One comes aware of the collective frameworks of memories when one distances oneself from one's community, or when that community itself enters into the moment of twilight. Collective frameworks of memory are discovered in mourning.

(Boym 2001:54-5)

Others have argued that the residual layers of daily practice that make up the everyday are generally invisible as they are part of unheeded, continually repeated routines; they

are 'practiced thoughtlessly' (Lefebvre 1974 quoted in Moran, 2004: page 57). However, as Hebbert demonstrates, these routines are rendered visible by change, which brings them to our attention (Hebbert 2005). Others have suggested that memory is stirred by markers of urban decline within everyday places, such as boarded up shops or derelict houses, which mark these places as the products of time, and thus temporarily destabilise them by challenging the underlying assumption of chronological order which structures everyday life (Moran 2004:58). These arguments echo the writings of the French surrealists, who argued that it is only when places are threatened with destruction that they become 'sanctuaries' for ghosts of the past (Pinder 2000:377). Being on the cusp of history gives places a 'disruptive power' (Pinder 2000:377). Returning briefly again to Gutman's work on Ground Zero, this suggests that, in the same way that the development of a single site can create space for creative reinterpretations of the past (Gutman 2009), the process of larger-scale urban redevelopment creates temporal disturbances that in turn create new spaces in which the past, present and future can temporarily be reimagined and reformed across much wider, inter-connected areas of space.

Geographers have also explored the production of memory within the spaces created by urban regeneration, such as that seen in the docklands of port-cities such as Liverpool, Bristol and Hull. These redevelopments have often been criticised for producing mundane, sanitised, and therefore memory-less spaces, with little or no reference to the history or previous use of the area, save a few token symbolic markers such as bollards and capstans (Edensor 2005a:131 quoted in Atkinson 2007a: page 526). However, some have argued that the ersatz landscapes produced by these developments are far from boring and memory-less (Atkinson 2007a). This is explored for instance in David Atkinson's paper on Kitsch Geographies (Atkinson 2007a) which focuses on the Victoria Dock Village redevelopment scheme on the site of a former timber dock in Kingston-upon-Hull. Atkinson interprets the 'kitsch' aesthetics of this dockland regeneration as 'an elective form of comforting nostalgia' (Atkinson 2008:382), arguing that this landscape is far from fixed, mundane and memory-less, but is in fact dynamic and under constant

negotiation. This sense of nostalgia, as a positive and dynamic force affecting memory production across a range of everyday spaces, challenges the ways in which nostalgia and its relationship to memory has traditionally been viewed.

#### 2.4.5 *Nostalgia*

The late 1990s saw a number of concerns raised over a perceived general loss of historical knowledge, or sense of history, alongside an increasing consumption of popular memory and sense of the past driven by nostalgia (Heynen 1999:369). This was tied-in with discussions in heritage studies about authenticity, and the differences between memory and history (Heynen 1999), which tended to see nostalgia as an emotional response, with no basis in the 'real' past, serving to over-romanticise past events and places, in order to combat a perceived sense of loss (Boym 2001:xviii). As Svetlana Boym explains:

Nostalgia (from *nostos* – return home, and *algia* – longing) is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy.

(Boym 2001:xiii)

However, over the past decade there has been an increased academic interest in nostalgia and its connections to memory and place, with some academics arguing that nostalgia should not be assumed to be a predetermined, emotional response, but instead should be regarded as a fluid, performative and productive force, which requires more careful examination (Boym 2001, Blunt 2003, Legg 2005, Della Dora 2006, Atkinson 2008). For instance, in her work on Anglo-Indian homemaking in McCluskieganj, Alison Blunt stresses the importance of nostalgia as an active force mobilised at a domestic scale (Blunt 2003). She identifies a type (or specific form of enactment) of nostalgia as 'productive nostalgia', which she argues is orientated as much towards the present and the future as it is towards the past. This exploration of productive nostalgia sees nostalgia in terms of physical or material enactment, rather than in imaginative or

narrative terms (Blunt 2003:735). Blunt also argues that we need to discuss nostalgia in terms of spatiality, as well as temporality. Whereas memory is often discussed in spatial terms (e.g. 'sites' of memory) nostalgia is seen to imply a yearning for home which has no spatial dimension, but is instead seen as implying a more temporal separation, a form of regressive forgetting (Greene 1991:298 quoted in Blunt 2003: page 721). However, nostalgia might also be understood in terms of spatial practice, as a dynamic process which is inter-connected with negotiations and understandings of the city through interaction with spatial/material forms such as buildings and other objects (Della Dora 2006).

In her work on nostalgia and memory in Alexandria (2006), Veronica Della Dora highlights forms of performative nostalgia, which, using Boym's earlier definitions, she separates into 'restorative' and 'reflective' nostalgia (Della Dora 2006:209-10). She argues that these performative nostalgias are given different physical expression in Alexandria's 'complex cityscape'; reflective nostalgia is found in the decrepit, slightly ruinous, older buildings of the city, whereas restorative nostalgia is found in the well-defined landmark buildings, designed to 'resurrect Alexandria's glorious past' (Della Dora 2006:210). In this context, restorative nostalgia (associated with public or collective memories) is seen as the 'conscious processes of remembrance through memorial landscape', and reflective nostalgia (associated with individual memories) is seen as a more personal process, revolving around 'ghosts' and 'silences' (Della Dora 2006:211). These debates on nostalgia are therefore inextricably linked to the wider debates on personal and collective memory, and how memory forms, and is in turn formed by, different places in different ways. The same debates are also significant in thinking about the ways in which memory becomes visible, and how we might start to interpret and record memory in both the expected and the *unexpected* places that it emerges (Atkinson 2008:395).

The theoretical shifts discussed in this chapter have also opened up debate on approaches to the study of memory, resulting in a call for the development of more imaginative methodologies which are able to explore and interrogate fragments of

memory across a far wider range of spaces (Till 2008). However, despite the theoretical shift towards understanding memory as a dynamic and fluid process, it has also been argued that people inevitably structure their memories in terms of 'sites' and specific places, and their expectations of the ways in which different places operate (Till 2005:11). New methodologies therefore need to be able to follow (or at least attempt to follow) and explore memory across wider inter-connected, albeit often fragmented and disturbed topographies that include not only official, visible sites of memory, but also a whole range of absent-presences, haunted sites, individual and shared places of everyday memory and interstitial space (Atkinson 2007b and 2008).

## **2.5 Summary**

The ways in which we understand memory have changed over the past 20 years, opening up new possibilities for understanding and exploring memory in a wider range of contexts than ever before. It is increasingly argued that *all* places should be seen as having multiple, overlapping temporalities that can potentially erupt or dissolve at any time (Dwyer 2004, Atkinson 2008). In recent years the traditional binary distinctions between individual, or private memories, and social, or public memories have also been called into question (Hodgkin and Radstone 2005:133), with ongoing memory work seeking to illuminate and examine these relationships as dynamic, spatial processes, which are part of a complicated, entwined process that involves groups, individuals and things. It is increasingly recognised that objects and places have the potential to disrupt everyday life and disturb our sense of chronology, creating momentary spaces within which creative and unregulated (re)imaginings of the past, present (and future) are able to take place (Gutman 2009).

It is increasingly argued that the quotidian, mundane spaces of everyday life are intimately entangled with the processes of both remembering and forgetting (Moran 2004), and that we should therefore consider these places, alongside more formal 'sites of memory', in order to understand the ways in which the past emerges in different places at different times (Atkinson 2008). It is also argued that there is a difference



between active remembrance and the often involuntary processes of remembering and forgetting that take place with the spaces of everyday life (Game 1991:4 quoted in Moran 2004: page 58), but that these sorts of memories are also inevitably woven into shared social routines and therefore play an important and dynamic role in the negotiation of collective remembering and forgetting (Moran 2004:59). Accordingly, social or collective memory should not be treated solely as a pre-determined narrative based upon shared collective pasts, and associated with (and represented by) specific sites. Instead, the production of both individual and social memories should be recognised as an interconnected, complex and dynamic process involving a range of different actors, which is continually (re)negotiated across a variety of different places (including, but in no way limited to, formal sites of memory) through the spatial practice of everyday life (Crang and Travlou 2001). This has important implications not only for how we understand the processes of remembering and forgetting, but also for the ways in which we might interrogate, explore and record the emergence of memory (in its myriad forms) across different places at different times, something I will discuss further in the next chapter.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

In this chapter I discuss different methods of working with memory, and the development of my own methodology, including how this methodology was adapted and refined as the research progressed. Initially a range of different techniques were considered. These were drawn from a range of social science research methods as well as methods employed in public art and memory projects. After a number of pilot studies an embodied, practice-based approach was adopted. This retained a traditional interview format, but also included visual methodologies and walking; methods increasingly used to explore and interrogate both collective and individual memory across a range of everyday spaces.

#### **3.1 Introduction (to current methodologies in memory studies)**

As discussed at the end of the last chapter, there have been calls for memory studies to embrace the development of more imaginative methodologies that recognise memory not as a predetermined, shared narrative, but as an ongoing process negotiated through individual spatial practice (Crang and Travlou 2001). Early memory studies often adopted a 'site biography' approach, analysing the historical development of specific sites of commemoration to explain why certain forms of memory emerge at certain times in certain places (Till 2006:327). However some now argue that these studies have been too simplistic, relying on a basic narration of the history of single sites and the debates that have surrounded them over a limited period of time (Till 2006:330). There have also been calls for academics to take a less-bounded approach towards interpreting and understanding memory, and for the development of methodologies that engage more fully with the wide variety of different spaces within which memory emerges (Till 2008). This has coincided with calls for memory studies to address more subtly the varied socio-political contexts of remembering and forgetting (Johnson 2003, Till 2005 and 2008).

Public memory projects often explore ways of apprehending and recording memory using a range of techniques that acknowledge that memory is experienced spatially in

multiple, multi-sensory ways (Till 2008:101). Some of these creative methods, including mobile and visual methodologies, are now being adopted in various ways by academics as a means of exploring, recording and presenting memory within the mundane spaces of everyday life. In the next section I discuss some of these methodologies, before explaining how I have used them to inspire the development of my own research.

## **3.2 Current Work/Background Theory**

Recent memory-work, particularly within urban contexts, demonstrates the need to study memory across a wider range of spaces than has previously been assumed (Atkinson 2007b). However, this work also suggests that memory is momentary, fragile, and unpredictable, and cannot therefore be adequately studied using the traditional site-based methods that have been used to study memory in the past (Till 2008). Instead it has been argued that mobile and visual methodologies (including walking and photography) offer the potential to explore memory without the need for bounded site-based studies; permitting a more engaged, practice-based approach (Atkinson 2007b:23).

### *3.2.1 Walking*

Walking has played a central role in the work of numerous writers and artists who have explored how memories are experienced by movement through space (Atkinson 2007b and 2008). Much of this work has employed the concept of space as embodied practice, using performance, and particularly walking, as a way of reading, understanding, and remapping the city (Pinder 2001). It explores the ways that memories overlap and coalesce in certain places, emerging in often unpredictable, messy, and fragmentary ways (Atkinson 2008). This approach to encountering and exploring memory is seen, for instance, in the increasing number of walking tours and sound-walks employed as methods of mapping the city and the landscapes of individual memories and experiences within it (Pinder 2001, Butler 2006, Atkinson 2007b). These tours explore and exploit the ways that individual memories and experiences merge and fragment across urban

landscapes, creating undulating topographies of memory which are (re)activated by participants, who encounter them through recorded stories and sounds replayed through headphones whilst walking around a specific area (Pinder 2001). Artists involved in this sort of work have generally been concerned with exploring the layers of meaning in certain places (Pinder 2001:9) and experimenting with new ways of experiencing and knowing place (Pinder 2005 quoted in Atkinson 2007b: page 19). Much of this work has drawn upon the techniques of 'psycho-geography', a concept that has found increasing popularity in recent years, both within academia and beyond, and which is generally concerned with exploring the city and finding ways of interrogating and representing layers of experience, identity and memory in different places (Coverley 2006).

### 3.2.2 Psycho-geography

A central figure in psycho-geography is the urban walker, sometimes called the *flâneur*, derived from the French verb *flâner* (to stroll). The flâneur is a solitary figure, usually male, who experiences urban spaces as a passionate, but outside observer (Coverley 2006:19). The introduction of the flâneur is generally attributed to Charles Baudelaire, in his work *The Painter of Modern Life* published in 1863 (Coverley 2006:58).<sup>19</sup> Baudelaire's flâneur is a poet, driven to walk through the streets of Paris in search of meaning, a man who is only at home in the crowded public spaces of the city, constantly observing but at the same time remaining unseen and anonymous (Tester 1994:2-4)

For the perfect flaneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world

(Baudelaire 1863 translated in Mayne 1964: page 9)<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Although Baudelaire attributed the conception of the flaneur to Edgar Allen Poe in his 1840 work *The Man of the Crowd* (Coverley 2006:58).

<sup>20</sup> Also partially quoted in DeWolf 2006, although with a slightly different translation

Through the work of Baudelaire, and later Walter Benjamin (who drew heavily upon Baudelaire's writing), the flâneur was initially associated with the streets and arcades of nineteenth-century Paris (Tester 1994:1). In his *Arcades Project* (written 1927-1940 and published in the 1980s), Benjamin depicts the flâneur not merely as a wanderer, but also an urban detective (Frisby 1994:82). For Benjamin, flâneurism was therefore not only a way of looking, but also a way of interrogating, reading and understanding the city (Frisby 1994:82). The concept of the flâneur has since been used in other times and places, particularly by writers discussing the conditions of modernity and post-modernity (Tester 1994:1).

Modern psycho-geography also draws upon the writings of the French situationists, such as Guy Debord, who wrote about Paris in the 1950s (Coverley 2006), and takes inspiration from the earlier French surrealists who explored the possibilities of seeing the familiar in different ways through 'uncanny wanders' in the city (Pinder 2000:378). It also draws on the work of British literary figures such as William Blake<sup>21</sup> and Daniel Defoe who wrote about their experiences of London, and the ways in which landscapes can be imbued with a sense of previous activities and histories (Coverley 2006:33). Modern psycho-geographers draw on this tradition, exploring how the ghosts that haunt the everyday places of urban life can be apprehended by seeing the familiar in new and unexpected ways, (re)imagining the city through the unexpected interactions and observations that unplanned drifting through urban spaces permits (Sinclair 1997). One of the best known exponents of this brand of modern psycho-geography is Ian Sinclair, who has written extensively about his explorations of the mundane spaces of London, and the ways in which the banal, everyday places of the capital - including apparently transient and memory-less places such as the M25 motorway - embody often surprising and unexpected stories and layers of histories and emotion (Sinclair 2002). Another artist and writer who uses similar techniques is Rachel Lichtenstein, who (along with Sinclair) has followed and documented the ghostly trails left by David Rodinsky, an Orthodox

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<sup>21</sup> Sometimes called the 'Godfather of Psycho-geography' (Sinclair 2003:54 quoted in Coverley 2006: page 32)

Jewish scholar, across the Whitechapel area of London and beyond (Sinclair and Lichtenstein 1999, Lichtenstein 2007:4). More recently she has published a detailed exploration of the 'mythical', yet ordinary landscapes of Brick Lane (Lichtenstein 2007). This sort of work is not only concerned with exploring the different stories of people and places, but is also engaged with recording and mapping different understandings of urban space, capturing momentary fragments of memory, which are fragile and fleeting, but which constantly shape the everyday spaces we inhabit (Savage 2007). The use of walking as an alternative means of (re)creating, and mapping urban landscapes has also been applied to research on cultural memory and tourism, by examining the performance of heritage through history and heritage trails (Plate 2006, Azaryahu and Foote 2008). This work explores how these sorts of walking tours (which link together sites of historical importance, or sites associated with specific historical figures, groups, or events) rewrite urban space, using performance to recreate, and re-read the familiar, and establish (or re-establish) relationships between the past and present (Plate 2006:103).

### 3.2.3 *The 'mobilities paradigm'*

Alongside the increasing popularity of psycho-geographies, over the past decade there has also been a huge increase in the use of performance - including, but by no means restricted to, walking practices - as a research tool within social sciences (Latham and Conradson 2003), to the extent that some academics have begun to talk about a new 'mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006 quoted in Jones et al 2008: page 2). These mobile methods have drawn upon work in art and other creative disciplines, as well as work in Geography and other social sciences, which seeks to understand the production of place through embodied practice (Jones et al 2008). As discussed in the previous chapter, this work draws upon French theorists such as Michael de Certeau, whose concepts of place and everyday life have been adopted by geographers such as Nigel Thrift (1996, 1997, 2000 and 2008) and Doreen Massey (1994, 1995 and 2007), who have argued that place is performative and therefore needs to be explored and understood in

terms of physical movement and bodily practice (Cresswell 2004:37; see previous chapter).<sup>22</sup> This has encouraged an increasing number of research projects, which use walking interviews, or 'go-along' methodologies (Jones et al 2008). These methods utilize bodily experience as a way of prompting 'theretofore unstated or unrecalled knowledge' (Anderson 2004:257), much in the same way as sound walks, or other sorts of walks through the city utilize the recalling of past experiences; through physical encounters with ghostly traces of previous activities and other, often outwardly imperceptible traces of the residual past (Pinder 2001). This sort of work does not always focus on specific places. Sometimes it is the embodied performance that is most significant, and not necessarily the specific location in which this performance occurs (Jones et al 2008:3). As Rebecca Solnit explains:

The rhythm of walking generates a kind of rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts.

(Solnit 2001:5-6)

However, as discussed in the last chapter, whereas it is useful to move away from traditional commemorative sites and see memory as potentially erupting anywhere and at any time (Atkinson 2008), it is also important to bear in mind that sites of memory - be they formal or unintentional, personal or shared - play an essential role in the ways in which both groups and individuals negotiate the world around them (Till 2005:11). For other research projects an interest in specific places and the ways in which these form, and are formed by, individual and shared memories is an essential part of choosing walking as a research method. For example, the Rescue Geography project in Birmingham has experimented with locating memories by using GIS to map narratives on recorded walking tours around former industrial sites in the Digbeth and Deritend districts of the city (Jones et al 2008:6). The exact location of different memories was a key part of this project, which aimed to understand, and record individuals' particular

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<sup>22</sup> Although some walking research has also gone beyond this essentially phenomenological approach to suggest a post-phenomenological understanding of self and landscape (Wiley 2005 and 2009).

relationships to specific places within the derelict industrial areas of the city before they were changed in an ongoing urban regeneration scheme (Jones et al 2008:6). Alongside these developing mobile methodologies, which rely on external prompts such as sights, sounds, smells, and touch, to reactivate and trigger memories and experiences, there have also been an increasing number of projects using external visual prompts such as film and photography to explore topics such as memory, place and identity (Banks 2007:17).

#### *3.2.4 Visual Methodologies*

Visual, and place-based methodologies have also been widely used in the arts, particularly community and public art projects that have focused on ways of exploring and mapping different readings of public space (Till 2008). These techniques are increasingly being adopted by academics within geography as an attempt to embody the 'creativity of social practice' whilst also maintaining a critical, analytical viewpoint (Latham 2003b:1994). Some projects have used photo-elicitation, also known as photo-interviewing. This technique was first introduced in the 1950s by John Collier, who experimented with visual and non-visual prompts, and concluded that using photographs as interview prompts tended to 'sharpen' memory and elicit more comprehensive narratives about certain topics (Harper 2002:14). This is an established technique in oral history and historical ethnographic studies where historical images are frequently used to prompt memories and inspire narratives about the past (Slim et al 1998:119). Other researchers have used auto-photographical methods, such as photograph-based interview diaries, where interviewees are provided with a camera and asked to take photographs of significant events or places to document their daily lives, and which then often form the basis for later interviews (see for instance Latham 2003b, Middleton 2007). In both of these techniques photographs act as a 'familiar third-party', creating an immediate relationship and inspiring a form of collaboration between the interviewer and the interviewee (Harper 2002:23).



A number of recent research projects have used elements of photo-elicitation alongside other established research techniques in order to explore individuals' relationships to place, and the ways in which people both experience and (re)produce places through living, and moving through them. For instance, in her research on 'Walking Tours of Prospect Heights', Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani used a combination of walking, photographing, and photo-elicitation, along with in-depth interviewing, to explore the personal meanings embedded into familiar public spaces in her local neighbourhood in Brooklyn (Bendiner-Viani 2005). She accompanied a number of local residents on walking tours of the area, in which they visited places that had specific personal or emotional meanings for the individual guiding the walk. As the guides talked about these places, she took photographs to document the narratives, and then used these photographs as visual prompts in in-depth interviews with each of her guides at a later date. This sort of methodology draws upon the importance of experiencing space through the physical act of moving through it, but also explores ways in which these individual spatial narratives can be captured and reexamined through a combination of photography and more traditional interviewing techniques.

Interestingly, this sort of examination of everyday places, and the growing interest in walking and photography as ways of exploring, understanding and remapping the city is not limited to academic research. In recent years, there has also been a surge in popularity amongst the general public in flâneurism, or exploring urban spaces in the role of an outside observer, a role which has in recent years also become synonymous with digital photography (DeWolf 2006). Since the advent of cheap digital cameras, and on-line photo-sharing sites such as Flickr, photo-blogging has become an increasingly popular way for an ever-growing number of people to explore and document the spaces around them (DeWolf 2006). Online photo-sharing sites have also given people a shared media through which to create and promote their own sense of heritage. One UK-based example of this is the popular 28dayslater forum where members document and share (usually illegal) 'explores' of a variety of abandoned urban sites in the UK using photographs, historical information and personal accounts (including the space for

dialogue between contributors), which then remain on-line for others to read and add to.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that an increasing number of people are actively performing and shaping personal sites of memory, and linking these into collective or shared experiences through the sharing of photographs and narratives. This in turn suggests that visual and exploratory methodologies represent increasingly familiar, and popular, ways of investigating, negotiating and shaping the past, that are engaging an increasingly wide audience, which makes them ideal for this sort of project.

### **3.3 Developing My Own Methodology**

#### *3.3.1 Reflexive Statement*

As a researcher it is important to recognise your own positionality towards your study; the assumptions and reactions that will inevitably affect the interactions you have with the people and places you are researching (Valentine 2005:113). It is also important to recognise that the relationship between researcher and those being researched is to some extent predicated on age, gender, and background (Banks 2007:74). This is particularly true in qualitative research, which generally employs interactive methodologies in which the researcher plays a central role (Kvale 2007:29). Having a shared background, or similar identity, with the people you are researching can create empathy between interviewee and interviewer which can in turn facilitate interviews, producing a richer, more detailed discussion of experiences based on mutual understanding (Valentine 2005:113). A common frame of reference and a shared use, or understanding of, specific cultural terms and language can also be essential in facilitating a 'flow of conversation' resulting in a deeper insight into the issues discussed in interviews (Valentine 2005:113). However, being close to the research subject also poses problems in itself because, as an 'insider' certain things may seem self explanatory, and as a result you end up making assumptions about what people mean, which are not necessarily justified or correct (Valentine 2005:114). An established connection to the

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<sup>23</sup>These reports cover sites from all parts of the country and are now so numerous that they are grouped into site types, including industrial sites, leisure sites, residential, military sites and even underground sites. For more information see <http://www.28dayslater.co.uk/forums/>

material you are studying can therefore be a positive aspect of any research, but you also need to be clear about the basis for this connection, and the effect that has upon the research itself (Valentine 2005:113).

My background, age and gender inevitably had both positive and negative consequences for my research. I was born in the early 1980s. I am female and I have a strong personal connection with Hull and a number of its communities as I was brought up in the suburbs to the West of Hull and spent a lot of time in Hull city centre as a child and teenager. I also have friends from various parts of Hull, some of whom still live in the area. I therefore have my own collection of memories and cultural knowledge of the city. In the past I have also studied its history, in particular its industrial heritage, and this knowledge informed the way I initially structured my research and the areas that I chose to study. It also helped me to establish connections with local residents, and inevitably played a part in my interpretations of the memories they shared with me. However, during the project I was constantly learning new things about the city and its communities and I was careful to feed this knowledge back into the project, questioning my own understanding and approach towards the research wherever possible. Before starting the project I had spent almost ten years living away from the city - long enough that I had stopped automatically calling Hull my home - and at many times throughout the project I have felt like I have been rediscovering things I didn't know I had lost. This sort of personal connection, combined with the sense of investigating something that has been to some extent removed from the researcher, but that still remains as part of their own personal history, has been central to a number of memory studies over the past few years.<sup>24</sup>

### *3.3.2 Initial Pilot Studies*

At the beginning of my project I chose three study areas within the city in order to focus my research. I initially chose conservation areas (which are by definition formally designated areas of interest within the city) however I later extended this to include the areas directly surrounding them as well. I then undertook a programme of historical and

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<sup>24</sup> See for instance Till 2005 or Lichtenstein 2008.

archival research in each of the areas, focusing on the urban landscape, how it had changed over the past century and how these changes had been received by local residents. As mentioned above, I initially considered a range of different techniques drawing inspiration from the different methodologies discussed above. I then ran a number of pilot studies to gauge which of these was best suited to the project.

In the first pilot study I used structured interviewing, employing pre-scripted questions about important places of memory and perceptions of change in different areas over time. However, some respondents found this method difficult to engage with and that the answers they gave were often quite vague, or confused. It has been suggested elsewhere that people can find it difficult to articulate, or discuss collective memories with external observers because there is a 'complex syntax' associated with memory, which is an integral part of collective, or shared memory, but is often culturally untranslatable (Boym 2001:52). I therefore decided, on the basis of the emerging methodologies discussed above, to experiment with visual and walking methodologies, as an alternative way of structuring debate.

In the second pilot study I asked people to take pictures of places in the city that held memories for them. As discussed above, this sort of visual methodology, known as auto-photography (Emmison and Smith 2004), has been used in a number of qualitative research projects, particularly those exploring individual experiences of walking in urban landscapes.<sup>25</sup> Bearing in mind the current popularity of street photography and urban exploration I was hopeful this method would yield some interesting results. I handed out five disposable cameras and a set of instructions to volunteers who were all previously known to me and had agreed to take part in the study. After a month (the time limit agreed with the volunteers) none of the cameras had been returned, and when questioned the participants all said that they hadn't had enough time to take the photographs, or that they hadn't found enough things to take photographs of. This may have occurred for a number of reasons, including the fact that the spaces within which

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<sup>25</sup> See for instance Middleton 2007

everyday memories occur are often subject to constant change and renegotiation, which makes them difficult to sum up in single, contemporary photograph.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.3.3 *Starting to Walk*

I then decided to take a different approach and situate myself in the middle of the research process in order to gain a better understanding of the people and places I was researching. To begin with I conducted a series of walks through each of my study areas, and documented these walks using digital photography. At times these walks were essentially ‘bimbles’; aimless wandering with no planned route (Anderson 2004:257). At other times the walks were more structured, often following local history walks or using conservation documents and other archival material (including conservation area appraisals and historic maps) in an attempt to understand the different narratives associated with the places I was looking at. Each of my walks took a different route, although they often crossed the path of a previous walk. Throughout these walks I took general photographs of the places I was visiting, things I thought looked incongruous and things that were mentioned in the local and formal histories. I tried to get a coverage of the different sorts of spaces in each area, including derelict spaces, ‘lived-in’ spaces, intended memorials (such as statues or plaques), obvious landmarks, and buildings of different ages and uses. I also took many more photographs than I intended to use, including taking the same shot at different times of day, and in different weather conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Following this initial work I then chose a route through each of my study areas and put together a series of photographs in the order you would encounter them in the landscape if you followed the chosen route, thus constructing a basic, virtual walking

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<sup>26</sup> As demonstrated by the widely varied and sometimes unpredictable responses to my photographs in later interviews (see below).

<sup>27</sup> This in itself prompted some interesting responses (although these were not necessarily directly relevant to the research). In general photographs taken on a sunny day tended to elicit a more positive response. However two ‘sunny day’ photographs of the River Hull and the Humber Estuary, in which the water reflected the blue sky, elicited a slightly derisive response from many residents who laughed and said ‘it never normally looks like that!’ This is because in dull weather both water courses tend to appear a muddy brown because of high levels of silt.

tour around the different areas. This virtual tour was used to structure a small number of individual, in-depth interviews with residents from one of my study areas, eliciting an interesting response. My interviewees were immediately more engaged than with my previous attempts, and, rather than planning my questions in advance, questions were raised by the narrative itself, creating a more grounded, contextualized debate. The narratives produced by the virtual tour were in some ways more structured, but in other ways far more free-flowing and dynamic; like a flow of spatial consciousness that was initially guided by the images but would then often diverge in surprising and unexpected ways. Following the success of the pilot study I decided to employ the same technique in other interviews and workshops, and eventually adopted it as the central methodology for my research.

#### *3.3.4 Virtual Tours*

Using a virtual tour in place of an actual walking tour potentially limits the possibility of unplanned physical encounter that is so central to many other walking methods (Pinder 2001:11). However, there were still numerous unexpected encounters in my interviews, for instance when people spotted places they had lived or places they thought had disappeared, or just hadn't thought about for a number of years, but which still held some personal significance. Also, respondents' narratives did not just adhere to the places in the photographs. Instead, what tended to emerge was a stream of spatial consciousness that did not stick to one path, but diverged both spatially and temporally.

Respondents often did not articulate their memories in direct temporal terms. For instance, instead of saying 'in the 1950s' people would say something more general and temporally unfixed such as 'that used to be' or 'in my day', without explaining when 'my day' actually was. Narratives also tended to flit between time periods, with individuals regularly punctuating stories of childhood with modern anecdotes and commentary. This suggests that the photographs were providing a range of both spatial and temporal memory prompts, none of which were intentional, or even visible to me, which in turn suggests that the potential for chance encounters activated through actual walking

(Pinder 2001) is not fully diminished by the virtual nature of the tour. The tours also showed up a surprising spread of memories that would not have been made visible through other methods, particularly those relying solely on verbal questioning, or actual walking (as the distances covered would have been too great). For instance, when asked directly at the start of the interview, a number of people claimed they only knew one part of the city, but then went on to talk about memories of many different areas when prompted by the photographs. This was most noticeable in the East-West divide (for instance numerous West Hull residents claimed they knew nothing about East Hull, but then talked about regular visits they had made as children to East Park), but was also true in other districts.

I deliberately chose to use still images and not another visual media, such as film, for a number of reasons, both practical and theoretical. I already had the skills and equipment required to take and reproduce the photographs, and using still images eliminated any potential technical problems with equipment in interviews; one of the major issues currently facing researchers conducting walking interviews using GPS tracking systems for instance (Jones et al 2008). Photographs are the most flexible visual format (Banks 2007:70), and were therefore the most appropriate format for the sort of interview I was doing (including unexpected or unplanned interviews at coffee mornings and other group events). I was also able to conduct a greater number of interviews, including interviews with less mobile people, and cover a far greater area than would have been possible with actual walking. On a theoretical level I felt that photographs, as opposed to video, were more suited to eliciting an in-depth response. Using a still image gives people time to examine an image, and talk about a place, building, or situation in a way that moving images would not necessarily allow; photographs can be pawed over, and discussed, looked at again (Banks 2007:70). Still images therefore allow people time to think in-depth about familiar spaces they might otherwise take for granted (Seamon 1990 quoted in Bendiner-Viani 2005: page 461). Using photographs also allowed interviews to be flexible, and iterative. Although I presented the images in a particular (spatial) order to begin with, the physical format allowed these images to be easily handled; put into

different orders, compared with each other, and revisited at any time during the interview, effectively allowing the interviewees to control and customise their own tour.

The practical techniques involved with the virtual tours were also refined as the research progressed. For instance, although in my initial tours I gave the interviewees the full collection of images to look through I actually found it was better if I handed people one or two photographs at a time. This encouraged interviewees to look at the photographs for longer and give more consideration to the places in the image (rather than just flicking through to find places that they recognised immediately). It also gave me more chance to ask questions about things that had been said before the narrative moved on (which happened in some of the early interviews). I found that light and weather conditions made a difference to the responses I got from the photographs, as did the angle of the photograph.<sup>28</sup> I also found that changing the order of the photographs to put the areas the respondent said they knew best earlier in the sequence often helped to stimulate people's interest and defuse the tension of the interview situation more quickly. I found respondents were generally happier to talk about areas they knew less well if they had already spoken about areas they knew more intimately. I therefore began changing the order of the photographs after an initial discussion with respondents, before or at the start of the interview, about the city and their experience of it.

Recent literature on visual research methods stresses that, although they are a useful tool when used carefully, photographs themselves do not automatically elicit useful interviews (Harper 2002:20). One of the obvious methodological issues with the virtual tour methodology is that photographs are immediately prescriptive, and inevitably focus people's attentions on particular elements of the landscape, directing (or prescribing) the gaze of the interviewee and thereby influencing, to some extent, the things that people

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<sup>28</sup> A good example of this is the first photograph I took of the Boulevard fountain, which I took from Cholmley Street to show the Nautical School behind. Nobody recognised this photograph until I told them where it was (usually after they'd puzzled over it for a few minutes saying it was familiar but they couldn't place it). I eventually replaced this photograph with two more site-specific photographs; one of the Nautical School, and one of the fountain taken from Boulevard, both of which tended to elicit a much clearer and more immediate response.



talked about. At the outset the things I chose to photograph were to some extent based on my understanding of the history of the different areas, and my own personal memories and knowledge of popular memory within those areas. However I also took an iterative approach to the photographs I used, continually reassessing which photographs I was using and why. At the end of each interview I asked my interviewees what other photographs they would have taken based upon their own memories of the city. As I spoke to more people and spent more time in the communities that I was studying I began to add photos of things that people regularly spoke about or mentioned into my tours. I also went to visit places that people had told me about in interviews, and often took pictures of these places and other places on the way, some of which were then also included in later tours. I also made a deliberate decision to continue my engagement with the places interviewees spoke about by walking to interviews and meetings. When this was not possible I took the bus, or sometimes two buses, to give myself time to look around. Other research has shown that, through walking you build up a tangible relationship with a neighbourhood (Solnit 2001:9). Traversing the city therefore became a fundamental part of my research and played a key role in the ongoing, embodied processes through which I was able to construct an understanding of the people and places engaged in the project.

Similarly, the repeated act of taking and selecting photographs forced me to engage with the city on a personal level. Returning to Bendiner-Viani's work in Brooklyn, she argued that taking the photographs herself (instead of asking her guides to take them) was an essential part of her own theorizing about the places she was examining, allowing her to see small, fragmentary, everyday detail (with the aid of her guides) that would otherwise remain un-noticed (Bendiner-Viani 2005:461).

### **3.4 Data Collection and Sampling**

In total I conducted 62 interviews with individuals and groups of varying sizes (**Appendix 1**) as well as talking more informally to numerous people in the course of social events, heritage days and volunteer work (see below). I used my virtual walking methodology in

all of these interviews, but adapted it to suit the different sorts of engagement (see below). I took field-notes from community events that I attended. In addition to this I also set up an interactive website through which members of the general public were asked to look at photographs I had taken of different parts of Hull, and given the opportunity to contribute their own thoughts and memories via an online form (see section 3.5 below).

#### 3.4.1 *Sampling*

I made contact with my interviewees using a number of different methods, including adverts in the local press, attending residents meetings and social events, and through volunteer work in different places. People also contacted me through the project website, and I employed a degree of snowball sampling; making contact with potential respondents through previous contacts (Valentine 2005:117). This is recognised as a useful method of finding informants, particularly in searching for people with specific backgrounds, or experiences (Valentine 2005:117), however it can potentially result in a skewed sample of like-minded people with the same sorts of life-experience (Valentine 2005:117) so I was careful to use snowball sampling in moderation, alongside my other sampling methods.

Although I had no problem recruiting interviewees, one of the biggest challenges I found was recruiting younger people (aged 40 or below). The younger people I approached generally said they didn't have time to do an interview, and some even passed me on to older friends and relatives who they felt would be of 'more use' (despite my protests that I was interested in memories from all ages). Others showed little interest in contributing, often stating that they don't know anything about 'the past'. My data sample (**Appendix 1**) is therefore apparently skewed in response to these circumstances.<sup>29</sup> However, although it is important to try and be representative of the communities you are studying (Valentine 2005:112), it is also important to look for an illustrative sample of opinions and experiences (Valentine 2005:112), and I would argue that my data set highlights

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<sup>29</sup> Although see section 3.5

some interesting issues about how memory is more immediately important to different sections of the community.

#### *3.4.2 Individual Interviews*

The main body of my research was based upon individual interviews (or walking tours) with Hull residents. I employed this type of interview specifically to explore people's personal memories and experiences. The intimacy of an individual interview allows these sorts of concepts to be expressed and explored in detail, whereas in larger group interviews the complexity of individual experiences is often lost (Valentine 2005:111). I always let interviewees choose the location and time of the interviews in an attempt to ensure that they were in a comfortable, familiar, and convenient setting, thus reducing to some extent the awkwardness of a formal interview situation (Valentine 2005:113). As a result, individual interviews were usually conducted at the home of the interviewee, although a small number did choose to meet in public places such as the library or a café (usually within the area of the city they wanted to talk about). This didn't appear to make much difference to the content of the interviews although on a practical level it was often more difficult to record discussions adequately in noisy public places. I also found that these interviews tended to be shorter in duration.

#### *3.4.3 Small group interviews*

Over the duration of the research I conducted eight group interviews with small groups of between four and six people (**Appendix 1**). These were usually established groups who knew each other and had either shared interests (such as a group of volunteers based in one of my focus areas), or geographical connections (such as a residents group). In small group (also known as focus group) situations the group interaction can bring out ideas that individual interviews can miss (Kvale 2007:72), and the aim of this sort of interview was to prompt and explore shared and contested memories. In these group discussions I found that it was often difficult to hear and take in what everyone was saying, or to record the conversations adequately, particularly using collections of printed

photographs. It was also quite hard to keep people on topic. I therefore took a slightly different approach, and instead of using individual prints I created posters (or montages) using small groups of photographs and maps of different areas, which were then laminated so they could be easily passed around and handled. I asked the groups to look at these posters and talk about the places in the photographs, or on the maps. The resulting discussions were recorded by taking written notes. Although the narratives the posters produced were not as in-depth as the individual interviews, this method actually worked really well as a way of sparking discussion between the group and giving people a starting point to talk about shared and collective memories (with lots of 'do you remember' sorts of conversations). Asking people to repeat memories, or clarify things for me to write down, also acted as a focus for the discussion and to some extent stopped people just talking to each other. It also brought out elements of shared memory, as people decided what they thought was important for me to write down (as opposed to the individual interviews which were generally more like streams of spatial consciousness). In general this kind of interview also seemed to be a good way of introducing the project and in all of the groups I spoke to, after the interview finished, people said they would be happy to do a longer, in-depth interview at another time or took my contact details to pass on to other friends or relations who they thought might be interested in the project. I also used these posters at heritage events and open days, and recorded short discussions with groups of people at these events in the same way.

#### *3.4.4 Discussion Groups and Workshops*

I also conducted five 'memory workshops' (two of which were done as part of wider community projects) in public venues across my research areas. The aim of this was to allow a wider range of voices to be heard within the research; encouraging a more diverse group of residents to discuss their memories of the different areas. The aim of these workshops was to explore concepts of shared and public memory (where memories are not necessarily based upon personal experience, but instead reflect things that 'everybody just knows' about a particular place or time). To structure the workshops

I gave a short power point presentation about the project, explaining the sorts of things I wanted to discuss and showing the group some of the memories I had already collected from the area. These memories were all presented anonymously. This was done partly for protocol, as it is generally considered bad practice, in qualitative research, to identify individuals in presenting results (Banks 2007:86)<sup>30</sup>, but was also intended to promote a sense of shared, collective memory for discussion within these groups. After the initial presentation I showed a slide show of photographs from the area (in a walking tour format) and asked the group as a whole to discuss the images as a group. I recorded these workshops using a flip chart on which I wrote the main points of the discussion in view of the group. This was useful as participants often corrected my spelling, or things I had misheard, and sometimes the points I wrote down sparked a secondary debate with people who did not agree with what had been written, or had something extra to add. It also served to focus the discussion, as people tended to watch what I was doing instead of just talking to each other.

These workshops were useful in terms of collecting shared and public memories, but they were also designed to both present and generate feedback, an established method in oral history projects (Slim et al 1998:119), strengthening the engagement between my research and the communities it was based on. I found that a proportion of the people who turned up to the workshops were people who I had interviewed, spoken to, or worked with previously, and who were interested to know more about what I had been doing and how the work was progressing. The rest of the group was made up of people who had seen posters or heard about the event in the local press, or through word of mouth, and felt they had something to contribute, or were interested to know more.

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<sup>30</sup> Oral History protocol takes the opposite view however, recommending that respondents are always named where their words are quoted (for best practice guidelines see [www.ohs.org](http://www.ohs.org)). On the basis of this I decided to ask respondents whether they wished to be named or not. Their differing responses are reflected in the different formats of the names used in later chapters. For instance, some people asked to have their full names or just their first names included, whereas others preferred to be known only as 'Mrs.' or 'Mr.' Others wished to remain anonymous and this wish was also respected.

### 3.4.5 *Ethics*

All individual interviewees and members of smaller group interviews were given an information sheet to keep, containing an introduction to the interview process, details of the project and information on data protection. These forms made clear to the interviewees the nature of the project, and reiterated the agreement (made verbally at the start of every interview) that by taking part in the interview that gave their consent for their contributions to be used in the final thesis and in presentations and papers produced in relation to the project. It also reassured the interviewees that they could withdraw their contributions at any time up until the final submission of the thesis, and gave them details on how to do this (as well as contact details for my supervisor in case of any problems or concerns they might have). I went through these forms at the beginning of each interview, and explained anything that was not clear. I also asked permission to tape at the start of each interview and explained that I would then type the transcript up later. Later in the project I also contacted people who I wished to quote directly to ask for signed permission to use their words, and also to check exactly how they wanted those words to be credited (for instance, anonymously or otherwise). Discussion groups were not given information sheets as their memories were recorded visibly, and anonymously (as group memories). However, they were all given information about the project during the presentations and I also provided leaflets with my contact details for participants to take if they wanted.

### 3.5 **Website**

A project website ([www.slb-geog.hull.ac.uk/memoriesofhull](http://www.slb-geog.hull.ac.uk/memoriesofhull)) was set up using a selection of my interview photographs. Visitors to the site were invited to view these photographs, and contribute their thoughts and memories to the site by filling in a simple on-line form. This form asked for contributors' names and ages (with a tick box for different age bands) and the area of Hull that they were from, although this information was not displayed on the site. None of these fields were required, but the majority of people filled either all or most of them in. Visitors to the site were also able to view memories or comments that

had been left by previous contributors. I advertised the website through local media (including radio interviews and articles in local area newsletters), posters in local cafes, libraries, and community centres, in my group workshops and by linking the site to other websites of local interest.

The site proved to be extremely popular, and generated over 260 responses in 10 months, including many repeat visits and contributions from Hull ex-patriots not only from different parts of the UK, but also from overseas destinations including America and Australia. The memories that were published on the site were all directed through my e-mail account and were edited before being uploaded to the site. This editing process was to protect the anonymity of both the contributors and others (e.g. by the removal of full names, addresses and dates of birth) and to ensure nothing offensive or inflammatory was posted online. Spelling and punctuation were also corrected, but only if it was bad enough to inhibit understanding and if it appeared to be unintentional. Apart from these sorts of alterations the published comments were as faithful to the originals as possible. Local dialect words, grammar and phonetic spellings of the local accent were not corrected. The editing process did cause some issues, as contributors weren't always happy about their memories being edited in any way, and a small number e-mailed to complain. In these cases an e-mail was sent back apologising, and explaining why the changes had been made. Other contributors, after they had seen their memories on the website, felt that too much information had been left *in*, and asked for their contributions to be removed from the site, which was done as soon as possible (along with an apology), and without question.

The contributions came from people of all ages, including those in their eighties and nineties, some of whom sent the stories in themselves, and others whose memories were sent on their behalf by younger (presumably more web-savvy) friends and relatives. The most noticeable difference between the website contributions and those from individual interviews and workshops was that there was a much higher proportion of contributions from younger age ranges, particularly the 20-39 and 40-59 groups. This

suggests that memories, or stories about the past, *are* important to younger age groups, despite their apparent lack of interest in engaging with the other methods employed by the project. This in turn suggests that younger age groups *do* have stories to tell, but that you have to find appropriate ways of allowing and encouraging them to articulate these stories. The website allowed people to engage with the project in their own time, and for as long (or as short) a period as they wanted. Sending a memory to a website is less of a time commitment than agreeing to give an interview or attend a workshop, although interestingly many of the younger respondents did send more than one contribution, and often returned to the website over a period of time.

In terms of interpretation I am aware that there may be some methodological issues with using this data in the same way as interview data, however, to date, very little has been written on this sort of targeted on-line data collection for academic purposes.<sup>31</sup> My own personal view is that, where people have taken the time to write a paragraph of memory and fill in the information form, then I have no reason to believe their contributions are any less valid than those of someone who has been interviewed face-to-face. I also believe that this sort of website is particularly relevant to this sort of memory-work project, both as a method of generating data, but also as a way of presenting that data in a meaningful, organic way, allowing individual and personal voices and stories to emerge within shared frameworks of collective reference (created by both the comments and the photographs), thus reflecting, and perhaps contributing to, the messy, multi-layered nature of the topographies of memory that it draws upon.

### **3.6 Volunteer work**

As part of my engagement with my research areas I attended community groups, residents meetings, and also undertook regular volunteer and research work at the Carnegie Heritage Centre on Anlaby Road. This centre is staffed by volunteers, most of whom are local residents, and is regularly visited by people from all over Hull who are

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<sup>31</sup> There is an increasing interest in the use of data from on-line forums and social networking pages, however so far there appears to be very little written on the use of data from custom-built websites which invite the public to contribute to specific academic projects.



researching local and family history. It was a particularly important source of information during the temporary closure of the City Archives and Local Studies Library during 2009, attracting a wide range of people from across the city, many of whom were researching their family tree. Working at the centre therefore allowed me not only to access the huge collection of local history sources, but also meant that I was in regular contact with local residents with whom I chatted and discussed local issues, including the ongoing regeneration plans for the area that were released for consultation during the period of my research. This sort of immersion in a place and its people - just being around, joining in with conversations and chatting to people on a regular basis - has been an important part of my methodology. This sort of long-term involvement with an area or community opens up the opportunities for chance encounters; chance sightings, conversations and experiences, that couldn't happen any other way (Lichtenstein pers. comm. 2008). These encounters have provided me with a depth of knowledge of local memories, and the ongoing debates surrounding them, that would not have been possible through other research methods. This sort of technique has been an important element of other recent memory projects, particularly those employing psycho-geographical methods (Lichtenstein pers. comm. 2008).

### **3.7 Memory Walks**

During the research period I also led two memory walks within my study areas. The first of these took place in the Boulevard/Coltman Street area. It was organised in collaboration with ARC [Architecture Regeneration Community], the Humber Centre for Excellence in the Built Environment,) and was funded by the City Council and Gateway Pathfinder as part of a community mapping project. The second was conducted in the Hawthorn Avenue area and was organised through the Carnegie Heritage Centre with a group of former residents who wanted to visit the area before the proposed demolition of many of the buildings as part of the current NaSA area redevelopment plan (KHCC 2008a). The Boulevard Walk followed a pre-planned route based upon sites of local architectural and historical interest, whereas the Hawthorn Avenue walk followed an

intuitive route determined by the group itself, connecting places of memory that the participants wished to visit, including the local fish and chip shop! For the Boulevard walk, I gave a commentary on the history, and local associations of different buildings and spaces along the route, stopping at a number of spots en-route to talk. My commentary was then augmented by people within in the group sharing memories of those places, and discussions of these memories, and the ways in which places had changed. For the Hawthorn Avenue I generally just listened, and occasionally asked questions, as the group talked amongst themselves.

I recorded both walks with field notes and photographs, and used this information to highlight any obvious gaps in my virtual tour data (as part of a cross-checking process). The walks highlighted some of the complex and overlapping relationships between individual and collective memories within these areas, which again added to the data I had collected from the group interviews. They also highlighted differences in attitudes towards the different areas. In both cases the memories stirred up during the walks appeared at first to be broadly comparable (with a focus on childhood memories and memories of everyday spatial practice). However when considered more carefully the Hawthorn Avenue walk memories presented a much more emotional (and often sadder) journey through places that were about to disappear, whereas the Boulevard walk had the air of celebration of places that have been officially recognised as ‘worth keeping.’

### **3.8 Interpretation of Results**

As part of the interpretation of my empirical data I wrote a number of memory ‘walks’, which took various routes through the different study areas, in which the photographs that I had used as prompts were displayed in order of the route, along with the memories that these photographs had elicited. As a research tool, arranging the data in such a manner demonstrated very clearly (and visually) the ways in which different individual and group memories form an undulating and complex topography across the city, coalescing and connecting in certain places, and spreading out as disjointed fragments across others. Mapping the data spatially in this way also allowed me to take a

grounded theory approach to the research; drawing out themes and issues from the data itself, which I was then able to explore in more detail.

### **3.9 Summary**

In this chapter I have described how an engaged, interactive methodology was developed and refined throughout the research to enable the fragile, often fleeting memories associated with everyday spaces to be traced and explored. As discussed above, despite being fundamental to our everyday experiences, everyday memories are elusive, and are often hard to pin down or interpret, particularly for an outside observer (Boym 2001:52). However, methodologies that incorporate moving through different spaces at different times, and in different ways, are increasingly being accepted as one of the ways in which it is possible to interrogate the different and shifting temporalities of the city (cf Thrift 1997, Pinder 2001, Sinclair 2002, Butler 2006, Plate 2006, Middleton 2007). These 'mobile' or 'bodily' methods rely on external prompts such as sight, sound, smell, and touch, to reactivate and trigger memories and experiences. At the same time there also been an increasing interest in the use of external visual prompts such as film and photography to explore topics such as memory, place and identity (Banks 2007:17). The methodology employed by this project draw on these debates, combining mobile and visual methods with more traditional research techniques. Central to this methodology was the development of a series of 'virtual walking tours' across different parts of the city, using collection of still photographs along a particular route, taken by the researcher. These were employed in numerous ways, and in a number of different contexts, to stimulate debate and prompt discussion of individual and shared memories across a range of everyday spaces. Of the different methods explored, the virtual tours proved most successful in encouraging respondents to engage with the project. They also proved to be extremely effective in encouraging respondents to talk about everyday places and experiences, which are often taken for granted and not normally considered worthy of comment. This may have been for a number of reasons. The virtual walking tours draw on the concept of mobile, imaginative methodologies in combination with

more traditional research methods, rendering them flexible and accessible to a wide variety of people (particularly in comparison with other mobile methodologies such as actual walking). On a practical level, looking at familiar images can reduce the potential stress of interview situations, inspiring a sense of collaboration between interviewer and interviewee (Harper 2002:23). Using visual prompts also allows the researcher to present and explore a range of places of memory and memory prompts, including fragmentary everyday detail, without necessarily understanding or recognising them (Bendiner-Viani 2005:461). Indeed, the tours uncovered a wide variety of narratives and focal points of memory, often prompted by things (including objects and ephemeral traces of past activities) that I had not seen (or at least had not understood) when I took the photographs.

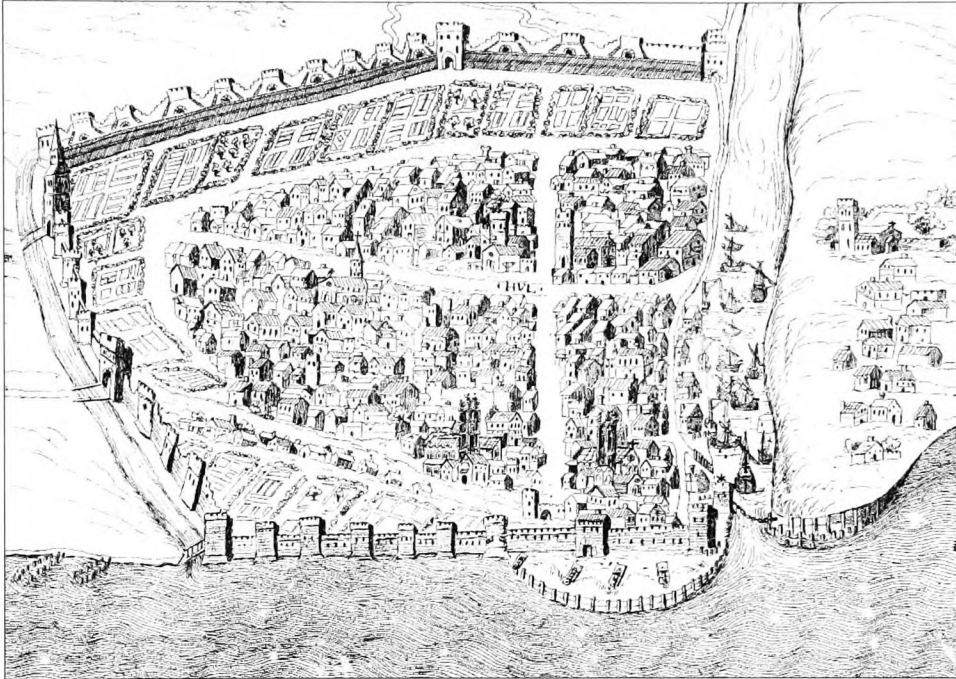
However, as discussed above, photographs do not automatically elicit good results on their own (Harper 2002), and the iterative approach I took towards the virtual tours was essential to the success of my research. It was also an important part of the process through which I developed an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the areas I was working in, and the memories of the people and communities within those areas. This would not have been possible using one method alone, and I therefore did not rely solely on the virtual tours, but utilized other walking methods (including my own wanderings and arranged group memory walks) alongside a range of embodied practices (including taking photographs, volunteering and attending local events) and archival research. I also gathered memories on-line, via an interactive website. This proved extremely popular, particularly amongst the younger age groups (who had shown little interest in engaging with the project otherwise), and revealed an interesting spread of memories that were not always captured during the walks. This suggests that everyday memory needs to be explored and engaged with on a number of different levels, and through a variety of different new and traditional media. Through a range of different techniques I was therefore able to move away from the idea of memory being confined to specific sites and instead follow memory 'wherever it flows' (Atkinson 2007b:23). I will now

discuss the application of these techniques in more detail with reference to a number of specific case studies.

## **Chapter 4: Historical Background to Case-Studies**

In this chapter I outline Hull's historical development, focusing particularly on the social and urban changes that have shaped the present-day city. This will provide a context for the detailed case-studies that will be presented in the next chapters.<sup>32</sup>

### **4.1 Early History**



**Illustration 4.1:** 14<sup>th</sup> Century Drawing of Hull

Kingston-upon-Hull, known colloquially as Hull, is situated on the north bank of the Humber Estuary, at the confluence between the estuary and the River Hull. It was first awarded its royal charter in 1299 by King Edward I, although the town was already well established as both a port and settlement at this date (Spooner 2005:10)<sup>33</sup>. During the twelfth century the Monks at Meaux had established a settlement on the River Hull, originally known as Wyke, as a trading post for trade with the Low Countries in Northern

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<sup>32</sup> All of the historic maps reproduced in this and subsequent chapters were kindly provided by the Hull Local History Library (now part of the Hull History Centre). The directory information was provided by the Hull Local History Library and the Carnegie Heritage Centre.

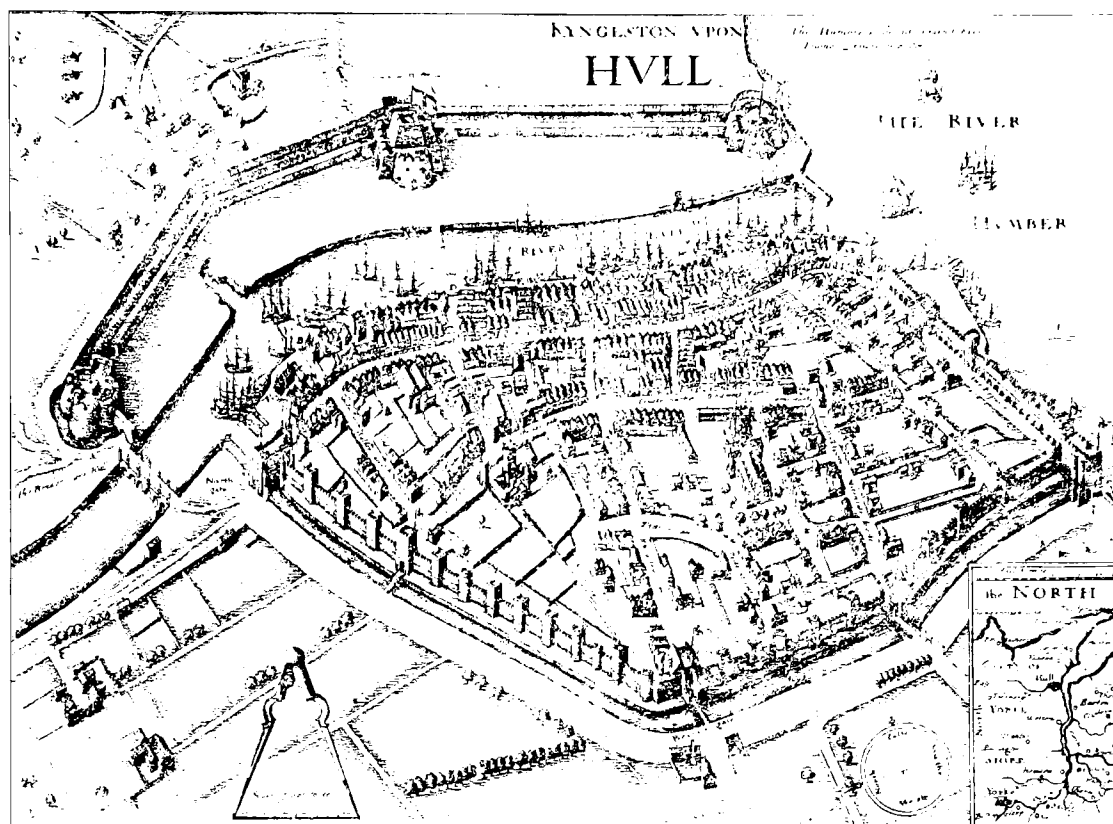
<sup>33</sup> For a detailed discussion of the origins of Hull see Gillett and MacMahon 1980, chapter 1.

Europe, with trade based largely upon the export of wool (Spooner 2005:10). Throughout this period, and indeed until the mid-eighteenth century, port activity was centered round the natural harbour at the south end of the River Hull, known as the Haven (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:2).

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Hull became a port of national significance with established links to many European ports, particularly in the Netherlands and the Baltic (Gillett and MacMahon 1980). After 1299 Hull was further developed, not only as a commercial centre, but also as strategic royal military base, which included the laying out of new streets and the construction of fortifications around the existing settlement (Spooner 2005:11). Wool continued to be a principal export of the town during the fourteenth century, alongside other exported goods that increasingly included cloth and grain from East Yorkshire and coal from Newcastle (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:16-17). Significant imports during this period included wine, chemicals for cloth making and dyeing, oil, wood ash (for glass and soap making), Swedish iron ore, Baltic Timber, livestock and various foodstuffs (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:20). The level of trade recorded in Hull during the fourteenth century required the support of a substantial settlement with an infrastructure of wharves, warehouses and facilities for ships outfitting, building and repairs (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:23). A sketch of Hull from this period shows a walled town of considerable size, with a number of churches, market gardens and moorings and cranes along the River Hull (**Illustration 4.1**). However, apart from ship building, there was little industry in Hull during the medieval period and the town's economy remained dependent on trade and shipping (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:75).

Congestion in the river became an increasing problem during the seventeenth century as trade increased and ships became progressively larger (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:187). By the time of Hollar's plan in 1640 there were still areas of open ground inside the substantial town walls, mostly taken up with fields and gardens; however the area

around the River Hull and High Street shows evidence of crowded housing and intensive port activity (Illustration 4.2).



**Illustration 4.2:** Hollar's Plan of Hull, 1640.

In the mid-seventeenth century Hull played a significant part in the English Civil War by refusing entry to King Charles I, resulting in a stalemate during which the town was besieged twice, unsuccessfully, by royalist troops (Spooner 2005:11). However, despite the economic, political and social significance of the early port, it was not until after the Industrial Revolution, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that Hull saw its greatest period of growth (Spooner 2005:6).

## **4.2 The Eighteenth Century**

The eighteenth century heralded a period of industrial and urban expansion in Hull, stimulated by the growth and industrialization of the surrounding hinterland, and a growing canal network which improved inland connections with the port (Gillett and



MacMahon 1980:225). From the mid-eighteenth century onwards a number of turnpike roads were also established, which improved road transport to and from the town, further fuelling economic growth (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:225). During this period the area around the town was developed for agriculture, and a number of large open drainage channels were constructed to drain neighbouring low-lying land (Spooner 2005:10). These channels were known locally as 'drains' and became important local landmarks (as will be discussed in later chapters), although many were filled in or culverted during the twentieth century (Spooner 2005:10).

As industrialization took hold in other parts of the country during the early-eighteenth century, Hull capitalized on its trade networks, and an increasing number of manufacturing and processing industries were established (Spooner 2005:12). The majority of these industries relied on the activities of the port and were therefore situated close to the River Hull to take advantage of the established transport networks and the convenient water supply (Spooner 2005:12). The ship-building industry continued to grow during this period and by the end of the eighteenth century Hull was one of the largest ship-building centres in Britain (Spooner 2005:12). The shipping industry was also served by a number of other trades including sail-making, rope-making, pitch production and timber imports, all of which flourished in Hull during this period (Jackson 1972:185-7).

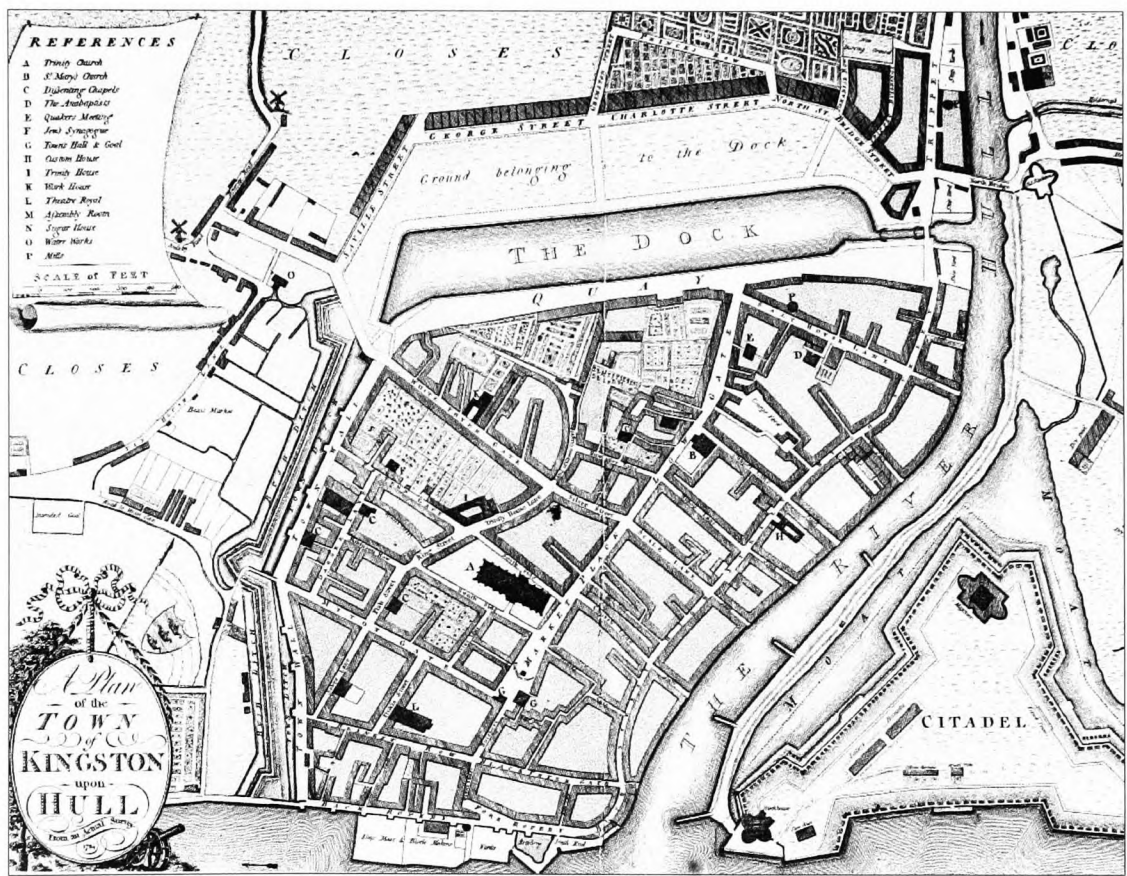
A whaling fleet was established in Hull during the 1760s (Jackson 1972:158), and by 1800 the whaling ships based in Hull made up over 40% of the national fleet (Jackson 1972:160). This had a significant effect on the local economy and during the second half of the century a number of ancillary industries based on the processing of whale bone and oil flourished (Jackson 1972:160). These included stay making, bone crushing, and soap, candle and paint manufacture (Jackson 1972:160). From the mid-eighteenth century onwards whale blubber was rendered in the numerous Greenland Yards that were established along the River Hull, mostly on previously undeveloped land to the north of the Haven (Jackson 1972:195). Processing blubber was a particularly smelly

procedure and from this period onwards this area of Hull became noted for its aroma (Jackson 1972:195). Other processing industries contributed to the smells of the area, particularly tanning and tar production which both gave off unpleasant and sometimes acrid fumes (Jackson 1972:195).

A number of flour mills were also established in Hull during this period and by the end of the century there were around twenty mills serving the town, many of which were clustered around the River Hull (Bellamy 1979:8). Other trades located close to the river included raff merchants, brewers, grocers, candle makers and whiting manufacturers, as well as numerous trades ancillary to shipping, including riggers and rope makers (*Battle's Directory of Hull* 1791). Oil-seed crushing, an activity that had been recorded in Hull since before the sixteenth century (Jackson 1972:187) also started to expand during this period, and by the end of the century four oilseed-crushing mills had been established close to the river (Bellamy 1979:9). All of this led to increasing congestion in the Haven and this, along with pressure from Customs and Excise for a legal quay, led to the construction of the town's first dock at the north end of the town during the 1770s (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:220-1). The new dock opened in 1778, and at the time of opening it was the biggest wet dock in England, with a legal quay on the south side and timber yards on the north (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:222). At this time the only access to the dock was via the River Hull and it was initially used by the whaling fleet and larger ships involved in overseas trade, with the smaller coastal and inland trading vessels continuing to use the moorings in the river (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:222).

By the later eighteenth century Hull had already started to expand beyond its medieval town walls, however the construction of the dock encouraged this expansion by removing part of the earlier town boundary (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:221). In the years immediately after the dock was built a series of 'fine new streets' were constructed to the north and west of the dock (see **Illustration 4.3**) and these quickly became home to the increasingly wealthy merchants who were central to the town's growing economy (Jackson 1972:277-278). Before this the properties of the merchant class had been

concentrated around the High Street area on the west bank of the River Hull. These properties were often connected to warehouses, counting houses, and private staithe (Jackson 1972:234) and were strategically placed to capitalise on the natural harbour at the south end of the River Hull (Jackson 1972:235). The rest of the town ditch was gradually removed to make way for urban development over the next ten years and plans from the period suggest that the town continued to spread outwards, along the River Hull to the north and the new turnpike roads to the east and west.



**Illustration 4.3:** Thew’s Plan of Hull, 1784, showing the new dock and legal quay with new streets to the north

By the late-eighteenth century a series of river improvements and canal building also meant that Hull was connected to Birmingham, Liverpool, Bristol and London via inland waterways (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:224). This had a significant impact on both imports and exports. Goods such as lead, hosiery, textiles, pottery and brass and iron

products were increasingly brought into Hull via barge from other parts of the country for export to Northern Europe and other British coastal ports (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:224). In return groceries, foodstuffs, Baltic timber and Swedish iron ore were imported through Hull via the inland waterways network (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:225).

The growth in trade throughout the eighteenth century was mirrored by a rapid growth in population (Jackson 1972:284). This was fuelled by the town's flourishing economy, which provided mass employment, and by the fact that wages in the town were still relatively high compared to the surrounding agricultural areas (Jackson 1972:279). However, as the population increased, conditions for the working classes in Hull became increasingly poor with overcrowding becoming an increasing problem particularly in the later years of the century (Jackson 1972:283). Concerns over declining living conditions, particularly in the town centre, led to a series of seven Improvement Acts between 1755 and 1810 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:199). However, despite this legislation and increased rates of house-building, the old town continued to become increasingly crowded, a trend that continued into the nineteenth century (Jackson 1972:283).

#### **4.3 The Early Nineteenth Century (c.1800-1869)**

In the early nineteenth century Hull's economy was distinctive in that, unlike many other Yorkshire towns at this time, it was already widely diversified with a large number of different principal and ancillary industries (Brown 1969:226). However, despite the development of these industries, at the start of the nineteenth century Hull's economy was still primarily mercantile (Bellamy 1979:15). During this period Hull merchants handled a wide range of imports, the vast majority of which were from European ports, particularly from Northern Europe and the Baltic, to which Hull had direct and easy access (Bellamy 1979:7). The processing industries that had begun to develop around these imports during the previous century continued to expand during this period, and seed-crushing in particular became increasingly significant. In the early years of the century whaling continued to play an important role in the town's economy. However,

after the economic depression of the 1820s the industry went into decline before eventually collapsing in the 1860s (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:229). During the 1820s and 1830s there was therefore increasing interest in seed-crushing as the town's processing industries began to look for alternative sources of oil (Bellamy 1979:20). The growing number of paint and colour manufacturing firms were central to this development, and Henry Blundell in particular played an active role, producing a series of new hydraulic seed-crushing presses to supply the paint and colour factory that he had opened in the early years of the century (Bellamy 1979:20).<sup>34</sup>

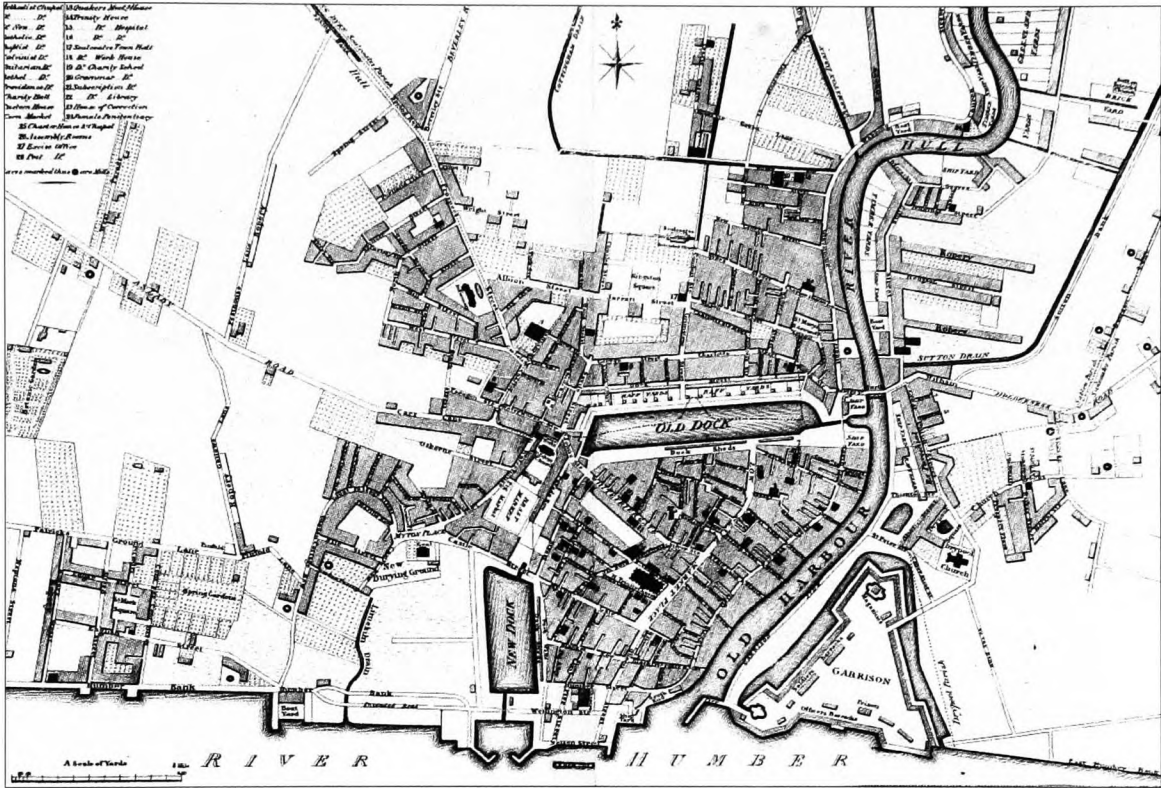
Continued economic growth during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to calls for improved port facilities within the town and eventually a series of new docks were constructed. The first of these was Humber Dock – originally New Dock - which opened in 1809 (Ketchell 2005). The next was Princes Dock – originally Junction Dock - which was constructed during the 1820s in response to increasing overseas trade after the end of the Napoleonic Wars (Bellamy 1979:35). This created a ring of docks around the town centre that became collectively known as the 'town docks'. Together the town docks provided accommodation for the growing numbers of ships involved in continental trade, which, due to the industrialisation of Hull's hinterland, was in increasing demand (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:198).

The growing wealth of the port during the early eighteenth century was also reflected in the development of a number of large houses and formal gardens to the west of the existing town, on reclaimed land on the north bank of the Humber Estuary. This development, known as English Town (Gill and Sargeant 1986:3), was an early suburban development of the sort seen in many towns during this period (Morris 2000). These elite residential developments were generally to the north and west of existing towns, where the prevailing winds gave some protection from the noise and smells of the increasingly industrial centres (Morris 2000:190). In Hull the situation was unusual as the suburb developed alongside a growing range of industrial activities taking advantage of the

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<sup>34</sup> The site of this factory – on the corner of Beverley Road and Ferensway - is still known colloquially as 'Blundell's Corner'

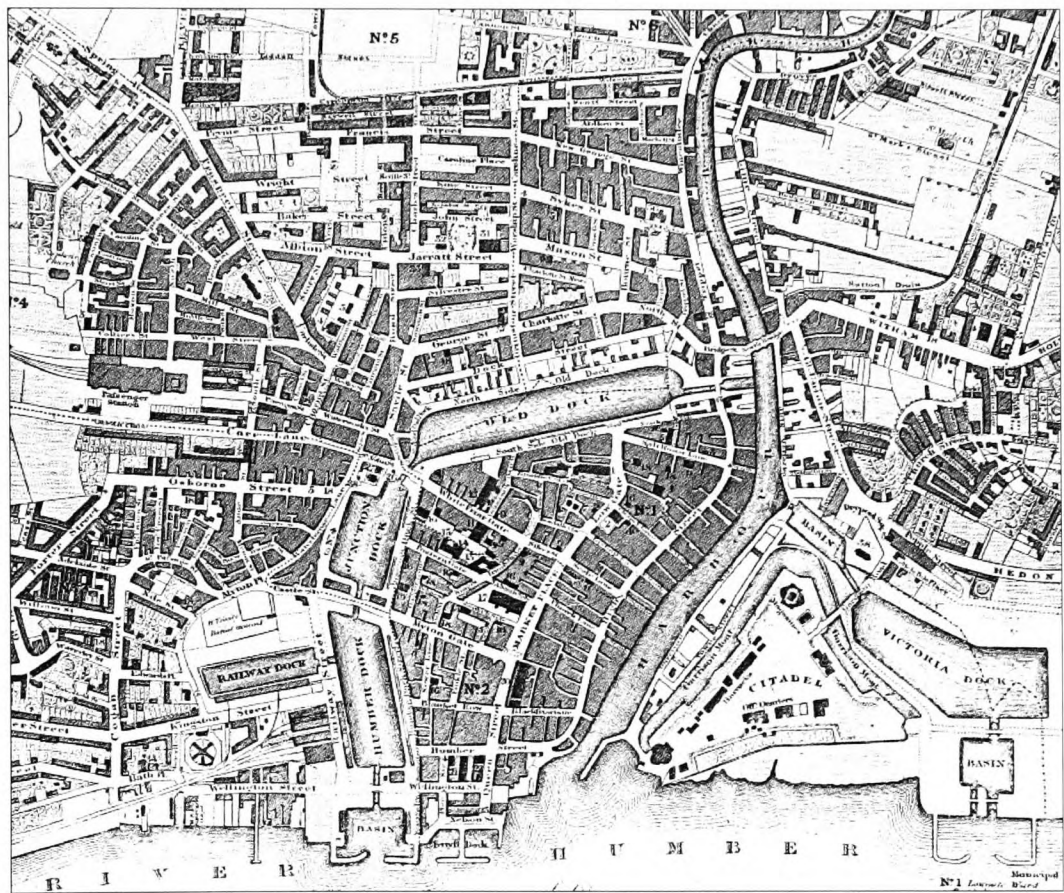
nearby estuary, including boat yards, roperies and flour mills (see **Illustration 4.4**). However, despite their industrial neighbours, contemporary directories described the suburb as containing some of the ‘most eligible situations in the vicinity’ (*Cragg’s Directory of Hull 1835*).



**Illustration 4.4:** Cragg’s Plan of Hull, 1817, showing second dock and continuing urban expansion to the north and west

The first regular steam shipping service from Hull was established in 1821 (Bellamy 1979:25). This ran between Hull and London and encouraged the growth of trade links with the capital (Bellamy 1979:25). During the 1830s further steam-ship services were established between Hull and Gothenburg and Hull and Hamburg (Bellamy 1979:25). Continued economic growth was also encouraged by the construction of the town’s first railway line, the Hull and Selby, which opened in July 1840 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:271). This was an eastern extension of the Leeds-Selby line and linked Hull to the national rail network for the first time (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:271). The original

line ran along the Humber Bank to a terminus located in Kingston Street adjacent to the Humber dock (Bryant and Crowther 1973:13). After the railway was opened a new dock was created to the side of Humber Dock to provide a direct link to the new rail network. This was known as Railway Dock and opened in 1846 (Ketchell 2005).



**Illustration 4.5:** Rayner and Nicholson’s Plan of Hull, 1852, showing continued development

The opening of the Hull-Selby line, and subsequent extensions to the town’s rail network, allowed trade in the port to expand more rapidly and enabled the expansion of port facilities (Thompson 1990:94). The first stage in this expansion was the construction of Victoria Dock, to the east of the town, which opened in 1850 (Thompson 1990:32). This dock was built to provide new facilities for the already well-established timber trade in Hull. In the 1840s timber had made up around a fifth of the port’s total annual trade



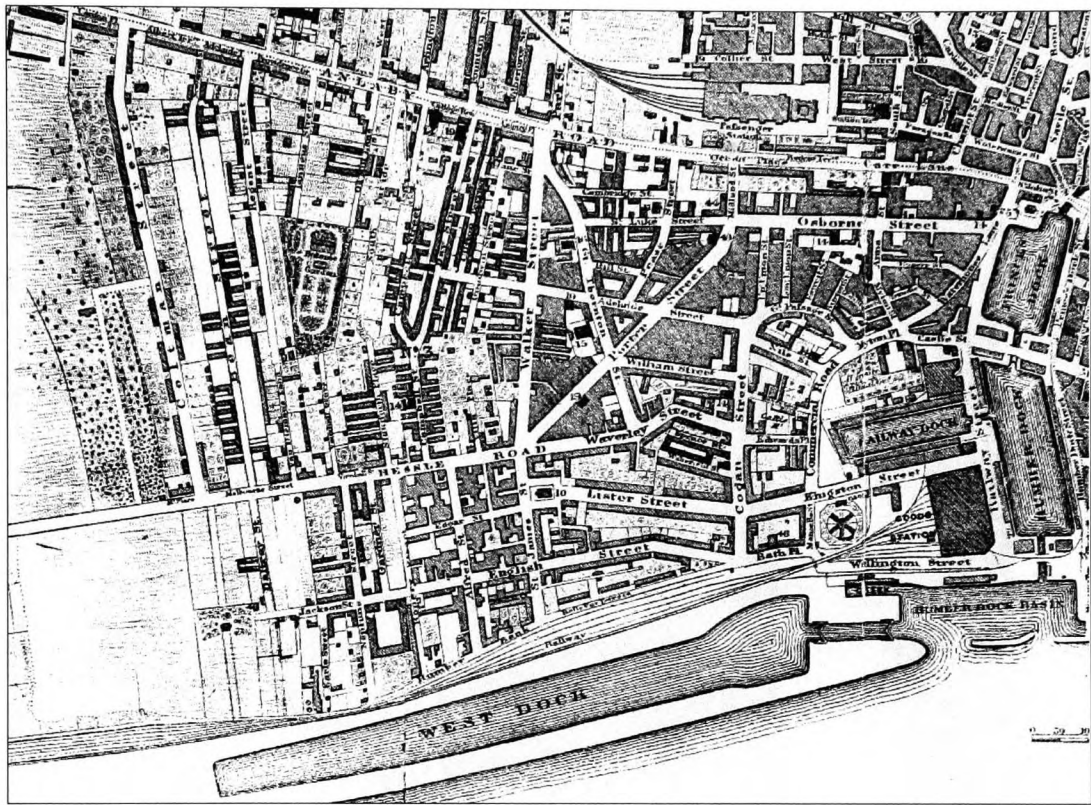
tonnage (Bellamy 1979:35); however, the seasonal arrival of the bulky timber cargoes was causing increasing congestion in the River Hull, where the majority of the timber yards were located (Bellamy 1979:35). The construction of the new dock, which included two large timber ponds and extensive rail facilities allowed the trade to expand, and in the twenty years after the dock was opened the number of timber merchants in Hull more than doubled (Bellamy 1979:35). An increasing number of these merchants became involved in saw milling during this period (Bellamy 1979:35) and contemporary maps and directories suggest that numerous saw mills and timber-related trades were established on Hedon Road, to the north of Victoria Dock, during this period.

When the Hull-Selby Railway opened in 1840 the route ran along the Humber Bank, after which an increasing number of industrial premises and smaller terraced houses were constructed in-between the larger properties of English Town. The elite suburb subsequently moved gradually to the west, with the development of Coltman Street (on the edge of the town) from the 1840s onwards (KHCC 2006:2). The opening of the railway encouraged the growth of the town's developing North-Sea fishing industry, which had been established after the discovery of the Silver Pits fishing grounds in the 1840s (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:303). In 1850 the railway companies reduced their rates for carrying fish and subsequently the tonnage of fish landed at Hull increased significantly, with half of the catch being taken by rail to other parts of the country, in particular to London (Bellamy 1979:38).

At this time the fishing fleet had previously operated from a corner of Humber Dock. However contemporary sources suggest that the fishing vessels were seen as a 'great nuisance' by the larger cargo ships (Wilson 1888 quoted in Gillett and MacMahon 1980: pages 308-9), and eventually the growing fleet was moved to a new dock to the west of the existing dock network. This dock, which was constructed on land reclaimed from the Humber, was known as West Dock – later Albert Dock – and opened in 1869 (Ketchell 2005). After this a growing number of ancillary trades (including fish curing and processing) were subsequently established in the nearby area, adding to the industrial



development that had begun in the earlier part of the century (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:9).

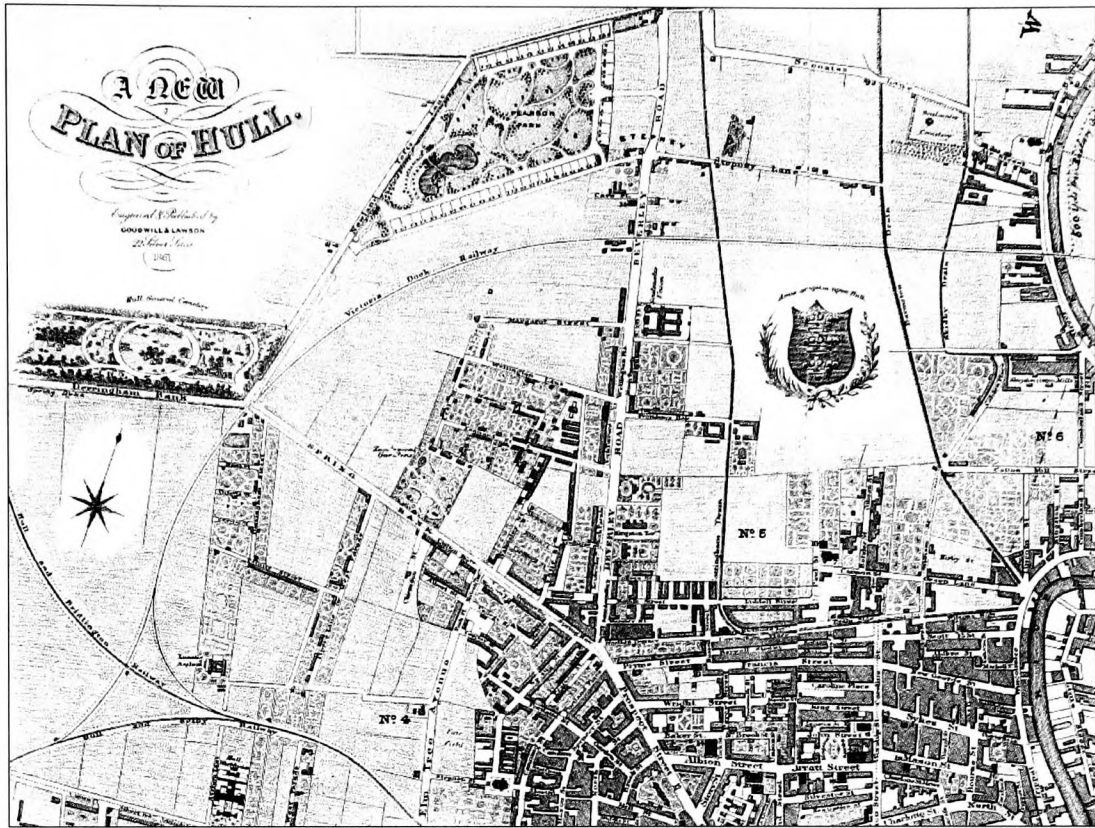


**Illustration 4.6:** Goodwill and Lawson’s plan of 1869, showing new western dock

The expansion of the town’s industries and the construction of the new docks and railway networks during the nineteenth century also had a significant impact on the town’s population, which increased from around 28,000 in 1801 to almost 120,000 in 1871 (Credland 1990:8). The largest growth took place in the industrial areas around the river and around the new docks to the west of the town (Brown 1969:231). However, despite the rapid economic expansion of the nineteenth century, before the 1870s a high proportion of jobs within the port were still seasonal or casual (Brown 1969:227). Such characteristics were particularly associated with dock working, but also applied to oil-milling, seed-crushing and the timber trade (Brown 1969:227). This meant that, although wages in Hull were relatively high compared to surrounding areas, they were also often sporadic and unreliable and many of the town’s residents therefore lived in borderline

poverty. Before the 1850s, house-building in Hull, as in many nineteenth century towns, was also unregulated, resulting in poor living conditions in many areas (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:265). During this period the typical pattern for working-class housing in Hull was in a court arrangement, known locally as a terrace, in which up to twelve houses were arranged round a central yard, usually with no rear access (Markham 1997:49). A local Improvement Act was implemented in 1854, because of rising fears over public health fuelled by two major outbreaks of Cholera in 1839 and 1849 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:265). This laid down stringent building regulations, including the prohibition of back-to-back housing, and minimum spatial requirements for courts and yards (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:265).

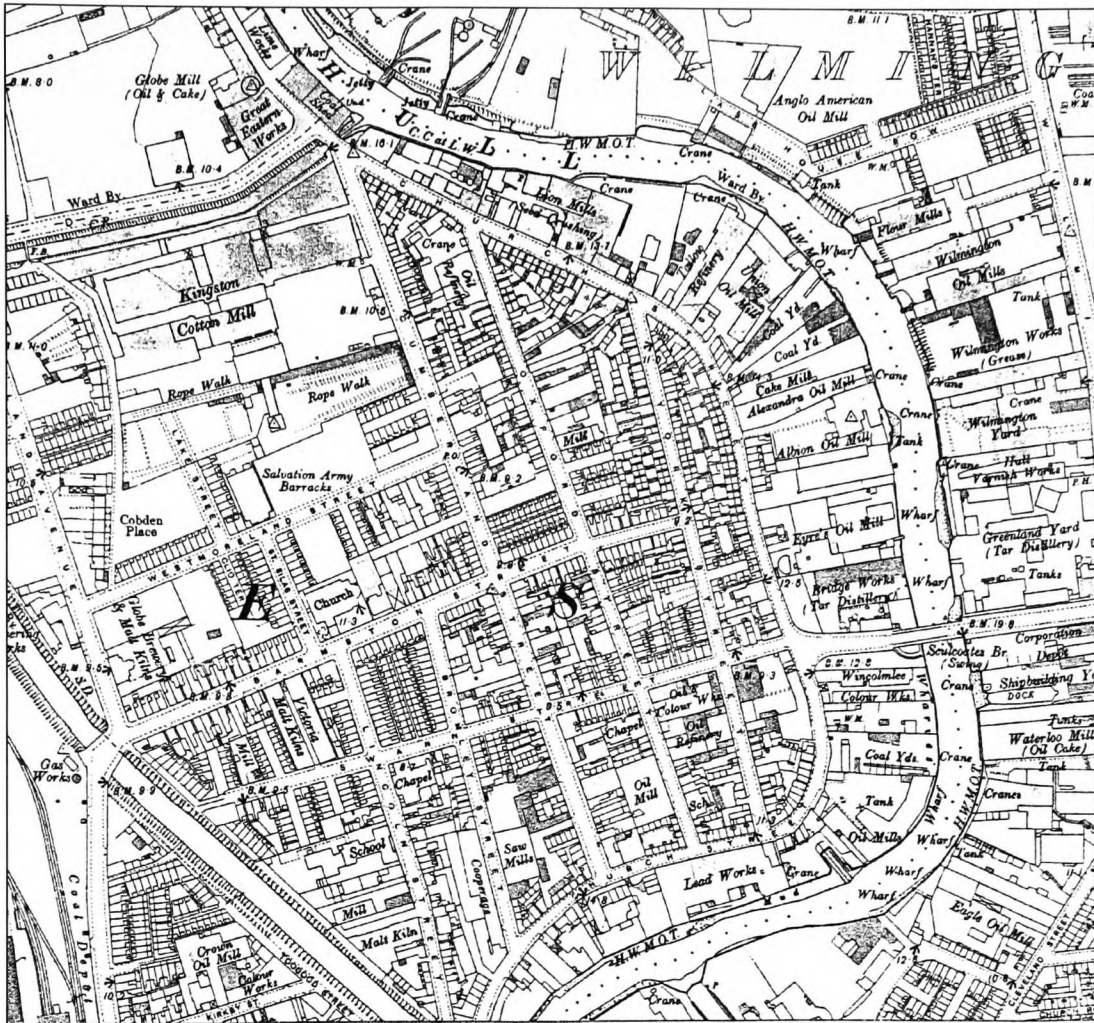
Rapid population growth also put pressure on Hull's medieval infrastructure, particularly its burial grounds. This resulted in the construction of a large General Cemetery during the 1840s (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:260). The new cemetery was situated on Spring Bank, which at the time was an area of open fields to the north west of the town, with little surrounding development. As with many towns and cities in the mid-nineteenth century, there were also growing calls in Hull for a public park to be constructed, fuelled by Parliamentary reports in the 1830s concerning the importance of open spaces in promoting health and moral behaviour amongst urban dwellers (Girouard 1990:71). Again, as with many towns of this period, Hull already had Botanical and Zoological Gardens, however these were both private enterprises and it was not until 1860 that the town's first public park, Pearson Park, was opened (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:268). This was planned by the Board of Health and built on land donated by Zachariah Pearson to the north-east of the General Cemetery (**Illustration 4.7**). Contemporary maps show continuing development in all parts of the town during the 1850s and 1860s with all inner-city areas becomingly increasingly crowded, as all available land was utilized for both housing and industry. However, by the end of the period areas on the periphery of the town were still relatively open and rural.



**Illustration 4.7:** Goodwill and Lawson's Plan of Hull, 1861, showing the General Cemetery and the newly developed Pearson's Park on the edge of the town

#### 4.4 The Later Nineteenth Century (c.1870-1914)

In many ways the later part of the nineteenth century, up until the First World War, was a 'golden age' for Hull (Spooner 2005:14). During this period the town's population and settlement area both increased rapidly and there was sustained growth in many of its principal industries (Spooner 2005:14). This included sustained growth in trade in a number of Hull's main imports, including wheat, timber, iron and foodstuffs (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:344). The overall range of industries operating in the town underwent little change during this period (Brown 1969:256). However, the established industries in the town experienced a period of modernisation after the introduction of steam power and other technical advances in rolling and crushing technology (Brown 1969:256).



**Illustration 4.8:** Industry along the River Hull between Green Lane and Fountain Road, Ordnance Survey Map, 1893 (sheet 240.3)

Grain and oil-seed milling continued to become increasingly significant to the town's economy during this period (Brown 1969:256). Joseph Rank opened the town's first steam-powered flour mill in 1885, which was so successful that he soon moved to larger premises in 1891 (Brown 1969:256).<sup>35</sup> A number of ancillary industries to the mills, including engineering firms such as Rose Down and Thompson who specialized in the manufacture of oil-milling machinery, also flourished (Brown 1969:257).<sup>36</sup> The growth of the fish-processing industries, along with the seed-crushing and corn-milling industries,

<sup>35</sup> This mill was known as the Clarence Mill and will be discussed further in chapter 8

<sup>36</sup> Rose Down and Thompson will also be discussed further in chapter 8

also made Hull an increasingly important centre for the production of animal feed, including oil-cake which was widely used during this period (Brown 1969:255).

After 1870, there was also a marked increase in migrant traffic into Hull from Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (Brown 1969:247). Between the 1870s and the First World War the Wilson shipping line increasingly monopolised the shipping routes between Hull to Scandinavia (Evans 1999), as well as routes from other British ports (Evans 2001). Eventually they took over many of their smaller competitors until by the early years of the twentieth century they had become the largest private shipping line in the World (Brown 1969:247). During the 1870s patterns of overseas trade began to shift towards a greater emphasis on distant-water trade with countries like America, India and New Zealand (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:350-51). This was encouraged by an increasing demand for imported grain, caused by a decline in British arable farming during the second half of the nineteenth century (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:350). These trans-Atlantic routes required larger vessels and some steamship owners began to argue that the existing Hull docks were neither deep enough, nor wide enough to accommodate this increasing trade (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:349). There was also strong local opposition to the monopoly of the Hull Dock Company and North Eastern Railway, which had gradually taken over the existing rail network during the 1850s and 1860s (MacMahon 1979), particularly from C. H. Wilson, owner of the Wilson shipping line (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:349). Eventually, after much heated debate, the Hull and Barnsley Railway Company was formed in 1879 and in 1881 work began on a new dock to the east of the existing dock estate (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:351). This dock, known as Alexandra Dock, was opened in 1885 (Ketchell 2005). The opening of the new dock and railway heralded a sharp increase in the tonnage of coal arriving in Hull, as the Hull and Barnsley line formed a direct link between Hull and the South Yorkshire coal fields (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:352). The dock also handled imports of wheat from America, wool from Australia, and had extensive facilities for imports of foreign cattle (Thompson 1990).

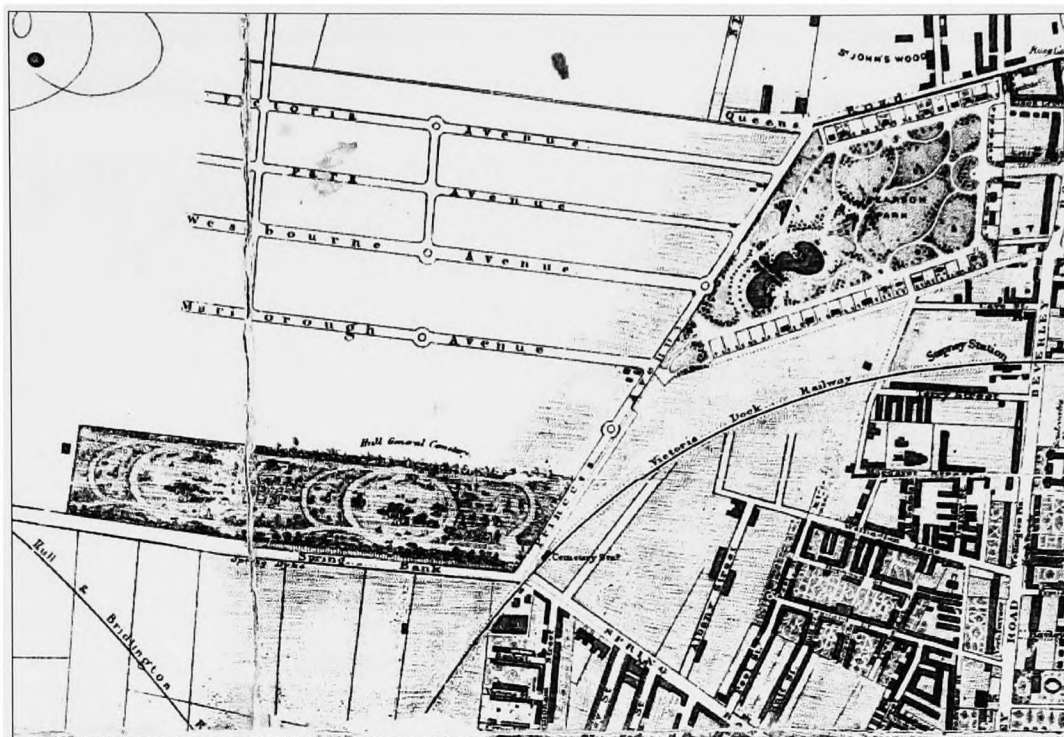
Prompted by the competition, the Hull Dock Company constructed another dock, on the western edge of the dock estate to house the growing fishing industry (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:351). The new dock was named St. Andrew's, after the patron saint of fishermen, and was opened in 1883 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:351). All of the fishing industry's main activities, including unloading, processing and selling fish, took place around the dock (Thompson 1990:48). Ancillary industries, including fish-curing and the manufacture of cod liver oil and fish manure, also continued to prosper and many firms located their businesses around the dock in the streets close to Hessle Road (Brown 1969:255). After the opening of the St. Andrew's this western suburb therefore became increasingly busy. The location of the fishing community at the west end of the town, and the gradual shift of port activity towards the deeper eastern docks also had a significant effect on social identity within Hull, creating an increasing sense of separation and difference between the East and West sides of the town (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:309).<sup>37</sup>

The economic expansion of the port during this period led to the emergence of an increasingly wealthy middle class and during the 1870s there were a number of new elite developments to the west and north-west of the town to provide accommodation for these residents. The first of these was the Boulevard, an impressive tree-lined thoroughfare, joining Hessle Road and Anlaby Road with the Humber Bank and constructed in 1870. The second development was the Westbourne or Princes Bank Estate, later known as the Avenues; a residential suburb established by local entrepreneur David Garbutt in 1875 on the north-western edge of the town (Hotham and Ketchell 1989a:32). However, other parts of the town were becoming increasingly crowded and urban expansion quickly overtook some of the planned elite developments. This was seen for instance in the Hessle Road area, where the large houses in Coltman Street and Boulevard were gradually surrounded by densely-packed terraced streets from the 1870s onwards (see **Illustrations 6.2a** and **6.2b** in chapter 6).

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<sup>37</sup> A division that continues to the present day (and will be discussed further in later chapters)





**Illustration 4.9:** Peck and Son's plan of 1875, showing the layout of the new Princes Bank Estate

This pattern was also seen in other parts of the town, particularly near to the main centres of employment along the River Hull corridor and around the docks to the east of the town centre. This rapid urban growth caused increasing public concern in Hull, mirroring that expressed in many other British towns at this time, which were experiencing similar development (Rodger 2000). By the late-nineteenth century a mythology had developed around the most crowded urban areas, which were labelled 'slums' in emotive reports in the popular press (Mayne 1990). For instance, a series of reports on 'Squalid Hull' in the *Eastern Morning News* in 1883-4 described the Hessle Road area as consisting of clusters of streets eliding into 'squalor and dilapidation' and numerous 'jerry-built' terraces (*Eastern Morning News* December 19<sup>th</sup> 1883). These reports also mentioned the squalid conditions in the Groves; an area inhabited by many mill workers and their families near Scott Street on the East bank of the River Hull (Gillett and MacMahon 1980). These sorts of reports fuelled increasing concern amongst the upper and middle classes about issues of Public Health and moral standards, particularly

in these areas of 'slum' housing, and this prompted legislative changes in many towns and cities (Rodger 2000:235).



**Illustration 4.10:** Peck and Son's Plan, 1890. Showing continued development to the west of the town, including the new St. Andrew's Dock

Despite a Public Health Act in 1848, in many places improvements did not begin until the 1870s when a series of Public Health Acts were drawn up on the basis of Sanitary Commission Reports published in 1869-71 (Briggs 1968:20). As well as the Public Health Acts there were a number of other reform acts that sought to improve social conditions during the 1870s, including the Education Act of 1870 which established a number of School Boards around the country, responsible for providing new schools for children of all ages (Rowley 2006:133). The Hull School Board was formed in 1874, and by 1897 thirty-three new schools had been established in the town (Gillett and MacMahon 1990:338). These school buildings all employed a similar, distinctive architectural style, which is still immediately recognisable to older residents.





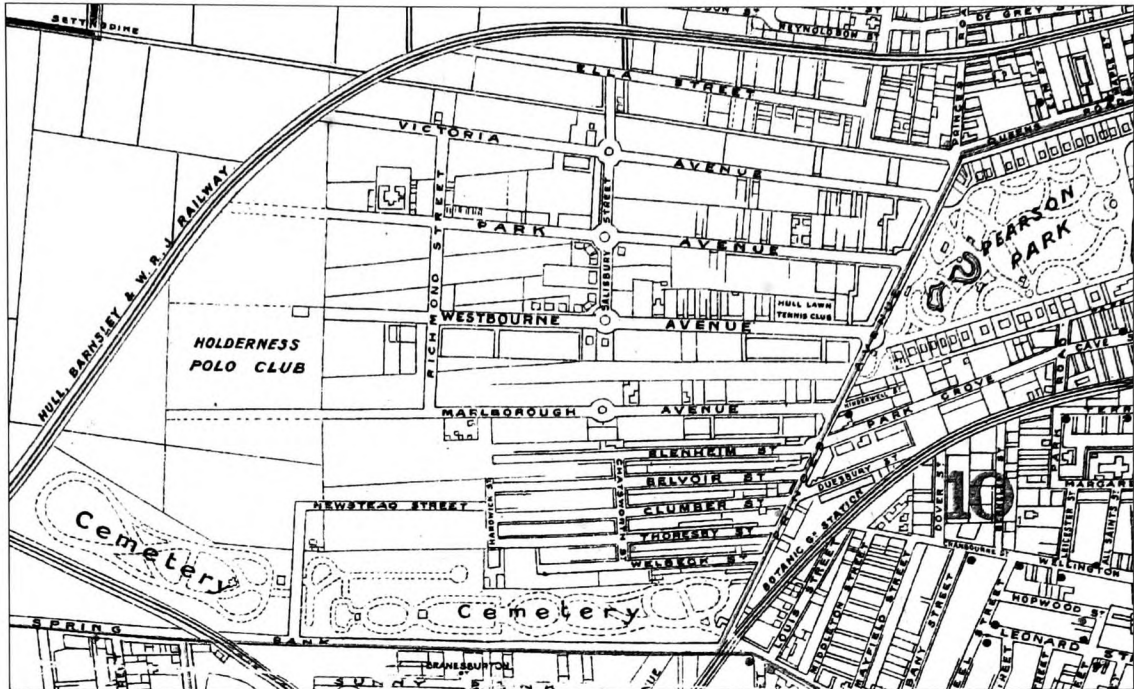
**Illustration 4.11:** Crowded terraced housing in the Groves and surrounding area  
(Ordnance Survey 1893 sheet CCXL.3)

There were also significant changes in leisure during this period, as increasing numbers of people were able to take part in ‘approved’ leisure activities, including railway excursions and Association football (Reid 2000:746). Hull was well-placed for the developing seaside resorts on the East Coast and Withernsea became a favourite holiday destination with local residents, particularly after 1854 when the Hull-Holderness railway line was opened, providing a direct link between the two towns (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:277). Hornsea also became similarly popular after the Hull-Hornsea railway line was opened in 1864 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:278). However, particularly to the west and north-west of the town, extensions to the railway network during this period effectively divided the city (see **Illustration 4.10**), while suburban development was mostly contained within the railway lines until after the First World War (**Illustration 4.12**). The

consequences of this sort of physical separation were felt in many towns, where railway lines - often constructed through the poorest areas with no consideration of local geographies - created new social identities within existing settlements and defined the pattern of future urban growth (Armstrong 2000:216).

During the 1880s the new Victoria Pier became a popular venue for Sunday outings amongst residents of all classes (Fowler 2002) as did the new city parks; West Park and East Park, which opened in 1885 and 1888 respectively (Bryant and Crowther 1973:18). Hull's first museum was established in the early nineteenth century (Wilkinson 1989:14) and after 1878 it was opened to the general public on Saturday afternoons with an admission charge of one penny (Wilkinson 1989:14). In 1900 the museum was taken over by the Hull Corporation, after which time it was open to the public free of charge (Wilkinson 1989:14). Museums became increasingly popular during the early years of the twentieth century, and the Hull Museums service gradually expanded, taking on a number of other buildings and collections (Wilkinson 1989:14).

The introduction of public transport in many British towns during the second half of the nineteenth century allowed an increasing number of people to commute greater distances to work, encouraging urban, and later suburban, expansion in many places (Armstrong 2000). Horse trams were introduced into many cities from the 1850s onwards, and electric trams were introduced into all of the major English cities during the 1890s (Armstrong 2000:229). The first tram system in Hull was opened in 1875 (Miles 2007:44). The City Corporation took over the tram network in 1893 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:363) and began to replace the earlier horse-drawn trams with electric trams from 1899 onwards (Miles 2007:44). Between 1890 and 1910 contemporary maps show that any remaining open spaces in Hull were rapidly in-filled with terraced housing. This included development in areas such as the Dukeries that, until the late-nineteenth century, had been open fields on the outskirts of the town, but which now rapidly became filled with terraced streets (**Illustration 4.12**).

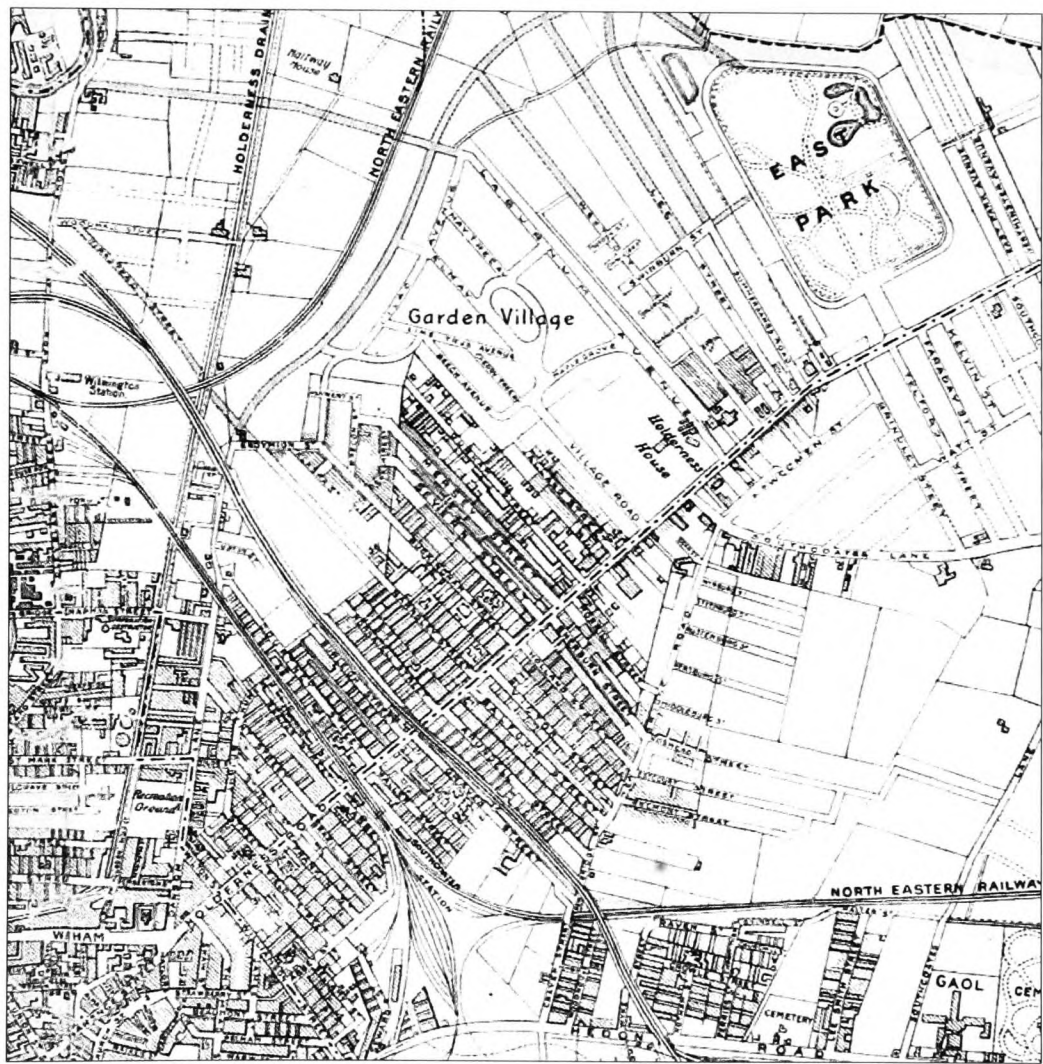


**Illustration 4.12:** Hull City Justices Plan, 1904, showing new streets to the south of the Avenues Estate

Before the First World War these developments were still largely constrained by the railway network, particularly in West Hull where the western boundary of the town was formed by the Hull and Barnsley and Hull and Bridlington Railways (see **Illustration 4.12**).

In East Hull, although there was intense development around the River Hull and the eastern docks, away from the industrial areas development occurred more slowly and before the early-twentieth century much of Holderness Road was still surrounded by open fields. After 1908, urban expansion was encouraged by the construction of a Garden Village north of Holderness Road, financed by James Reckitt to provide high standard accommodation for the workers at his nearby factory, on Dansom Lane. It was opened in July 1908, and originally comprised around 600 houses (Reckitt 2002). All of the houses had gardens, with tenfoot access, and indoor bathrooms, and there was a central green known as the Oval, as well as a Village Hall and shopping centre (Reckitt 2002). The housing standards on the Garden Village estate were therefore in stark contrast to those seen in other parts of the city, where many terraced houses had only

small yards, and the majority did not have flushing toilets until after the First World War (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:381). During the early twentieth century many of the larger firms in the city provided facilities for their workers, including sports and recreation grounds and housing. For instance, another, smaller Garden Village was established around the Broadway on the opposite side of Holderness Road (to the north-east of Reckitt's Village) by British Oil and Cake Mills in the 1920s, although only the first stage of this development was completed (KHCC 2010:1).



**Illustration 4.13:** Fryer’s Plan 1913, showing development along Holderness Road

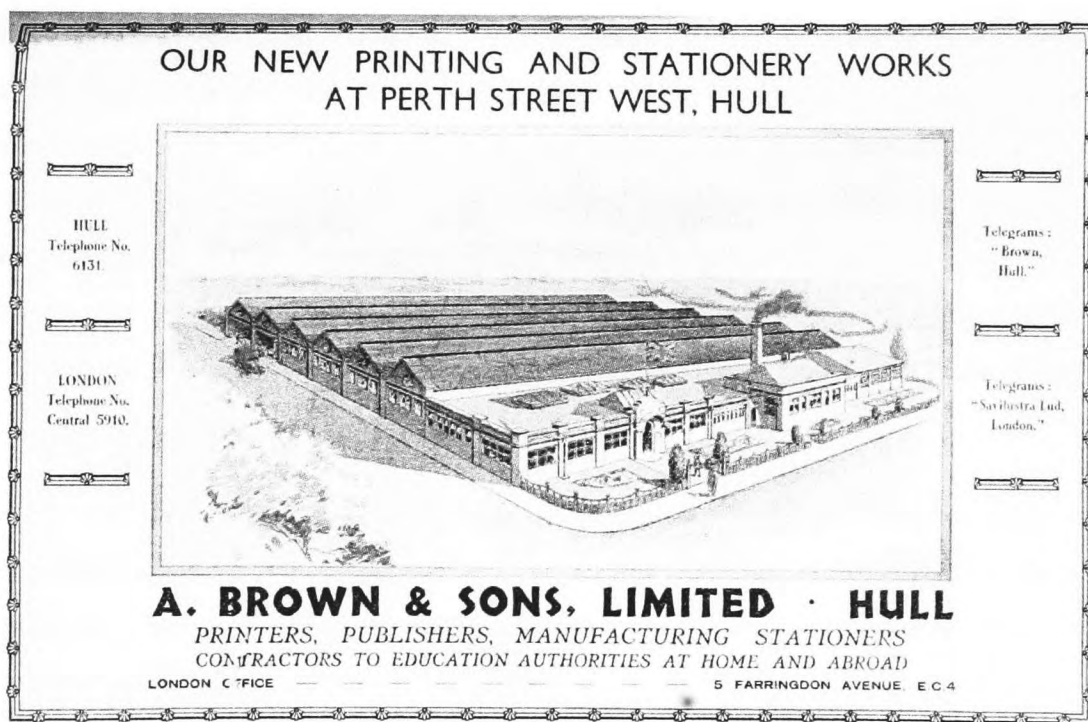
bombing and a post-war drive to modernise many urban areas during the 1960s and 1970s (Rowley 2006:121). The retail revolution also had a significant impact, as the economy began to shift from one based on heavy industry to one based on services and retail (Waller 2000:14). At the turn of the century the major British industries (including coal mining and ship building) appeared to be doing well and total industrial production was still increasing up until 1913 (Pollard 1992:5). However, in relative terms the British economy was falling behind other countries such as Germany and the USA (Pollard 1992:5). This situation was not helped by a general failure to modernise key industries during the early years of the twentieth century (Pollard 1992:1), and although these emerging weaknesses were not yet visible to contemporaries they were to have a significant impact upon the country and its urban and social landscapes in the later part of the century (Pollard 1992:1).

#### *4.5.1 First World War and Interwar Years (1915-1938)*

The First World War caused extreme disruption to British shipping, but affected Hull in particular because of its reliance on Baltic and Northern European ports (Brown 1969:270). After the outbreak of war, trade with Germany was immediately stopped and trade with Russia dwindled (Brown 1969:270). A large proportion of Hull's trade also came from neutral countries such as Sweden, Norway and Denmark, and imports from these destinations suffered little reduction until the Germans declared unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917 (Brown 1969:271). However, in general the overseas trade and shipping industries in Hull were badly damaged by the war, with overall tonnage of imports and exports declining, and many ships being sunk in attacks on shipping lanes (Brown 1969:272).

After the War, during the Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s, some of Hull's principal industries went into decline. The ship building industry in particular suffered, resulting in the closure of previously significant firms, such as Earle's shipyard which closed in 1932 (Brown 1969:273-4). Dock-work was also badly affected and between 1923 and 1937 unemployment levels of insured dock workers were typically between

38% and 49% (Brown 1969:274). This prompted a number of dock strikes during the 1920s, leading up to the General Workers Strike of 1926 (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:324). However, at the same time other industries such as fishing and grain-milling did relatively well, with employment increasing during this period (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:324). Hull therefore did not suffer as badly as many other towns and cities because of the diversity of its economic base. The seed-crushing industry remained a dominant part of the town's economy in the inter-war period, particularly in East Hull where there were numerous seed-crushing factories (focused mainly around the River Hull), of which the British Oil and Cake Mills Company (BOCM) were the largest (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:344).



**Illustration 4.14:** Trade advert from *Kelly's Directory of Hull*, 1930

A number of new industries were also established in Hull during the inter-war period, the most important being the manufacture of chemicals by Distiller's Co. Ltd., who established a distillery at Saltend in 1925 (Brown 1969:274). Other manufacturers also became increasingly important to the city's economy during the 1920s, including Needler's



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A number of new industries were also established in Hull during the inter-war period, the most important being the manufacture of chemicals by Distiller's Co. Ltd., who established a distillery at Saltend in 1925 (Brown 1969:274). Other manufacturers also became increasingly important to the city's economy during the 1920s, including Needler's

(confectioners), Reckitt's and Smith and Nephew (drugs and surgical goods), Fenner's (industrial belting), Priestman's (engineering) and the National Radiator Company (Brown 1969:274). Many of these firms expanded their premises during this period, and a number of other new factories were also established (see **Illustration 4.14**).

In the years following the War the Hull Corporation embarked on a large-scale council housing project that had a significant impact on the city's social geography (Spooner 2005:15). During the interwar period in Hull there was a great social divide between the affluent areas of the city and deprived areas where poverty and unemployment levels were high (Markham 1997:81). The Housing Act of 1924 led to a program of renewed slum clearances in inner-city areas from the mid 1920s onwards, which focused on the New George Street, Mill Street, the Groves, Porter Street and Adelaide Street (Brown 1969:276). This sort of 'de-crowding' strategy involving the demolition of inner-city areas and the relocation of residents to new council estates was seen in many British towns at this time (Rodger 2000:253). To attract Government funding these proposed estates had to conform to a limited number of house types and design guidelines set out by the Ministry of Health (Rodger 2000:250), which drew inspiration from the 'garden suburb' style of development, employing curved crescents, cul-de-sacs, and low density housing (Rodger 2000:251).

The first of the new council housing estates in Hull was constructed during the 1920s in a previously undeveloped area to the north of the city (now part of North Hull Estate) and adhered to the approved guidelines of 'cottage style' houses set out in clustered groves (Rodger 2000:251). The houses on these new estates were generally considered to be desirable properties, as each had hot and cold running water, electricity and gas and a garden (Dunne and Gill 2005:v), and these new developments quickly became associated with new communities with own social identity (Dunne and Gill 2005). Blocks of high-rise flats were also constructed nearer to the city centre. Porter Street flats were started in 1938 and were built as part of a 20-year plan to redevelop the area between Anlaby Road, Hessle Road, Porter Street and Bean Street into a 'modern residential



neighbourhood unit' (Smith 1994:7). There were other significant changes to the inner-city during the 1930s, including the rebuilding of North Bridge and the construction of Ferensway; a wide new road through the city centre, both of which opened in 1931. During the 1930s Queens Dock was also closed, and subsequently filled-in and redeveloped as an inner-city park (Markham 1997:82).

The interwar years also saw the introduction of a range of new structures relating to leisure pursuits in British cities, including an increasing number of purpose-built cinemas (Rowley 2006:137). These were particularly noticeable because they typically employed flamboyant architecture (Rowley 2006:137). In 1935 Hull had 26 cinemas that were visited by up to 200,000 people every week (Curry 1992:7). By 1938 this number had increased to 36, however during the Second World War many of the city's cinemas were damaged by bombing, and in the twenty years following the war their numbers declined until, by 1964, there were only ten remaining (Curry 1992:7).



Illustration 4:15 1930s cinema advert from the *Hull Daily Mail*

There were also significant changes to transport during this period. Bicycle ownership continued to increase during the early twentieth century, with a particularly intensive period of bicycle use between the wars, as a mode of transport to and from work as well as for leisure (Armstrong 2000:229). Hull's flat topography made it particularly popular with cyclists, and until 1939 many of the city's workers even cycled home for their dinner break, causing a midday rush hour in many parts of the city (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:386). From the 1930s onwards the tram system in Hull declined in popularity, and between 1936 and 1945 the city's trams were gradually replaced by trolley buses (Miles 2007:45). By the 1930s there were also daily buses and trains to many of the surrounding villages, which were becoming increasingly popular with commuters (Markham 1989:111).

The early twentieth century saw further changes in the port facilities in Hull. By the early 1900s the older town docks had become too small for the modern deep-sea trading vessels, and were used increasingly by smaller European, or coastal trading ships (Thompson 1990:25). At the same time there was increasing demand on the deeper, more modern docks at the east end of the port and in 1906 work started on Hull's first deep-water dock (Thompson 1990:94). This was originally known as Joint Dock as it was built as a joint venture between the North Eastern and the Hull and Barnsley Railway companies, who were both suffering financial difficulties (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:353). At the same time, a Riverside Quay was opened alongside the Albert Dock, giving direct access to the Humber Estuary. This was opened in 1907 (Ketchell 2005), and was used by passenger ships, and ships with perishable cargoes (Thompson 1990). Joint Dock, now renamed King George Dock, opened in 1914, and after its opening it rapidly became the focal point for the modern port (Spooner 2005:15). This in turn paved the way for the dramatic changes that would be seen after the Second World War, during the 1960s and 70s.

#### 4.5.2 *Second World War (1939-1945)*

The Second World War again had a serious impact on British industry with severe disruptions to shipping, and to imports and exports to many parts of Northern Europe, although some industries, such as the coal industry, benefited from the changing economic circumstances (Pollard 1992:158). There was also a sharp decline in the number of male workers as many were taken into active service, prompting an increase in the number of women employed in many industries (Pollard 1992:158). In Hull there were a number of immediate changes, one of the most noticeable being the closure of St. Andrew's Dock, and the requisitioning of many of the fishing fleet to help with the war effort (Ulyatt 1988:8). The trawlers were mainly deployed in mine-sweeping and escort duties, and suffered heavy losses with over 100 trawlers lost over the duration of the war (Ulyatt 1988:8). Many of Hull's other manufacturing industries were considered essential to the war effort, and were allowed to continue, with many factories turned over to the production of munitions and other war supplies.

During the Second World War aerial bombing causing severe damage to many urban areas, and a number of town centres were reduced to rubble (Rowley 2006:143). Hull suffered particularly badly, with a total of c.1,200 people killed, 3000 people injured, 152,000 people rendered homeless, and 86,175 properties damaged (leaving less than 6,000 undamaged) across the city between 1940 and 1943 (Geraghty 1978:7). Much of the bombing was directed at the docks and industrial areas, with resulting damage to many parts of the industrial infra-structure of the city and the loss of many mills, warehouses and other industrial buildings. However because of its strategic importance, Hull was rarely referred to by name in the media, being referred to instead as a 'North-East', or 'North-East coast' town (Geraghty 1978:7). This created a sense of Hull being the forgotten city of the War. The memory of this is still regularly referred to by older residents, and has also passed into local popular memory, being highlighted most recently in local media coverage of the widespread flooding that devastated the city in 2007.

#### 4.5.3 *Post-War Redevelopment*

After the Second World War the British economy suffered relative decline in traditional industries. This was a continuation of a trend that had begun before 1914, and was accelerated by two World Wars and the period of depression in-between during the 1920s and 1930s (Lazenby and Starkey 2000:166). This trend was masked to some extent by an apparent economic 'boom' in many parts of the economy during the 1950s and 1960s, but even during this period the British economy as a whole continued to decline in relative terms, in contrast to other nations, such as Japan and the United States of America (Pollard 1992:5). This situation was then compounded by the oil crisis in 1973, which brought many parts of the British economy to a 'shuddering halt' (Lazenby and Starkey 2000:167). During the 1950s Hull was still a successful, thriving port, with an industrial economic base that included fishing, fish-processing, oilseed-crushing, chemical and paint manufacture and timber imports (Spooner 2005:20). However, during the 1960s some of the town's principal industries began to contract, in-line with the gradual economic decline seen in other parts of the country (Spooner 2005:20). The fishing industry continued to prosper during this period, and during the 1960s Hull continued to be Britain's premier deep-sea fishing port (Spooner 2005:20), however the industry was already experiencing longer-term problems caused by external factors such as rising fuel costs (Spooner 2005:20) and territorial disputes with Iceland (Ashcroft 2000).

The damage caused by aerial bombing during the Second World War began a process of housing clearances and city centre rebuilding across Britain. A number of city and regional redevelopment plans were produced during the 1940s, many authored by Patrick Abercrombie (Rodger 2000:259-60). Common themes in these plans were the construction of better road networks (including inner-city ring roads), the pedestrianisation of inner-city shopping areas and a perceived need to control population densities, along with a general desire to modernise urban areas and sever links with the past both socially and architecturally (Rowley 2006:143-4). However, due

to the widespread lack of both finances and resources, redevelopment in many areas did not really begin until after 1954, when post-war development controls were lifted (Rowley 2006:143). Post-war architecture was generally functional, and made use of new building materials including concrete and aluminium, which further distinguished it from the earlier urban fabric. The use of these new materials, combined with new construction techniques and post-war guidelines on housing densities, also led to the construction of an increasing number of high-rise buildings, which were seen as the solution to Britain's social housing problems (Rodger 2000:260). Between 1955 and 1975 almost 1.5 million people across Britain were moved out of earlier 'slum' housing into modern high-rise flats, which dwarfed the older buildings, and fundamentally changed the skylines of many British towns (Rodger 2000:260).

Hull's Abercrombie plan was published in 1945, and recommended a radical rebuild of the city centre. This would include a reduction in inner-city population densities, the removal of the city's level crossings, the creation of two urban ring roads and a high-level road bridge across the Humber and the zoning of the city into residential, industrial and light-industrial districts (Abercrombie 1945:3). In the end much of the plan was never implemented, partly because of financial concerns, and partly because of a desire to provide rapid short-term solutions to the immediate post-war problems instead of implementing expensive, long-term solutions such as those recommended by Abercrombie (Jones 1998). Post-war development in Hull was therefore relatively piecemeal and World War Two bomb sites, known locally as 'bombed buildings', remained a familiar sight in many parts of the city throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Markham 1997:87), often becoming unofficial play grounds for local children (see chapters 7 and 8). As an immediate solution to the post-war housing shortages 2500 pre-fabricated houses, known as pre-fabs, were constructed, some of which remained in use until the 1990s (Spooner 2005:19). During the 1940s and 1950s three new housing estates, Bilton Grange, Greatfield, and Longhill, were also established on former agricultural land to the east of the city (Markham 1997:87).

Council reports, and local tourist guides from the late 1950s and 1960s promote Hull as a 'wonderfully modern' up-to-date city (Watkinson 1969). However, the Town Planning Office Annual Report for Hull in 1966 considered housing conditions in the city to be poor, with 38.5% of households lacking one or more basic amenity (KHCC 1968:23). During the 1960s and early 1970s there were further wide-spread clearances of nineteenth century housing, with hundreds of residents being rehomed on two new council estates to the east of the city, Orchard Park, constructed between 1963 and 1966, and Bransholme, constructed from 1968 onwards (Markham 1997:120). In contrast to this, Garden Village was designated as the first conservation area in Hull in October 1970, reflecting an increasing interest in local history in Hull from the 1960s onwards, which resulted in the founding of an active Civic Society in 1964 (Markham 1989:122).

After the Second World War private motor cars started to become increasingly affordable, and by the end of the 1960s there were nearly twelve million privately registered cars in Britain (Armstrong 2000:231). This inevitably began to change the look and 'feel' of many residential streets, particular in areas of older housing where there was no provision, or space, for either drives or garages. People increasingly began to park cars along both sides of the street, and children were increasingly discouraged from 'playing-out' in the streets because of the hazards posed by traffic (Armstrong 2000:231). The car also brought with it a new collection of street furniture, including yellow lines, parking meters, zebra crossings and traffic lights (Armstrong, 2000:232). There were significant changes in the retail sector after the Second World War, as retailers gradually began to move away from traditional counter service, and towards the new American system of self-service and 'open displays' (Winstanley 2000:171). From the mid 1960s onwards increasing car ownership resulted in the construction of purpose-built shopping centres, pedestrianised precincts and inner-city car parks, often constructed at the expense of earlier high streets and established shopping districts (Winstanley 2000:172). However, Hull did not embrace the car as quickly as some cities, and the Town Planning Office Annual Report for Hull in 1967/8 found that car ownership rates were 'considerably lower' than national, and even regional figures. In 1966 only 29.3% of the

population lived in car-owning households, compared to 44.7% nationally (KHCC 1968:23). This may possibly reflect the relatively low incomes and high levels of employment amongst many of the city's communities during this period. The railways remained popular in Hull during the 1950s, with regular services to local stations and the East Coast (**Illustration 4.16**). However, rail travel declined after a number of the city's smaller railway lines were closed in 1964/5 following recommendations set out in the Beeching Report, which led to the closure of many local and suburban railway lines across Britain (Thompson 1990:95).

[illegible]

**Illustration 4.16:** Advert for local trains from the *Hull Daily Mail*, October 1953

Increased road traffic during this period led to more extensive physical changes in many townscapes, including the introduction of urban flyovers, inner ring-roads and car parks (Rowley 2006:124). In some areas streets were widened and in others arterial routes were constructed to redirect traffic away from town and city centres (Armstrong 2000:231). In Hull increasing traffic initially resulted in the remodelling of Drypool Bridge (across the River Hull) and the replacement of gated railway crossings on Anlaby and Hessle Road with concrete 'fly-overs' in the early 1960s to ease congestion (Gibson 2007). There were other changes in the city's transport during this period. From 1961 onwards trolleybuses (still fondly remembered by many Hull residents) were gradually replaced by motor buses and, although the two services ran in parallel for a few years, the last trolleybus route was eventually closed in 1964 (Miles 2007:46).

The increasingly availability of motor vehicles also had a large impact on the infrastructure of the port, as motor transport increasingly took the place of rail in transporting goods to and from the docks (Credland 1990:10). This led to the development of roll-on roll-off, or 'ro-ro' container ships which became the main means of transporting cargo in and out of the port during the 1960s (Credland 1990:10). These vessels were too big for the older, smaller docks in Hull, which were gradually closed from the late 1960s onwards (Thompson 1990). The remaining town docks were closed in 1968, Victoria Dock was closed in 1970, and Albert Dock was closed in 1972 (Ketchell 2005). At the same time the more modern facilities at the east end of the port were in increasing demand and Queen Elizabeth Dock was opened in 1969, as an extension of King George Dock (Thompson 1990:79). The development included a roll-on roll-off container terminal which opened in 1971 (Thompson 1990:79). This resulted in an increasingly modernised system where greater tonnage could be handled by far fewer people, setting out an economic pattern for the port that would continue into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



#### **4.6 The late Twentieth and early Twenty-first Century (1974 - to date)**

During the 1970s and 1980s the British economy suffered a series of sharp contractions, particularly in the maritime sector (Lazenby and Starkey 2000:167). The fishing, ship-building and shipping industries were all affected and during this period economic changes, along with the introduction of new methods of working such as Containerisation, changed British ports not only commercially, but also physically and socially, as less labour was required to deal with greater amounts of imports (Lazenby and Starkey 2000:167). Many other parts of the British economy also suffered badly. Traditional heavy industries and the British manufacturing sector all endured heavy losses in terms of jobs and production, in a continuation of trends seen earlier in the century (Pollard 1992). In Hull, the older docks continued to become increasingly redundant, as the city's economy shifted towards based on Containerisation and new, light industry. St. Andrew's Dock was closed in 1975 and the fishing industry was rehomed in the newly reopened Albert Dock (Ketchell 2005). In the same year, after the Cod Wars of the 1960s and early 1970s, Iceland achieved a 200 mile exclusion zone on fishing within its waters, after which the fishing industry went into a sharp decline (Ashcroft 2000). The port was denationalised in 1982 (Spooner 2005:22) and Alexandra Dock was closed the same year (Ketchell 2005).

At the same time as the decline in traditional industries there was a steady rise in employment in other areas, particularly the service sector, from the early 1970s onwards (Pollard 1992:234-5). The 1980s and 1990s saw the development of many new British manufacturing industries related to technological developments in computing, telecommunications and microelectronics (Rowley 2006:158). These industries were not dependant on inner-city locations and tended to use properties on cheaper, more accessible land in new industrial estates or business parks on the outskirts of existing urban centres (Rowley 2006:158-9). In Hull, the chemical industry (including pharmaceuticals) became increasingly significant, with the expansion of the British Petroleum complex at Saltend (Spooner 2005:31). However, despite the construction of

new business parks and industrial estates on the outskirts of the town (including Sutton Fields) there were relatively few new industrial developments in Hull and unemployment in the city therefore continued to rise to above national levels during the 1970s and 1980s (Spooner 2005:20). By the 1970s the retail sector was also exploring the possibilities of more car-friendly locations and by the 1980s the first out-of-town shopping centres and retail parks were being constructed on the outskirts of many British cities (Winstanley 2000:173). Inner-city blight therefore became a feature of the period, particularly in the older industrial cities, as new industries relocated to cheaper, more accessible locations and those who could afford it chose to abandon the city centres for the cleaner, healthier suburbs (Rowley 2006:131). This led to programmes of demolition and redevelopment in many city centres, which increasingly raised public concerns about heritage and the erosion of Britain's historic townscapes (Rowley 2006:131).

The late-twentieth century saw a number of changes to the urban landscape in Hull, although many of these were continuations of trends that had begun earlier in the century. The city council bought the town docks estate in 1973 (Spooner 2005:23), and this was followed by a programme of demolition of disused industrial buildings during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly around the Old Town and Town Docks areas (Roberts 2005). During the 1970s the Castle Street development created a dual-carriageway through the city centre (Gibson 2008:12). This provided better road access to the eastern docks, but at the same time separated the southern town docks and pier from the rest of the town centre. Castle Street was connected to the new South Orbital Road (now known as Clive Sullivan Way) that was constructed during the late 1970s, opening in 1980 (KHCC 1981). This road made use of former railway land to the north of the western docks, but also required the demolition of former residential areas around Bean Street and Regent Street, effectively cutting Hessle Road in two. Both of these roads therefore had a significant impact on the areas around them. Castle Street in particular has been subject to local criticism, relating to the separation of the southern docks areas, and recent schemes have been proposed to raise, or lower, the road to reconnect the areas of the city that it divides (KHCC 2008b). Housing clearances continued into the late 1970s (*Hull*

*Flashback* June 2009). During the same period many of the larger houses in formerly wealthy areas such as Boulevard, Coltman Street and the Avenues were converted into flats (Elsom 1989, Coltman Street Village website, KHCC 2006 and 2007).

Since the late-1980s there have been a number of regeneration and redevelopment schemes across different parts of the city to deal with the large areas of derelict space left by deindustrialisation, particularly in the city centre. Humber Dock and Railway Dock were reopened as the new Hull City Marina in 1987 (Markham 1989:123). Princes Dock was retained as part of the innovative Princes Quay shopping centre development, which opened in 1991 (Ketchell 2005). The western end of St. Andrew's Dock was filled-in and redeveloped as a retail park from 1986 onwards (Ketchell 2005), and in 1988 phase one of building work began on the site of the former Victoria Dock to create the new Victoria Dock Village housing estate (McNicol 2002). In the mid-1990s there were a number of attempts to revamp Hull's public image, including concerted efforts by the City Council to move away from the stereotypes associated with the city's industrial and fishing past, and to promote Hull instead as a pioneering, European gateway city (Spooner 2005:23). This has caused some strong reactions from local communities (Atkinson et al 2002) and in recent years elements of the city's industrial heritage have featured more strongly in local development plans, although many elements of the city's past are still marginalized (Spooner 2005:23).

Since the late 1980s the port has seen a revival with trade increasing rapidly (Spooner 2005:23). Alexandra Dock was reopened in 1991, after increasing demands on port facilities (Thompson 1990:50). Passenger traffic in particular has seen a large increase, and by 2005 over 1 million passengers a year were using the P&O services to Northern Europe (Spooner 2005:23). The city currently still has a manufacturing base, with companies such as Ideal Standard (formerly the National Radiator Company), Reckitt Benckiser, and Smith and Nephew, employing a large number of people in the city. However, many other nineteenth and twentieth century names, such as Rank's, Hollis's, Priestman's and BOCM, have disappeared, and some of the largest employers in the city

are now public sector organizations, including the City Council and the University (Spooner 2005:31). The city's first Unitary Development Company, City Build, was created in 2002, to address economic and social problems within the city centre (including low employment and population decline), and to lead the city's physical regeneration (Spooner 2005:27-8). In order to achieve this they adopted a Masterplan which sets out a framework for the redevelopment of the city centre in the next ten to fifteen years (Spooner 2005:28). The City Council has also produced an Action Plan in collaboration with Gateway Pathfinder for the regeneration of the Newington and St. Andrew's Areas. Their current proposals (published in draft form in October 2008) include phased renovation of properties in some areas, and the demolition of properties in others, in advance of large-scale housing renewal (KHCC 2008a).

#### **4.7 Summary of Urban Development**

Hull was established as a trading post during the fourteenth century and became increasingly significant as a port, and a strategic centre, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gillett and MacMahon 1980). During this period the southern section of the River Hull formed the only sheltered mooring for ships and was therefore central to port activities (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:2). The River Hull later became the focus of the town's emerging industries, including corn and oil-seed milling, which took advantage of the established trade networks and accessible water supply (Spooner 2005:12). After the seventeenth century the town began to expand beyond its medieval core, particularly after the removal of the town walls and the expansion of the town dock network from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries urban growth in Hull was closely connected to the ongoing industrial development of the port. New residential areas developed alongside the developing industrial sites along the River Hull, and around a series of new docks along the north bank of the Humber to the east and west of the town. The growing wealth of the port also allowed the emergence of a wealthy merchant class who increasingly moved out to the north and west sides of the city, away from the

growing industry and overcrowded living conditions in the town centre. However, continued urban growth, stimulated by the expansion of the dock and railway networks west of the town, meant that areas of elite housing were quickly surrounded by industrial sites and more crowded terraced housing, particularly from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. This in turn led to the emergence of elite residential developments such as the Princes Bank (or Avenues) Estate on former green-field sites on the edge of the burgeoning settlement. However, during the second half of the nineteenth century the town's population increased rapidly and rising population pressure, combined with better public transport networks, meant that by the start of the First World War much of the remaining available land around the city boundary had been taken up by housing and industry. This further added to the dense and complex urban patchwork of the industrial city, much of which is still visible today.

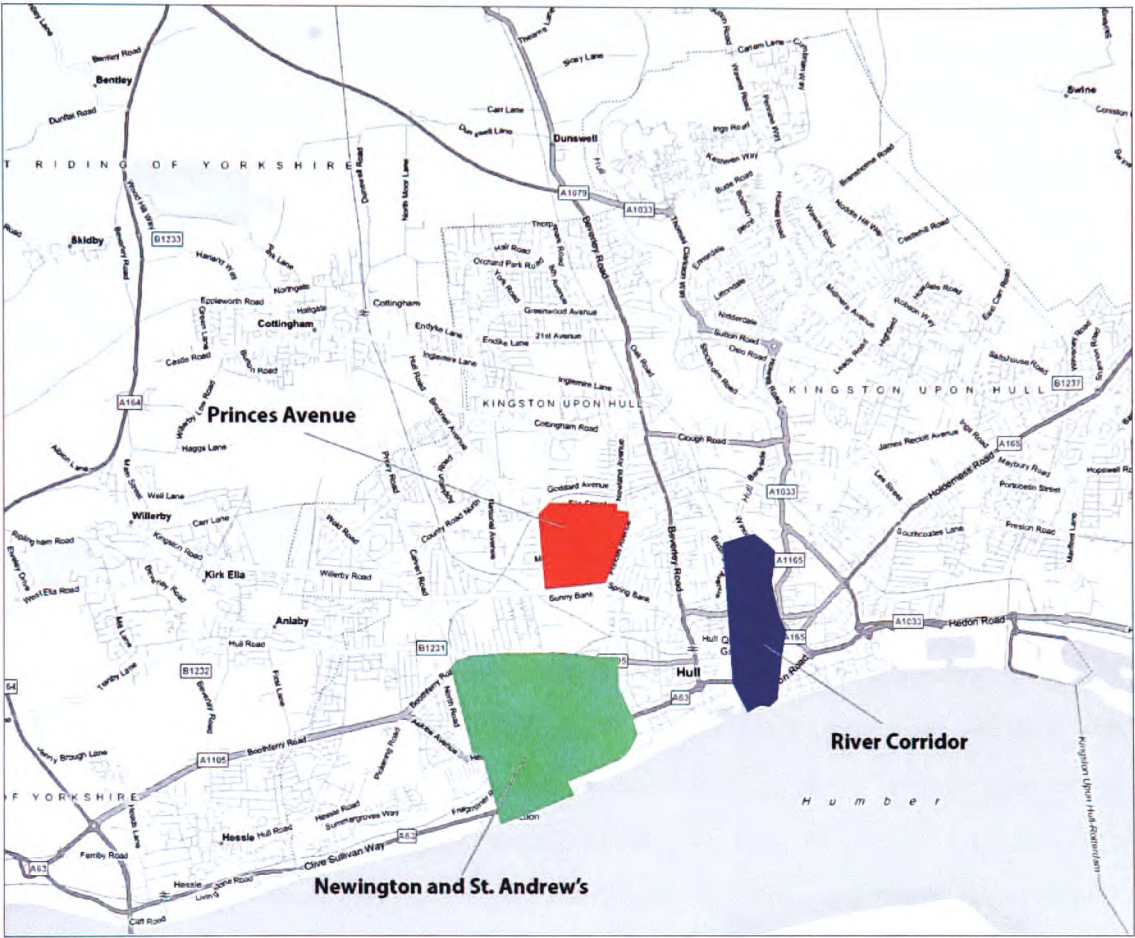
As with many British cities, the twentieth century resulted in massive economic and urban change in Hull. The port was badly damaged during the Second World War and despite the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s the city's economy suffered long-term decline in the post-war years. This resulted in heavy deindustrialisation during the 1970s and 1980s from which the city has not yet fully recovered, with many parts of the city still facing high levels of deprivation (Spooner 2005). As the focus of port activity continued to move towards the eastern docks, the smaller western and town docks were eventually closed and redeveloped for leisure and residential purposes. Extensive housing clearances throughout the twentieth century and the creation of large housing estates to the north and east of the city also fundamentally altered the city's physical and social landscape. Hull experienced a period of regeneration during the 1980s and early 1990s, designed to revive the former industrial areas around the docks and the River Hull. However this was only partly successful. The city is currently undergoing a second wave of large-scale urban regeneration and redevelopment that aims to tackle some of Hull's complex social and economic problems through urban renewal and community regeneration.

## 4.8 Case Studies

The case-study areas for this project are the River Hull Corridor, the Newington and St. Andrews area to the west of the city centre, and the area around Princes Avenue, north-west of the city centre. As highlighted in this chapter, these three districts are each highly significant in Hull's historical and social development, and the current fabric of each one reflects different aspects of the city's complex history and continuing development. They all contain one or more conservation areas (areas already defined as being of architectural and historical significance) as well as more 'ordinary' areas (with no formal designations). They are all connected with a strong sense of history and identity, and have all experienced different levels of change and redevelopment over the past 30 years, which makes them particularly relevant in terms of this study. As discussed in previous chapters, it is argued that everyday life is made up of repeated routines which are, on the whole, 'practiced thoughtlessly' (Lefebvre 1974 quoted in Moran 2004 page 57). It is also argued that periods of social and physical change can create brief temporal windows within which these routines are disrupted and become visible (Hebbert 2005) and the frameworks of memory that surround them become momentarily exposed (Boym 2001:54-5). If this is true then the chosen areas are potentially three very interesting, and relevant, case-studies within which it should be possible to trace and follow everyday memories across a range of different environments.

In the next chapter I explain how the case-studies are presented, before going on to introduce a selection of the empirical material collected during the research.

**Chapter 5:     Introduction to Empirical Chapters**



**Illustration 5.1:** Location map of case-study areas

The next three chapters address the main research questions, drawing upon empirical research gathered over three and a half years. As discussed in the previous chapters, terms like ‘social memory’ are often used uncritically, without enough attention being focused on the specificities of different sorts of memory, or the complex and ongoing processes through which they are negotiated and articulated (Radstone 2005). It is increasingly argued that collective memory should not be seen as something removed from individual memory, but as a shared social framework within which multiple individual recollections are able to co-exist and overlap (Boym 2001:53). It is also argued that memory should be understood in terms of a range of overlapping, unfolding narratives that shape, and are shaped by, public and private articulation, and contact

with other narratives about the past (Till 2006). In the following chapters I therefore discuss a number of different types of memory, or ways of remembering and talking about the past. For the purposes of this thesis I have divided them into a series of categories. First, I use the term 'official narratives' (or 'formal narratives') to refer to interpretations of the past that are promoted through formal 'sites' of memory such as statues and commemorative sites, as well as through museums and formal histories. Second, I use the term 'popular memory' (or 'popular narratives') to refer to stories that are publically articulated by a wide range of people and which have spread beyond the range of personal experience. These stories often draw on formal or published histories and local websites (especially when these refer to popular themes). However, the 'popular memories' I discuss are distinguished by their re-articulation by local residents (which inevitably changes them to some extent). Third, I use the terms 'shared narratives' and 'personal narratives' to refer to the memories that individuals and groups shared with me in interviews and workshops that relate to places and events they had personal experiences of. I recognize that these divisions are somewhat artificial and arbitrary, but I suggest that in these chapters they help to structure an otherwise dense and impenetrable set of entwined memories for the sake of clarity. I explore the interplay between these different types of narratives across the three case-studies. Drawing on Boym's concept of collective memory as a shared framework (Boym 2001:53) I also discuss the collective frameworks for remembering in each area (including official sites of memory and the formal narratives surrounding them, as well as published histories and popular memory). I then explore a selection of memories collected via interviews and workshops from three different districts within the city (**Illustration 5.1**).

All of these memories are presented as walking commentaries that trace sections of the actual or virtual walks that I took with respondents. Although my methodology aimed to promote a fluid, unbounded approach to remembering, as discussed earlier this approach does not necessarily sit comfortably with the ways that people often structure their memories. Till (2005: 11) suggests that people tend to think in terms of familiar, recognisable places, particularly where memory is concerned, and my walks reinforced



how a wide variety of familiar places acted as focal points for remembering. In some cases these focal points were shared by numerous people. In others, they were more personal and were only mentioned occasionally. Critics might argue that superficially, this appears to echo more traditional methods of understanding memory through particular designated sites. However, as well as highlighting a range of different focal points for memories, many of my walks also prompted a series of spatial narratives through which respondents provided a sort of personal, narrated imaginative map of different parts of the city. These maps were not smooth and fluid, but were often fragmented - jumping between different places and times that were only connected through stories of remembered events and personal (and shared) routines.

Of course, it would be impossible to include all the individual voices, or focal points for memory, that I encountered. This is partly because of the strictures of an academic thesis (not least the word-limit), and partly because of the dense nature and sheer volume of the data that was generated through my methodology (an issue that I will return to in chapter 9). Including every voice would also serve little purpose other than to illustrate the often fleeting nature of some of the memories which (as discussed in chapters two and three) are under constant negotiation (Atkinson 2008). Instead, through my walking commentaries I explore a limited selection of the focal points that emerged in each area, along with the overlapping spatial narratives within which they were embedded. I also include some of the visual prompts I used, and some of the more formal histories associated with the places I walked through, including information from local history publications and contemporary historic sources (such as trades directories), which are included in the walking commentaries as information boxes. The inclusion of these more formal histories is not intended to either challenge or 'verify' the memories in any way, but instead is intended to reflect the messy and sometimes unexpected ways in which a range of different narratives and understandings of 'the past' emerged and interacted (to varying extents) in different times and places during my research. Mapped routes for each walk are also included in **Appendix 3**. The modern base maps were provided by Hull

University Geography Department and the walk photographs were taken by the thesis author.

**Chapter 6:**    Newington and St. Andrew's



**Illustration 6.1:** Street map of the Newington and St. Andrew's area

## 6.1 Introduction

The Newington and St. Andrew's area (referred to in current planning documents - and subsequently in this thesis - as NaSA) is to the west of Hull City Centre, covering the area between Rawlings Way and Hawthorn Avenue (**Illustration 6.1**). It was identified as a priority renewal area in 2005 and a draft Area Action Plan, covering the period 2008-2024, was published in October 2008 (KHCC 2008a). Hessle Road and Anlaby Road run roughly parallel to each other across the NaSA area and are connected by a number of parallel streets, including Hawthorn Avenue and Boulevard. Both of these roads are significant focal points for the communities that live around them. This is particularly true for older residents who often define themselves as being from either Hessle Road or Anlaby Road, usually depending on which one they grew up closest to.<sup>39</sup> The area around Hessle Road is strongly connected with the city's former fishing industry, and has featured strongly in representations of popular heritage over the past 20 years. This has tended to focus on political struggles over who (or what) is remembered in the city's official heritage (Atkinson et al 2002). The fishing industry played an important and visible role in the growth of the city and Hessle Road developed a distinct identity, known for its close-knit community and referred to by some as 'the village within a city' (Gill and Sargeant 1986). Anlaby Road has had less attention, although this is starting to be addressed through the work of a new heritage centre on Anlaby Road itself.

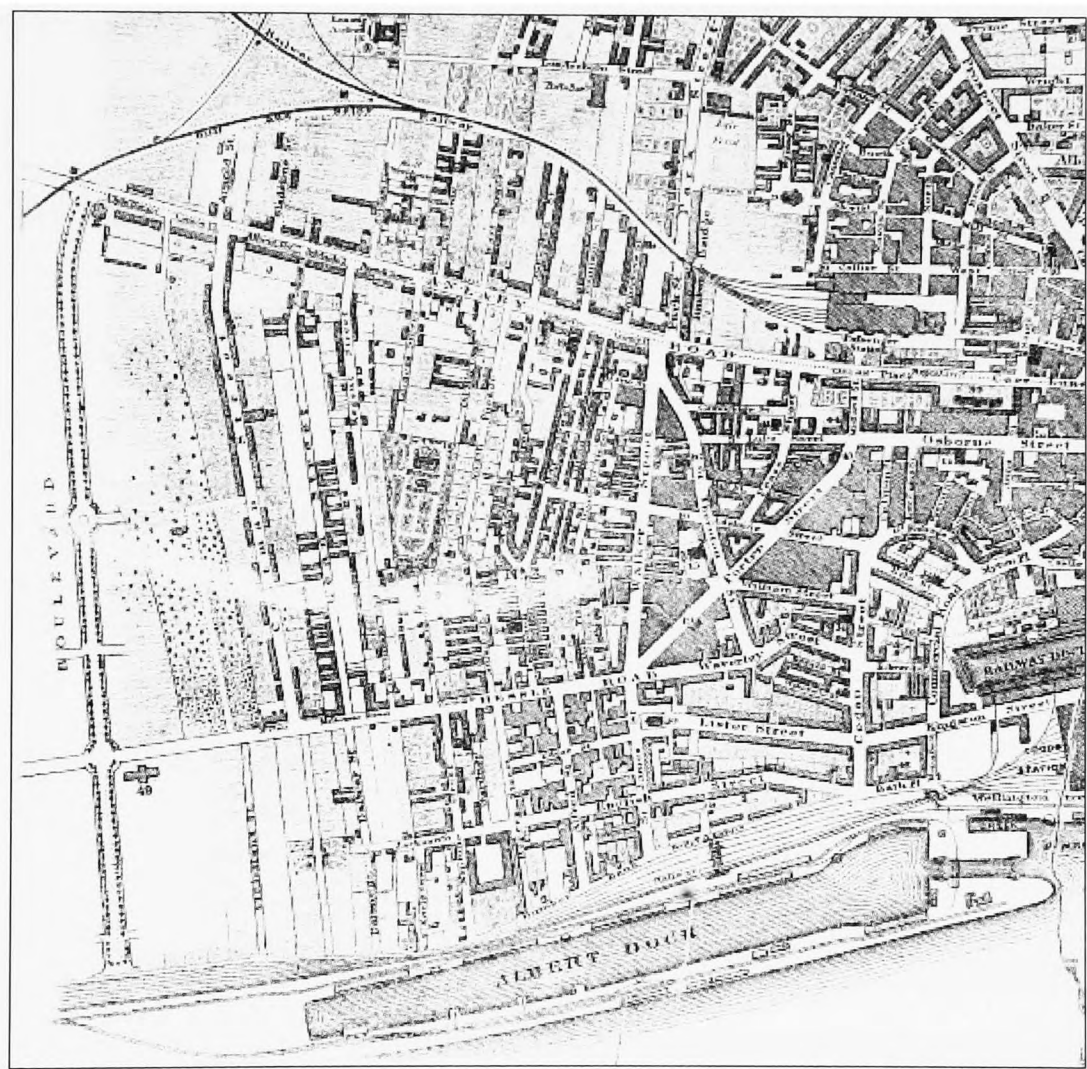
In this chapter I explore the ways in which Hessle Road, Anlaby Road and some of the streets in-between, constitute topographies of memory for residents and former residents alike. I will pay particular attention to the role of popular heritage narratives and other presentations of 'the past', along with both formal and informal sites of memory, in shaping how people interpret, imagine and ultimately remember different parts of the NaSA area. During my research I conducted 28 in-depth interviews with current and former residents from across the NaSA area, two group interviews, and four public workshops. I regularly attended coffee mornings and reminiscence groups at the

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<sup>39</sup> See later sections for a more in-depth discussion of this

Boulevard Village Hall and the Carnegie Library on Anlaby Road, and attended a memory walk along Hawthorn Avenue with a group of volunteers from the Carnegie Centre. I was also involved with a community mapping project run by ARC in collaboration with Gateway Pathfinder. This involved running workshops and conducting a memory walk around Boulevard and Coltman Street.

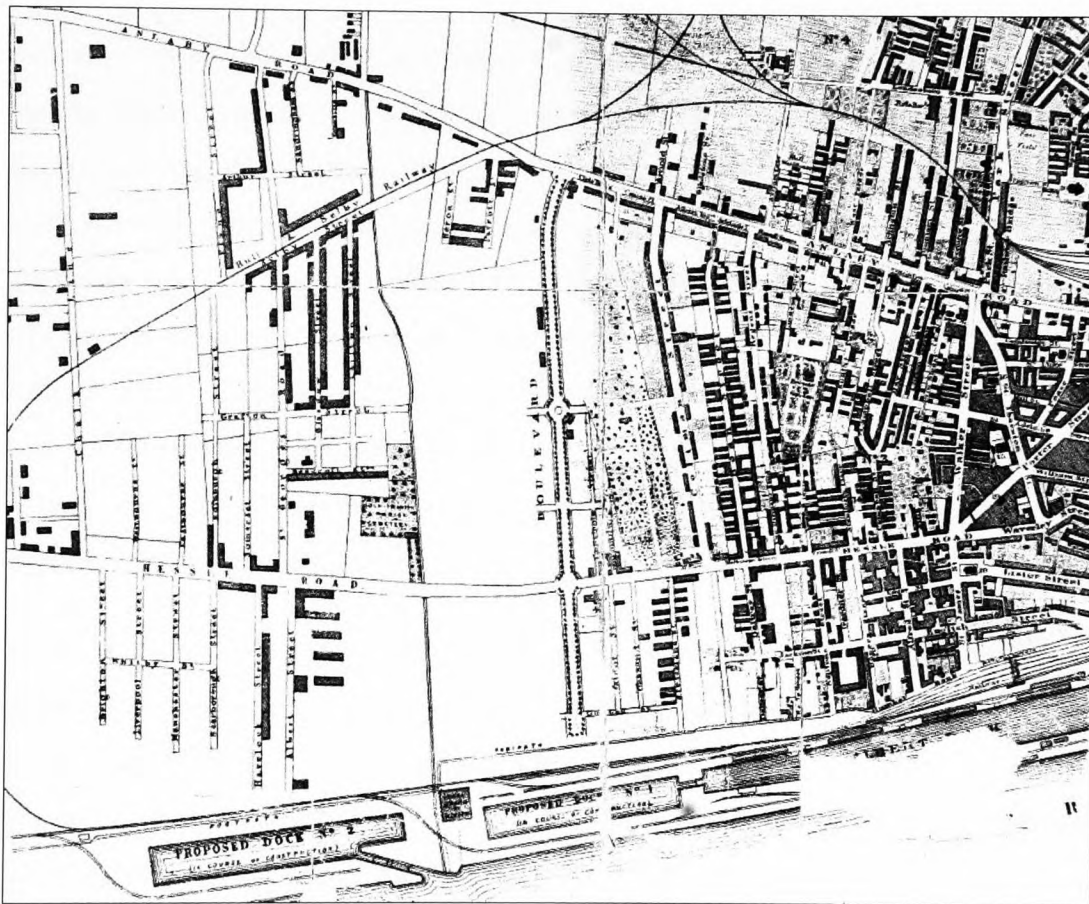
**6.2 Historical Development**



**Illustration 6.2a:** Peck and Sons’ Plan of Hull, 1870, showing the newly constructed Boulevard at the western edge of the town.



As discussed in Chapter 4, the first development to the west of the medieval town was in the form of an elite suburb (known as English Town), established during the early nineteenth century. However, as the town's industry and dock network expanded, this area soon also became home to increasing numbers of working-class housing and industrial premises. This prompted the elite suburb to move further west, with the development of a number of large properties on Coltman Street from the 1840s onwards (KHCC 2006) and the creation of a wide 'handsome' Boulevard, on the western edge of the growing town, in 1870 (Illustration 6.2a)



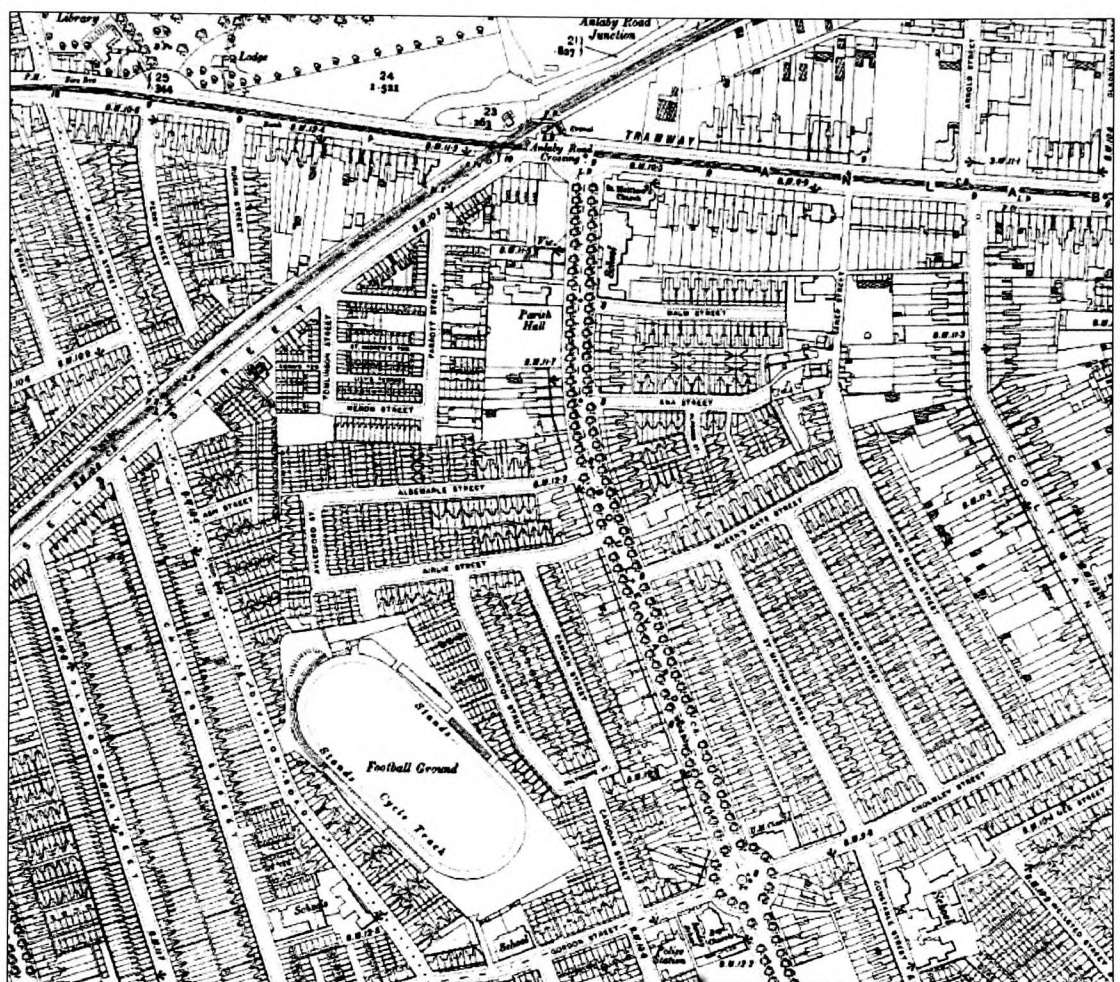
**Illustration 6.2b:** Peck and Son's plan of Hull, 1875, showing new development to the west of Boulevard.

The town's fishing industry was initially based in the Humber Dock, and as it developed the area became home to many of the ancillary industries associated with fishing, as well

as the attendant workforce (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:309). The relocation of the fishing fleet to more spacious accommodation in the new Albert Dock prompted further development, and by the mid 1870s both town and industry were rapidly expanding to the west, beyond the newly established Boulevard (**Illustration 6.2b**). Over the following years the fishing industry continued to expand (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:308-9) and in 1883 the Hull Dock Company opened Saint Andrew's Dock on the western edge of the dock estate (Thompson 1990:44). During this period, as the fishing industry grew, the streets around Hessle Road and the dock also continued to be developed with a mixture of housing and industrial premises. In 1891 Edmund Wrigglesworth described Hessle Road as 'one of the busiest and most popular thoroughfares in Hull, being thickly inhabited by persons connected with the shipping and fishing industries' (Wrigglesworth 1891:179). In the same book he describes the eastern end of Anlaby Road as 'a beautiful suburban road' lined with 'elegant houses and mansions' (Wrigglesworth 1891:117), suggesting a clear, observable difference in the nature of the two areas at this time. However, by the time of the second edition Ordnance Survey in 1893 a large number of terraced streets had been constructed on both sides of Hessle Road and by 1910 virtually all of the remaining open spaces between Hessle Road and Anlaby Road were taken up by terraced housing. By this time many parts of the area were characterised by geometric rows of crowded terraces and small courts (see **Illustration 6.3**).

The entire NaSA area suffered heavy damage from aerial bombing during the Second World War. The area between Hessle Road and the docks was particularly badly affected, including one tragic incident in 1942 when a landmine, reputedly the largest dropped on Hull during the Second World War, hit Scarborough Street, killing 50 people and destroying 'countless' houses and shops (Geraghty 1978:19). St. Andrew's Dock was closed temporarily during the war (Ulyatt 1988:8), however in the post-war years the fishing industry flourished and by 1950 St. Andrew's Dock was home to 168 distant-water trawlers; the biggest fleet of its kind in the World (Thompson 1990:48). Hull remained the UK's premier Deep-sea fishing port during the 1960s (Spooner 250:220). However (as discussed in Chapter 4) in real terms the industry was already in decline and during the

late 1970s, following the Cod Wars and the implementation of a 200 mile limit on fishing off Iceland, it contracted sharply, causing wide-spread unemployment and broader economic decline in Hull, particularly within the NaSA area (Atkinson et al 2002:31). Housing clearances from the 1950s onwards (**Illustration 6.4**) also led to the relocation of many residents to the new housing estates on the east and north sides of the city.



**Illustration 6.3:** Ordnance Survey map 1910, showing terraced housing between Hessle Road and Anlaby Road (sheet CCXL.14)

St. Andrew's Dock was closed in 1975 and the fishing fleet was moved to Albert Dock (Gill 2003:116). A new South Orbital Road was constructed on former railway land between the dock and Hessle Road during the late 1970s, as part of a wider road improvement scheme (see chapter 4). This required the demolition of a number of residential streets



to the east of Coltman Street, and effectively split Hessle Road in two. Since the late 1970s the area has suffered from numerous social and economic problems, including high unemployment and levels of deprivation (KHCC 2008a). During the 1980s and 1990s the City Council made a conscious effort to place market the city, with little reference to Hull's industrial past, because of negative connotations (including the fishy smell) associated with industries such as fishing and dock-working (Atkinson et al 2002:31).



**Illustration 6.4:** Ordnance Survey map 1969, showing the start of the housing clearances around Gillett Street, between Hessle Road and St. Andrew's dock

However, the proposed redevelopment of the area with little reference to the area's fishing heritage caused a local backlash. A proposal to redevelop the west end of St. Andrew's Dock in particular gave rise to a campaign by the St. Andrew's Fish-dock Heritage Park Action Group - known as STAND - to prevent the redevelopment of this area without what they deem a proper memorial to its former use (Atkinson et al 2002).

The area is currently undergoing large-scale regeneration in order to address its social and economic issues, and to improve the current state of the urban fabric through a combination of frontage improvements, restoration of existing buildings and redevelopment of key areas (KHCC 2008a). St. Andrew's Dock is not included within these plans. The housing clearances have continued until the present day, with large parts of Hawthorn Avenue currently scheduled for demolition by 2012 (KHCC 2008a).

### **6.3 Collective frameworks for remembering**

#### *6.3.1 Formal sites of memory*

There are a number of formal sites of memory within the NaSA area, including an early twentieth century statue of a trawler skipper at the corner of Boulevard and Hessle Road, and a memorial to lost fishermen on the outer bull-nose<sup>40</sup> of the former St. Andrew's Dock. Since 1990 STAND have also held a yearly memorial service on the outer bull-nose of St. Andrew's Dock for the families of fishermen who were lost at sea, which is now attended by up to 1000 people every year (Atkinson et al 2002). There are no formal sites of memory on either Anlaby Road or Hawthorn Avenue. NaSA also includes four conservation areas; Hessle Road, Boulevard, Coltman Street and St. Andrew's Dock. All of these contain a number of listed buildings, the majority of which are located in Coltman Street and Boulevard. These two areas together have been the subject of a lot of recent heritage work, including a community mapping project that aimed to promote the importance of some of the area's historic buildings, many of which are due to be restored as part of the current regeneration plans (KHCC 2008a).

#### *6.3.2 Published histories*

Over the past twenty years, a growing number of collections of memories and history associated with the Hessle Road area have been published. The most notable of these are those produced by Alec Gill (see Gill and Sargeant 1985 and Gill 1987, 1991, 1993 and

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<sup>40</sup> The term 'bull-nose' refers to the rounded ends of the quayside adjacent to the lock-pit. St. Andrew's Dock has an outer bull-nose at the end of the lock-pit nearest to the Humber Estuary, and an inner bull-nose at the other end of the lock-pit nearest to the dock itself. Both are still visible.

2003). These have tended to focus on the lives of the fishing community, in particular the trawlermen and their families, many of whom lived in the streets around Hessle Road. These books emphasise the difficult conditions in which the fishing families lived and worked, and the close-knit community this lifestyle engendered. These collections are extremely popular with contemporary Hull residents, and the stories of Hessle Road have become an important part of public memory, both within the city, and further afield.

There are many other popular stories associated with the Hessle Road community, including the Fish Dock pram races of the 1920s and 1930s. This was a humorous name for the spectacle of the wives of the fishermen hurrying down to the fish dock with their silver cross prams to collect their husbands' wages every Friday afternoon (Alec Gill 2008). These, and other cultural differences between the fishing community and the rest of the city, are widely discussed in the popular history that surrounds Hessle Road, and are often celebrated in local events. For instance, the pram race was reinstated for a number of years during the 1980s to celebrate Hessle Road's 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary (Hessle Road pram race website 2009) and was run again as a community charity event in 2009. Archive photographs of St. Andrew's Dock and Hessle Road also feature regularly in local history publications, including the monthly local history supplement of the Hull Daily Mail. Memories of Hessle Road and the fishing community have also featured in popular literature, as seen for instance in Tom Courtenay's book *Dear Tom* in which he describes his experiences of growing up on Harrow Street near to the fish dock (Courtenay 2000). These accounts often portray a sense of loss and of 'returning home' to Hessle Road. For example, Courtenay describes a visit back to the area at the end of his book during which he notices many material changes, including the loss of many former sites of personal memory (Courtenay 2000).

Anlaby Road has featured much less prominently in Hull's popular history in recent years, although this has started to change. The Carnegie Heritage Centre was set up in the former Carnegie Library next to West Park (on Anlaby Road) in January 2007, and published *The Anlaby Road* book and website ([www.anlabyroad.com](http://www.anlabyroad.com)) in the same year.

The book and website, which together document the historical development of Anlaby Road and the nearby streets, have proved extremely popular with local residents, although they do not document local memories or experiences in the same way as many of the Hessle Road publications. There is also a monthly Anlaby Road reminiscence group at the Centre, which is well attended.

### *6.3.3 Popular stories (from workshops and other discussions)*

Stories about the fishing community are familiar to many people both within the city, and further afield. Indeed, many respondents told me stories of Hessle Road – even when they weren't from the area themselves – and the Hessle Road section of the website received responses from people from all over the World. These stories often emphasised how distinctive the Hessle Road Community was. For instance, many respondents talked about the unusual superstitions held by fishing families, and the unofficial uniform (of distinctive blue gabardine suits) that many of the fishermen wore when they were home on leave during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>41</sup>

[T]hey used to have half-moon pockets, all kinds of things, bell-bottomed trousers, and lots of bryl cream on their hair (laughs). You could always tell when the trawlers were in because of these people in blue suits, and you couldn't get a taxi because they were running about after the trawlermen (laughs).

#### **Chris (aged 60-79)**

People also told about the close-knit community associated with the fishing industry, and the borderline poverty that affected many families in the Hessle Road area. Strangely, there is often a degree of nostalgia and romanticism connected with these stories. As discussed above, many parts of the area saw large-scale clearances of urban fabric during the second half of the twentieth century. This particularly affected the streets to the south of Hessle Road and resulted in many residents being moved to new housing estates in North and East Hull. However, former residents often maintained their links

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<sup>41</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the folklore surrounding the Hessle Road community see Gill 2003.

with the area, returning to work and shop, and many of these residents and their descendants (now scattered across the World) say they are proud to call themselves 'Hessle Roaders'. This has created a sense of Diaspora within the extended Hessle Road community that is not seen elsewhere in the city.

Anybody who was born Hessle Road will always be Hessle Road, well, in our era. The youngsters probably don't want to class themselves quite the same, but your older people, if you were born Hessle Road you were a Hessle Roder, didn't matter where you went to live after that, you still was born and bred on Hessle Road.

**Lynda Taylor (aged 60-79)**

Memories of Hessle Road and the fishing industry are particularly poignant for many because of the large numbers of men from the community who died at sea. Deep-sea fishing was a highly dangerous job. Trawlers were regularly lost at sea in bad weather, often causing the deaths of the entire crew (Gill 2003:11).<sup>42</sup> These heavy losses were mourned across the city.

[O]f course, when these disasters struck everybody supported everybody else. I mean the whole of Hull was absolutely shocked and horrified when the Morella went down, and the Peridot, and the other one. It was terrible.

**Jean S (aged 60-79)**

There is also a sense amongst some local residents that, until recently, the fishing heritage has been marginalized within the city's official heritage narratives (Atkinson et al 2002). As mentioned above, during the 1970s the city council took a conscious decision not to promote the city's fishing heritage in their place-marketing strategies, because of the 'smelly' connotations this brought to the city (Atkinson et al 2002). To some extent this fuelled the surge in popular memories and local heritage initiatives associated with

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<sup>42</sup> Interestingly Gill also notes that many more men were washed overboard and drowned than were lost when whole trawlers sank, although these individual losses were rarely publicised (Gill 2003:11).

the industry during the 1980s and 1990s, as a backlash towards the perceived 'forgetting' of the Hessle Road community by the city council. Interestingly, some former residents told me that the growing popularity of these Hessle Road stories in recent years has resulted in larger numbers of people claiming to be 'Hessle Roaders' (often based on family connections to the area or the fishing industry) than ever before.

I think it's become quite fashionable over the last few years to say you're from Hessle Road (laughs).

**Steve (aged 40-59)**

The surge of contemporary popular memory associated with the fishing industry has also led other NaSA residents to feel that they, in turn, have been forgotten. For instance, when asked to define what was distinctive about Anlaby Road in a workshop, a number of local residents immediately said 'it's not Hessle Road'. This was said as a joke; however it does suggest that some Anlaby Road residents feel that they have been marginalised to some extent by the recent attention focused on Hessle Road. Although they are so geographically close, a number of perceived differences between the two areas were articulated in the memories of many of the local residents that I spoke to. The general feeling was that, in the past, Anlaby Road was seen as the more affluent, and therefore 'posher' of the two areas.

If you lived on Anlaby Road you was classed as posh. If you lived on Hessle Road you wasn't (laughs).

**Beryl Hird (aged 60-79)**

These perceptions crept into many memories, particularly in group discussions with older residents, who told me about Hessle Road girls going to dances with pins in their skirts, which some of the Anlaby Road girls considered 'a bit common'. People also told me

stories about trawlermen's wives having to pawn their husbands' suits whilst they were at sea, or even pawning un-baked bread, because money was so short.<sup>43</sup>

On a Sunday morning we had to walk along the road to go and see my grandmother in Havelock Street, and there were loads of pawn shops. Have you heard about people pawning their suits? Well that's true. My uncle at one time worked in a pawn shop, and the women would actually bake some bread and take the bread to the pawn shop while it was rising, and they'd get a penny on it (laughs). Then it used to rise in the pawn shop, and they'd collect it later on, after five o'clock or whatever, all for a penny. People were very poor.

### **Molly (aged 80 plus)**

I was also frequently told about the communal wash houses on Hessle Road, where people used to take their weekly laundry. A group of older Anlaby Road residents (perhaps jokingly) told me that wash houses were considered to be 'a Hessle Road thing', as the Anlaby Roaders tended to have their own dolly tubs (Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group). Residents also told me that there were other differences between the two areas, including the shops and the activities associated with them, including many everyday things such as the clothes people wore, how they shopped and even different practices in the shops themselves. Some of the Hessle Road shops were known for specific things and were frequently mentioned by residents and non-residents alike. For instance, Clothing House (where you could take club cheques), Waistell's (where the fishermen had their suits made)<sup>44</sup> and Cloggy Walsh's (who made clogs for the dock workers).

Have you heard of the clothes factory that used to be on Hessle Road? It was just a shop, but they called it the Clothes Factory, or maybe Clothes Factor, but anyway, people at school, if they didn't have a lot of money they used to get vouchers so they could go and buy their school clothes [there]. So again, that's why Hessle Road

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<sup>43</sup> Although some former residents told me this was more to do with the pawn shop being warmer than the nearby houses, which helped the dough to rise.

<sup>44</sup> And which was situated directly opposite Rayner's pub, on the corner of West Dock Avenue (see section 6.4.2. below)

always seemed a poorer road than Anlaby Road. There was nothing like that on Anlaby Road.

**Lynda Taylor (aged 60-79)**

These examples suggest that collective frameworks for remembering across the wider NaSA area not only shape, but are also to some extent shaped *by* the popular memories associated with Hessle Road and the fishing community.

**6.4 Walking and Talking: Current Memory in the Newington and St. Andrew's area**

I will now explore these relationships in more depth through some of the many shared and individual memories that I encountered across the NaSA area during my research. I will present the rest of the chapter in two sections. The first section deals with Hessle Road and the areas surrounding it. In particular it focuses on two important sites of memory: Boulevard and St. Andrew's Dock. The second part of the chapter will consider memories of Anlaby Road and Hawthorn Avenue; an unexpected, but fascinating, case-study that emerged during the period of my research.



## **Chapter 6 (Part 1): St. Andrew's Dock and Hessle Road**

### **6.4.1 St. Andrew's Dock**



**Illustration 6.5:** East end of the former St. Andrew's Dock (March 2007)

St. Andrew's Dock opened in 1883, and from the outset was home to many of the main activities associated with the fishing industry (Thompson 1990:44). The quayside around the dock was split into two; the dry-side and the wet-side. The dry side handled the trawlers, and the wet side handled the fish (Gill 2003:116). By the late 1930s the dock was home to approximately 250 trawlers that each spent an average of 36 hours (3 tides) in the dock in-between trips, during which time each vessel was unloaded, repaired and restocked for its next voyage (Gill 2003:116). There were also many ancillary businesses around the dock, including cafes and even a post-office (Gill 2003). St. Andrew's closed in 1975 and the west end was in-filled in 1986 (Ketchell 2003). The lock-pit and surrounding area was designated a conservation area in 1990 (KHCC 1996).

We start our walk on the eastern edge of the St. Andrew's Quay; an 'anyplace' late twentieth century retail development on the site of the former St. Andrew's Dock (Atkinson et al 2002:31). From the edge of the car park we head east across patches of gravel and overgrown concrete. Eventually we reach a row of curb-stones beyond which the ground falls away into an area of reeds, grasses and young trees. To the west is a row of semi-derelict buildings, the largest of which has the name 'Lord Line' emblazoned in large letters. This is all that remains of the former St. Andrew's Dock; an important site of local memory, and a site haunted by many ghosts. As Bell argues, places are often haunted by ghosts of the living as well as those of the dead (Bell 1997:815) and many respondents told me about working here, either on the dockside or the trawlers.

One ship used to land four thousand kits and there was ten stone in a kit. They was wooden kits, you know, like a wooden barrel, and you used to have to roll 'em, you didn't lift 'em (laughs). The market was built on a stage and you used to roll 'em on to it. The bobbers gorrem off the ships and they cost five shillings (laughs). How much is five bob now? About 25p or something (laughs). The ships used to come in any time of day or night and tie-up alongside the quay, and then the bobbers used to start landing at two o' clock in the morning, and finished about ten. It was good money though. I was a kit scrubber, it was only casual like, but you usually did three days work, which was about twelve and six, and then three days dole, and it used to end up about two bob ten a week. That was in about 1950. We used to wear clogs on the dock. Everybody did. Kept the water out, cos it was wet through all the time. They had wooden soles and they used to put irons on 'em so you got this clip, clip, clip, as you went along.

**Arthur (aged 90 plus)**

Respondents from across the city talked about visiting the dock to buy fish.

I used to go [to the fish dock] as a student, on my motorcycle, and get what they called a five bob fry. Basically it was mis-filleted fish. It's all gone now, but you used to go and there were all these blokes at these tables filleting fish so quickly you

couldn't believe your eyes! And you'd nervously ask 'have you got anything going cheap?' with all these knives flying past (laughs).

**Chris (aged 60-79)**

Former residents told me that local children often went down to the dock entrance to meet the trawlers. Wives of the trawlermen and dock-workers also visited the dock to collect their husband's wages (see below), and their memories give a sense of this area as a popular, busy environment full of people, noise and smells. However, the remains of the dock have become very overgrown in recent years, and many people only recognised it because of the distinctive Lord Line building which is still clearly visible from nearby Clive Sullivan Way (the main road into Hull from the West). Interestingly, although many people recognised the Lord Line name, and this photograph prompted numerous memories of the fishing industry in general, very few respondents told me anything about the actual Lord Line building itself suggesting that, for many, it acts as a current (and collective) landmark rather than a personal site of memory.

To the side of the Lord Line building is the former lock-pit, which would have been the entrance to the dock. This is now blocked-off and has silted-up. However the lock gates are still in-situ albeit in an increasingly decayed state. Beyond this is a section of the dock known as the outer bull-nose. This is a particularly significant place of memory for former trawlermen and their families, as it would have been both the point of departure and return for the fishing crews; the last and first thing they saw of home. There is now an official memorial on the bull-nose to the c.8000 fishermen who were lost at sea during the life of the industry (Lazenby and Starkey 2000 quoted in Atkinson 2005: page 143).



**Illustration 6.6:** Memorial to lost fishermen on the outer bull-nose of St. Andrew's Dock, erected by the Royal Order of Buffaloes. (March 2007).

As mentioned earlier, the St. Andrew's fish-dock Heritage Park Action Group (STAND) have held annual memorial services on the bull-nose since 1990, which in recent years has attracted over 1000 people (Atkinson et al 2002:35). It has been argued that this memorial is particularly significant to the families of these men as in many cases they have no grave to visit (Gill 2003). Indeed, many respondents told me that they visited the site on personal anniversaries, including some relatives who - perhaps surprisingly - had not actually died at sea.

That's the fishermen's memorial. I'm surprised I'm not on there! (laughs) I go down there twice a year, on my wedding anniversary and on the day my husband died.

*Tegwen - Did he die at sea?*

No, but he was a fisherman. He was a Dane, he came over here on a working permit to fish, to help out the fishing fleet which was just getting back on its feet

after the war, and he decided to stay. They used to have 12 ships. We used to call 'em sea-netters, or snibbers, they were a lot smaller than the trawlers, and there was about 12 here, all called Borg, Nordborg, Scandaborg, all names of towns where they lived.

### **Hannah (aged 80 plus)**

There are often flowers and tributes left at the memorial throughout the year, reinforcing both the significance of the site and its emotive power. These visible acts of commemoration, along with increased media coverage of events at the site, have resulted in the monument becoming a recognised site of commemoration associated with the city's fishing industry in general, as opposed to a more specific site of personal mourning. For example, the photograph above also prompted memories of the Triple Trawler Tragedy (when three trawlers were lost in under three weeks in the winter of 1968) from respondents from across the city, including those who said they had never visited the site themselves.<sup>45</sup> This sort of symbolic accretion highlights the 'unsettled condition' of memory and how formal sites of commemoration can be, often subtly, reshaped through spatial practice (Dwyer 2004:422).

It is increasingly accepted that the location of formal sites of memory plays a significant role in how these sites are remembered, and in their continued meaning and interpretation (Johnson 1995:348, Dresser 2007:164) and this site, on the edge of the decaying fish dock, is no different. There are a number of smaller buildings clustered around the east end of the dock near to the former lock-pit. These are all empty and becoming increasingly derelict, and a number were demolished during the period of my research. This process of visible decay prompted a powerful emotional response from some former dock workers.

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<sup>45</sup> The connection with the Triple Trawler Tragedy was also reinforced by the fact that 2008 marked the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster and it was therefore widely featured in the local media. A special memorial service was held on St. Andrew's Dock, and in the city centre on January 27<sup>th</sup> (2008) and a minute's silence was also held across the city on February 5<sup>th</sup> (2008).

Oh this is the old fish dock. Look at how overgrown it is! After he left the grocery trade my husband was offered a job on the fish dock, and of course it was good money you see so he went, and that picture would have broken his heart. We went down there when it all started being redeveloped, we went down one afternoon to have a look and he was in tears! Even then you could see all the weeds coming through the flag stones.

**Jean S (aged 60-79)**

As discussed in Chapter 2, ruins and other fragments of the past can be particularly poignant, as they evoke a strong sense of absence and loss (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:6), and for some the physical condition of St. Andrew's Dock has come to symbolise not only the loss of an industry, but also the treatment of the fishing community by the city; unvalued and un-cared for (Atkinson et al 2002:36).

If you think, all them fishermen that have lost their lives sailing out of there, if they could see that, they wouldn't be very impressed would they? No, it's terrible, what a state! If they'd have looked after it in the first place in 1974 when the cod wars was going on, and the fishing started to tail off then, they really should have kept somebody on this and looked after it, it could've been a museum or summat like that, that would've been nice.

**Ray (aged 60-79)**

Karen Till has described this sort of site as 'wounded'. For Till, wounded places embody difficult social histories, and provide space for groups and individuals to 'begin the difficult work of mourning loss' (Till 2005 quoted in Till 2008: page 108). She also argues that, in some cases, the 'injuries' caused by wounded sites are made worse by their present uses (Till 2008:108). In recent years the former dock area has become a focal point in an ongoing political struggle over how the fishing industry is formally remembered (Atkinson et al 2002). As discussed earlier, a planning proposal to redevelop the dock was strongly contested in the late 1990s by some local residents because they

felt it did not properly commemorate the area's former use (Atkinson et al 2002:36). However, this campaign also ignored some of the historical associations connected with the remaining dock features, in particular those connected with the Lord Line Building. The proposal was to demolish this building, an action contested by STAND (and others) because of its symbolic importance as the most visible and distinctive building remaining on the site (Atkinson et al 2002:37). Interestingly, other local residents argued *against* its retention because they felt, as the former offices of a company of trawler owners, it symbolized the oppression of the wider fishing community (Atkinson et al 2002:38). This suggests that, although the changing materiality of the dock has resulted in a sense of marginalisation for some local residents, it has also changed the ways in which the remaining dockside features are valued. As with other 'liminal' sites discussed in recent literature, the proposed redevelopment of this site, along with its changing physical and social context, has therefore created a turbulent space within which past, present and future can (temporarily) be creatively reimagined (Gutman 2009). For some respondents the process of decay also created the potential for adventure and alternative engagements with the area.

In the eighties I used to regularly walk down the old dock areas, just to have a nosey really. [At that time] you could still find things on the docks. We were always saying to this guy 'where did you get that?' and he'd say 'oh I found it down the docks' (laughs). It was amazing what you could find down there.

### **Eddy (aged 40-59)**

The Lord Line is still popular with 'urban explorers' whose adventures through the building appeared a number of times on the 28dayslater website during my research.<sup>46</sup> This suggests that, although the dock has powerful and highly personal attachments for some local residents, it is also - as with many industrial ruins - an unruly and unregulated space under constant reinterpretation from a variety of different users (Edensor 2005a). Since the Sea Fish Authority was relocated in 2009, the area has also become heavily

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<sup>46</sup> See for instance <http://www.28dayslater.co.uk/forums/showthread.php?t=60226>



vandalised, to the extent that there are now questions as to whether the lost trawlers day event can continue to be held on the dock for Health and Safety reasons (*Hull Daily Mail*, October 12<sup>th</sup> 2009). This suggests that the ongoing struggle to claim the site continues to be a complex and dynamic one.

Leaving the lock-pit behind we head north, walking along the back of the Lord Line building, towards a concrete underpass which runs underneath the Clive Sullivan Way.



**Illustration 6.7:** Subway underneath the Clive Sullivan Way at the back of the Lord Line building (March 2007)

The current underpass was created in the late 1970s when the road above was constructed (on land that had formerly housed railway sidings associated with the dock). It replaced an earlier subway that linked the dock with the nearby streets of Hessle Road and although the structure has been entirely rebuilt many respondents still referred to it as ‘the tunnel’.



Oh that's what they used to call the tunnel! (laughs) Yes I've walked through there. I used to go on a Friday afternoon to pick my husband's wages up, and I used to have to walk through there. I bet it's a right haunt now. I used to get off the fish dock bus on Hessle Road<sup>47</sup> and walk down West Dock Avenue and then through the tunnel and onto the quayside, which was always busy.

**Jean S (aged 60-79)**

Respondents often told me about walking through the tunnel to reach the dock, and the echoes of the dock-workers clogs on the cobbles as they passed through on their way to and from work. Many people also told me that wives would often go on a Friday afternoon to collect their husband or son's wages if they were at sea, or doing shift work (like the bobbers). The Hessle Road 'pram race' (mentioned in section 6.3.2 above) re-enacts this routine, celebrating it as an historic community event. However, as the quote above from Jean (who lived in the Princes Avenue area) demonstrates, some of these women travelled from other parts of the city, although their journeys are not celebrated, and are indeed rarely acknowledged, in popular narratives.

At the north end of the tunnel the path snakes round and comes out opposite the end of Subway Street; a narrow street lined with industrial sheds.

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<sup>47</sup> The Fish Dock bus is discussed further in the next chapter



**Illustration 6.8:** Subway Street from corner of Goulton Street, looking north (March 2007)

Subway Street, oh dear. My husband used to live in Subway Street at one time and it was all houses. They all were, all them streets, but they've all gone. They all ran onto what we called Bank End. They called it Goulton Street, but we always called it Bank End. We used to go and roller skate up there, there wasn't the traffic like there is now. I can remember all the streets along there, Subway Street, Harrow Street, Eton Street, and then there was Manchester Street, Liverpool Street, Somerset Street, they were all named after different places, oh and then there was Strickland and Wassand, Walcott, Madeley, Daltry, but they've all gone now.

**Jean A (aged 60-79)**

The houses in this area were all demolished during the second half of the twentieth century. However, the streets themselves still remain and are haunted by the memories of the hundreds of people who lived here, often in tiny back-to-back houses. On many of these streets were numerous 'terraces'; parallel rows of up to twelve houses (six on each

side) that were set at a right-angle to the street (**Illustration 6.4**). Many respondents (including those from outside the area) told me that extended families would often live in the same terrace, creating a very close-knit community. These memories were also connected to the fish dock nearby, with frequent memories of the noise of the bobbers' clogs on the cobbles as they walked to work in the early hours, the net-braiders who used to mend nets outside the houses and the pungent smell of fish that pervaded.

When I get fish sometimes, or when there's a smell of fish we say 'ooh, this smells of Subway Street' (laughs).

**Barbara Bourne (aged 60-79)**

Many of these stories were prompted by street names, particular Subway Street, which was familiar to many people even from outside the area.

Subway Street (pause) I recognise the name. I know an Aunt of my husband's used to live round there, she used to do, erm, tatting they call it, doing the fishing nets. They had a shuttle and they kept mending them, in their back yards, it was hung on the wall.

**Mary Mawer (aged 80 plus)**

This is possibly because the area has changed drastically since the mid-twentieth century, leaving few recognisable landmarks, save the street names. Surviving features like these are what Della Dora has called 'memorative signs'; fragments that, through reflective nostalgia, come to represent 'a whole complex of images and experiences' (Della Dora 2006:211). Although many of the memories I heard were essentially personal, stories of these streets have also become part of the popular narratives about the Hessle Road. In particular they are enrolled in the Hessle Road Diaspora (discussed in section 6.3.3) and numerous respondents told me that their parents or grandparents had lived in these streets. These streets provide a home for the personal, shared and, in some cases, inherited ghosts created by the housing clearances; a place to which some former

residents - and their descendants - attach their lingering sadness at the loss of the fishing industry and, perhaps more importantly, a way of life. As seen in other ruined places, the reflective nostalgia associated with these 'missing' streets therefore plays an active role in negotiating the relationship between individual and group histories, blurring the boundary between personal and popular memory (Boym 2001:xvi).

However, not everybody I spoke to shared this sense of nostalgia. For instance, one younger respondent told me about the excitement of watching the demolitions.

I watched them knocking [the houses on Witty Street] down when I was working at Smailes. They did it in winter thankfully, cos they set fire to them in the afternoon to burn all the wood, and that weakened them, and then they came and knocked 'em down in a morning. So it was quite fun watching it.

*Tegwen - Wasn't it a bit sad?*

You never thought about time at the time I suppose. That'd be about twenty odd years ago now, and let's not get too sepia-tinted, these were not nice houses really. They were very small and run down by then.

**Peter Greendale (aged 40-59)**

Others told me about visiting grandparents and family members in these streets during the early 1970s, and about how small and cold the houses had seemed to them.

Subway Street, that's where my Auntie used to live. I don't remember that much about it, but I remember the layout of her house, it was so small, tiny. There was a room at the front, with the kitchen behind, and some stairs in the corner that went upstairs. They didn't have a bathroom either, just a tap outside. Brrr! (laughs)

**Joss (aged 20-39)**

This mix of emotions suggests that different people experienced this area in different ways. It also suggests that, within the popular narratives associated with this area, the

actual fabric of the streets has been (re)imagined, and the cramped and increasingly poor physical condition of the former houses quietly forgotten.

Continuing north to the top of Subway Street we turn right onto Hessle Road.

6.4.2 Hessle Road

Turning right, and walking east along Hessle Road we reach the corner of West Dock Avenue. On this corner is a pub called Rayner's, formerly the Star and Garter. This building plays an important role in many of the stories told about Hessle Road. Although there are numerous pubs on Hessle Road, Rayner's is famous as 'the fishermen's pub'. West Dock Avenue was the main approach to St. Andrew's Dock, and people often told me that the fishermen would be 'straight off the boat and into Rayner's'. People also told me many stories about how the fishermen would spend most of their time between trips (usually three days every three weeks, depending on the tides) drinking, and how taxis would ferry them from pub to pub.



**Illustration 6.9:** Rayner's on Hessle Road (January 2007)

The Star and Garter on Hessle Road opened during the 1870s (Gibson 2007:110). In 1911 *Kelly's Directory of Hull* listed the landlady of the Star and Garter Hotel as Mrs. Frances Cartwright (*Kelly's* 1911:81). However, by 1929 the directory lists the landlord as Henry Rayner (*Kelly's* 1929:114). The Rayner family owned the pub during the 1920s and 1930s and made such an impact that the pub has continued to be known locally as Rayner's ever since (Gibson 2007:110).

When I was a lad you could go into a pub and there'd be four or five fishermen sat around and three or four taxi drivers supping half pints waiting for them. The fishermen used to have accounts with taxi drivers and the taxi firm would know when the ship was landing and they'd be at the dock waiting for them. I once went to me Uncle's house and he said, I fancy some fish and chips, and he rang the taxi up, "four fish and chips" and the taxi driver went and got the fish and chips, paid for them, and then my Uncle paid him! (laughs) I mean, they knew where they lived, they knew who they worked for, they knew what ship they were on and they knew the ship would land and they'd sell the fish and pay the fishermen next morning. They got a bonus depending on the value of the catch, so the book-makers and the taxi drivers always knew where to find them (laughs).

#### **Harold (aged 60-79)**

Although a number of respondents told me about fishermen who did not fit this stereotype, the image of hard-working, hard-drinking, profligate young men (supported by strong matriarchal women) is one that is firmly implanted in popular memory, and has in many ways come to represent the popular image of the Hessle Road community. However, the pubs were not the only form of entertainment on Hessle Road. A few doors further on we pass an empty building covered by two red roller-shutter doors.



**Illustration 6.10:** Former Langham Theatre, Hessle Road (January 2007)

The Langham Theatre was constructed in the early 1930s on the site of the former Magnet Picture Theatre on West Dock Avenue (Curry 1992:37). When it opened it was Hull's largest cinema, with eight pairs of doors opening onto Hessle Road and a lighted canopy to provide shelter for queuing patrons (Curry 1992:37). The foyer could hold up to 1000 people, and the cinema had seating for up to 2,616 people (Curry 1992:37). The cinema closed in 1961, and was converted into a bowling alley before it was taken over for retail purposes (Curry 1992:38).

That was a fantastic place! It had a foyer that must have been the biggest in the area, it was just enormous! It was like going into a palace when you went in. My maternal grandmother was a demon for the cinema, she would've gone every night if she could! And if it was an adult film you'd find half a dozen children loitering about outside 'will you take us in missus?' and she'd take them in! (laughs).

**Ann B (aged 60-79)**

Respondents from across the NaSA area (and beyond) told me about this cinema, and particularly about its impressive entrance hall. Many were regular customers not just at the Langham, but at a number of cinemas in the area.

Well that's the old Langham's, or the Magnet as it used to be. During the war, when it was the Magnet, you used to take your jam jars and you could go in, cos there was a shortage of glass. I used to go to Langham after school, first house. They used to have first house and second house. First house pictures was from say half-past five to half-past seven and if I missed the bus I used to run like hell and get in Eureka second house. They all knew me and they'd shout "it's just started" you know (laughs). Langham always had good films on, but Eureka always had what they call B Movies, old Westerns and things like that. Just after the war they used to have guest artistes, film stars, Patricia Rock, Donald Woolfit, Kerry Grant, I remember 'em all. They just used to put in an appearance you know, say a few words, and then the film used to start. But Langham used to have an electric organ that used to come up from the stage, beautiful, absolutely beautiful.

#### **Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

Some residents remembered the cinema changing to a bowling alley in the early 1960s. Other, often younger, residents did not remember the cinema at all, but told me about a range of different supermarkets that also occupied the building, including Frank D's, Savemore, and most recently Kwiksave, whose trademark red shutters are still visible (and were frequently identified by respondents). This suggests that this place has a number of different, overlapping meanings - or temporalities - that co-exist and are activated through the materiality of the building itself, and through the memories of different observers. This highlights the assertion that places are always in the process of 'becoming' (Massey 1995) and that buildings have multiple existences depending on who, or what, is interacting with them (Tait and While 2009:724). Stories like Mike's also suggest that this building is also caught up in a complex network of former routines and



spatial practice that connect to a range of other times and places, something I will return to in the next section.

Continuing east along Hessle Road we pass a large, art-deco building. From the photographs a number of respondents guessed that this was another former cinema because of its architectural style, however others told me it was the former premises of Rosen’s shoe factory. Despite now operating as a busy outdoor supplies shop the former shoe factory still animates the surrounding area with ghostly sounds and activity through the memories of former residents.



**Illustration 6.11:** Winfield’s outdoor shop, formerly Rosen’s shoe factory, on Hessle Road (January 2007)

The history of this building is deducible from the local directories. *Barrett’s Directory of Hull* from 1954 listed C Rosen and Sons Ltd., shoe manufacturer, at 283-287 Hessle Road, between Eton Street and Harrow Street (*Barrett’s* 1954:332). In *Kelly’s Directory of Hull* in

1929 William Craft and Sons Ltd., Drapers &c., were listed at numbers 283-5, and Frederick Thorley, fisherman, at number 287 (*Kelly's* 1929:114). The current building has an embossed name plate on the upper gable that reads 'Crafts' Ltd.' suggesting that the building was constructed by the company. In an earlier *Kelly's Directory* from 1911 there is no listing for 283-5, although businesses were listed to either side (*Kelly's* 1911:81), which may suggest that the site was empty or unoccupied, as in *Kelly's Directory* of 1900 the site was occupied by a number of separate shops including a baker's, hairdresser's and boot repair's (*Kelly's* 1900:141).

This building 'ere used to be the old shoe place, Rozzen's [sic]. You used to go along on Hessle Road and all of a sudden you'd here this fire alarm going, and it was Rozzen's having a test and all the staff used to parade out on Hessle Road, every day nearly! (laughs) They used to have all the doors open at the front sometimes and you'd see all the girls inside purr'in 'eels on the shoes or whatever. Hundred and something people used to work there.

**Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

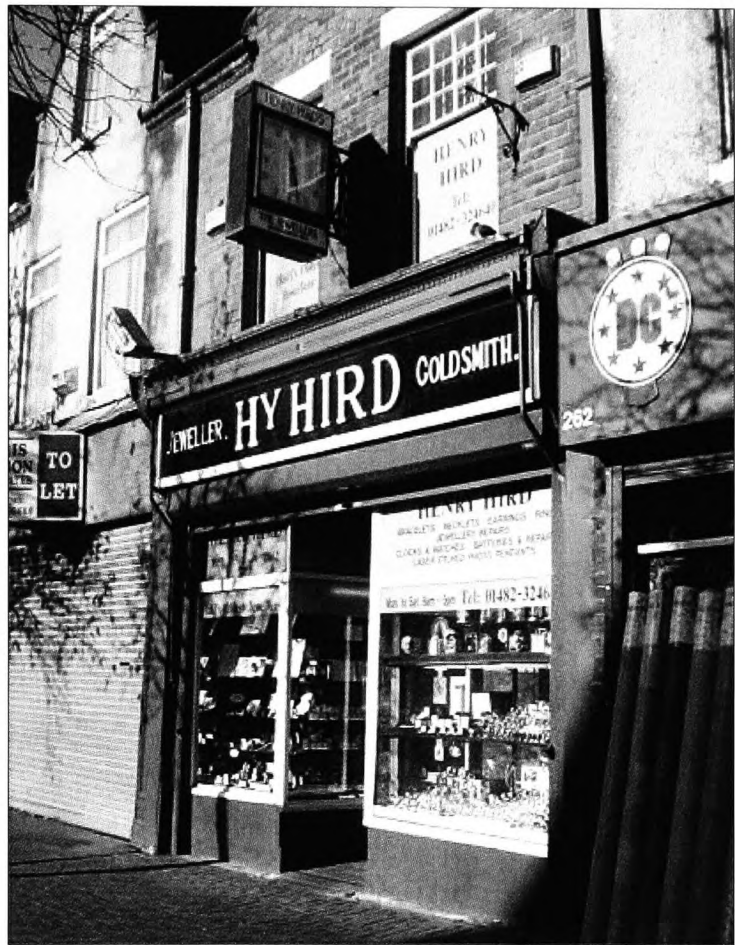
However, although Rosen's was remembered by many respondents this is an unofficial site of memory and one that is not usually mentioned in popular narratives. As mentioned in the previous section, although the fishing industry was a significant employer in this area there were also many other factories and industrial premises that employed large numbers of local residents, but which are less frequently mentioned in the popular narratives.<sup>48</sup> Former workers at this factory told me that Rosen's was considered 'good money' compared to some of the other factories in the area, which included 'Metal Box' in Gypsyville (at the west end of Hessle Road), Bird's Eye, and Smith and Nephew.

Continuing east, on the opposite side of Hessle Road, we pass another unofficial site of memory, Henry Hird's. As discussed earlier, shops play an important part in the popular

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<sup>48</sup> Indeed the biggest employer in the area was actually the railway (Gill 2003)

stories surrounding Hessle Road (with people frequently mentioning well-known and well-loved businesses including Waistell's, Cress and Wagner's and Cloggy Walsh). Many of the businesses have changed in recent years, and these stories are therefore often no longer related to physical sites (and are instead prompted by more general discussions about Hessle Road). However, Henry Hird's is a site that *did* prompt a number of specific memories.



**Illustration 6.12:** Henry Hird's of Hessle Road (September 2007)

Henry Hird's of Hessle Road (laughs). I've got one or two things from there, presents and the like. He was originally the trawlermen's jeweller, all the trawlermen would come home and spend their money in there, what money they had left from being in the pub that is, and buy their wife a trinket (laughs).

**Steve (aged 60-79)**

Many former Hessle Roaders told me they had bought their wedding rings from Henry Hird's. Other respondents commented on the 'old-fashioned' style of the shop telling me it was 'like shops used to be'. This suggests that the combination of its survival and the gradual changes to other shops nearby have made Henry Hird's an 'uncanny' presence; a fragment of another (now almost vanished) world through which the past percolates into the present (Della Dora 2006:222). When shown the image above (**Illustration 6.9**) many respondents also immediately said 'Henry Hird's of Hessle Road' (see quote above), often in an unusual accent. When I asked about this I was told it was from an advert that had been screened in local cinemas.

There was an advert on the pictures, you know when you used to go to pictures, and it was obviously someone from out of Hull who was announcing and they'd go 'Henry Hird's of Hessle Road' [said with audible h's and a long 'ss' in Hessle] and it was announced all wrong and everyone would laugh (laughs).

#### **Liz S (aged 60-79)**

This suggests that popular advertising has played a significant role in shaping how (and to some extent why) this shop is remembered. As Till argues, sites of memory are shaped by 'how their forms circulate through various media' (Till 2006:330), and this example highlights the role that popular advertising can also play in mediating and shaping memories of everyday places.

A short way further along Hessle Road (on the corner of Constable Street) is another shop that prompted specific memories, the local branch of Boyes, known locally as 'Boyziz'. Boyes is an East Yorkshire chain of shops, first established in 1881, that sells a variety of goods, including cosmetics, kitchenware and haberdashery at discount prices (Boyes' website 2009). It is still popular with many residents from across the city, who

told me numerous memories of both the Hessle Road<sup>49</sup> and the Holderness Road branches.<sup>50</sup>



**Illustration 6.13:** Boyes on Hessle Road (September 2007)

Oh Boyes, very popular! When they used to start the sales, you know before all these cheap shops, they used to be queuing and fighting over the sales at Boyes (laughs).

**Mary Mawer (aged 80 plus)**

Almost everybody I spoke to knew of 'Boyziz' and many told me that it was one of their favourite shops, often because of the memories they associated with it. Older residents often told me that there had once been an overhead money system, a system once seen in many of the city's department stores.

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<sup>49</sup> See for instance Memories of Hull website 2010a

<sup>50</sup> See for instance Memories of Hull website 2010b

That's never really changed that much, it's always been a low building, and I can only remember it as Boyes, for years and years. I can remember going as a little girl and they had Father Christmas there, and you know when you paid your money? They used to send it across on wires. There was a thing raised up with like a desk thing, well they did in Willis Ludlow's as well. You know where Alders is now, and Primark? Well that was what we called Willis's and they was the same, it was an old-fashioned shop you see. But now there's only Boyes really that's one of the originals.

**Jean (aged 80 plus)**

No physical trace of this payment system remains and the interior of the shop has been completely modernized; however, as shown by the memories above, it is still seen by many as one of the few surviving traces of an older way of life. De Certeau has suggested that 'seemingly sleepy, old-fashioned things' can be dynamic presences, evoking a sense of a past world that is usually absent (De Certeau 1998:133). De Certeau applies this to ruined buildings; however, although both of the examples given above are still lived-in spaces, they appear to have the same effect, prompting memories not just of specific places, but of previous lives and routines that no longer exist, but which are recalled and relived through particular sites.

Many a happy hour in there. I mean, I remember Hessle Road as it was, and in a way it always used to flabbergast me going round to the in-laws on a Saturday and it was 'just gurrin ont rerd' (laughs) and you know they'd spend hours cos' they'd be meeting up with all their pals as they went along.

*Tegwen - Was it different to Anlaby Road?*

Completely because it was, it was like going to Hull Fair almost. On a Saturday afternoon it was packed out. My husband had two younger sisters and they all dressed the same. So you know the fashions came in one winter with fur collars, so

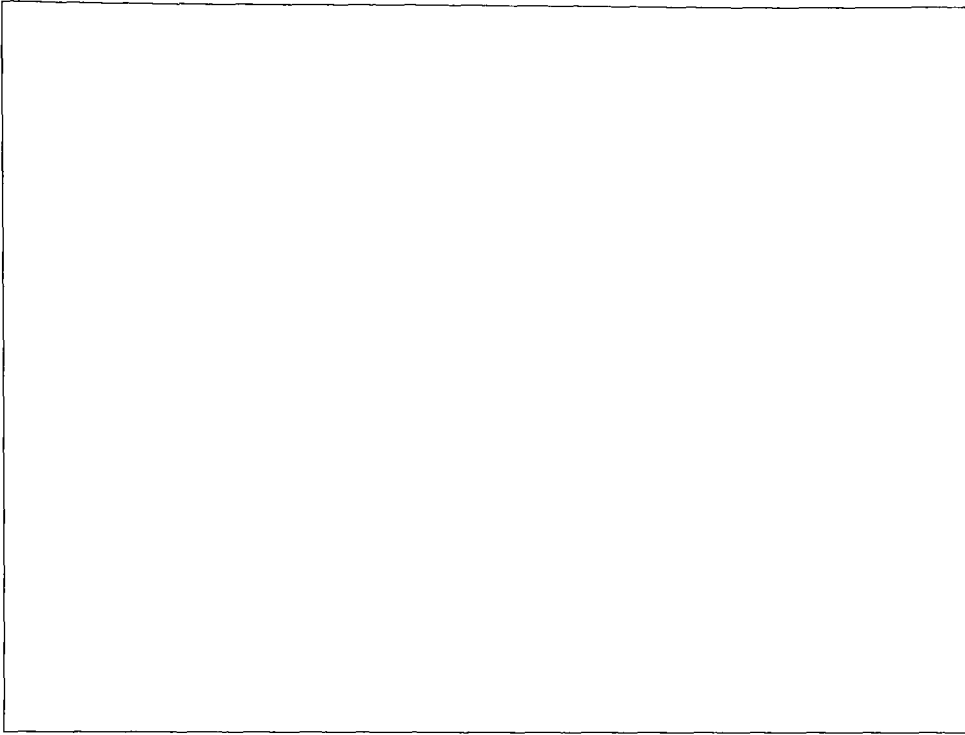
they all had fur collars (laughs), and the number of girls that would wear the white turbans.

*Tegwen - Turbans?*

You know, in factories they wear white turbans, but they'd still wear them out during the weekend with their curlers underneath so they'd be ready to go out on Saturday night. And they all used to meet up and they all looked the same, beehive hairdos you know, and I was totally different, I was from out of town (laughs). But Boyes was just the rage, the shop where everyone went!

**Liz S (aged 60-79)**

Returning west, back the way we have come, the road opens out into a wide circus. This is the corner of Boulevard, a wide, tree-lined road lined with large Victorian houses. Boulevard crosses Hessle Road, continuing south towards St. Andrew's Dock, however the terraced houses that once lined the southern section were demolished during the clearances, and the road is now lined by industrial units. On the opposite corner is a white statue on a marble plinth.



**Illustration 6.14:** Statue of skipper George Henry Smith (June 2008)

There's a myth about this you know, people say he's supposed to be a fish in his hand, but it's not true (laughs). I don't know whether anybody's told you that there was, but I had an argument with one of my Aunts who said that my grandmother had seen it. My grandfather was involved in the outrage, he was one of the skippers, and he went to the tribunal to give evidence. To most people that's still the only memorial in a way. Although it's just of a specific event I think most people think of it as a tribute to the fishing industry in general.

**Ann B (aged 60-79)**

This monument is another important focal point of memory. It is known locally as the fisherman's statue, although officially it is the statue of George Henry Smith, skipper of Hull trawler the Crane. It was erected in 1905 to commemorate the Russian Outrage, an incident in which a group of Hull trawlers were attacked in the North Sea by the Russian Baltic Fleet, sinking the Crane and killing Smith and another crew member (Lewis et al 1983). As discussed in chapter 2, it is increasingly accepted that monuments need to be



thought of in terms of their connections to a web of ever-changing socio-spatial contexts (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Massey 1993; Schein 1997 quoted in Dwyer 2004: page 425). The memories I heard suggest that this monument is particularly significant to returning Hesse Roaders and their descendants because of the social and economic changes to the area in recent years, and the nostalgic associations it engenders. Although the statue commemorates a specific event, like the St. Andrew's Memorial it has also, through a process of gradual symbolic accretion (Dwyer 2004), come to stand as a monument to the fishing industry in general. This suggests that the monument has entered a 'post-memorial' phase in which the original symbolic meaning is increasingly forgotten or reworked (in this case as it passes beyond living memory) by another group of observers who have a 'new impetus to remember' (Till 2006:327).

The statue also derives particular emotive power from its physical form - the recognisable shape of the fisherman - which can be interpreted as a 'communicative force' (Appadurai 1986 quoted in Hoskins 2007:441). There are a number of urban myths surrounding the statue, including that the figure originally had a fish in its hand, which some older respondents even claimed to have seen. As discussed in Chapter 2, it has been increasingly argued that the process of remembering needs to be seen as a collaborative performance involving both people and things (Hoskins 2007:438), and the fish myth is an example of this sort of collaboration. The myth may have developed for a number of reasons. It is possible that, because the statue is of a fisherman, and because the figure is in an unusual position with his arm raised and his hand open, people just assume that he should be holding a fish. It is also possible that the myth draws on the story of the Russian Outrage, in which it is said that the Hull trawlermen held up fish to show the Russians who they were (Lewis et al 1983:33).

There were also a number of apparently more mundane memories prompted by the physical form of the statue. One of these (sent to the website) involved a young man throwing his cap into the air and getting it stuck on top of the statue (Memories of Hull website 2010c). Others involved memories of playing at the base of the statue (see quote

below) and even family nick-names for the figure of Skipper Crane, all of which suggests that the materiality of the statue is acting to prompt and shape a range of overlapping memories, including ongoing, everyday experiences of the site alongside those associated with its formal (or intended) meaning.

In 1990 this formal site of commemoration was extended by the placing of a blue plaque on a modern building behind the statue, commemorating the work of 'Big Lil Bilocca' and the other women of Hessle Road. Lillian Bilocca was one of a group of women who staged a very public campaign for better safety conditions on trawlers after the triple trawler tragedy in 1968 resulted in the loss of 58 men (Russell 1997). However the plaque was not mentioned by any of my respondents, although the triple trawler tragedy was often talked about. This may be because the plaque is much less noticeable than the statue, and therefore easy to miss (and forget about). It may also be because, even though it was erected 20 years ago, for many people it is still a relatively new addition to the site. The thing that the majority of respondents *did* mention in response to the image in **Illustration 6.14** above, was that the modern building behind the statue was built on the site of St. Barnabus' Church, which was demolished in the early 1970s (Gibson 2007:105). Stories about the church and the statue were often combined with memories about other everyday activities and routines.

Now you see that, that was St. Barnabus Church there. I got married at St. Barnabus Church, on the corner. I think they call it St. Barnabus Court now. But the fishermen's thing has always been there, from me remembering.

Tegwen - Do you know why it was put up?

Not really, I think it was just like a fishermen's thing. I don't know what it was really. We used to play round there, chasing. That was like a plinth round the bottom and you could go round it and there was seats at the corner of Boulevard, I don't think there's any there now. There used to be an underground toilet, not underneath the statue, but on the other side, near the bank. They belonged to the

council, but they was closed a long time ago. Everybody went to St. Barnaby's to get married off Hessle Road though, and next door was Fishermen's Bethel. When you'd had a baby you could just go to Fishermen's Bethel and have it Christened. They used to do a lot for the fishermen. They always had a pastor, I remember him going round, a big tall fella and his wife, they ran it [and] the fishermen could go there and stay at night, like a hostel really.

**Jean A (aged 60-79)**

As shown by this quote, although the formal site of memory created by the statue and the plaque is still an important focal point for popular memory, it is not an isolated place of remembrance, but is also intersected by a range of more personal, everyday memories, absent presences and ghostly activities that play an equally important role in how (and why) local residents remember this place. Leaving skipper Smith behind, we now turn left and continue northwards along Boulevard.

**6.4.3 Boulevard**



**Illustration 6.15:** Boulevard, looking north from Hessle Road (September 2008)

Boulevard was laid out by Joseph Fox Sharpe in 1870. It was paid for with public funds and was designed to provide an impressive approach to the Humber Bank, connecting it to the existing Anlaby and Hessle Roads (Ketchell 1995). Many of the actual properties on Boulevard are more modest than the Sharpe's original plans imagined, possibly due to the rapid infill of the immediate area surrounding Boulevard with working-class housing during the late nineteenth century (Ketchell 1995). Boulevard was designated a conservation area in 1994 (KHCC 2007).

Coltman Street and Boulevard were the Kirkella<sup>51</sup> of their day, but a lot of ... [the houses] became flats eventually. Where my grandparents lived in the Boulevard they were big five bed-roomed houses. It was mostly the skippers and the higher-paid members of the ships crews would live in the Boulevard and Coltman Street, and the rest of the crews would live in the little terraces in-between.

#### **Ann B (aged 60-79)**

Walking north along Boulevard we pass rows of large, ornate Victorian terraces. Some are in a dilapidated state, although during my research a number of buildings were in the process of being renovated. As discussed in Chapter 4, Boulevard and Coltman Street; a similar (although slightly earlier) development to the east, were part of the expansion of Hull's first elite suburb during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, during the 1980s many of the larger houses were converted into flats, and at the same time both areas developed a reputation for high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour (Coltman Street Village website). However, many of the current residents I spoke to in Boulevard *and* Coltman Street were keen to dispel this perception and were very positive about ongoing changes to their area. In recent years a large Victorian fountain that originally stood half way along Boulevard has been restored (see below) and Boulevard and Coltman Street together currently form a Townscape Heritage Initiative area, meaning local residents can apply for grants to help with the costs of renovating historic

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<sup>51</sup> Kirkella is an affluent village on the west side of Hull

properties. The smaller terraced streets between Boulevard and Coltman Street are not included in this scheme (*St. Andrew's THI leaflet*, 2008).

Further on we cross Newton Street, passing a group of detached 1950s houses, which look quite unlike the surrounding terraces. A number of people told me that this development marks an area that was hit by a landmine in 1941. Former residents also told me about a large static tank that was situated on the corner of Newton Street after the bombing which local children had played in. However, although the majority of the memories I heard related to the war-time history of the site, one resident, who moved into one of these houses when they were new, told me about them in more detail. She told me that they were built by local company Smith and Nephew to replace a number of houses demolished to make way for a post-war extension to their factory on Neptune Street, at the east end of Hessle Road. She also told me that the rent at that time was £1, which was expensive compared to other rents in the area (Boulevard Memory Workshop).

Just beyond the houses is St. Wilfred's, a large, brick-built Catholic Church. This was also constructed after the war, to replace an earlier church destroyed by the same landmine. As discussed earlier, the NaSA area was badly bombed during the Second World War (Geraghty 1978), and this has left a legacy of empty spaces and post-war infill (such as this one), which are instantly recognisable to older residents. Along with general stories about the war, the memories prompted by these sites often also reflect the direct impact that the bombing, and the war in general, had on peoples' everyday lives.<sup>52</sup>

I was due to be married in the church just next to there in 1941, but then four or five days before it was bombed! So I had to go to St. Charles in town. Oh, it's so ornate, it was lovely, but we were in like a moving belt, cos a lot of people were getting married, one after the other! (laughs).

**Mary Mawer (aged 80 plus)**

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<sup>52</sup> This is discussed further in the next chapter (section 7.4.2)

Beyond the church is a large flat-roofed building with an engraved sign above the door that says 'School for Fishermen'. This is known locally as the Nautical School, and was where trawlermen went to study for the qualifications they needed to become a mate or a skipper, known as 'tickets'. At the end of the course you had to take an exam, which was held in a building on St. Andrew's Dock. A number of respondents told me that they or family members had studied here,<sup>53</sup> and local residents remembered seeing flags and aials on the roof in the days when it was used for signalling practice. Sites like this demonstrate that, despite recent attempts to emphasis Boulevard as a distinct neighbourhood, it is still interconnected with the wider Hessle Road landscape and its associated heritage. However, as discussed above, the current regeneration strategies don't always acknowledge these links, placing their emphasis on the architectural heritage of the grander houses and ignoring the areas of smaller, terraced housing nearby in which most of the community would have lived.

Beyond the Fisherman's School the road opens out to reveal an ornate fountain. Although it looks Victorian, this is a modern replica installed in July 2008 to replace an original fountain demolished in a car accident in 1928. As the original plans for the fountain could not be found, it was modelled on the Victorian fountains in the Avenues. The fountain is a source of local pride for many local residents. There was also immediate controversy over the site, after the ashes of a local councillor, who had been involved in the early stages of the fountain restoration bid, were buried next to the fountain and a memorial stone erected. This caused outrage amongst some local residents who felt very strongly that 'their' fountain; the result of a seven-year campaign and partly paid for by fundraising within the local community (*Hull Daily Mail*, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008), should not be turned into a private memorial.

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<sup>53</sup> Some even showed me copies of their tickets



**Illustration 6.16:** Boulevard Fountain, looking north (September 2008)

The Boulevard fountain is a physical expression of collective restorative nostalgia, concerned with the active (re)creation of the past to serve the needs of the present, and the future (Boym 2001, Della Dora 2006:210). Indeed, it could be argued that this form of performative nostalgia finds physical form in all of the current restoration work, which aims to remove visible traces of the social and physical decline associated with the last 30 years, and to restore the past glories of this former elite area. It is often argued that this sort of regeneration strategy should also be seen as a form of forgetting (Edensor 2005a:131), although the memories I encountered in this area suggest that the current restoration work has, in reality, created a series of new, hybrid locations through which the past can be recalled and reimagined (de Certeau 1998:137).

The fountain is situated at the junction of Boulevard, Gordon Street and Cholmley Street, and the memories that emerged through discussions of this site were also bound up in a number of other, cross-cutting stories connected with places nearby. For instance, Gordon Street police station (visible from the end of the road) is the oldest functioning

Police Station in Hull. The Beatles are rumoured to have taken refuge here from their adoring fans when they visited Hull in the 1960s (Boulevard Memory Workshop). Residents also told me that the church next door was used by Chiltern Street School as a dining hall in the 1950s, with pupils being marched there and back every day at dinner time (Boulevard Memory Workshop). One respondent also told me about another, more unusual procession that he remembered passing through the site in the 1950s.

I can remember back in the fifties there used to be a circus that used to appear at Walton Street and all the animals was brought by rail, on the trains, and they was off-loaded and then walked along Hessle Road. My mother took me to the top of Cholmley Street, which is off the Boulevard, where they're going to put the new fountain, and we stood there and watched the elephants come down the Boulevard, and all the animals in cages on wheels! It used to be Robert Fossett's, as far as I can remember, and Billy Smart's.

#### **Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

These stories together demonstrate how memories of ordinary - and extraordinary - events and routines are still entwined across this recently remodelled (and contested) space. One respondent also told me about the area during the 1980s and early 1990s.

Once I'd stopped being a student I was looking for something else to do, and there was a co-operative on Hessle Road called Gyroscope. Some people wanted to travel the world. I decided to go and live in a terraced house off Hessle Road and become an anarcho-crustie, or whatever we were called in them days (laughs).

#### *Tegwen - Why Hessle Road?*

Mostly because it was cheap. It'd been going for about three years when I was there, and the guys who started it had realised that you could buy a house on Hessle Road area for two grand, so they just clubbed together using credit cards and anything they could get, buying houses and renting them out. Most of the



houses were in Wellstead Street, so we all lived near or next to each other. It was a really good scene, you know. We bought the corner shop eventually, and there were sort of like traveler buses down the street, and it was quite funny looking back (laughs). It was Wellstead Street and Gee Street mainly, and then it spread out a bit on to Cholmley Street. It was funny, cos people round there used to come in the shop and say 'you lot are all secret millionaires aren't you? You can't just be your age buying all these houses, we know that you're all loaded really' and we used to say 'no we're not' (laughs). But we had people visit us from all round the world to see what we were doing.

### **Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

This demonstrates a different understanding of this area from a time when low house prices presented an opportunity for alternative communities to develop and thrive. This is an important part of the area's history, although it is generally lost against the strength of more popular narratives that tend to emphasise the *loss* of community and the increase in social and economic problems in the area during this period.

Continuing north along Boulevard we reach Airlie Street; a much narrower street flanked by smaller terraced houses. Some of the houses are boarded up and there are a number of disused shops. One in particular has a faded 'fish and chips' sign, hinting at a former use, although the building itself is now empty. At the end of the street is a large metal fence, with a laminated sign that says Hull Greyhounds. Peering through the fence you see an open area of rough ground, with a concrete structure behind labelled 'three penny stand'.



**Illustration 6.17:** Gates to Boulevard Stadium from Airlie Street (June 2009)

This is Boulevard stadium, the spiritual home of generations of West Hull Rugby fans. The Boulevard was the home ground of Hull FC from 1895 until their move to the KC Stadium at West Park in 2002 (Fletcher 2003). Hull Greyhounds moved into the stadium in 2007, saving it from demolition (KHCC 2007). Although rugby is no longer played here the site its history still characterises popular memory in this area. For many Hull residents the name ‘Boulevard’ conjures up immediate images of rugby matches, crowds of supporters dressed in black and white, and the sound of the club anthem ‘Old Faithful’. The stadium is also an official site of memory, connected to other official narratives in this area. The current three penny stand (a concrete version of an older wooden stand rebuilt in 1995) contains a plaque dedicating it to ‘trawlermen past and present’. Numerous fans have also had their ashes scattered on the pitch (Boulevard dreams website), making it also a place of individual as well as shared remembrance. In addition to this, the physical fabric of the streets surrounding the stadium also evokes the former presence of the rugby. For instance, Airlie Street gave Hull FC their nickname, the Airlie Birds, and the abandoned shops conjure a sense of the missing crowds that no longer use them.

[M]ention Boulevard and one is transported to the rugby ground, thre'penny stands and the like. The men in their droves, a smattering of women and kids, walking down the streets becoming part of a bigger throng the nearer to the ground. Hearing Old faithful resound.

**Website, aged 40-59 (Hessle Road)**

However, in the memories that people shared with me, another former occupant of the stadium was also mentioned as often as the rugby, particularly amongst the people who had actually lived close to the stadium.

After we got married we moved into a house on Camden Street, just off Airlie Street.

*Tegwen - Do you support Hull FC then?*

Oh yes! And I will do until I die! (laughs) I went to see them quite a few times.

*Tegwen - Did you stand in the three penny stand?*

Oh no, we went in the posh stand. My husband always stood in the three penny stand though. It was a great atmosphere, I loved it. What I *do* remember from that house is the Speedway on a Wednesday night, god the noise, it was awful! They were so noisy!

**Liz Cook (aged 60-79)**

The Hull Speedway took place at the Boulevard from 1971 until the late 1970s (Ketchell 1995) and its arrival had an immediate impact on local residents.

We used to go to the Speedway. You'd come home covered in shale and dust, cos they'd just go round and round, and it was a cinder track at one time. The corners was supposed to be the best place to stand to get a view, but that was where you'd get muckiest as well! I used to love going, we used to go and see Ivan Mauger. He was a world champion, speedway rider. Eric Bocock was there at one time, and

there was others, but I can't remember their names. That'd be in the seventies I suppose, cos I used to take me daughter, and she's forty now. They used to call [the Speedway Team] Hull Vikings and they always wore blue and these Viking hats with horns on. They used to get some good gates on a Wednesday night, it was brilliant.

*Tegwen - What does good gates mean?*

There was lots of people there! (laughs)

### **Beryl Hird (aged 60-79)**

The thing most often mentioned was the noise, which could be heard for miles around. One respondent even told me that as a child he followed the sound of the Speedway from Princes Avenue, just to see what it was. As with areas such as the Fish Dock and Subway Street, these remembered sensory experiences are therefore an important part of the 'dense social network of ghosts' that haunt this area (Bell 1997:825). This network also forms part of a 'larger collective spirit' (Bell 1997:825) that includes other times and places beyond the stadium itself.

Edensor has described similar memory processes in the streets around the former Maine Road football stadium, which he sees as being haunted by overlapping histories, memories and fragments of the past (Edensor 2008:321). For Edensor it is the visible traces of things connected with the now empty stadium that are haunting; the football related graffiti, derelict cafes and the reused supporters club (Edensor 2008:321), and his description of the site and the way it haunts the surrounding streets is very reminiscent of the Boulevard stadium. As with Maine Road, the local rhythms of everyday life in the nearby streets would have been intimately connected with the rhythms of the stadium, and they are still haunted by its absence. However, Edensor only mentions the main occupant of the stadium (in his case the football), whereas the memories above demonstrate that, in the case of the Boulevard, other occupants have also played a significant role in how and why this space is remembered, at least for some residents. As

with Maine Road, the stories connected with the Boulevard stadium also demonstrate that fragmentary memories of the stadium are spread across the wider city through sensory ghosts and the actions of people travelling to and from the ground. This site therefore cannot be understood in isolation, but need to be approached as a dynamic presence that is 'woven into an extensive, now ghostly topography' that includes not only the streets around, but other places in the city, including those where stadium visitors travelled from and congregated (Edensor 2008:322).

Walking back along Airlie Street, we turn right to continue north along Boulevard, past the former Boulevard High School (now residential flats) until we reach a large concrete flyover which dominates the skyline. As discussed in Chapter 4, as car ownership in Hull increased after the Second World War, there was also increasing congestion at the city's many level crossings (Gibson 2007:55). To alleviate this, a number of flyovers were constructed, including this one on Anlaby Road, which was opened in 1965 (Gibson 2007:55). However, despite the physical dominance of the current flyover, many locals still remember the previous level crossing.

I remember when they built the flyover. For a long time it was just a railway crossing. We used to go as kids, because I was at the Boulevard School. We used to go and stand on the bridge and wait for a train to come, and we'd all be lost in smoke! (laughs) Great fun. We must have looked as black as anything with all the soot!

**Mrs. Wilson (80 plus)**

I was told numerous stories about waiting at the crossing and the large numbers of cyclists who would assemble at certain times of day, making it impossible for motor vehicles to move. The most popular story was about standing on the footbridge waiting for trains to pass underneath. This story was repeated not only at this crossing, but also at many other crossings across the city, suggesting that there is an element of shared

experience and collective memory connected with the city's transport networks.<sup>54</sup> We now walk up the steps at the side of the flyover and emerge onto Anlaby Road.

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<sup>54</sup> This is discussed further in the next chapter

## **Chapter 6 (Part 2): Anlaby Road and Hawthorn Avenue**

### **5.5.1 Anlaby Road**



**Illustration 6.18:** Gates to West Park from Anlaby Road (August 2008)

At the bottom of the flyover we reach a set of concrete gates. This is the main entrance to West Park. Respondents of all ages told me that this was the place that local teenagers used to meet. In fact, one of the older members of a group workshop I ran asked if anyone else remembered what she called the Monkeys Parades of the 1940s, when teenagers from Anlaby Road assembled on a Sunday evening to walk from Albert Avenue to the West Park Gates. This was one of the only opportunities that the local boys and girls got to interact with each other on their own, and the respondent had fond memories of it (Carnegie Reminiscence Group notes). Monkey Parades were at one time regular occurrences across the United Kingdom, taking place in many areas from the late-nineteenth century onwards (Reid 2000, Birchall 2006). They continued in many places until the Second World War, when their popularity was apparently diminished by the rise

of Sunday cinema (Reid 2000:761).<sup>55</sup> In the Anlaby Road example, this weekly tradition was only remembered by a small number of older respondents, and in contrast to the Hessle Road traditions discussed earlier (such as the Fish Dock Races) was not mentioned by younger residents and does not feature in any of the local histories that have been published about the NaSA area to date.

We continue west, pausing at the corner of Walton Street; a well-known name across the city as it is the showground for the annual Hull Fair. Respondents of all ages had memories of the fair, although for some former residents these stories were also entwined with memories of large-scale redevelopment in the area during the 1970s.

I was born down there. The house isn't there anymore because the houses on Walton Street were all demolished and rebuilt, but it was right opposite the fairground. We used to have people and stalls in the garden, and I remember this fortune teller, used to have a Jackdaw. It used to come and perch on the door knob and mess on it, and we'd say, ohh that things been out again. Fond memories (laughs), but that was when I were a kid. It's changed out of all recognition, to compare Walton Street as it is now, to Walton Street as it was before you wouldn't recognise it, there int a building left apart from the pub on the corner, the pub in the middle and a club at the other end. Even though me dad owned a property all they gave him was land rent, which at the time was about 3 grand. [He got] nothing for the house. He tried all sorts to get it changed, but the Government decided that there'd be no appeal, so all us poor workers got nothing, and after that my dad sort of gave up and about a year later he died. He never went into his other house.

**Dennis Clarke (aged 60-79)**

Stories like Dennis's suggest that the housing policies of the later twentieth century have created a number of haunted sites not just around Hessle Road, but also across the wider

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<sup>55</sup> I also found evidence of similar events in earlier memories from other parts of the city, for example, Helen Dunhill describes a 'Monkey Walk' along Queen Street near the pier during the 1920s in a book of reminiscences collected by the Local History Unit (Dunhill 1990).



NaSA area. Other areas of housing around Anlaby Road were demolished, including a number of streets that were cleared to make way for the new Hull Royal Infirmary in the 1960s, and many small streets around Argyle Street (between Anlaby Road and Spring Bank West) that were cleared in the 1970s (Ketchell 1997). However, in popular narratives these slum clearances are not discussed to the same extent as those nearer to Hessle Road, and the sense of Diaspora does not appear to be the same for those whose families left Anlaby Road, or at least is not articulated in the same public way.



**Illustration 6.19:** Walton Street looking north from Anlaby Road (September 2007)

Leaving Walton Street we continue west, passing rows of shops and houses. Although it is a busy area, there are a number of boarded-up properties, which prompted comments from many residents about how they felt the area had declined in recent years.

When we was growing up Anlaby Road was thriving so we did all our shopping [here]. We didn't go shopping on Hessle Road cos Anlaby Road had everything, you

could buy anything you wanted. Not just groceries, but hardware shops, shoe shops [...] now it doesn't exist anymore.

**Dennis Clarke (aged 60-79)**

Many local residents had memories of the shops in this area. Indeed, local shops were a popular topic at the workshops I ran, prompting many shared memories for residents and former residents alike. One of the shops most frequently mentioned was Maypole, where people went for their rations during the War. Another shop that was often talked about was Teal's Furniture shop on the corner of Sandringham Street, which had a cobblers inside and a selection of toys in the window. However, in contrast to Hesse Road these memories were not often shared by people from outside of the area, with the exception of the memories prompted by one particular building; Whiteheads, on the corner of Anlaby Road and Sandringham Street.



**Illustration 6.20:** Corner of Anlaby Road and Sandringham Street (November 2007)

William Jackson opened his first shop in 1851 (Wilkinson 1994:7). During the 1880s the Jackson's range expanded from selling only tea and groceries to include coffee, provisions and 'household and toilet requisites' (Wilkinson 1994:9). In 1904 Jackson's became William Jackson and Son Ltd., and by 1929 they had a total of 42 shops across the city, along with a bakery, jam factory, stables and warehousing (Wilkinson 1994:13). The Anlaby Road branch opened in 1905 (Wilkinson 1994:194). It retains the classic Jackson's façade designed by Hull architects Gelder and Kitchen and seen on other contemporary Jackson's shops (Wilkinson 1994:99).

That used to be Jacksons'. There used to be a clock in there. There was a warehouse at the back, you used to go through there, and on a night the police used to come round and give that door a shake. They always used to rattle on the door to make sure it was still locked.

**Beryl Hird (aged 60-79)**

Oh Jackson's! Now that could be anywhere (laughs). Is it Sandringham Street? Oh, Maypole used to be along here, but Jackson's has been there a long time. They're all the same, which is why I said it could be anywhere, because it could be Chanterlands Avenue, the Chanterlands Avenue one looks like that.

**Annie (aged 60-79)**

As discussed in Chapter 4, from the early twentieth century onwards chain stores increasingly adopted a corporate image to make them recognisable, and (as the quote above suggests) this architectural branding continues to impact upon local memory. In this case the distinctive turn-of-the-century frontages of William Jackson and Son's are instantly recognisable to local residents of all ages, and prompted memories of other, similar buildings in different parts of the city, including those on Princes Avenue, Newland Avenue and Chanterlands Avenue, which are located relatively close together and were often talked about as a group.

Continuing west we cross Albert Avenue. This is known by many as the home of Albert Avenue swimming baths, remembered by many for its lido. Local residents also told me that there was a popular dance hall on Albert Avenue known as Newington Hall, where many local couples met. This was demolished in the 1990s and no physical trace of it now remains.



**Illustration 6.21:** Former Carlton Cinema, Anlaby Road (July 2008)

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The Carlton Theatre opened as a cinema in 1928 with seating capacity for 1,671 (Curry 1992:14). It originally had a theatre organ built by Fitton and Haley, which was later moved to the Cecil Cinema on the corner of Anlaby Road and Carr Lane (Curry 1992:14).

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Oh the Carlton had a beautiful foyer upstairs. I mean you was always queuing, you always had these great long queues, but you knew everybody so it was like a great big party. It was like a meeting place in its heyday, where everyone used to go to meet up. It was beautiful, but then by the time it finished there was just a little kiosk in the corner selling sweets.

### **Carnegie Volunteers**

Further on we pass a large, detached building. It is currently empty and starting to decay, although the external architecture suggests it was formerly very grand. A stone sign on the upper gable says 'Carlton Theatre.' This building prompted many memories from local residents. In the past cinemas were an important part of many people's social life, and, as with the Langham on Hessle Road, many of the stories I heard about the Carlton mentioned the queues and the foyer where people collected in groups. They also mentioned more personal, often emotional experiences of particular films and innovations such as the first 'talkies' in the 1920s and 1930s and the early colour films in the 1960s.

[I]n about 1966-1967, there was a film called 'Goal' on, which was the story of the World Cup, and of course, you'd seen it on telly, but you hadn't seen it in colour.

*Tegwen - That must have been amazing!*

It was emotional. I mean don't get the impression it was a newsreel, it was the film of the World Cup, but to see it in colour [...] you take it completely for granted now. England wore red shirts you know, and the ball was brown (laughs).

#### **Peter Greendale (aged 40-59)**

Although stories like this are essentially personal memories, they were regularly repeated, suggesting that cinemas are places in which personal and collective experiences are often combined (Jones 2001 quoted in Edensor 2008: page 316). During most of the twentieth century cinemas also structured local routines (Edensor 2008:316) and many respondents also told me about how going to 'the pictures' shaped their everyday lives.

I could only afford [to go] once unless I'd done any babysitting, or sold me sweet coupons, because during the war you had your ration books and you had a page for sweet coupons, but to me that was a waste of money buying sweets, so I used to sell them [and that] used to pay for me to go to the cinema. [And] I used knit gloves

and hats for sixpence a go, I was really industrious even in those days. Sixpence I used to charge, and then spend all the weekend knitting furiously! (laughs)

**Barbara Bourne (aged 60-79)**

When we first got married we used to go twice a week to the Carlton because they changed the films twice a week, so we used to go, say, once Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, and then once Thursday, Friday or Saturday. I mean you didn't have televisions and it was just round the corner you see!

**Liz S (aged 60-79)**

As with the Langham, memories of the Carlton also prompted memories of other local cinemas. In particular local residents mentioned the West Park cinema (described by younger residents as the local flea pit) and two cinemas at the west end of Anlaby Road; the Tower and the Regent. These are situated opposite each other and were usually mentioned together as 'Tower and Regent'.

Oh aye, Tower and Regent. I used to go from one to another! (laughs). When I couldn't gerrin there [the Tower] I used to go to Regent or vice versa (laughs). Many a time, and they was two rough picture houses. Oh aye, I remember them all right. And the queues! You see how long that is there? I've queued from the front of 'ere right round the corner into that street, Midland Street, for Regent, many a night. And on 'ere for Tower, the queue used to go right up [to the corner of Ferensway].

**Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

When asked about why these cinemas were often referred to together, respondents told me that this was partly because of their location - and remembered spatial practice (as, like Mike, they routinely visited both). However, a number of respondents also told me that they were owned by the same company and were therefore always advertised together in the local papers as 'Tower and Regent' (**Illustration 6.22**). This is another

example of how representations in popular media (for instance, through advertising) can act to connect places, and shape how and why particular places are remembered (Till 2006:330). This again highlights memory as an ongoing, dynamic process that is mediated through continual interaction with other narratives, both past and present.



Illustration 6.22: 1930s cinema advert (*Hull Daily Mail*)

Although my walks did not necessarily pass them, other cinemas that were also frequently mentioned included the Cecil, ABC, Dorchester and Criterion (all in the city centre), the Rex, Regis and Royalty (spread across the city) the Monica and Mayfair (in North-West Hull) and the Ritz, Gaumont and Astoria (all in East Hull). Memories of all of these cinemas were similar to the ones associated with the Langham and the Carlton, although each had particular things that they were known for, including theatre organs that rose up from the floor, double seats (popular with courting couples) and the sorts of films they specialised in (including b-movies and ‘specialist’ adult films). Many respondents said that they regularly attended a number of different cinemas, depending

on what films they were showing.<sup>56</sup> This suggests that not only are these cinemas unofficial sites of both personal and collective memory, but they are also part of a city-wide network that transcends perceived area boundaries, connecting people across the city through a collective framework of memories and shared experiences

Interestingly, cinema buildings often prompted memories for people even when they had not visited the actual cinema in question. This may be for a number of reasons. Early-twentieth century cinema buildings are often distinctive in their size and architectural style (Rowley 2006:137) and therefore form recognisable features within the urban landscape. In this sense the remaining cinemas, which are spread across the city, might be interpreted as providing an 'architectural compass' through which local residents are able to locate past experiences (Boym 2001:185). Disused cinemas are also perhaps particularly poignant as they represent a world of mass entertainment that once structured daily life, but has now all but vanished (Edensor 2008:316). None of the cinemas I came across in my walks were still operating as cinemas. In fact, although a small number are currently used as pubs or nightclubs, the majority are disused and are becoming increasingly derelict. They have therefore become familiar, yet uncanny presences in a world where films are increasingly watched on i-phones, laptops and home systems, and public cinematic experiences are largely confined to multi-screen complexes on modern business parks (Edensor 2008:316).

Leaving the cinemas behind we continue west along Anlaby Road until we reach Hawthorn Avenue. Turning left we continue our walk south, back towards Hessle Road.

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<sup>56</sup> Although some respondents told me they waited for a film to come to their nearest cinema rather than travelling to the town centre, because although films were often shown there first, they were also more expensive.



5.5.2 Hawthorn Avenue



Illustration 6.23: Street map of Hawthorn Avenue area

Hawthorn Avenue itself is a straight road lined with terraced houses and shops. There are numerous narrow, terraced streets (some with additional terraces typically of eight to ten houses set at a right angle to the street) on either side. As discussed in section 6.3, there are currently no formal or popular history narratives associated with Hawthorn Avenue, and in 2008 the area was made a target area for large-scale clearance and

redevelopment by Gateway Pathfinder (KHCC 2008a). Over the period in which I visited Hawthorn Avenue (between November 2007 and December 2009), people were still living in the area and the main thoroughfare was still fronted by rows of shops and terraced houses. However increasing numbers of buildings were boarded up, and some were demolished over the period of my study, leaving patches of bare earth where the buildings had been. At the time of my research Hawthorn Avenue had therefore become a liminal space; existing between past and present, the sort of landscape that Della Dora describes as an 'oneiric dimension'; a semi-inhabited space in which the processes of visible decay disrupts normal temporal boundaries (Della Dora 2006:226). According to current memory theory (as discussed in Chapter 2) we should therefore expect this sort of visible decay to prompt an increased production of memory (Moran 2004), and indeed this was the case. Hawthorn Avenue became the focus of discussion in a number of group meetings I attended and prompted numerous responses to the project website, a trend that was particularly noticeable after the first redevelopment plans for the area were published in October 2008 (KHCC 2008a).

I had a number of conversations with former residents who came to look at the proposals at the Carnegie Heritage Centre. As with the streets around Hessle Road, many of the houses in the area were known as 'sham fours'; small houses with two rooms on each floor and no bathroom. However, unlike many of the popular Hessle Road stories, memories of these houses were not always positive.

To be honest when we moved out in the early sixties they were grim houses, always cold and damp, and very small really when you think back on it. Our house was down one of the terraces, and you walked straight off the street into the front room. We had what we called the scullery at the back, and two bedrooms upstairs and that was it. We had to bath in this big tin bath that hung in the yard. We were quite lucky cos we were the end of the terrace so we had quite a big yard compared to everyone else. I don't know how people are still living in them. I mean you didn't think about it at the time cos everybody was the same, but they really

were small and cold. No central heating and no bathrooms. It was so draughty, the bedroom windows all used to rattle whenever it was windy. My dad used to jam a peg in the sash to stop them rattling! I had a friend who lived on Melrose Street, just round the corner there, and those houses were much bigger, we thought they were quite posh when I was growing up. I haven't been down there for a long time. I should really go and have a look round before they start knocking things down.

**Liz Cook (aged 60-79)**

Other respondents said similar things, particularly those who had already been down to see their former houses before the demolition began, and, after peering through the metal grills over the windows, had been surprised at how small they looked.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that the current material form of the buildings is disturbing for these observers, challenging their memories and perceptions of their past. In other words, for these former residents the buildings are 'haunted' by the gap between imagination and reality (Della Dora 2006:220).

As with the streets around Hessle Road, former residents also talked about the close-knit community that they remembered, childhood street 'gangs', outdoor taps and toilets, and daily or weekly routines (such as wash day). However, alongside these general memories, respondents also talked about their memories of specific places, including many former corner shops that we passed during the walk.

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<sup>57</sup> Some even said they didn't know how they had lived in houses that small, particularly those from large families.



**Illustration 6.24:** Ringrose Street from Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

That was Cousin's Grocer's. Opposite was Spetch's bike shop, before that it was Chitty's bike shop, and before that it was Bernard Shally's barber shop. It was demolished fairly recently. There was a wash-house on Ringrose Street, but in general wash-houses were more of a Hessle Road thing, we all had dolly tubs on Anlaby Road (laughs).

#### **Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group**

When I first walked along Hawthorn Avenue Spetch's Cycles was still on the opposite corner. However by the time I took this photograph a few months later, the shop and the adjacent row of terraced housing had been demolished (demonstrating just how rapidly this area was changing during the period of my research).

We now turn west into Ringrose Street and walk a short way to the corner of Wheeler Street. Wheeler Street Primary School is on the right, and the 'Millburn Leisure Ltd and Hull indoor bowling club'; a plain brick building clad with corrugated sheets, on the left.

On the memory walk former residents told me that on this corner in the 1950s was a shop called Sheard's that used to sell newspapers and confectionary.



**Illustration 6.25:** Members of the Hawthorn Avenue memory walk standing outside 'Sheard's shop' (May 2009)

I remember there used to be a shop opposite [the school] that was a sort of newsagents, and they sold drinks, but they were always in meat paste jars! I remember them tasting awful, but we all still bought them. They were a sort of orange drink I think, but they had a bit of a funny taste cos of the jars (laughs).

**Liz Cook (aged 60-79)**

A few yards further on Ringrose Street disappears into a patch of rough wasteland, covered in grass and thistles. This was the site of Ostler's Bakery (based on Wheeler Street), which was well remembered by many former residents.

There was a baker on Wheeler Street called Ostler's. When rationing was still in force after the Second World War, some of us local lads used to pinch things off the



conveyor belt in the factory by walking along the railway line and reaching through the windows at the back. If you timed it right you could jump onto a passing train to get away before anybody had even noticed. Wednesday was Pork Pie night and Thursday was bread (laughter).

**Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group**

This story was later recounted by residents of different ages, suggesting that these activities continued until at least the 1960s (although each generation thought that it was something unique to them). The railway mentioned in the quote above was the North Eastern Railway goods line (Hull and Bridlington Branch) that ran along the West side of Hawthorn Avenue.



**Illustration 6.26:** Corner of White Street and Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

In *Kelly's Directory of Hull, 1911*, the shops in the picture were listed as (working left to right); Mrs. Susannah Gibson, milk dealer; John Marfleet, boot makers; Edward Jobling, drug stores; and on the opposite side of the road; Arthur Scaman, ale and porter dealer. In 1929 Jobling's drug store was still listed in the same place, as was Scaman's off-license, although this was now run by Miss Annie Scaman. Hebert Swift, baker, was listed a few doors further along (towards Clyde Street) at 129.

Walking back along Ringrose Street, we turn right and continue our journey south along Hawthorn Avenue. On the opposite side of the road we pass White Street (**Illustration 6.26** above).

Liz: Mackman's, yeah, that's always been Mackman's hasn't it? And this one on the other side, the beer-off, when we were young that was an off-license that belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Dixon, whose son-in-law was Raich Carter.

Tegwen: Who's Raich Carter?

Liz: Raich Carter! How do you not know that? (laughs) He was a footballer who played for Hull City, and also for England! In the fifties.

Ann: Oh yes, and there was a Swift's bakery shop just there wasn't there? Oh it was lovely, I used to get a cob on me way home from school, and then when I got home I couldn't eat my dinner! (laughs)

Liz: Oh yes, the Swift's bakery! We used to get a cob and scoop all the middle out, and then we used to go to Blackburn's fish and chip shop and get a bag of chips and stuff the chips in the middle of the cob (laughs).

**Liz Cook and Ann Rogers (aged 60-79)**

Raich Carter, a former England International, made his debut for Tigers on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1948, to a record crowd at Boothferry Park (Peterson 2002:19). For many people he is still regarded as the greatest player to ever wear a Hull City shirt (Elton 2003:58). He resigned as manager in September 1951, although he was persuaded to return as a player for the second half of the 1951/2 season, eventually retiring in the summer of 1952 (Peterson 2002:23).

Continuing on our journey we reach Greek Street. Again there are shops on both corners, one of which has a painted sign on the first floor elevation.



**Illustration 6.27:** Shop on the north corner of Greek Street (February 2009)

When I first visited this area this shop was a tattoo parlour, with a black and red painted sign. By my second visit the tattoo parlour and sign had gone, revealing an older sign below. This was painted over, but the words 'Videos & CDs' were still clearly visible. These different shop signs evoke multiple temporalities that have become exposed through the process of decay, which in turn has created a disordered or 'disorderly'



space with the potential to disturb the present (Edensor 2005a). Although nobody I spoke to mentioned the Video shop, or the tattoo parlour, the painted sign above prompted a number of often fragmentary memories of both the shop, and the wider area.

Ann: That's the corner of Greek Street, with the painted sign. That used to be a little grocer's when we were growing up.

Liz: And across the road there, as you went down there that went into Hull Corporation Works Department yard, but that wasn't Ringrose Street was it? I don't know if it had a name.

Charles: We just used to call it Corporation Street, but I don't know if that was its name. That sign on the wall was from the grocers wasn't it? Was it a Gallon's or something?

Ann: No, Gallon's was corner of Clyde Street. [...] I remember we always used to cut through the passageway between Greek Street and Cecil Street, cos I grew up down Greek Street, and we used to cut through all them little passages.

Liz: We used to play block round there, on a summer night, and riallio!

### **Ann Rogers, Liz Cook and Charles Dinsdale**

This painted sign is therefore another example of a partial trace of a past world on which 'restorative nostalgia lingers' and from which a range of overlapping, fragmentary narratives and stories about vanished places and routines spill out in a messy, unpredictable fashion (Della Dora 2006: 228).

At the bottom of Greek Street is the site of Bentley's Laundry, known to many as the Snowflake Laundry. We passed this site on the memory walk, and two former residents told me about the smell of clean laundry they remembered in this area. They also pointed out where the main gates and taking-in shop had been, although the laundry site

has been redeveloped as a small housing estate in recent years and the space where the gates would have been is now occupied by two, modern semi-detached houses. This suggests that, although the site has been physically reformed, the laundry remains in the memories of local residents as another absent presence that still fills the surrounding streets with remembered sounds and smells.

Returning to Hawthorn Avenue we now continue south, passing two buildings, standing on their own, on the opposite side of the road.



**Illustration 6.28:** Salvation Army Hall on Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

The Salvation Army's Hawthorn Avenue Citadel was constructed in 1908 (Gibson 2007:73), six years after the opening of their new 'Icehouse Citadel' at the town end of Anlaby Road, which was opened in 1902 with seating for 2,500 people (Gibson 2007:12). In *Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1911 Allison's Laundry was listed at 190 Hawthorn Avenue, next to the Salvation Army Hall, along with its proprietor William Alfred Allison. However, by 1929 the site was occupied by Farmer and Martyn Garage proprietors. (*Kelly's* 1911 and 1929)

There was a steam laundry next to the Salvation Army Hall and there used to be a low wall along the front, with a gap for the cart entrance to the Steam Laundry. Local children used to run along the wall and jump across the gap, sometimes misjudging the distance and ending up with scrapes and bruises.

### **Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group**

The derelict Salvation Army Hall prompted many memories for former residents, although surprisingly few related to the actual building itself. Instead people talked about their experiences of other Salvation Army halls, particularly the Ice House on Anlaby Road (which put on regular concerts), and the Salvation Army band that used to parade through the nearby streets on Sunday afternoons. As with the cinema buildings discussed earlier, the memories associated with this site are therefore not contained by the physical boundaries created by the building, but instead spread out from it, connecting with nearby streets and other places across the city.

One structural detail that *was* frequently mentioned was a low wall that originally ran along the front of the building. This had been demolished by the time of my photograph, however numerous respondents talked about walking or running along it as children. These stories featured particularly in one group workshop (quoted above), where a number of people compared injuries sustained in attempting to jump the gap across the entrance to the garage. These memories are therefore not merely prompted by this space, but are also acting to reshape it through the articulation and distribution of individual reminiscences. This demonstrates how apparently mundane and unimportant memories of everyday activities can have a significant impact upon people's continued understanding of both time and space. It also shows how changes to these spaces can disrupt these understandings, creating 'cracks' in the present through which memories of the past seep into – and interrupt – present consciousness (Crang and Travlou 2001).

We now continue along Hawthorn Avenue, passing a large public house. It is currently called the Hawthorn, although there is a faded painted sign on the gable wall that says

‘Hawthorne Hotel’. Former residents told me that the pub used to have an off-sales counter that you took your own jug to. However, perhaps ironically, the pub was best remembered for its trade in empty bottles.



**Illustration 6.29:** The Hawthorn public house (May 2009)

The Hotel on Hawthorn Avenue was constructed in 1875 for a Mr. Parrott (Gibson 2007:71). A painted sign ‘Hawthorne Hotel’ (spelt with an ‘e’, unlike the street name) is visible on the North elevation. It is potentially one of the earliest surviving buildings on Hawthorn Avenue (Gibson 2007:71).

Local kids used to collect bottles and take them to the Hawthorne Hotel because you could get a penny back on each bottle. If we were lucky we could then nip round to the yard (now car park) at the back of the pub and ‘re-collect’ the bottles, take them back into the pub and get another penny. The record was rumoured to be six times on one bottle! We also collected Jam Jars to take to Stan Thornton’s on Wheeler Street, or the rag shop on Woodcock Street. Stan Thornton’s used to give

kids money for stacks of old newspapers as well, so we used to knock on doors collecting.

### **Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group**

The pub was also remembered for its celebrity landlords, one of whom was Clive Sullivan, who is also commemorated in the name of part of the city's inner ring road (now the main road link into the city centre from the west).

I remember when Clive Sullivan had the Hawthorn pub. I used to go in there when he was the landlord, that'd be the seventies probably. I remember he used to wear these false teeth, cos he had some missing at the top from playing rugby. He was a lovely fella. He played for Hull, then signed for Hull Kingston Rovers, and scored a load of tries for them as well, the traitor! (laughs) A lot of them were from out of town, Castleford way. A lot of them used to work all week, and then come over to play at the weekend, when it was still part time.

### **Carnegie Volunteers**

The memories prompted by this building are therefore not only interlinked with those of the nearby streets, but are also connected to the local passion for rugby league, and to a time when the players lived and worked locally, playing rugby in their spare time. As discussed earlier, in popular memory these sorts of stories are traditionally associated with the Boulevard. However, personal memories of this kind emerged in many places across the NaSA area, often at unexpected moments such as this.

Crossing the road, we reach Rhodes Street, which has an empty shop building (formerly 'LIV supplies') on the south corner.

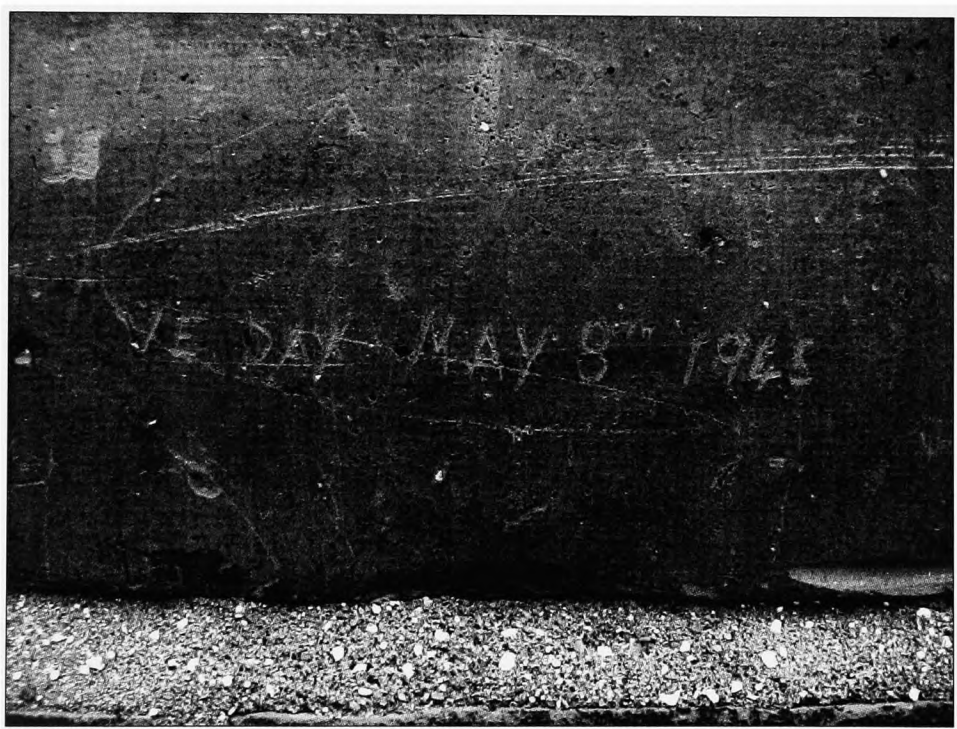


**Illustration 6.30:** Former Co-op building on the south corner of Rhodes Street and Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

Branch No. 7 of the Hull Co-operative Grocery Department opened at 205-9 Hawthorn Avenue in 1901, and closed in 1981. It had a butchery department between 1915 and 1970 (Smith 1998:74). The Kingston-upon-Hull Co-operative Society Ltd. was formed in 1890, and opened its first shop on Hessle Road in the September of that year (Smith 1998:11-13). It initially sold only food and small hardware, but by 1895 had numerous food and non-food departments including hardware, crockery and drapery (Smith 1998:14). By 1900 the Hull Co-operative had over 2000 members (Smith 1998:16). In the 1980s it was taken over by Co-operative Retail Services (Smith 1998:61).

Although there is no remaining sign of its former use, a number of respondents remembered this as the Co-op, and one former Rhodes Street resident, Peter Coates, told me about some graffiti on the side wall of the building that he remembered from his childhood. On closer inspection (during one of my regular walks through the area) I found that the side wall of the former Co-op was covered in messages, including football

and rugby scores, names, messages and pictures. Initially these were difficult to see as they were small and scratched into the bricks, however once I had seen one I started to notice others, not just on this building, but all the way along the street. Indeed, further along the street the end walls of the terraces were covered in similar graffiti, spanning a period of over 80 years. The earliest date I found was 1922, and the most common dates were from the 1950s, although there were dated examples from all decades between the 1920s and the 1990s. These messages give physical form to different co-existing temporalities, thus challenging usual assumptions about the linear movement of time as a chronological progression (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:5-6). They also show how an object or place can be reactivated at different times through repeated social practice (Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008:6).



**Illustration 6.31:** Scratched graffiti on side wall of former Co-op building, Rhodes Street  
(January 2010)

Amongst the messages on the Co-op building were a small number of familiar dates scratched into the wall, marking significant developments in the Second World War.

These were all on the former Co-op building and included 'War declared 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1939' and, next to it, 'VE Day May 8<sup>th</sup> 1945'. These dates have become well known, however nowadays we are used to seeing them in the context of a history book or a museum and not in such a mundane, everyday context. Their uncelebrated and unexpected survival here is therefore unsettling, as traces like this force us to acknowledge, almost involuntarily, the everyday nature of traumatic events that we tend to view safely from a distance (Foote 1997 quoted in Hoskins 2007 page 438). As discussed earlier, this area was badly affected by enemy bombing, and many people lost their homes and even their lives in this area (Geraghty 1978), making these messages (in hindsight) even more compelling.

We now cross Hawthorn Avenue to reach the top of Haddon Street. A short way along Haddon Street, past a row of derelict garages, is Woburn Street, a housing estate built during the late 1970s and early 1980s. This estate appears relatively featureless, made up of small, same-style bungalows arranged in a cul-de-sac. However I spoke to one gentleman who told me about moving into the estate from Beecroft Street (off St. George's Road) in the late 1970s.

A lot of them that lived on Beecroft Street finished up on the Bransholme Estate, Longhill, the Greatfield Estate, you know. Beecroft Street, Massey Street was a compulsory purchase order back in the mid seventies, but it wasn't until '79 that it came to maturity and it all got pulled down, and believe it or not me and me mother was the last two living down Beecroft Street. To start with me mother had been offered some rubbish places, so I went to housing, which is now the centre in town, you know where Dock Street is? Well that was Hull City Council Housing Offices years ago, and in the end they sez 'there's a new estate being formed just off Hawthorn Avenue called Woburn Street, go and have a look and see what you think'. So we came down here and they was just finishing them off, there was no grass in the gardens or anything like that, and this was the only one that was nearly finished. So it got to about three weeks before the old house was due to be pulled



down on Beecroft Street and me mother got a letter saying we could go. So that was it, and we were the first ones in on the whole estate. That was back in '79.

**Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

For residents such as Mike this estate is therefore firmly connected to the popular narratives of the Hessle Road Diaspora, through personal memories of the notorious Compulsory Purchase Orders of the 1970s, and the changes that the clearances brought to the NaSA area, both socially and physically. This estate is therefore far from memory-less, but is instead a subtle, yet dynamic reminder of the changes that the housing policies of the late twentieth century brought to Hull.

**6.5.3 Crossing the Tracks**



**Illustration 6.32:** Level crossing on Hawthorn Avenue, showing factory belonging to Shiphams and Co. Ltd. (February 2009)

*Kelly's Directory of Hull, 1911*, listed 'Shiphams and Co., Ltd., brass founders' alongside the railway crossing on Hawthorn Avenue, along with another company, Trinity Brass and Copper Works, who appear to have shared the same site. Also listed for Shiphams in 1911 was Frank Burrell, managing director, and Samuel Henry Clark, secretary.

Beyond Haddon Street we reach the railway track that runs across Hawthorn Avenue, a busy passenger line to Hull's Paragon Station. It was originally part of the North-Eastern Railway's Hull and Selby line, Hull's first railway, which opened in 1840 (MacMahon 1979:11). As discussed earlier, local residents make an important distinction between being from Hessle Road or Anlaby Road, and for many of the people I spoke to the railway line was an important social boundary, marking the line between the two communities.

You either said, oh I live Anlaby Road end of the street, or Hessle Road end. That's what people used to say. Where do you live? Oh I live St. George's Road. Oh which end? Hessle Road end. So, the railway crossing basically, like Hawthorn Avenue would be, if you were this side you'd be Anlaby Road end and if you were that side you were Hessle Road end. I mean, Hessle Road people are die-hard Hessle Road, I mean, you're either one or the other. It's like Hull and Rovers, you know.

#### **Lynda Taylor (60)**

As discussed in chapter 4, the growth of railways during the mid-nineteenth century often created new social identities (Armstrong 2000:216), and it has been argued that the railways in Hull separated Hessle Road from the rest of the city, contributing to its strong sense of individual identity (Gill and Sargeant 1986:4). However, this boundary is not as fixed as it may at first seem. A number of respondents lived on the Anlaby Road side of the tracks, but considered themselves to be 'Hessle Roaders' because of the jobs they, or their families, did (either in the fishing industry, or in the factories around Hessle Road). There were also a number of people who (perhaps jokingly) told me that they

changed the way they described their address depending on who they were talking to, as Anlaby Road 'sounded posher'.

Despite its boundary status, the crossing also served as a focal point of memory for local residents. Respondents frequently told me that the factory next to the crossing made munitions during the Second World War.

I think they shut the gates when they see a car coming (laughs) and they're always shut for ages, I always say 'they're getting their tickets' (laughs). That was a munitions place during the war. Bigger place than ours, ours was just a little one. Where Netto is on Anlaby Road, I was on munitions at the back of the garage there and we used to wave to everybody, all the troops passing on the railway line. We had to do three shifts, six to two, two to ten and ten to six. It would've been better if we'd done a month on it, but you'd only to do a week, and your tummy got out of order, and your sleeping was all over, you'd no time to get used to it. When we were finishing the night shift and the morning shift were coming on we used to be singing 'good morning, good morning' (laughs).

### **Mary Mawer (aged 80 plus)**

Older residents, such as Mrs. Mawer, often had direct personal stories connected to the munitions factory, whereas younger residents mentioned it, but usually without any personal stories attached. This suggests that this history has become part of popular narratives associated with the area. Another popular story associated with this crossing was of how an unexploded war-time bomb had to be excavated from alongside the railway after the war, causing hundreds of people to be evacuated from their homes. On further investigation, not everybody who related this memory had personally experienced the evacuation, but had instead read about it or heard about it from friends or relatives. This suggests that many of the memories connected with the crossing are therefore neither individual nor fixed, but are instead clearly negotiated via contact with

other stories about the past, as part of a shared, collective framework that shapes how this site is remembered.

Interestingly, the story *did* prompt personal memories for one younger respondent. Charles Dinsdale was born after the war, but told me about a bomb that he believed was dropped in the same string as the Shipham's one.<sup>58</sup> This bomb landed outside a communal shelter in which Charles's family sheltered, causing a small explosion that peppered the nearby houses with shrapnel. During a group memory walk around the area Charles showed us the houses in question, on which the shrapnel marks were still clearly visible. Neither I, nor the other members of the group (many of whom were former residents), would have spotted these had they not been pointed out to us. This individual story therefore stretches beyond the limits of collective memory to encompass personal experiences and individual relationships to physical traces of the past that for most people would go completely unnoticed, and un-recognised. Stories such as this also form links between different parts of the area, further contributing to the interconnected topography of memory that is woven through the physical fabric of Hawthorn Avenue.

#### 6.5.4 Sensing Ghosts

Hawthorn Avenue is a particularly interesting case-study, as it currently has no officially articulated public memory - just a collection of individual memories and discussions of local interest groups, currently articulated through informal social interactions and via websites, such as the one connected to my project. These can be understood as 'collected' memories; aggregations of essentially individual memories that, through public articulation, can form the basis of a more structured, collective narrative (Olick 1999:338). As shown above, this process is prompted by physical changes to the area, which haunts the present environment through traces of past lives and activities. It is easy to imagine how apparently empty spaces such as Ostlers' Bakery are haunted by the

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<sup>58</sup> Although other residents later disagreed on this, suggesting that it was in fact part of the bomb carriage from a damaged enemy aircraft.

'ghosts' of past social activity (Bell 1997). However, as the walk above demonstrates, Hawthorn Avenue also contains a range of more complicated haunted places, where the physical structure of the space has already been fully or partially reordered. Bell argues that this sort of restructuring can serve to exorcise former ghosts, allowing places to become imbued with new associations and auras (Bell 1997:826). However, the stories above suggest that former residents are not allowing these ghosts to be exorcised, but are, instead, actively choosing to recall them.

Despite the differences in complexity, these absent presences are all relatively solid apparitions, attached (at least at some level) to specific places. However, in all of the memory walks above there are also a number of less solid ghosts; ghosts that emerge through remembered senses and atmospheres created by lost sounds and smells. As shown in the quotes above, these sensory memories were often part of other stories, and were only mentioned in-passing. In some cases they were stirred by a burst of memories attached to a particular building, or physical trace of the past, but they also tended to pervade the whole area, linking streets and people in a network of shared sensory experience. This supports the assertion that memory is experienced in multi-sensory ways by groups and individuals (Till 2008:99).

Boym argues that reflective nostalgia often manifests itself as a remembered sensation, dependent on the materiality of place as well as sensual perceptions such as smells and sounds (Boym 2001:258). Indeed, the walks above demonstrate that these sensory ghosts are as much a part of the important absent presences that make up the complex, overlapping topographies of memory across the NaSA area as the more physically, or geographically, situated ghosts. In some cases the networks they invoke are not only localised, but stretch across the city (for instance, through the remembered sounds of the Speedway). One particular sensory ghost that was mentioned across the city, but particularly throughout the NaSA area, was the smell of the fish dock. As Liz Cook explained,

When you was young you could smell Fish Dock everywhere. We could smell it down Hawthorn Avenue. Not all the time, it depended on which way the wind was blowing, but you'd say 'oh I can smell fish dock today'

**Liz Cook (aged 60-79)**

Interestingly, as discussed previously, this pervasive smell was one of the reasons given by the city council for ignoring the fishing heritage in their rebranding of the city during the 1980s (Atkinson et al 2002). However, as these walks suggest, this policy has not exorcised the ghost, which is instead recalled as a familiar (although not always welcome) presence, reactivated through personal and shared memories across the NaSA area and beyond.

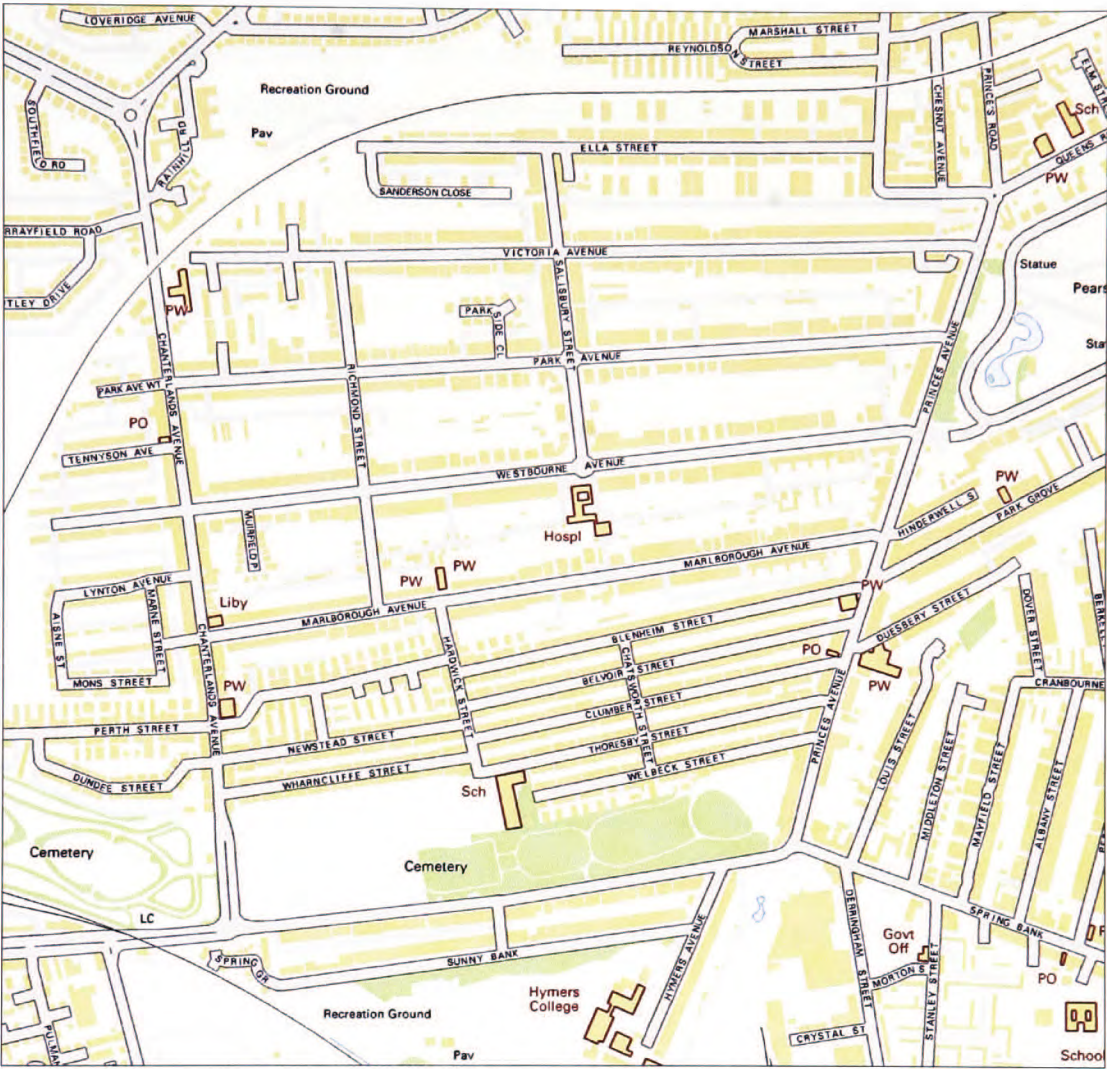
## **6.6 Summary**

Although the different districts I explored within the wider NaSA area are all very different in terms of their physical environment, and the ways they are viewed by local residents and outsiders alike, the memories discussed above demonstrate that they are interconnected through a complex network of shared memories and spatial practice. As demonstrated by the walks, this network includes a range of physical places, along with multiple, overlapping personal and public narratives and representations of the past, and a host of sensory ghosts. It is also shaped by different sorts of performative nostalgia, which plays an important role in how and why people remember (and value) different places at different times. Examples like the Boulevard Fountain demonstrate how restorative nostalgia can become actively and physically expressed within the landscape (Della Dora 2006), whereas examples like St. Andrew's Dock and Hawthorn Avenue show how reflective nostalgia surrounds the unwanted, sometimes unnoticed fragments of former lives, creating dynamic, haunted spaces in which multiple pasts are (re)imagined (Boym 2001:50).

This chapter demonstrates how popular narratives, particularly those connected with the former fishing industry both shape, and are shaped by, personal experiences and

articulations of memory across the wider NaSA area. However, the exploration of some of the formal sites of memory in this area, in particular the St. Andrew's Dock monument and the fisherman's statue, also demonstrates how these sites are enrolled in a number of overlapping narratives on a number of different scales. The walks clearly illustrate that, although memory may be brought into focus more sharply at these formal sites (Atkinson 2008:389), these places are also part of a much wider, inter-connected topography of remembering and forgetting in which formal narratives are constantly intersected by everyday experiences and memories of the mundane. The walks also highlights the importance of materiality, demonstrating how a range of different sites, including formal sites of commemoration, ruined and partly ruined sites, and everyday 'lived-in' places, all have the potential to prompt and structure, but also to be in turn shaped *by* both individual and shared remembering (Moran 2004). This is something I will explore further in the next chapter.

**Chapter 7:     Princes Avenue**



**Illustration 7.1:** Street map of the Princes Avenue area

**7.1     Introduction**

Princes Avenue is a busy commercial street that runs between Spring Bank and Queens Road, north-west of Hull city centre (**Illustration 7.1**). The northern end of Princes Avenue meets an area known locally as the ‘Avenues’; a residential area, characterised by large houses on wide streets, laid out in a grid-pattern and lined with large mature trees and grass verges. The southern end of Princes Avenue meets an area known locally as the ‘Dukeries’; another residential area characterised by narrow streets and more

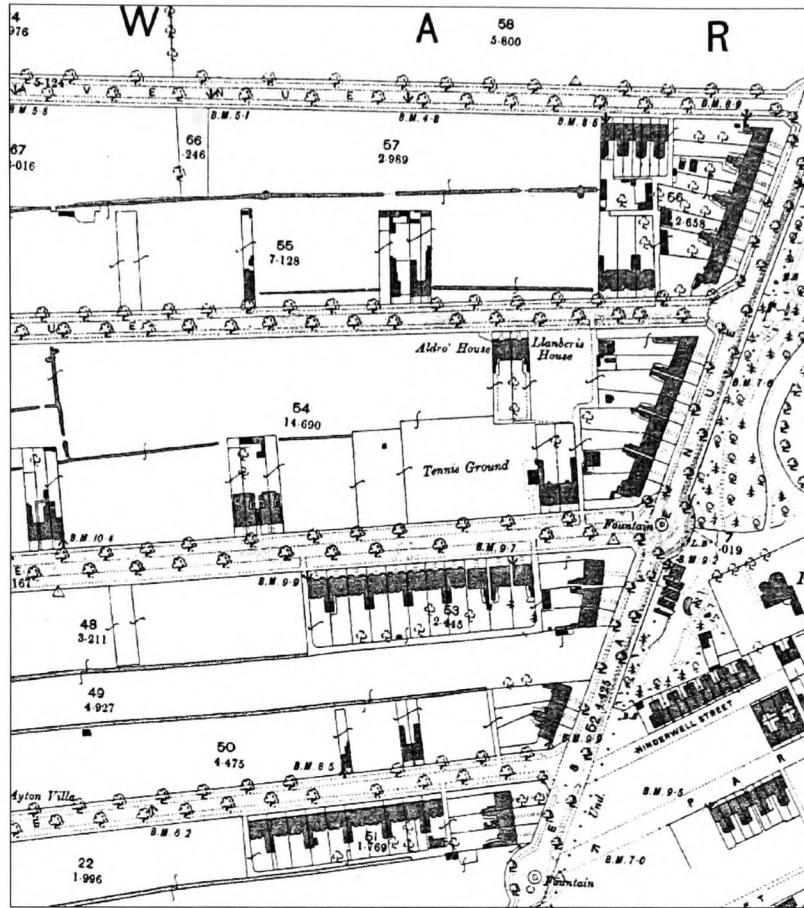


densely-packed terraced housing. These districts are very different environments in terms of architecture and both public and private space. In this chapter I explore how these different environments, connected (both physically and socially) by the busy shopping street of Princes Avenue, shape and are shaped by current memory processes.

During my research I conducted seventeen in-depth interviews with residents and former residents. I also ran two group interviews and two public workshops in the area. I regularly attended the Avenues and Pearson Park Residents Association (APPRA) meetings, in which various issues about the area, including proposed changes and planning applications, were discussed by local residents. I also attended numerous community events including a 'twinning day' between the Avenues and Boulevard, which involved a guided history tour of both areas with local residents followed by a discussion group.

## **7.2 Historical Development**

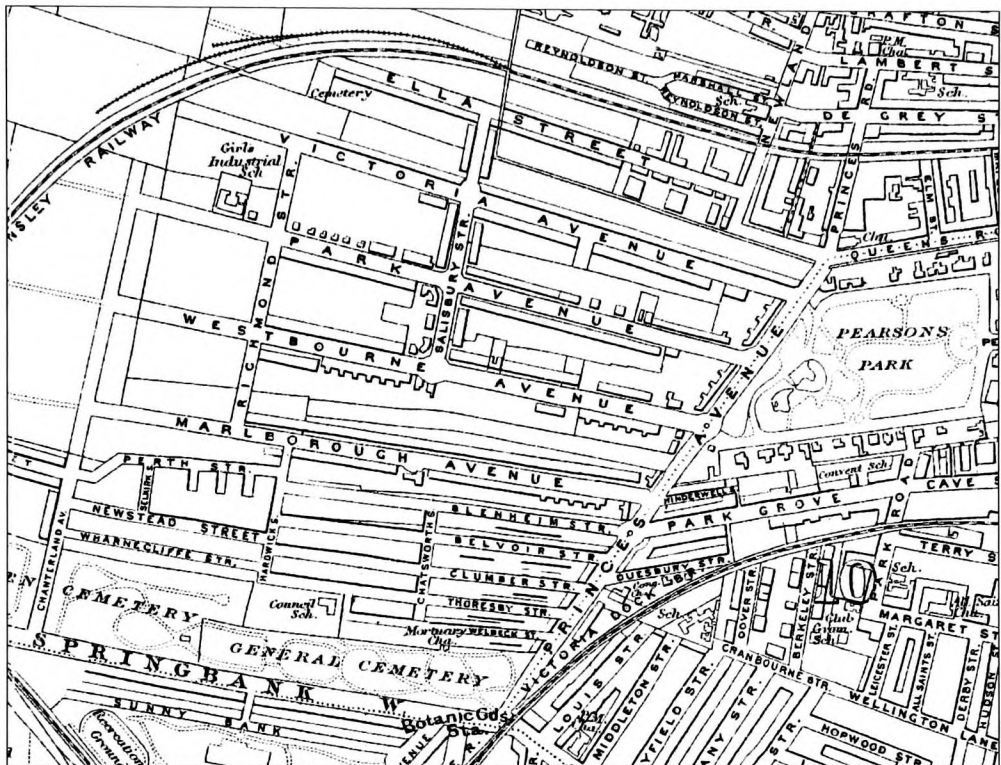
As discussed in Chapter 4, the Avenues Estate was established in the second half of the nineteenth century as an elite housing development, providing accommodation for Hull's increasingly wealthy middle classes. The main streets of the estate (including Princes Avenue which was then the principal access) were laid out in 1875 and individual plots were then gradually sold or leased to local developers (Hotham and Ketchell 1989a:32). The east end of Princes Avenue, adjacent to Pearson Park, was developed between 1875 and c.1890 (**Illustration 7.2**). The rest of the estate was developed more slowly, with the majority of houses constructed between 1875 and the mid-1920s (Hotham and Ketchell 1989a:32). Contemporary Trades Directories suggest that initially the Avenues area was an exclusive suburb, but that by the end of the nineteenth century it had expanded to house a broad spectrum of occupational backgrounds (Oxaal 1989:21).



**Illustration 7.2:** Ordnance Survey map 1893, showing development at the east end of the Avenues Estate.

During the early-twentieth century there was a period of increased suburban expansion, fuelled by population growth and the development of better public transport links (including the first motor bus services), which allowed a greater number of people to commute further to work (Armstrong 2000:221). The first tram route along Princes Avenue opened in 1900 (Barwick 1989:39) and between 1900 and 1910 the terraced streets now known as ‘the Dukeries’ were constructed to the south-west of Princes Avenue. During the same period a number of shops were established at the south end of Princes Avenue, and by 1910 this area had become a thriving commercial district (KHCC 1997b). The shops listed in the trades’ directories for this period reflect the comparative wealth of the local community, with a number of ‘fancy goods’ retailers listed alongside

the more usual trades<sup>59</sup>. From 1910 onwards Chanterlands Avenue was also developed, providing road access to the western end of the Avenues for the first time (Illustration 7.3).



**Illustration 7.3:** Plan from *Kelly's Directory of Hull*, 1910, showing suburban expansion around the Avenues Estate.

The residential areas around Princes Avenue continued to expand during the mid-twentieth century, particularly to the north and west beyond Chanterlands Avenue. The Princes Avenue area suffered some damage from aerial bombing during both the First and Second World Wars. However, this was on a much lesser scale than other parts of the city, particularly those close to the infrastructure of the port (including both the NaSA and the River Corridor areas). Perhaps for this reason the war time damage around Princes Avenue is poorly documented in the popular literature about the area's history.

<sup>59</sup> For instance, *Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1910 listed two 'fancy' drapers (at no.s 35 and 65), a 'fancy repository' (at no. 71) and a servants' registry office (at no. 33). The same directory listed the residents of the large houses at the north end of Princes Avenue, including a number of merchants and brokers, two managing directors, a chartered accountant, two surgeons and a steam trawler owner (*Kelly's*, 1910:131-132).

During the second half of the twentieth century Princes Avenue underwent a period of change caused by wider changes in commercial and social patterns, which accelerated after the Second World War (Kaye 1989:27). During this period, and particularly from the 1960s onwards, the nature of the shops in the area gradually began to change to accommodate new trades and styles of shopping (Kaye 1989:27). During the same period the larger Avenues houses were increasingly converted into flats<sup>60</sup> and some of the properties started to become dilapidated (Elsom 1989:47). These visible changes caused concern amongst a number of local residents, and in 1970 the Avenues Residents Association was formed with the aim of preserving the residential character of the area, and preventing it from deteriorating further (Elsom 1989:47). By this time a number of the larger Avenues houses were becoming increasingly derelict and there was a 'very real fear' amongst some residents that the area would rapidly decline (Elsom 1989:47). The Residents Association therefore campaigned for the area to be designated as a conservation area. They also initiated the placing of Heritage plaques on some Avenues properties from the mid-1970s onwards to mark the homes of former famous residents (Elsom 1989:47). The Avenues Residents Association (now the Avenues and Pearson Park Residents Association - or APPRA) is still very active, campaigning against insensitive development in the Avenues area and organizing regular newsletters and community events. They have recently produced a Design Guide, to advise local residents on the best ways to look after their Avenues houses, including the legal restraints on changes to houses within the conservation area (APPRA 2007). However, there are still many concerns about development in the area, particularly the replacement of original wooden sash windows with U-PVC, and the building of 'cross-over' drives across the grass verges to allow residents to park their cars in their front gardens. There have also been issues with subsidence in some of the houses. This resulted in the City Council felling a number of the largest original trees, after a landmark ruling in 1995 which found against Humberside County Council in an insurance case over the subsidence of one

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<sup>60</sup> A process that had begun with some of the largest houses at the east end of the estate in the 1920s (*Kelly's Directory of Hull* 1929).

property on Park Avenue (APPRA 2007:19). Since then there has been a program of replanting with more appropriate (smaller) native species (notes from APPRA meetings).

The south end of Princes Avenue became a conservation area in 1993 (KHCC 1997b). This part of the area has also changed significantly in recent years, most notably with the emergence of numerous café-bars and other licensed premises, which has resulted in Princes Avenue becoming one of Hull's most popular night spots. Fuelled by these changes The Dukeries have also undergone a period of change which has encouraged rising house prices and a more affluent, mobile community. This has resulted in renovations to many of the properties and an increasing number of cars in the area. Recent years have also seen the conversion of many of the corner shops that used to be common throughout the area into residential properties.

### **7.3 Collective frameworks for remembering**

#### *7.3.1 Formal sites of memory*

A number of the Avenues houses carry plaques celebrating famous former residents. These have been erected by the Residents Association over the past 20 years. There are no statues, or other public memorials within the Avenues estate, although there are a number of statues and memorials in the nearby Pearson Park.<sup>61</sup> There are however a number of tree carvings, and although these are not formal sites of memory, they do draw on elements of local history and may be considered to be intentional commemorative sites (this will be discussed further in the walk section below). There are also a number of listed structures in the Avenues area, including two, recently restored, Victorian fountains (listed grade 2). These are very popular with residents and non-residents alike, and have featured in a number of memory debates (see below). The Avenues is also a Conservation Area (KHCC 1998).

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<sup>61</sup> Pearson Park was not included in my original case-study area, but many of the memories I heard (from the Avenues in particular) did mention this area as an important place of shared experiences and routines, interlinked within the wider landscape. I do not have enough space to discuss the Park in this chapter, but this should be a consideration for any future research.

There are no formal sites of memory on Princes Avenue, or in the Dukeries. Princes Avenue is a Conservation Area, although this only covers the main shopping street, and does not cover the streets to either side, including the Dukeries (KHCC 1997b).

### 7.3.2 *Published histories*

There are several published histories of the Princes Avenue area. The best known are 'A Short History of the Avenues and Pearson Park Conservation Area' (Sheppard, Rooney and Smith 1976) and 'An Illustrated History of the Avenues and Pearson Park' (Ketchell 1989a). These were both published by the Avenues Residents Association to promote the historical significance of the area, and to encourage people (particularly local residents) to value and protect their architectural heritage. Both histories include sections on Princes Avenue and Pearson Park, but ignore the Dukeries, about which very little has been published to date.<sup>62</sup> A guided history walk for the Avenues and Princes Avenue was also produced by local historian Chris Ketchell as part of his 'walk right back' series (Ketchell 1989b and 1993a). All of these accounts take a traditional historical approach, focusing on the architectural detail, or the individual architect, of particular houses, such as the grade 2 listed Gilbert Scott houses on Salisbury Street.<sup>63</sup> These traditional accounts also tend to focus on famous former residents and the houses they once lived in (Sheppard et al 1976:11). There are also a number of websites dedicated to the Avenues, including the Avenues Residents Association website (<http://www.avenuesonline.org>) and a website documenting the history of the tree carvings and the restoration of the area's Victorian fountains (<http://www.hullsangel.org>). These take a less traditional approach, particularly the Hull's angel website, which documents the background to some of the public art and restoration work that has taken place in the area.

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<sup>62</sup> Although there is a chapter on the Dukeries in Paul Gibson's most recent '*Hull Then and Now*' book on local history, published August 2010. I think that this will inevitably change the nature of popular and collective memory in the area by shaping and, ultimately, potentially stabilising the memories attached to certain streets and buildings. However this change will occur outside of the period of my research and I only mention it here as a thought for any future research.

<sup>63</sup> Other architecturally significant or 'noteworthy' structures often include 204-212 Park Avenue, designed by Thomas Spurr, and 34-40 Westbourne Avenue, designed by J.M. Dossor (Sheppard, Rooney and Smith 1976:4 and Hotham and Ketchell 1989:32-5).

### 7.3.3 *Popular stories (from workshops and other discussions)*

Although there are no formal sites of memory on Princes Avenue, there *are* some subtle reminders of the area's past in the names of some of the bars along Princes Avenue, and these prompted a number of popular stories. One example is 'Garbutt's' which makes reference to David Garbutt, the founder of the Avenues Estate. Another, perhaps less obvious example, is the Linnet and Lark. There is some confusion over the provenance of this name, although the majority of people I spoke to interpreted it as a reference to the Zoological Gardens that historically occupied an area off Spring Bank to the east. Some people even told me that the pub stood on the site of the old birdhouse from these gardens. There are also similar popular stories attached to the Polar Bear pub on Spring Bank (which, according to local legend, stands on the site of a former polar bear enclosure). However, although these are nice stories they are sadly untrue as the Zoological Gardens were located further to the east, in the area now occupied by Morpeth Street, Hutt Street and Peel Street (as shown on a number of city plans from the mid-nineteenth century). In recent years a number of public art installations using this Zoological theme have also been created on nearby Spring Bank, including a trail of elephant tiles and two large bears made of wire (on Albany Street).

As described above, the Avenues are characterised by large houses in a variety of architectural forms, and this has had a significant impact upon popular memory within the district. Many of my respondents described a sense of wonderment at the large houses, and the obvious former glory (and visible wealth) of the area. The Avenues is generally considered to be an affluent area by non-residents, and many people describe it as 'posh'. One gentleman from the Hessle Road area even told me jokingly that if you lived in the Avenues you 'walked round with your little finger in the air' (Hessle Road Workshop).

In their memories of the Dukeries, my respondents talked much less frequently about the houses, which (as described above) are smaller and generally more uniform in design. Instead they told me about the corner shops and once daily routines that have

now disappeared. Their stories also reflected more recent changes. As Princes Avenue has become increasingly popular for its night life, the Dukeries have also become increasingly popular with first-time buyers and young professionals. This has caused visible changes that people regularly commented on, including an increase in the number of parked cars on the streets, as well as some less obvious changes. The collective name 'the Dukeries' is apparently derived from the fact that a number of the streets are named after aristocratic estates, including Clumber Park and the Chatsworth Estate (Ketchell 2006). However a number of people told me that referring to the area by this collective title is a relatively modern usage. As one resident explained:

In the eighties I had friends that lived on Clumber Street, and I had various friends living in the area, and really I can't remember the first time I heard it [called the Dukeries] probably only over the last five years. Yeah, it's probably only over the last five years that I've heard people start calling it the Dukeries.

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59).**<sup>fn 64</sup>

Deliberate branding of urban areas has been noted elsewhere as a fashion initiated by estate agents attempting to 'carve out' small, exclusive districts by naming them after desirable roads or topographical features, to boost the profile of particular housing areas (Moran 2005:138). This may suggest that the ways in which places are collectively imagined can be actively manipulated by external forces responding to wider economic pressures and socio-political trends. In the Dukeries, although some people told me that the name was a modern creation, others used the term without questioning or drawing my attention to it. This suggests that modern narratives are affecting the way that these streets are currently imagined and therefore also shaping (albeit perhaps unevenly) how they are remembered.

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<sup>64</sup> Interestingly, one of my examiners, who had also lived in the area during the 1980s, said that he *did* recall it being referred to as the Dukeries during this period.



## 7.4 Walking and Talking: Current Memory in the Princes Avenue area

In this section I present some of the many shared and personal memories that I encountered across the Princes Avenue area during my research, paying particular attention to the role of buildings and architecture in shaping how and why different parts of the district are remembered.

### 7.4.1 *Princes Avenue*

All of the Dukeries and Avenues residents that I spoke to had memories of Princes Avenue; a shared shopping district made up of public (or at least semi-public) spaces, and shared, everyday interactions. This makes it an important place of memory for many people and, therefore, also a good place to begin our walk.



**Illustration 7.4:** Princes Avenue, from the corner of Spring Bank

I remember when I was a girl we had trams. We had trolleybuses as well. If you were lucky they'd come off the rails going round Princes Avenue corner which meant you were late for school (laughs).

**Barbara D (aged 60-79)**

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The first tram route along Princes Avenue was an extension of the Spring Bank route which began in 1900. It was an electric tram, and ran as far as Queens Road (Miles 2007:51). This service was withdrawn in 1937 (Miles 2007:51). The first trolleybus route to operate in Hull was the no. 61 to Chanterlands Avenue, which opened in 1937 (Miles 2007:45). The no. 62 trolleybus route, which ran along Princes Avenue, opened in the same year and operated until 1963 (Miles 2007:45). The number 66 also ran along Princes Avenue to Pearson Park (ibid). All of the trolleybus routes in Hull were converted to buses between 1961 and 1964 (Miles 2007:46). There were various bus routes through the Avenues area, including the no. 14 (Bricknell Avenue via Princes Avenue), the no. 15 (Chanterlands Avenue), the no. 26 (Air Street to the Fish Dock via Princes Avenue) and the no. 27 (Bankside via Princes Avenue).

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Many of the memories that people shared with me about the south end of Princes Avenue were connected to public transport. A number of tram, trolleybus and motor-bus routes passed through this area, and these were remembered by both residents and visitors who used these services to travel in and out of the district. For some people these routes shaped their experiences of the area. For others they connected the area to other parts of the city. As discussed in Chapter 4, although private car ownership increased rapidly after the Second World War, in the late sixties Hull was still well below the national average with less than a third of the city's households owning a car (KHCC 1968:23). Until the later twentieth century the majority of the city's population therefore relied upon walking, cycling and public transport to facilitate the routines of their everyday lives.

However, although these transport networks played a significant role in facilitating many of the experiences people talked about, they were often only mentioned in-passing, as background context for more memorable events. For instance, a lady at one of my workshops told me a story about getting the tram from Princes Avenue into town to go to the Tower cinema on Anlaby Road<sup>65</sup> during the 1930s. She said the occasion stuck in her mind because they stopped the film to make a public announcement that King George V had died.<sup>66</sup> Other transport memories were even more indirect with people remembering the infra-structure of the city's transport networks and its impact on their everyday lives. For instance, as motor transport increased after the First World War, traffic police were increasingly deployed to direct traffic at busy intersections. One of these was at the junction between Spring Bank and Princes Avenue.

I remember there was a police man used to stand on that corner waving the traffic round. He had a circular sort of box that he stood in, and then there was a young woman, I can't remember what they called her, but she was a terrific traffic warden. She was very well known, you know.

#### **Olive W (aged 60-79)**

Many people remembered this police-box, often telling personal stories about it, highlighting some of the ways in which this essentially ephemeral traffic feature was very much a part of people's everyday lives.

Eileen – Of course there used to be gates across. You know the Zoological pub? Where the clock is? He [the policeman] stood right in the centre there, and the traffic went to the left, and the traffic went to the right, and he was right in the middle. But he didn't always stand high-up did he? He was on the ground at one time wasn't he, when we were young?

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<sup>65</sup> Mentioned in the previous chapter

<sup>66</sup> George V died in 1936, the year before the Princes Avenue tram service was suspended.

Geoffrey – Yes. Then they gave him a box that stuck him up a couple of inch higher, but he didn't have one at first, it was a bit dangerous!

Eileen – During the war my grandma lived off Derringham Street, and if there'd been an air raid before midnight you went to school at the normal time, but if there'd been an air raid after midnight you were allowed to go at ten o'clock. So if we'd heard rumours that something had happened in Derringham Street, I used to get on my bike and go and see if granny was alright. Now I remember cycling along here, and I got to the bottom there and I was a bit unsure about his hand signals, and he had his back to me facing the direction of the traffic, so I went round, and he shouted, 'oi, you come back!' but I was frightened and I didn't go back (laughs), and ever after that I got off my bike to walk across by the bobby, I never rode my bike across there again!

#### **Eileen and Geoffrey (aged 60-79)**

Eileen's story combines shared memories of the public transport infrastructure with more personal journeys. The gates she mentions were for a level-crossing on Spring Bank. Many people also told me about a footbridge that used to span this crossing; many had childhood memories of waiting on this bridge to be enveloped in steam as the trains went under, and of people carrying their bikes across to avoid waiting at the gates. As mentioned in the previous chapter, matching stories were recounted at every level crossing I encountered across the city, suggesting that memories of the railway system connect people (and places) in a loose network of shared experiences and common stories. Moran has argued that these connections create 'minimal, wordless communities' brought together through collective experiences of repeated journeys and mundane, everyday routines (Moran 2005:27). Svetlana Boym has also discussed the importance of public transport as a way in which people routinely map their understandings of the world (Boym 2001:170), arguing that memories of these transport networks provide people with a 'password' to their pasts (Boym 2001:170).



**Illustration 7.5:** Old Zoological pub on the site of the former Botanic Crossings Railway Station, Princes Avenue.

Hull Cemetery station was opened at the corner of Princes Avenue and Spring Bank in 1853 as part of the new Victoria Dock branch-line, serving the new eastern docks (Dyson website 2009). The line ran from Anlaby Road to Spring Bank, along the back of Princes Avenue to Stepney station (on Beverley Road), before crossing the River Hull and reaching the Wilmington and Victoria Dock stations on the East Bank (Dyson website 2009). After 1864, the branch-line was also connected to the Hull-Hornsea and Hull-Holderness lines, and the Princes Avenue station was opened to passengers under the new name 'Cemetery Gates' (Dyson website 2009). It was renamed Botanic Crossings in November 1881 (Gibson 2008:169). The route was closed to passengers in 1964, although freight trains continued to use the line until 1968 (Dyson website 2009). The lines were removed in 1984 (Gibson 2008:168), and the site was eventually redeveloped as a pub and car park in 1994 (Gibson 2008:169).

Oh yes, the Old Zoological. That used to be the railway station. Stood on there many a time for Hornsea. The train just used to go to Hornsea or Withernsea. When the kids were little we used to just walk up Princes Avenue and get on there and the kids used to watch the train coming from Paragon Station, seeing the steam coming out the engine, and they used to get so excited, it was lovely. Me dad was in some almshouses in those days in Fountain Road and when he knew we were going he used to come out at the back and watch for us, and we used to stand at that side and wave to him and he used to wave back. Oh yes, you can't believe it was ever a railway station. Loads of people used it because it was cheap, although I can't remember how much it was now.

**Mrs. Jeffery (aged 80 plus)**

Next to the level crossing, on the corner of Princes Avenue and Spring Bank was the Botanic Crossings station. It was closed in the 1960s as part of the Beeching reforms and almost all trace of the track, crossing and station has now been removed. Despite this, many people had memories of the station and the railway, particularly the journeys they took from here to the East Coast. Edensor has argued that sections of former railway are often still connected to the 'larger spectral network to which [they] were a part' (Edensor 2008:317) and this is seen at this former station. As part of their memories of the station, people frequently talked about the route of the railway line. This suggests that the site is prompting a form of spatialised memory that stretches, like the now ghostly train journey, across the city and beyond. Most people mentioned the same places, usually stations en-route. However, some also recalled other, more personally significant locations (as shown in Mrs. Jeffery's quote above). This suggests that, although the route acts as a collective prompt for remembering, individual recollections are still able to seep out from the shared narrative to encompass other, more personal, connections to different times and places.

Other residents who knew the area during the 1970s and 1980s also had memories of the derelict station before its redevelopment during the 1990s.<sup>67</sup>

We spent a lot of time on Princes Avenue, but we'd spend a lot of time walking up it or walking down it, because in the eighties there was no pubs on Princes Avenue, the new Old Zoological didn't exist, that was a coal yard. We used to have a coal fire in our house in Westbourne Avenue and there was a little lady who used to sit in a cabin there, and I used to go and buy bags of coal off her and carry them up the road home. This would've been the railway where the Zoological is, the railway tracks were still there, you could still see bits of railway track, they went up to the other side of the road, and there was still carriages on there, you know, they just seemed to be dumped. The carriages were there throughout the eighties...

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

This may explain why so many people remember the station, as it remained visible as an arcane presence until relatively recently. Also, at least part of the site (the coal yard mentioned above) continued to be used beyond the closure of the station. One former resident told me a story about when the coal merchant finally closed.

There was a coal merchant's somewhere along there and they had a hut. I remember when they gave up it became available and some friends of mine had an idea to get it and use it as a shop. They were going to call it the sugar shack (laughs), it never happened though.

**Sam (aged 60-79)**

In this story Sam remembers a period of change when traditional trades were starting to make way for new styles of business. Sam also recalls a version of the site that never actually materialized, but that nevertheless still plays a role in the way this space is remembered and shaped, at least in the imagination of a small number of residents. This

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<sup>67</sup> For archive photographs of the station, including one showing it in a derelict state in 1975, see [http://www.subbrit.org.uk/sb-sites/stations/b/botanic\\_gardens\(hull\)/index.html](http://www.subbrit.org.uk/sb-sites/stations/b/botanic_gardens(hull)/index.html)

demonstrates the complexity and occasionally fleeting nature of the memories interacting with this space, supporting current assertions that the imagined life-histories of certain places are more intricate (and fragmented) than traditional biographical approaches allow (Till 2006:330). Some of the stories I heard also suggested that memories of this site are being modified and passed down between generations. As one of my younger respondents explained,

My mum used to always tell me stories about standing on the railway bridge, cos this was a station and there was a railway bridge going over Spring Bank, and they used to stand there and let the steam from the trains go up their skirts (laughs). I remember it being a station, all boarded up, and the little coal shop. There was a little wooden hut next to it that used to sell coal, and crossing the road there there was always the traffic warden in his box in the middle of the road, where the traffic island is now, directing all the traffic, and you had to wait for him to tell you to come to the middle and then you used stand with him in his box until you could cross to the other side. It came up to his waist. It was sort of a metal box on wheels. He used to wheel it out every day and stand there directing the traffic.

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

This quote combines a lot of what has been said in the previous quotes, but also fluctuates between inherited and observed memories that are inter-twined across different spaces, and times. This exposes the active, deliberate process through which some residents recount stories of earlier periods, creating hybrid narratives from direct and indirect knowledge and experiences, in order to give a fuller account of the space they are describing. It also suggests that the ghostly station exists through co-existing narratives, or 'asynchronous moments' (Crang and Travlou 2001:161), simultaneously imagined as a busy station, a relic coal yard and a derelict ruin.

Before we leave Botanic Crossings, I also want to briefly mention the present use of the site and how that this also affects the ways this space is remembered. A number of



people talked about the pub that currently occupies the site. However, the memories that people told me did not relate to this building, but to a former pub of the same name on Beverley Road.

I've never been in the new Old Zoological (laughs). When my husband and I were courting we used to go in the old Zoological, which wasn't in the same spot, it was on the corner of Beverley Road and Spring Bank, where the Hull Daily Mail is now. We used to call it the Zooey and opposite there was a huge bank of shops that all belonged to William Cousin's. It's all gone now, but my husband and I both worked in there in different departments, that's where we met, and we used to go in the old Zoo. In fact, all the employees used to go in the Zoo! (laughs) It was all flag stones, and settles, you know, not chairs and things like that, but these hard black oak settles they were called, and you sort of perched your bum on it, but you couldn't get really comfortable.

**Jean (aged 60-79)**

This sort of story was repeated by many residents, all of whom had memories of the Beverley Road Zoological. In contrast, nobody told me anything about the current building on Princes Avenue (featured in the photograph), suggesting that the pub name, rather than the physical site itself, is triggering this burst of memory. As shown with the cinemas in the previous chapter, different, geographically separated, places can be connected through networks of remembered social practice; however in this case a series of otherwise physically and *historically* unrelated places are connected through a relatively modern and apparently mundane intervention. This highlights the unstable and often unpredictable nature of everyday memory (Moran 2004), and the potential significance of naming in transforming otherwise un-noticed, anonymous places – in this case the modern pub building - into sites of memory (Dwyer 2004:431). In this case the naming, although a deliberate action, was not necessarily intended to invoke the memories of the former Zoological pub. Instead, the new name may well be a reference

to the historic Zoological gardens that (as discussed above) appear to have been adopted as a theme for pub names and public art in this area.

Opposite the Old Zoological is a row of three-storey properties with ornate upper gables. These buildings were constructed in the early twentieth century, when the road was widened and the nineteenth-century cemetery gates that stood on the site were demolished (Gibson 2008:168). Many of these buildings were remembered as different shops by residents of different ages. The shops most often mentioned from this area were Duggleby's toy shop, Burt's carpet and furniture shop, Hull Foods, and a clothes shop called Utal, whose painted sign is still visible on one of the gables.



**Illustration 7.6:** Painted sign on shop gable, south end of Princes Avenue

There used to be a Utal, it used to be a bit further up, used to be a nice ladies shop for dresses, and then there used to be Hobson's I think they called it, china, lovely china. One of the young men who worked with me dad, he was getting married and they told him to buy something for his wedding and he bought a dinner set from this Hobson's. Of course they're not there now, but I think one of them still says Utal right up there at the top.

**Mrs. Jeffery (aged 80 plus)**

People often spoke about former shops. However, with the exception of shops like Utal, where recognisable traces of former occupants remain, people often had trouble pinning down their exact location, particularly when looking at modern photographs. Instead I found that people often located their memories in relation to other geographical features, particularly streets and other shops.

I remember what the shops used to be, but not these modern ones. I don't know whether it was here or further along, but there was a Welbourns, a double-fronted shop, they sold papers and magazines. There was the Co-op, which would be, oh was it at the corner of Clumber Street? Yes, I think it was. That was a big double-fronted shop as well, and there was a butchers added. Jackson's was at the corner of Belvoir Street, and there was a dress shop near Botanics, near the corner, where the policeman used to stand.

**Eileen (aged 60-79)**

As shown in this quote, these memories were often also combined with other features of the everyday landscape (such as the policeman) to create a personal, narrative map of the area.<sup>68</sup> Sometimes these maps were temporally linked (describing memories from

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<sup>68</sup> In some ways these narrative maps were similar to what Della Dora has called 'inscapes'; articulated, imagined landscapes based on a 'continuous dialogue with the past' (Davis 1979 quoted in Della Dora 2006 page 217)

the same time). In other cases the maps included memories from different periods, or recalled the ways in which the area had changed. For instance, people often talked about lost shop styles such as butchers shops with sawdust on the floor, or shopkeepers with long white aprons, or grocers' where everything was weighed out (as opposed to being pre-packaged).

People also talked about the arrival of new sorts of shops and businesses at different times, particularly over the past thirty years, when the shops on Princes Avenue started to change from more traditional trades (such as grocers, butchers and coal merchants) to new sorts of businesses catering for the growing student population in the area, also known as the 'jean and bean brigade' (Ketchell 1993a). These included vegetarian and Health Food shops, second-hand book and record shops, and what many of the people I spoke to termed 'hippy shops' which sold a selection of clothes, furniture and other goods. Some of these shops (such as Pantomime, Hull Foods, Blue Moon and Zebra) survived for a number of years and were frequently mentioned. Others were relatively short-lived, and were mentioned very infrequently, often only being remembered by people who had a particular connection with them.

At the Spring Bank end of Princes Avenue there was a shop called Hull Food at the time, which was a vegetarian health food shop, which in the early eighties was quite rare. I used to go in there and be slightly intimidated by all the things. I went vegetarian in 1985, so I sort of desperately wanted to find out what these things were and buy them, but I'd grown up in Leeds on tinned carrots and fish and chips (laughs). Over the years it must've had about four different locations on Princes Avenue, getting bigger each time. There was also a shop towards the Spring Bank end called Page One, which was the radical independent book shop. You could go in there and buy *Green Line* and *Anarchist Today* [sic]<sup>69</sup> and all sorts of leftie, green publications and books as well, with a similar theme. [...] There was lots of what we

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<sup>69</sup> It is possible that the interviewee meant *Anarchism Today* rather than *Anarchist Today*. It is also possible that he was just talking in more general terms about the sort of magazine that you might find in the shop, rather than about a specific publication.

used to call 'hippy shops' on Princes Avenue, most of which didn't last very long. In the late eighties we had a shop called Propaganda and that existed for possibly a year selling tie-dyed clothing, and leftie propaganda, and err sunglasses (laughs), all sorts.

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

None of my other respondents mentioned Propaganda. However (whilst looking for something else) I discovered an advert for it in an archive box at the Carnegie Heritage Centre. This helped me locate the site of the shop, now a popular delicatessen called 'Olive Tree' (see **Illustration 7.8**); although no physical trace of this former use otherwise remains.



**Illustration 7.7:** Advert for 'Propaganda' from Cannon Cinema listings booklet  
July/August 1989 (Carnegie Library Archives).

This demonstrates how ephemeral traces of buildings and their past lives can exist beyond the physical boundaries of the building itself (Tait and While 2009). As shown by this example, these traces have the potential to exist long after the particular incarnation of the building to which they relate has ended, or has changed beyond recognition, perpetuating this incarnation albeit in a fragmentary and slightly elusive way. This supports current arguments that buildings need to be understood as complex collections that not only involve physical materials (such as walls and windows), but that are also shaped and maintained through external media, including photographs, descriptions and archival sources (Tait and While 2009:736). It also reminds us that the traces of the past we encounter in the practice of everyday life are not necessarily apprehended, or understood by everybody; they are often stumbled upon quite by chance.

I had another chance encounter at the Boars Nest restaurant (22-24 Princes Avenue) on the opposite side of the road. This building used to be a hairdresser's which (by chance) had belonged to one of my respondents during the 1980s and 1990s. I visited the Boar's Nest one night and whilst chatting to the manager (again by chance) I mentioned the hairdresser's. He immediately took me to the back of the restaurant (which by this time had already been cleared and locked up for the night) to show me three small, unimpressive holes in the fashionably exposed brick wall. He told me that this was where a row of wash-basins (from the hairdresser's) had been removed during the conversion of the building. For most observers these traces are anonymous and untranslatable. However for the restaurant owner, and now for me, they are a subtle reminder of past events and the potential transience of the building's uses, both past and present. It is also interesting to note that, on their website, the Boars Nest emphasize the building's earlier history as an Edwardian butcher's ([www.theboarsnestull.co.uk](http://www.theboarsnestull.co.uk)). In this deliberate interpretation of the past, the building is presented as having an established connection with quality food. In this interpretation the building's more recent life as a hairdresser's has been actively and publically forgotten as an unusable, or possibly uninteresting, part of the building's past. However, as my experience shows, at the moment the hairdressers

is not only still privately recalled, but also valued enough to be evoked for someone who expressed a passing interest.

We now return to number 71 Princes Avenue, and turn our attention to the property next door; a Chinese restaurant called Giant Panda.



**Illustration 7.8:** Shops on Princes Avenue between Thoresby Street and Clumber Street

*Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1911 listed the shops between Thoresby Street and Clumber Street as: Ernest Heron, butcher (no. 63), Mrs. Ada Dickinson, fancy draper (no. 65), Mason and Booth Ltd., drug stores (no. 67), Henry Pratt, photographer (no. 69), Rookledge and Son, fancy repository (no. 71), and the Hull Co-operative Society (no. 73). The Hull Co-operative Society established a grocery at 73 Princes Avenue (branch 12) in 1903, during a period of rapid expansion in the Hull Co-operative Society (Smith 1998:17). This branch closed in 1970 (Smith 1998:74). There was also a Co-op butcher's at number 71 Princes Avenue from 1934 until 1983 (Smith 1998:74).

Many of the older residents I spoke to remembered this as the Co-operative, and the building still has the distinctive windows and original frontage associated with the Hull Co-operative Society (Smith 1998:58). However, most people identified the building because of the partly removed winch and warehouse system that still survives on the side wall on Clumber Street.



**Illustration 7.9:** Former Co-op warehouse with winch and pulley system, Clumber Street

I think that this was the Co-op to the side there. The post office was there, and the Co-op was at the corner of Clumber Street, so I think this was the side of the Co-op all along here. Yes, they'd lift all the sugar and the flour in, and the fruit and everything. Because you see when we were young the poor old Co-op milkman had a hand cart to pull. It wasn't one you pushed. He had to drag it full of [bottled] milk! It had a paper top on, there were no silver tops, and those were the tops that we used to make pompoms from (laughs). And sometimes when there was snow in the road they couldn't bring the cart round, so then we had to go and get our milk.

**Eileen (aged 60-79)**



This story, prompted partly by the relic crane, connects the building and the surrounding streets in a web of remembered associations and interconnected routines. Interestingly, this feature also prompted memories for older residents from other areas who did not know this had been the Co-op, but immediately recognised the relic warehouse system.

Most of the places like Jackson's and Co-op and that used to have bulk deliveries, and they'd use places like that as a warehouse and they used to take the stuff straight off the wagon, or the horse and cart. Cos you used to go buy your sugar and put it in your own bag, a pound of it. Butter was all loose, flour and all that, but it was delivered to the shops in bulk. Weird and wonderful days (laughs). But that's why you get them at the back of the shops. Or you see like maybe a back alley way and what looks like a two-storey garage, and there's a hoist there, and that was the storehouse to put things in.

**Dennis Clarke (aged 60-79)**

The Princes Avenue Co-op closed in 1970 (Smith 1998:74), and the shop became an alternative clothing and second-hand shop called Pantomime. This shop lasted a number of years, and was remembered fondly by many residents. Interestingly, although the memories of Pantomime were from a later period than those of the Co-op, the crane still featured in a number of the stories that people told me.

The Giant Panda, at the end of the block, that used to be a shop called Pantomime, which some of my friends had for a while. They started it around 1972 and finished in about 79. Round this corner here there's a crane where they used to haul stuff up. When my friends were taking it over the guy from the Co-op came round and asked them if they wanted to keep it, cos it was all working, there was a cable with a hook and a big heavy ball, and it had electricity to it. I think they said no in the end and he had the cable taken away, but the crane bit's still there.

**Sam (aged 60-79)**

These quotes demonstrate how this left-over fragment of past routines, something that would once have been a mundane feature typical of many shops, has now become a focal point for multiple, overlapping memories. This is an example of how memories are stirred when 'the anonymously functional is exposed as a product of time and an object of memory' (Moran 2004:58). Through this focal point shared and individual memories collide, prompting multiple narratives that activate both the building and the streets around it. However, this is not to say that the crane itself is either static or fixed. As shown by the quotes above, there are several different stories and narratives connected with the crane. These memories have some shared reference points, but they also diverge, connecting with other personal narratives and places in the city. We therefore need to understand this object, and indeed the building itself, as the result of an ongoing patchwork of partial connections that overlap at times, and not at others (Jenkins 2002:233).

We now cross the road to explore a white building almost directly opposite the former Co-op, which is currently a pub called the Linnet and Lark. This was formerly a car garage, 'Marlborough Garage and Engineering Co.' (*Barrett's Directory* 1959:195), which many people still remember.

The Linnet and Lark used to be a garage that sold cars. I remember them shutting the car thing down and then reopening it as a pub in the early 90s, it was really quite bizarre.

#### **Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

This was the first pub to open on Princes Avenue itself, before the café-bar developments of more recent years, and memories of this building were therefore often interlinked with more general memories about the recent changes to the area, including memories of the nearest pubs on Queens Road and Spring Bank, which were frequented by many former students during the 1980s and 1990s. There were many more memories from this area. However, sadly, there is no time to discuss them here, so we return the

way we have come, passing a row of café-bars including Lounge (formerly Norman's Record Place) and the Boar's Nest mentioned above. Interestingly, although some people expressed their dislike of the growing café-bar culture in this area, particularly because of what they saw as the gradual replacement of 'real' shops with bars and restaurants, many other residents said how much they liked the vibrant atmosphere of the area since the café bars arrived.

Crossing back over the road we now turn right into Welbeck Street.

#### *7.4.2 The Dukeries*

Welbeck Street is a straight, narrow street lined with terraced houses. It is one of the streets now known as the Dukeries. The majority of houses on both sides of the street are uniform in their design; red brick, two-storey terraces, although many have been altered in recent years with the removal of bay windows, and the addition of porches, render and cladding. Many memories of this area were related to the long, straight streets, which many people remembered as 'going on forever'. People also remembered everyday routines and activities that have now disappeared. For instance, a number of people remembered the meter man coming to collect money from the gas and electric meters. A small amount was usually returned and this was often shared out amongst local children, which caused great excitement. Other people told me about the carts that used to sell milk and other groceries, and the gas lamp lighters with their long poles. As with the Hawthorn Avenue case study, these sorts of memory are not specific to the Dukeries, but are shared by many people across the city. It could be argued that these memories are therefore part of a wider collective memory of the industrial city. However, as with Hawthorn Avenue, there were also a large number of individual and shared memories that related more specifically to the Dukeries.

We turn right into Chatsworth Street, which connects a number of parallel streets. At one time the buildings on the corners of all of these streets would have been shops.

I started my married life in the Dukeries in 1955, and then I moved out for a few years and came back fifteen years ago, and I did notice the difference then. I mean, it had changed, the little shops were disappearing, favourite little shops disappeared and you suddenly realised there were other shops missing. It was when they started with supermarkets, then all the little corner shops started to go. I mean, when I first got married, there were off-licenses, a post-office, a café, a shoe repairers, there was all sorts, you didn't have to go far, but when I came back fifteen years ago there was just the shoe repairers and the little corner shop here, it had changed so much.

**Barbara Dawson (aged 60-79)**

Many respondents talked about the growth of supermarket shopping and the effect of this on local shops, demonstrating that, even in lived-in areas, ephemeral traces of former routines open themselves up for conjecture, prompting reflections on social and economic change that are often projected as much towards the present and the future as they are towards the past (Edensor 2008:319).

The thing I liked about the Dukeries was that you could see on the corners where old shops used to be. There's one which is now a house, but it's still got the old shop window, I think its painted blue, or yellow, and I always quite liked that.

**Mrs. Smith (aged 20-39)**

All of the former shops on Chatsworth Street have been converted into houses. However some physical traces still remain. These were often mentioned by my walkers, prompting a range of personal and shared memories even for people who were too young, or hadn't lived in the area long enough, to remember the actual shops themselves. One building in particular, on the corner of Belvoir Street, has a painted sign on the first floor elevation that says 'Boot Repairs', which sparked memories from former residents of all ages.



**Illustration 7.10:** Chatsworth Street, looking north, showing Belvoir Street and Blenheim Street

Oh I remember the chap mending the shoes. That never changed for years and years. Mr. Ellis he was called. I've got one of his pencils somewhere. He had these pencils that were three-sided, really unusual. We used to play football kicking the balls up against these walls. God knows what the people used to think, but everybody used to go and play football. There were shops on all these corners. We used to have a jumble sale outside the house, and then go to that shop on the corner. That one [right hand corner of Blenheim Street] was a sweet shop, but it did little toys as well and we used to spend our money on caps and cap guns. And that was a sweet shop as well [opposite]. I remember using the old pennies in there.

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

Oh, that's Ellis's, and the yard where Lee's had the taxis, and didn't Lee's live in the house to the right of that yard? [T]here were some apprentices worked down there in either a garage or something, through this alleyway. My father's cousin had this shop, Terry's, on the corner of Blenheim and Chatsworth, it was a general confectioners and grocery, and then over this side, I can't remember what was there when I was little, but from the fifties a friend of mine ran a hairdressing business there

**Eileen (aged 60-79)**

*Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1930 listed Bernard Hayes, grocer at no. 103 Belvoir Street (front left of picture), and Thomas Steeksma, butcher at no. 101 (front right), Horace Wilkinson, boot maker is at no. 110 and Annie Coultas, shopkeeper at no.108 (where the boot repairs sign is today). The same directory listed George Lee, 'cab propr.' at 112 Blenheim Street (seen in the distance).

Again, this remnant of the former shop acts as a 'memorative sign' (Della Dora 2006) that is enrolled in personal narratives of restorative nostalgia, and from which a range of overlapping stories about partly forgotten places and routines spill out in a messy, unpredictable fashion. However, as with the Co-op crane, the Boot Repairs sign also prompted memories for people who had never lived in the area, but who remembered other boot-repair shops from elsewhere, including well-known local characters from popular memory.

Boot repairs (laughs). There was a similar place in Anlaby when I was a child. It had one of those little cobblers nodding away in the window.

**Anne B (aged 60-79)**

Oh aye, the boot repairs yeah. I mean, there used to be one on Hessle Road called Cloggy Walsh, he was well-known, yeah.

**Mike (aged 60-79)**

Edensor argues that the ghosts of everyday places are 'grounded in familiar experience' that can equally be shared by those who lived in a given area, as well as those who did not (Edensor 2008:326). The 'Boot Repairs' sign is a generic advert for a sort of shop that could have been found anywhere at one time, making it a translatable point of reference for many people. As shown by the quotes above, the reflective nostalgia associated with this 'echo' of the past (Boym 2001, Della Dora 2006:210), activates personal memories of other places and narratives, as well as evoking figures from popular narratives, such as Cloggy Walsh.

Other memories from this area revealed further connections with the NaSA area.

I remember, when we were kids, it was always such a long way to the top of the street! It was miles to the other end (laughs) and it always smelt of fish when the trawlers were in. My mate's dad used to have a lorry and we used to play underneath the lorries parked outside the house, and I remember them smelling of fish and I always thought that lorries, underneath lorries, smelt of fish. Then when we moved to London I remember noticing that they didn't, and it was just cos they went on the dock and they picked up all the mud in the wheel arches and so they were caked in mud that smelled of fish. It wasn't unpleasant, I didn't mind the smell, but it's funny to think I thought all lorries smelt of fish (laughs). Oh and the seagulls as well, there used to be loads of seagulls, clouds of seagulls flying over, which you don't see anymore. You used to be able to hear the speedway as well from over here.

*Tegwen - Speedway?*

On Anlaby Road. You could hear it from here, brrrrrrrm, brrrrrrrm (laughs). Once me and my mate on one of our bike rides went to the Speedway, we followed the sound, and we got in and watched it.

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

These memories evoke many of the sensory ghosts discussed in the previous chapter, showing this area to be part of a wider network of remembering. Many respondents also mentioned the 'Fish Dock bus' (officially the number 26) that ran from Air Street to St. Andrew's Dock. During the 1950s it was a popular commuter route for people working at either end of the route.

I grew up in Thoresby Street, and then after I was married we lived in Perth Street. I worked at Needler's, as did my husband, and his father. I was in the stock room and my husband was a van man, then he became a driver. I left in about 1952. I used to cycle, or sometimes I'd go on the bus. We used to call it the Fish Dock bus and it used to go right through from the Fish Dock, down Princes Avenue, and right through to Air Street, which is not far from Sculcoates Lane.

**Olive W (aged 60-79)**

As mentioned earlier, the growth of public transport networks was one of the historical factors that prompted suburban development in areas such as the Dukeries. These networks also shaped how, and more importantly where, local residents spent their leisure time.

Eileen – This is where the fish dock bus ran down. It went from Eyre Street on Beverley Road, just over from Queens Road, to West Dock Avenue. It came down Queens Road, Princes Avenue, down top end of Belvoir Street, turned left into Newstead Street, turned left into Chanterlands Avenue, along Spring Bank West, down Albert Avenue, turned left, then turned right down St. George's Road, then left onto Hessle Road.

Geoffrey – That was the one I used to get when I was in the navy. I was on an ocean going minesweeper for magnetic mines.

Eileen – This was in the fifties I'm talking though, we used to catch that bus to go to the Langham. We used to look in the Hull Daily Mail to see what picture was on,



and if we fancied a certain picture and it was at the Langham then we used to go (laughs). Same for, well it would have to be very special to go to the Carlton, and we'd still get off at the end of Albert Avenue but walk up. I have been to the Carlton, but we didn't go very often. It was the Monica on Newland Avenue, the Mayfair on Beverley Road, on the same fish dock bus, and occasionally the Langham.

### **Eileen and Geoffrey (aged 60-79)**

Like the railway network discussed in the previous section, this remembered bus route is acting to connect people and places in a network of shared spatial memories. As with the Princes Avenue example, this network also encompasses numerous individual experiences that overlap spatially, but are not necessarily shared. As Eileen and Geoffrey demonstrate, the individual memories connected to the Fish Dock bus follow the same route, but often for different reasons, creating different sorts of memories and associations for different people. This example further highlights the significance of public transport networks in shaping how and why different places are remembered.

Turning around we now cross back over Clumber Street and into Thoresby Street, both of which formerly had corner shops. The traces of these shops are now very ephemeral and former residents often found it difficult to remember exactly where the shops they remembered had been, or details about the particular sites they were looking at. This suggests that the physical changes to these buildings has fragmented and dislocated some of the memories connected with them resulting in a number of messy, partly forgotten narratives. As with the sorts of narratives often associated with ruins and other 'disordered' spaces (discussed in chapter 2), these memories emerge in a semi-conscious, often unstructured way, gesturing towards 'half-remembered bits of knowledge which are just beyond grasp' (Edensor 2005a:170).



**Illustration 7.11:** Chatsworth Street, showing Thoresby Street and Welbeck Street

*Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1929 listed Samuel Appleton, wine and spirit dealer at numbers 79-81 Thoresby Street, on the corner of Chatsworth Street (the property visible on the left in the picture). Frank Fletcher, butcher, is listed at number 83 (opposite, on the right), Elizabeth Storey, grocer, at number 92 (front right, out of shot) and Edith and Rt. MacDonald, fancy draper and builder's hardware merchant, at number 90 (front left, also out of shot).

Is this facing down towards Welbeck Street? Well, that was a butcher's shop there, on the right, and that was sort of a mixed groceries and general provisions on that corner, and this corner here, just in front, I think it was a wool shop. I remember they were there in the forties, but I can't remember what they called them because that's all been altered you see.

**Olive W (aged 60-79)**

Turning right, we continue along Thoresby Street, passing Thoresby Street School on the left, before reaching the corner of Hardwick Street.



**Illustration 7.12:** Thoresby Street School, from the corner of Hardwick Street

Thoresby Street School was the last of 37 Hull Board Schools built between 1870 and 1903, and opened in 1902 (Thoresby School website). The original bell was restored in 2002, and is the last remaining working school bell in Hull (Thoresby School website).

Thoresby Street school used to be a Central (or Commercial) School, which was attended by girls from across West Hull. Consequently this photograph prompted memories from respondents from outside of the area, as well as local residents.

Thoresby Street, that's where I went to school because it was what you called like a commercial school, and I passed my eleven plus. You didn't stay on while you were 16, you stayed on while you were 15, and in the last year you could either do a commercial course, or nursing. Well I did the commercial. I enjoyed it, and that's

how I ended up in an office doing short hand typing. I used to go on the bus when I went there, the Fish Dock bus, but we were only there a year and it was bombed.

**Jean (aged 60-79)**

Once again, many of these memories highlighted the significance of the ghostly Fish Dock bus in connecting this part of the city with other areas. The bomb mentioned in the quote was dropped during the Second World War, damaging the roof of the school and the corner of the terrace opposite the school, a site which is currently vacant (**Illustration 7.12**). This event was remembered by a number of local residents, some of whom had lived close-by.

We lived in a house just about there, about four doors further down. There was a house and a shop on the corner here. I was only thinking about this the other day, the lady from the shop, I remember when I was a little girl she brought me this doll to show me. It was in a box and it was all nicely dressed, and it had a wax face. Very valuable now, but of course it was bombed, so probably the doll went as well. I wasn't there when those bombs were dropped. All I remember was a pile of rubble, and it was left like that for quite a long time after the war. There was a laundry on Thoresby Street as well, just here on this corner [right side of photo]. I think it's a garden, or playing fields or something now, but they had, well I suppose it was a basement. It wasn't an air-raid shelter as such, but everybody went into the basement when the air-raids were on.

**Olive W (aged 60-79)**

As discussed in Chapter 4, Hull suffered a large amount of bomb-damage during the Second World War and post-war redevelopment was slow, with some buildings remaining in a partly-ruined state for many years (Markham 1997:87). These were known locally as 'bombed buildings' and are immediately recognisable to older residents from all parts of the city, for whom these sites became an accepted part of their childhood.

You still get a few of these where the bombed buildings were still now. You know when you go down Newland Avenue, Reynoldson Street and round there, you can see the clearings. Garages have been built on them now, but they were all direct hits. You see, during the war the house there would have been left all open and ragged because of the direct hit, and you could see right into the house. I can remember looking up, not to this particular house, but in a similar circumstance, where the next house had been bombed and absolutely demolished and you'd see, you know, a bath and a chair, all at an angle, and curtains all ripped and torn just flapping.

Tegwen - Sounds horrible!

Well it was just there, you know. I wasn't grown-up enough to form an opinion really.

#### **Jean S (aged 60-79)**

In all of the examples I walked past, including this site and the buildings on the corner of Boulevard and Newton Street discussed in the previous chapter (section 6.4.3), the sites of former bombed buildings prompted memories of other similar sites across the city. For many residents these are unsettling sites haunted by memories of the war and its devastating effect on everyday life. For others they prompted more happy memories of childhood, as many local children used the bombed buildings as impromptu (and often prohibited) playgrounds.<sup>70</sup> In some cases (as the example above) they remain as absent presences. In others, the sites have been redeveloped. However, in most of these cases the fabric used for the redevelopment is different to that of the surrounding buildings creating a visible 'rupture' in the continuity of the street, which continues to haunt those who recognise it (Till 2005:102). Interestingly, although the older residents I spoke to all recognised the site on the corner of Thoresby Street as bomb damage, for some younger

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<sup>70</sup> See next chapter (section 8.4.4)

residents this space was just an accepted and unremarkable part of the urban fabric; a place that has just 'always been empty'.

We now continue along Hardwick Street to Perth Street. In one of my group workshops, a number of people talked about Perth Street because of a bakery that used to fill the nearby streets with the smell of fresh bread and hot cakes.

There was a bakery on Perth Street, opposite Ash Grove, run by Harry Smith. He made the most beautiful hot cakes and you could smell the bread baking when you got up in the morning. He also made fantastic meat pies. There was also a cobbler's on Perth Street who made sandals out of pieces of scrap leather just after the war. The current hairdressers (on the corner of Perth Street) used to be what they called a drug store, which was like a chemist, but they didn't do prescriptions, and the Chinese take-away further along, on the corner of Wharnccliffe Street, was a fish and chip shop.

#### **Avenues Ladies Fellowship**

Some residents also remembered Anson's, on the corner of Thoresby Street and Chatsworth Street which, they told me, sold bread from the Perth Street bakery. This again demonstrates how shared memories tend to stretch beyond individual sites, tracing former connections formed by the regular movement of people and things (Massey 1995). At the end of Hardwick Street we turn right into Marlborough Avenue opposite St. Cuthbert's, a relatively plain, brick-built church.

### 7.4.3 *The Avenues*



**Illustration 7.13:** St. Cuthbert's Church on Marlborough Avenue.

I remember living in Clumber Street we didn't have any trees or anything, and we didn't have a garden we just had a yard, so coming down the Avenues was like being somewhere else. I used to sing in the choir at St. Cuthbert's, which is on Marlborough so it was only two streets away, but it was like somewhere else.

#### **Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

Although they sit side-by-side, the memories people shared with me about the Avenues and Dukeries were often quite different. As described above, the physical environs of the two districts are very different, and this was articulated through the memories of many of my respondents. For instance, some former Dukeries residents told me how impressed they had been by the Avenues as children, because the houses were so different to those they were used to.

I grew up in Thoresby Street, and when we were kids I remember we used to walk around the Avenues sometimes and I was always very impressed by them, because you always thought the rich people lived down there (laughs). Although now I don't think they're richer than anybody else, but I mean, some of those houses you can just imagine the maids and the staff going round.

**Olive W (aged 60-79)**

Others told me that they rarely visited the Avenues because, even though it's only a few minutes walk, it was considered too far away.

When I was first taken into Marlborough Avenue I thought I was in the country (laughs), but it was preparation for war, practice evacuation. Although we were so close, on Blenheim Street, we never went into the Avenues to play. You always played in your own area.

**Eileen (aged 70-89)**

In contrast, some of the people who had grown up in the Avenues told me that, as children, they had always considered the Dukeries 'a bit scary', as it was a busier, noisier and more heavily populated than the Avenues. This suggests that, despite their geographical proximity, the two areas maintained their own separate identities, being described by some respondents as being 'like different worlds'. However, there were also a number of connections. For instance, a number of people from both areas told me about singing in the choir at St. Cuthbert's (see quote above). The present church is a relatively new building, rebuilt on the site of an older church that was bombed during the Second World War. From its location it's quite likely that this was part of the same string of bombs that hit Thoresby Street, a sad reminder that historical events, as well as people, transcend area boundaries.

Moving on, we pass a number of large terraced houses. One lady I spoke to told me about moving into one of these houses in the 1930s.



When I got pregnant we thought we needed a garden and a bit of a bigger house, so we left the flat that we had on Beverley Road and moved into Marlborough Avenue. In that period, when we were youngish parents, it was quite a clique in the Avenues, and we had quite a little social group. We were all sort of ex-working class, lower middle class, but with aspirations. The Avenues is a bit like a village you know, people often come back around if you live long enough (laughs). We rented our first house because people didn't really buy property in those days, but we saw some of our friends getting houses and so we moved to Marlborough Avenue. It was lovely to let the children go free. I used to cycle down with my son on my back, and this friend of mine would come with me to get the house ready to move into, all the decoration and things. At the time we thought it was lovely, but now we should probably think it was terrible! (laughs) All brown paint, very dark, but the children had a room each, and there was a lovely garden at the back, and we were very happy.

**Mollie (aged 80 plus)**

Interestingly I heard similar stories from people of all ages, including those who had recently moved into the area, still drawn to the gardens and space for their growing families. Continuing along Marlborough Avenue towards Princes Avenue we reach a roundabout. Originally this had a fountain in the centre, one of six installed in 1875 as part of the original Estate. At the roundabout we turn left, along an alley between the houses. In Hull this sort of alley is known as a 'tenfoot', due to its width (of approximately ten feet). It snakes behind the houses, providing access to gardens and garages, and is bordered by fences of numerous shapes and sizes, made from an array of different materials including breeze blocks, corrugated iron, and wooden panels. There are many of these tenfoots throughout the Avenues, and other parts of the city, and they form a strong focal point of memory for many of the city's residents.



**Illustration 7.14:** Tenfoot between Marlborough Avenue and Westbourne Avenue

I've taken photographs of the tenfoots, in fact I've taken videos of the tenfoots for people, because they have some sort of interest in terms of, well, I remember when I was small we all played in the tenfoots. Where I used to play at the back of Marlborough Avenue and Westbourne there was probably about twelve of us used to meet there, and you were slightly apart from other people a bit further down the road, you didn't meet very often, you thought they were aliens or something (laughs).

**Chris (aged 60-79)**

Many of the people I spoke to immediately associated the tenfoot network with their childhood. They talked about playing games and riding bikes along the tenfoot network, which provided an alternative means of getting to places without having to negotiate roads or traffic. This network crossed the Avenues and continued into surrounding areas, including the Dukeries.

We used to spend all our time down the tenfoots at the back. We used to have bike rides, especially after the rain cos then all the tenfoots would have puddles (laughs). We used to start from Clumber Street and come down the alleyway across Richmond Street, and then cut through and go down the alleyway at the back of Salisbury Street, and have races through all the puddles. [...] Do you know Newstead Street, where the Chinese Restaurant is? Well, if you went in the alley just past that you could go all the way up to the chip shop and then it used to change. It was great for bikes cos you could race down and it was like a chicane because you'd have to switch onto the next path and go straight ahead, and then switch back again, and you could go all the way along the back of that street along that alley. Now you can't cos they've bricked it across, you can only go down so far. [...] And there used to be a garage down the back of Salisbury Street, I think it's still there. It used to have petrol pumps outside, and there was one at the back of Richmond Street, which might still have its pumps. We used to stop on our bikes and pretend to fill up (laughs).

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

Tenfoots were also out of general view, and were therefore often used by local children for covert activities.

They never looked like that in my day. People used to use the tenfoots, you know, use their garages and things. I had about five apple trees and two pear trees in my garden. The kids used to come to pinch 'em, so I put a box full outside on the tenfoot. They left those though, and still came and pinched mine (laughs).

**Joan Walker (aged 60-79)**

Respondents frequently told me about smoking cigarettes in the ten-foots as teenagers, or alternatively smoking rolled up paper, or cinnamon sticks (which apparently were harder to light, but tasted better). Although childhood memories were the most common, there were also many adult memories too. People told me about walking their

dogs in the tenfoots, and the joy of looking at the backs of the big, rambling houses and overgrown gardens. Many residents also told me about their increasing worries about potential muggings and rising crime (including graffiti and arson) along the tenfoots in recent years. As Simon told me,

I like wandering round the tenfoots, but I wouldn't use them at night. They are interesting to look round though, and they do give you a sense of the character of the place, the history, and sort of the ramshackle, rambling nature of some of the houses.

**Simon (aged 20-39)**

These worries have resulted in many tenfoots being 'gated' in recent years. This involves installing lockable gates at either end of the tenfoot so that only immediate residents can use them. This has caused some controversy, particularly in the case of tenfoots that form useful cut-throughs (such as the one we have just walked down), and there have been counter-attempts to get individual tenfoots designated as public rights of way. This is a long process, involving collecting testimonies from residents and former residents to prove that the tenfoot has been used as an uncontested right-of-way for at least thirteen years. Here, local memories are employed as a political tool in current debates over public and private space.<sup>71</sup>

David Matless (1998) has discussed the development of 'marginal social spaces' in the form of plotlands after the Second World War. He argues that these often unregulated developments became symbols of 'visual disorder' (Matless, 1998:39) that, for some was offensive and unsettling, but for others was central to their appeal (Hardy and Ward, 1984 quoted in Matless 1998: page 41). In the case of the tenfoots, their perceived marginality – shielded from public view and outside the normal controls of the city – has

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<sup>71</sup> There have been similar debates over the designation of Village Greens as official public spaces, which requires 20 years of evidence of use by local residents (after new legislation enacted in 2006). This was discussed in one of the memory sessions at the 2009 RGS-IBG conference in a paper entitled 'The role of memory in the development of local participation in the management of nature conservation spaces' by Owain Jones and Chris Short.

always been part of their attraction (as illustrated by the stories above). However in recent years their unregulated, fringe-like nature has also become central to their ability to cause anxiety to local residents. The strength of this anxiety (whether based upon reality or not) is demonstrated by recent attempts to control these spaces, and to place them under more strict regulation by restricting access to them. At the end of the tenfoot we come out on to Westbourne Avenue, next to a roundabout with an ornate cast-iron fountain in the middle of it. This is one of only two remaining Victorian fountains (from an original six) in the area, which are both popular landmarks and focal points for memory.



**Illustration 7.15:** Fountain on Westbourne Avenue

I always wish I'd seen the Avenues fountains going, but you see we went to live there in 1945-6 and they weren't working even then. It's a shame. They must have been splendid when they were working properly.

**Mrs. Wilson (aged 80 plus)**

One of the most frequent talking points was over whether the fountains had ever actually worked. Only one resident that I spoke to remembered seeing the fountains working, as a distant memory from before the Second World War. However this question came up regularly in workshops, and became a particularly hot topic after the restoration of the Boulevard Fountain in 2008. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Boulevard Fountain was modelled on the Avenues fountains, but unlike those in the Avenues it is a *working* water-feature, and its installation fuelled a long-running local debate over whether the Avenues fountains actually ever ran, and therefore if they could potentially be restored.

Turning left we continue along Westbourne Avenue. It has some of the largest houses in the area, and by the 1940s some were being converted into flats. At this time the area was still seen as very 'up-market' and the new flats were highly desirable. They were particularly popular with young married couples.

When we were first married, just after the war, we lived in Westbourne Avenue. We got this, well it was a big four-bedroomed house, double-fronted, and we heard that somebody had turned it into flats, and we were lucky enough to get one of the flats. I was so excited! We were there for some years, then we got a Corporation house, which I didn't like at all, but we were expecting our first child and we couldn't afford to buy a house. It wasn't bad, but the flat in Westbourne was lovely, the Avenues was the posh area (laughs). When we lived there they were certainly middle class, and of course they were leafy and just lovely really. Also, they weren't let into so many flats as they are now. For instance, we got this flat and the house had belonged to an old doctor. When we left it was still fairly middle class, but of course more and more these big houses started to be let as flats, and then the students started to move in, and it all got a bit run down I suppose. We'd left a long time before that though.

**Mrs. Wilson (aged 80 plus)**

Former residents from this period often told me about the original features they encountered inside these properties. A number of people also told me about their attempts to redecorate and modernise their flats during the 1950s and 1960s.

We moved to Westbourne Avenue in 1955, and we were there six years in a ground floor flat. It had big wooden shutters, they came up the window, but then they went back into the floor and you could walk under. I used to say if you don't find me my husband's put me under the floorboards (laughs). It was a real old Victorian, you know, and I painted the marble fireplace, which I shouldn't have done, it was an antique I suppose really, and before I decorated I pulled all the old wall paper off and I must've got about ten lots of wall paper off the walls! Some was black with roses on, and all sorts. It was really nice there, I loved that flat. It was a lovely place to live, but it was a bit tumble down though, you know what I mean, and eventually we got offered a pre-fab in Priory Road. I liked living in the Avenues though, and if it had been more modern we would maybe have stayed.

**Joan Walker (aged 60-79)**

The same lady also told me about hearing a noise next door and going round to find her neighbour 'modernising' her flat by chopping the ceiling rose from the ceiling. Other people told me about the Avenues during the 1970s and 1980s, a period in which the physical state of many of the larger properties began to decline. During this period increasing numbers of properties were converted into flats, often with minimal redecoration or renovation, and many were let to students, who enjoyed the 'bohemian' feel of the area and the cheap rents.

I knew the Avenues well from 1986 to the end of 88 cos I lived there as a student. It was quite easy to get great big fantastic houses as a student in them days, for about £8 to £15 a week. We had one on Westbourne Avenue where at one stage there'd have been five of us living, plus people in flats round the back that we knew, and it was just brilliant, you know. Lots of trees, it was gorgeous. It was sort

of like the nicest house I've lived in actually (laughs). In them days of course there'd be a party somewhere in the Avenues every weekend for you to go to, or you'd have one at your own house if there wasn't. Big weekend-long parties with people sleeping on your floor, you know. Sometimes we used to go to number eleven Westbourne Avenue as well. The top floor of that was derelict and it didn't even have electricity, it was like going back to Victorian servants' quarters, but we set up bands and things in there, and you could play live music all night, you know. That was really good fun, and in the morning you could blearily walk up the Avenues to Jack Kaye's shop on Ella Street, which of course in them days was the only shop that was open on a Sunday, and get your milk and your eggs and whatever you needed. Occasionally we actually did some college work as well, but not very often (laughs).

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

In the memories I heard from this period, people again often mentioned the faded Victorian features they encountered in some of the houses. However, this time this was not talked about as something that needed modernising, but as something that gave the houses an exciting, albeit faded glamour. This has now come full circle, with residents currently actively replacing and restoring 'original' features, including windows and fireplaces. These are also now deemed to add economic value to properties. This suggests that these objects have experienced an 'unplanned afterlife' (Moran 2004:62), in which they have gradually (and perhaps imperceptibly) changed status from everyday objects, to outmoded 'rubbish', to valued commodities (Thompson 1979:8 quoted in Moran 2004 page 64).

Interestingly, some former residents said they thought that the area had become less haunting in recent years, as the houses have been gradually restored and 'tidied up'. Moran argues that in the 'transient' period of an object's unplanned afterlife, where it is seen as rubbish; no longer fashionable or usable, it has particular power to evoke involuntary and unexpected memories (Moran 2004:62). As shown by Eddy's quote



above, in the Avenues houses during the 1980s, encounters with these fragments of past lives were often associated with a sense of reflective nostalgia. However, it has also been argued that once an object becomes valued again, as an antique or a collectible item, our attitudes towards it become more fixed (Moran 2004:62), and as seen in the present-day Avenues, these objects then also become connected with more structured forms of restorative nostalgia.

As seen in the Boulevard area, development in the Avenues is currently shaped by collective restorative nostalgia (embodied in the actions of local residents), which aims to restore the former grandeur of the area, and return the buildings to their 'original' form. In some extreme cases this active force, combined with the legal framework attached to the Avenues' Conservation Area status,<sup>72</sup> has resulted in the reconstruction of entire buildings. Further along Westbourne Avenue we reach Richmond Street, which runs parallel to the main Avenues. At the corner of Richmond Street and Park Avenue (the next Avenue along) is no. 222, a large, modern-looking property, described by many older respondents as 'the Bishop's House'.

That used to be the Bishop's house. That was an original Avenues house, and it must have got into a state of disrepair. I don't quite know why it had to come down, but it was completely taken down and then they let it out in flats. I went into it once when it was the Bishop's House, I went to a meeting there, and I remember the kitchen, it was a great big kitchen with all old utensils in, and a boiler and things like that.

**Mollie (aged 80 plus)**

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<sup>72</sup> Which itself was partly brought about by the actions of the local Residents Association (Sheppard et al 1976)



**Illustration 7.16:** Number 222 Park Avenue at the corner of Richmond Street

No. 222 Park Avenue, also known as 'Southfield' was formerly the official residence of the Bishop of Hull (Ketchell and Hotham, 1989:34). In 1989 it was described in a local history publication as a 'miniature castle' (Ketchell and Hotham, 1989:34), however by 1993 another local history publication noted how it had fallen 'sadly derelict' and was shortly due to be rebuilt as a block of flats (Ketchell, June 1993).

Although this new building is supposedly a rebuild of an older structure it is by no means an exact copy and attracts attention in the Avenues Design Guide as a poor example of modern development (APPRA 2007:11). The modern style of the new building was mentioned by many respondents. However, despite the physical differences, the new building is still referred to as the 'Bishop's House' in the Design Guide, and by many of the older people I spoke to.

Another example of this sort of transfer of memories is no. 1, Westbourne Avenue. This is one of five detached houses with matching carved stone heads at the east end of Westbourne Avenue. No. 1 was described as 'sadly derelict' in a published history of the

area in 1989 (Hotham and Ketchell 1989a:34), and was eventually demolished and rebuilt to its original design. Before the demolition the house became the subject of a 'living art' project by a local group known as 'Hull Time Based Arts'.<sup>73</sup> As part of this project the external walls were sprayed with manure and grass seed, and the grass was then allowed to grow. Some people had direct, personal memories of the previous building, and its green installation. Many others only knew about it by word of mouth, but still referred to the new building (in interviews) as 'the Grass House'.

Stories about the decline and eventual remaking of both of these buildings are not only remembered by local residents, but are also documented (albeit almost 'in-passing') through the local history narratives published over the past thirty years. The narratives that are shaping these buildings in the imaginations of current residents are therefore also imperceptibly tied up in wider public debates about the changing physical state of the area. These examples illustrate how buildings are not fixed, purely physical entities, but are also maintained and (re)created through the imaginations and articulations of groups and individuals (Tait and While 2009:724). These sites highlight the importance of naming as part of a process of ongoing symbolic accretion through which everyday places become enrolled as sites of remembering (Dwyer 2004), and through which understandings of place are negotiated and maintained (Amin and Thrift 2002). They also highlight the role of materiality in the processes of everyday memory. In both these examples it is the comparative 'newness' of the buildings that makes them stick out (as identified by my respondents) and this uncanny presence prompts memories associated with their life-histories. As discussed in chapter 2, it has been argued that unexplained ruins invite explanation and speculation because of their unusual materiality (Edensor 2005a), and in the context of the Avenues Conservation Area these new developments appear to have a similar effect. However these associations are still transient, and potentially fragile. I spoke to a group of residents in their twenties who were living in the flats in the Bishop's House, and none of them knew the history, or the name. To them it

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<sup>73</sup> For more information about this group see Hull Time Based Arts 1997.

was just no. 222 Park Avenue; an unexplained (and apparently unquestioned) block of flats.

Further along Park Avenue we reach another Victorian fountain. Interestingly, although they are both grade 2 listed structures, and are valued as important historic features, neither the Park Avenue nor the Westbourne Avenue fountain is completely original. Both were damaged in separate traffic accidents in the space of two weeks in 1995. The Westbourne fountain was repaired and reinstated relatively soon after, however the Park Avenue fountain was more badly damaged and was not replaced until 2001 (fountain rescue website 2010). One mermaid (the one facing us) was rebuilt from original fragments and was then used as a mould for the other three, which had to be completely recast (fountain rescue website 2010). The delay in the fountain's reinstatement led to a sustained period of lobbying by the locally formed 'Fountain Rescue Team', who wrote to the council and the local papers and staged local protests, including constructing a 'spoof' fountain to highlight the space where the original fountain stood (fountain rescue website 2010). The period in which the fountain was missing also resulted in the creation of a tree carving in the shape of a mermaid on nearby Salisbury Street. This was the creation of artist Jackie Ward-Lomax, who designed it in honour of the newly reinstated Park Fountain, which she said she had missed during its absence (Hull's Angel website 2010a). The fountains therefore further demonstrate that even seemingly fixed and permanent objects are under constant negotiation and can change and take on new, or additional, life-histories (Hoskins 2007, Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008).



**Illustration 7.17:** Mermaid on Salisbury Street, carved by Jackie Ward-Lomax

There are currently thirteen carved trees in the Avenues. All of them have been carved from the stumps of trees that were planted as part of the original estate, but which have been felled in recent years for safety reasons (e.g. because of disease) or because of the risk they posed to nearby properties (see history section). These are not official sites of memory, although they have become a focal point for discussion between residents and non-residents alike. The one that people talked about most often was ‘the Angel’ on Marlborough Avenue, the first carving to be done.

In the early nineties there was a programme of cutting trees down because of subsidence to some of the houses, although so many of them have gone now I think we should stop and keep what we’ve got. When these carvings first started

there was a guy called Kevin Storch who was going to do the first one, on Westbourne. He was going to do three people, like mother, father and child in the middle, but he'd started the child bit when he found a bit of rot where he was going to carve the other figures, so he abandoned that, and I think somebody said 'oh it looks like an angel' so the other bits became the wings.

### **Sam (aged 60-79)**

The face of the Angel was stolen in May 2001, and had to be re-carved (Hull's Angel website 2010b). A number of people told me about this, and a number of them also told me that after the new face was finished the Angel appeared to be scowling. They also told me that the sculpture eventually collapsed and that it went missing for a period of time, although few people could remember exactly when these events happened. The Angel (complete with its new face) has now been resituated in a garden on Marlborough Avenue, where it is visible from the street. However, these stories suggest that the life-history of the sculpture has become as important a part of its continuing presence in local imagination as its actual (current) material form.

On the corner of Salisbury Street and Park Avenue, adjacent to the fountain, is a row of large, impressive houses. These are known as the Gilbert Scott houses, after the architect who designed them. They are listed Grade 2, and are generally considered to be architecturally some of the most important buildings in the Avenues (Ketchell 1993a). The lengthy renovation of these houses was talked about in varying levels of detail by residents and non-residents alike. In particular people mentioned a fire that started in one of the houses during the 1990s, and a number of different people who had owned, or attempted to renovate them at different times. Many people remembered visiting these houses at different times. Older residents, who remembered them during the 1950s and 1960s, spoke about the elaborate wooden panels and ceiling decorations in some of the rooms, particularly in the ground floor flats. Other residents remembered visiting them during the 1970s and 1980s as they started to fall into disrepair.



**Illustration 7.18:** Gilbert Scott houses on Salisbury Street, from Park Avenue

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Between Westbourne Avenue and Park Avenue are eight Queen Anne style mansions, designed by architect George Gilbert Scott junior, and constructed 1877-9 (Pevsner and Neave 1995; APPRA 2007:19). They were amongst the earliest buildings in the Avenues estate, and are Grade 2 listed. They were built for Scott's cousin, John Spyvee Cooper, a local solicitor (Ketchell 1993a). In 1993, a local history publication recorded that three of the eight were derelict, and controversy surrounded their future (Ketchell 1993a).

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Some of these houses were completely derelict, all really quite uninhabitable by modern day standards, but, they'd be rented to students and hippies basically, and they didn't care because they had a wonderful, cosmopolitan, beatnik faded glory feeling to them, you know. That one on the right, I remember sitting in that one and there was like one of those calor gas fires in there, people had painted crude, squat-like paintings on the walls and things, although technically I don't think it was a squat, it was rented, marginally (laughs). And lots of people would live in these

big rambling rooms. You could go from the middle floor to the top floor, there was no ceilings, just a big ladder, and it had a huge expanse to the roof, you know.

*Tegwen – Had the roof fallen in?*

No, it was art students living in there and I think they'd sawed down the ceilings, or half the ceilings, you could still get a bed up there, just to make these great big open spaces. They were great. I mean, in them days it looked like such a big job that nobody would ever be able to do them up, and they'd always be like that, in dereliction. But now of course they're all done up and they're nice flats.

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

Again, the redevelopment of these houses could be interpreted as a physical expression of restorative nostalgia, in which the past is presented as a perfect 'snapshot' (Boym 2001:49). However, as shown by the memories above, despite the renovation the site still prompts a number of memories relating to periods when it embodied a number of different physical states, suggesting that, for some residents at least, the newly redeveloped site is still haunted by the ghosts of its past.

From the junction of Park Avenue and Salisbury Street we turn left, continuing along Salisbury Street, past Victoria Avenue, heading towards Ella Street. At the end of Salisbury Street we turn the corner into Ella Street. On the other side of the road, just to the right, is a wide tarmac path, and a sign saying 'Jack Kaye Walk'. This sign sparked a number of memories for people, not only from the Avenues area, but from all over the city.





**Illustration 7.19:** Jack Kaye Walk, looking towards the corner of Ella Street and Salisbury Street.

Oh, Jack Kaye Walk. He was a lovely man, although he always seemed old to me. [He] had the shop on the corner, and he sold anything and everything. It was the old fashioned way. He was always immaculate in a white coat. I always remember him, the way he used to wrap ice-cream, there was blocks of ice-cream and he wrapped it up for you in slices.

**Barbara Dawson (aged 60-79)**

Jack Kaye's shop was opposite Jack Kaye walk, on the corner of Ella Street and Salisbury Street. The site is currently occupied by a modern block of flats (see photo 17), however the former shop has not been forgotten. Jack Kaye is remembered by residents from all over Hull as having been a 'traditional, old-fashioned grocer' at a time when this sort of shop had all but disappeared. People also frequently compared him to the shopkeeper from 'Open all Hours'; a BBC sitcom from the 1970s and 1980s that featured an old fashioned corner shop.

Oh that’s him that used to have the little provision shop down on Ella Street, Jack Kaye. Up to, well I say not so many years ago, probably about ten, maybe twelve years now, everybody knew Jack Kaye’s shop down Ella Street, it was always open. Well, like open all hours; that was him really (laughs).

Lynda Taylor (aged 60-79)

People told me about his home-cooked ham and his ‘old fashioned personal service’, which in later years was an attribute that he advertised (**Illustration 7.20**).



**Illustration 7.20:** Advert for Jack Kaye’s shop on Ella Street. Sponsorship advert from *A Short History of the Avenues* (Sheppard et al 1976)

Although most people had clear memories of Jack Kaye’s, some people had trouble relating these memories to the site as it currently is (**Illustration 7.19**).

Jack Kaye Walk? Oh I remember Jack Kaye, he was a lovely man. But that doesn’t look right to me. Was that where the shop was, on the corner of Salisbury Street? It doesn’t look right. Was that the front? Oh, or was that the side? No, this is the front round here, yes, I come round here and go down Ella Street to see a friend of

mine, but it's changed. It was the local shop, and he sold everything, even cotton. You could go and get anything you wanted really.

**Molly (aged 80 plus)**

Other respondents told me about what the site had been before Jack Kaye Walk was created.

There used to be a drain along here you know, it ran at the back of us, Cottingham Drain they used to call it. Same with Jack Kaye Walk, that wasn't there because it was a drain, and Queens Road that was a drain, and Cottingham Road, it was all drains, but of course it's years since they filled them all in. [...] There was a boy who used to live down there and he made a raft, and he said to my daughter 'do you want to come on this raft?' and I said to her 'don't you go on that lad's raft' and she did, and of course I was looking out and I saw her going by. Oh I didn't half go on to her when she came in, because it was full of dirt and fish, little tiddly fish, and people had thrown stuff in. That'll have been maybe sixty years ago! (laughs)

**Mrs. Jeffery (aged 80 plus)**

The quotes above suggest that this site has been officially rewritten, and the memory narratives connected to it formalized, through the creation of Jack Kaye Walk. As discussed in Chapter 2, commemorative street naming is one of the ways in which 'memory and place are woven into the fabric of everyday life' (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:350). It is also a form of active forgetting. The commemorative naming of this mundane footpath draws attention to one element of the past connected with this area (Jack Kaye's shop) at the expense of another (the Cottingham Drain). The quotes above suggest that this action has also created another form of perhaps more subtle reshaping of memory by dislocating memories of Jack Kaye's shop from their original location (although in this case its only across the street), leaving them disembodied (Dwyer 2004:423). This in turn suggests that, as with many of the spaces we have walked through, this site is still in a state of flux, between official and unofficial narratives, and

subject to continual (re)negotiation through a network of individual and collective memories.

## **7.5 Summary**

The Princes Avenue area may not appear to be under the same redevelopment pressures as the other two case-study areas. However, these walks show that the area has undergone a number of social and economic changes over the past thirty years, and that these changes have impacted considerably upon local memory processes. There have also been a number of physical changes that, although perhaps not as dramatic as the large-scale demolition and reshaping seen in other areas, have nevertheless left a complicated and fragmentary network of overlapping traces of past lives and events, which also have a significant impact on remembering (and forgetting) in the area.

The above walks suggest that there are numerous collective frameworks connecting personal and shared memories within the Princes Avenue area. These frameworks stretch across the area, and beyond, connecting different times and places in a wider web of shared experiences. However they are also under constant negotiation through public articulation, changes within the urban fabric and interaction with different external, political and socio-economic narratives that have the ability to shape the ways in which certain places are imagined, remembered, and in some cases ultimately forgotten (Boym 2001:53).

In the Dukeries, and to some extent on Princes Avenue, the shared frameworks of memory are currently unofficial and are articulated only through shared discussions between groups of residents and former residents. As with the Hawthorn Avenue memories, these narratives should perhaps be understood as ‘collected’ memories, which are fragile and messy and have the potential to fragment, reform or dissolve at any time (Olick 1999). This part of the area is characterised by reflective nostalgia associated with absent presences and sensory ghosts that emerge in often unexpected times and places, through encounters with fragmentary traces of past lives and routines.

Some of these traces are obvious physical traces (such as painted signs), whereas others are more ephemeral, including archival records and on-line descriptions. In combination, these often disparate traces extend memories of particular places beyond the physical site they once occupied, creating an ongoing patchwork of partial connections with other places and representations of the past (Jenkins 2002:233). As discussed in Chapter 2, recent theoretical debates have argued that buildings are able to embody different temporalities simultaneously because of their ability to 'change, whilst still retaining a recognisable character' (Tait and While 2009:724). The buildings explored in the Princes Avenue walk demonstrate how only part of this character is contained within the physical structure of a building, drawing attention to the potential significance of ephemeral archival traces in the production of both memory and place (Lorimer 2003, DeLyser 2004). The walks further demonstrate that fragmentary traces of former lives can be disruptive even for people who have no personal connection with, or direct understanding of, the physical site they are connected to (Edensor 2005a), as seen with the Co-op crane and the Boot Repairs sign.

In the Avenues I encountered two main collective frameworks for remembering. These are essentially temporal frameworks, based upon different periods of the area's recent history. The first is the 'old' Avenues (pre-1970s) when the area was still a wealthy, elite suburb, characterised by its impressive houses and aspirational residents. The second is the 'student' days of the Avenues (between the 1970s and the 1990s) when the area was a vibrant student area characterised by faded Victorian glamour, and the opportunity to live cheaply in a sprawling Victorian ruin. Many of the memories that I heard from residents of different ages were shaped by, but also reinforced, these shared frameworks of reference. These are in turn reinforced by local history publications and popular literature, and intertwined with - and actively shaped by - both reflective *and* restorative nostalgia on a number of different levels. This furthers the assertion that different sorts of performative nostalgia can (and do) exist within the same space, using the same triggers and reference points, but telling very different stories about them (Boym 2001:41).

This chapter also highlights the importance of networks of repeated spatial practice, such as those associated with the tenfoots and public transport networks, in shaping how and why places are remembered. These spatial networks overlap with the temporal networks discussed above, transcending perceived area boundaries to connect with a range of different times and places and creating 'wordless communities' of people from across the city brought together through collective experiences of repeated journeys and mundane, everyday routines (Moran 2005:27). This highlights the importance of flows of people and things in shaping how (and why) people understand and remember particular places (Massey 1994 quoted in Edensor 2005a: page 131), something I will explore further in the next chapter.



Chapter 8:    The River Corridor

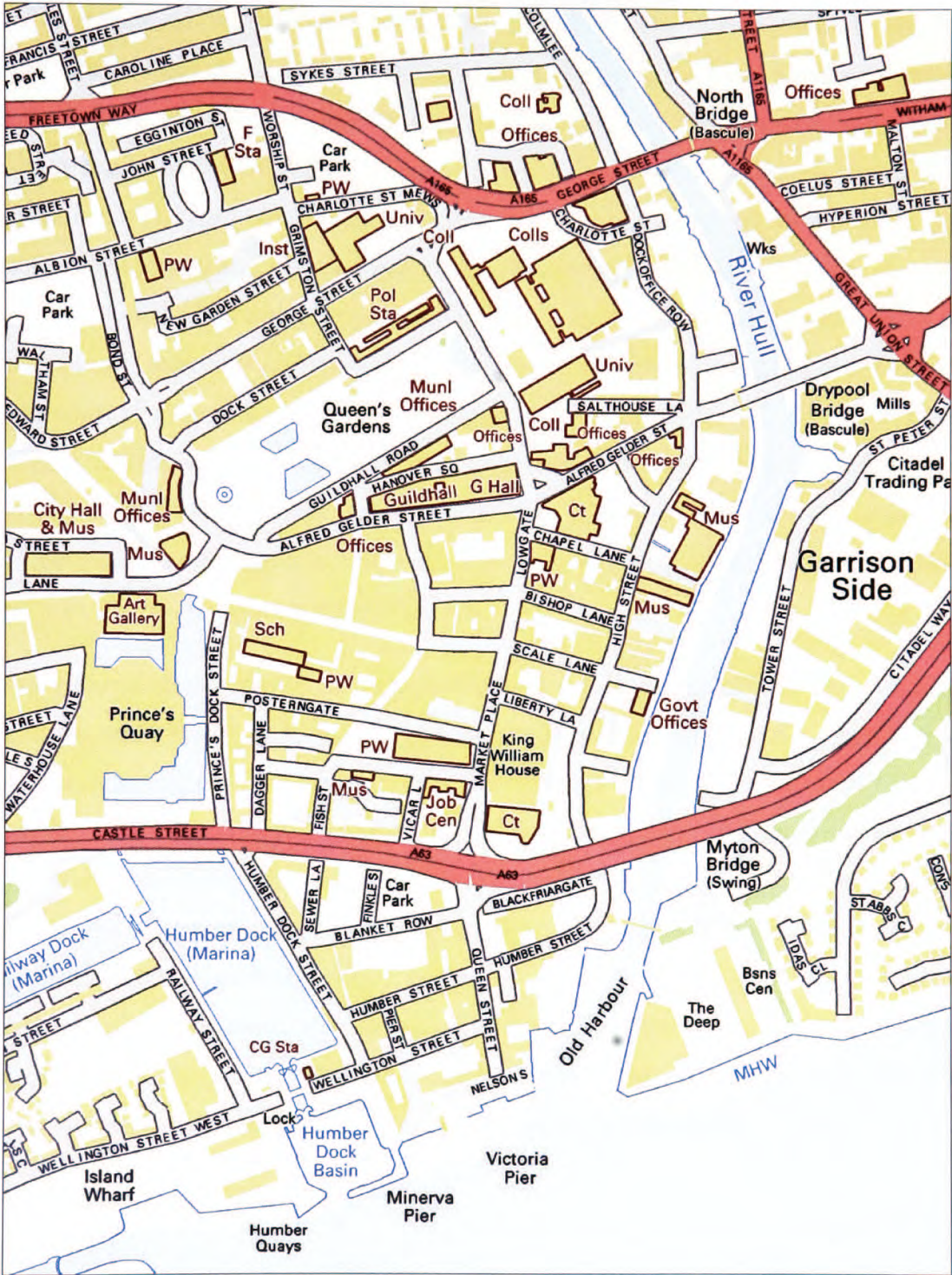


Illustration 8.1: Street map of River Corridor (south end)

## **8.1 Introduction**

The River Hull runs through the middle of the city, converging with the Humber Estuary at its southern end. There is a 'corridor' of industrial development surrounding the River Hull, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, was the industrial heart of the city until the second half of the nineteenth century. In this chapter I consider three districts within this corridor; the Pier and Fruit Market area, the southern section of the River Hull (to the east of High Street) and the northern section (beyond North Bridge). Although they are all primarily industrial areas, these three districts have been treated very differently in recent years. Industrial change in the city over the past thirty years has resulted in a patchwork of used and disused spaces across the River Hull Corridor and these have become the focus of a series of different redevelopment and regeneration projects. I explore how these projects have shaped how different parts of the area are remembered, and the ways in which personal and shared memories continue to shape this area in often complex, overlapping ways.

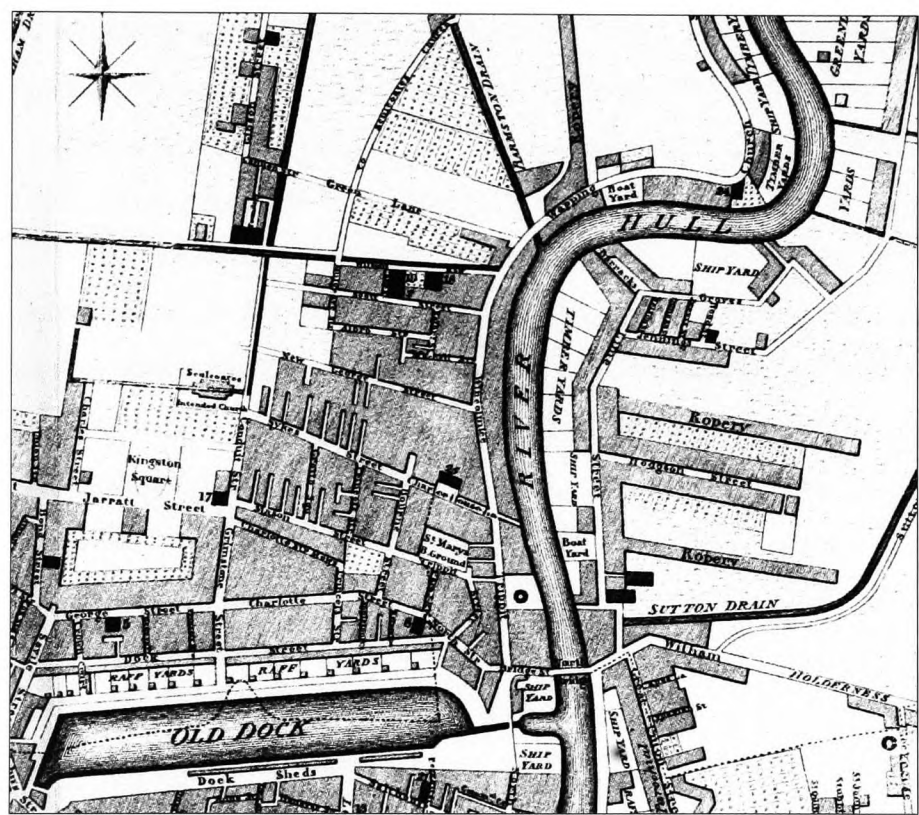
During my research I conducted seven in-depth interviews and one group interview with residents and former residents from the River Corridor. This number may appear small compared to the samples from my other two chapters. However, unlike the other two case study areas, many respondents from other parts of the city also had personal memories of the River Corridor either through work or leisure (or both). Alongside these interviews I also went on a boat trip along the River Hull on a restored former tannery barge (the SYNTAN) with a number of people who formerly worked in this area (including on the barges themselves). This was arranged by the Carnegie Heritage Centre, and was followed by a discussion group and a number of informal group conversations at the centre. I will draw upon all of these sources in the sections that follow.

## **8.2 Historical Development**

As discussed in Chapter 4, until the late-eighteenth century the River Hull was the heart of the developing port. Until the development of the town dock network from the late-



eighteenth century onwards the southern section of the river (known as the Haven) provided the only sheltered mooring for ships, and during the earlier part of the period a number of warehouses and merchants' houses were established on the west bank of the river adjacent to the Haven in the area still known as High Street. This area was also at the social centre of the growing settlement, with a number of churches and markets also established close by. From the eighteenth century onwards the northern part of the river also became home to many of the town's emerging processing industries, which required access to the established shipping networks and a regular water supply (Spooner 2005:12).



**Illustration 8.2:** Development at the north end of the River Corridor,  
Cragg's Plan of Hull, 1817

Some of the first processing industries established in the area were those connected to the whaling industry, and from the early-eighteenth century onwards a number of Greenland yards dedicated to the processing of whale oil and bone were constructed on

previously undeveloped land north of the Haven (Jackson 1972:195). The growth of the Greenland yards was accompanied by the gradual development of ancillary industries, including paint and chemical manufacturers, which used the oil produced by the Greenland yards. After the collapse of the whaling industry in the mid-nineteenth century the demand for oil from these industries was filled by a growth in oil-seed crushing mills around the River Corridor (Bellamy 1979:20). Other important industries in the area during this period included timber yards, tanning, cotton milling, corn milling and ship building (see Chapter 4).

During the late nineteenth century the new Victoria Pier, at the south end of the area, became a popular venue for Sunday outings (Fowler 2002). This was also the terminus for the Hull-New Holland ferry, which had been established in 1826 (Miles 2007:10). It was taken over by the Great Grimsby and Sheffield Junction Railway (later the London North Eastern Railway) in 1845 (Miles 2007:10). However despite the popularity of the southern part of the district with tourists and local residents, the rest of the River Corridor remained a busy industrial area into the mid-twentieth century. The district was heavily bombed during the Second World War. The area around Humber Street was one of the worst affected in Hull (KHCC 2005:5) and many other mills and industrial premises were also damaged or destroyed (Geraghty 1978). Some were rebuilt after the war; however the area entered a period of decline during the post-war years. During this period the population within the River Corridor fell dramatically (KHCC 2005:5), and there were large-scale clearances of housing and industrial premises from the 1970s onwards (KHCC 1999:2). As discussed in Chapter 4, changes in local industry and shipping also meant that the town docks became increasingly redundant and they were eventually closed in 1968 (Ketchell 2005).

During the 1980s and early 1990s the town docks were reopened as a Marina and Shopping Centre and a number of the former dock and riverside warehouses were redeveloped as flats and commercial premises, including offices and bars. However this regeneration project was only partly successful. A new trunk road (Castle Street) was

opened in 1981, effectively cutting off the south end of the River Corridor from the rest of the city, and in the same year the Humber Ferry service (which docked at the mouth of the River Hull) was halted, both of which contributed to the gradual decline of the area (KHCC 2005:5). The river continued to be used by river craft until the late twentieth century, but this trade dwindled as road and rail transport became more popular (KHCC 2005).

Parts of the southern River Corridor are currently undergoing a second wave of regeneration. This includes the rejuvenation of the Marina area, plans to redevelop the former Fruit Market and Pier area and a large multi-use hotel and residential development (known as 'the Boom') on the East bank of the River Hull, south of Drypool Bridge. The northern part of the district still houses a number of large industrial companies, including Maizecor and Rix Petroleum, however in general the number of firms trading in this area has continued to decline, and there are a number of empty buildings and open spaces where former industrial buildings have recently been demolished (Gibson 2007). One of the most recent demolitions was the Swan Mill (known locally as Spiller's) which was removed in two controlled explosions in 2007.

### **8.3 Collective frameworks for remembering**

#### *8.3.1 Formal sites of memory*

The River Corridor contains three conservation areas: the 'Old Town', the Charterhouse and Sculcoates. There are numerous listed buildings, particularly within these conservation areas, and also a number of official sites of memory. These are concentrated mainly in the southern part of the district and include a number of statues and public sculptures. There is also a heritage trail, known as the Fish Trail, which guides visitors round the Marina, through the pier area and along the southern part of the River Hull, connecting places of architectural and historical significance. The city's Museums Quarter is also located within this area. This includes three museums and a floating exhibit; a former fishing trawler, moored on the River Hull itself. There are a number of

heritage information boards along the river, which contain brief histories and archive images of certain points of interest and include information about the pier, the 'Old Harbour' (next to Drypool Bridge), and the Charterhouse (on the corner of Charterhouse Lane and Wincolmllee). There are also numerous blue heritage plaques, which draw attention to the district's important architectural heritage, as well as some of the important characters associated with the area. These are again mostly found in the southern part of the area, particularly around the Pier and High Street.

### *8.3.2 Published Histories*

As discussed above, the River Hull was the focal point of the early port, and the River Corridor therefore features heavily in many of the formal social and economic histories of Hull. Most of these histories outline the social and economic development of the area before the early-twentieth century (see for instance Brown 1969, Jackson 1972, Bellamy 1979, Gillett and MacMahon 1980). Others focus on the development and surviving architecture of the 'Old Town' (see for instance Sheahan 1866 and Hall and Hall 1978/9). There are also formal histories of the different industries that operated in the area, including many detailed company and site histories (see for instance Rank 1955, Heathcote 1988, Needler 1993, Ketchell 1993b).

The southern part of the River Corridor also features heavily in less-formal histories of the port. The pier and horse wash were popular postcard images of Hull, particularly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and often appear in local history publications and historic postcard collections of the city (see for instance Ketchell 1997, Gerrard 2008, Gibson 2008). These publications (including *Flashback* the local history supplement in the *Hull Daily Mail* newspaper) also regularly include archive images of the southern section of the river, usually full of barges, and of the large pre-twentieth century mills and warehouses on the river banks. In the late 1980s Chris Ketchell also produced a popular history walk known as the *Seven Bridges Walk* (Ketchell 1989c), which focused on the history of the bridges and buildings along the River Corridor. This was revised in the mid 1990s as the *Thirteen Bridges Trail* (Ketchell 1996),

and these walks together provide a picture of how the area has changed over the past twenty years.

More recently there have been a number of memory-focused publications, including a book and audio CD produced by the Soundwalks project (Resound 2007) and a series of community maps produced by ARC. These have focused on the Pier and Fruit Market area and the High Street, River Wharf and Town Docks. *A Breath of Sculcoates* (Hull and District Local History Research Group 2007) was also produced as part of the 'Developing our Communities; Your Heritage Your Future' initiative. This records local histories and memories of the Sculcoates area, including a number connected with the River Hull around Bankside and Air Street (at the north end of Wincolmllee).

### 8.3.3. *Popular references to the past*

Subtle references to both the recent and more distant past are also found in the names (both colloquial and official) of some of the sites along the River Corridor. Perhaps the best known of these is Sammy's Point (which will be discussed in more detail later on). Other examples, which were not always mentioned by respondents, but which nevertheless mark important historic events in the district, include Victoria Pier (formerly Corporation Pier) and Prince's Dock, which were both renamed after Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's visit to Hull in 1854 (Sheahan 1866:225). Colloquial names also make reference not only to past events, but also to past uses of particular buildings. For example, many former mills in the area are popularly known by the name of the firm that owned them, and not their official name. For example, the Clarence Mill at Drypool Bridge is known locally as 'Rank's'<sup>74</sup> because it was built and owned by J. Arthur Rank (later Rank-Hovis). All of this suggests that elements of the area's past are still important in how certain places are remembered and shaped within local imagination.

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<sup>74</sup> Often pronounced 'Ranksiz'

I will now go on to discuss how these shared frameworks for remembering currently affect (and are in turn affected by) the ways in which the different districts of the River Corridor are remembered.

## **8.4 Walking and Talking: Current Memory along the River Corridor**

### **8.4.1 Humber Street and Pier area**

We start our walk on the corner of Humber Street and Queen Street. Queen Street is a wide street leading from the city centre to Victoria Pier on the bank of the Humber Estuary. It is currently bisected by the A63, however before this busy dual carriageway was constructed locals often walked to the pier (which was a popular weekend destination) along Queen Street, passing a large, gilded statue of King William III (erected in 1734 and Grade I listed) known locally as 'King Billy'. As mentioned in chapter 6, personal accounts of this area from the 1920s recall the regular 'Monkey Walks' along Queen Street (Dunhill 1990). However, this is unrecorded in the formal histories of the area, and appears to have passed out of living memory, as none of my respondents mentioned it. What was frequently mentioned was an ice-cream parlour at the south end of the street, adjacent to the pier.

We used to go down Humber Street, and then we used to walk on pier, what we called the pier. We used to get into town and then walk right along [past] where King Billy is. There used to be an ice-cream parlour down there and if you went in and had an ice-cream in there you was posh! (laughs)

#### **Jean (aged 60-79)**

This ice-cream parlour was a small kiosk next to the Minerva pub run by the Stevens family (Gibson 2008:11). It was built c.1930 and demolished in the 1980s, but was salvaged and rebuilt as part of the Hull Street Life Museum (Gibson 2008:11). Many people told me that getting an ice-cream was an important part of visiting the pier. Very

few respondents described the shop itself, but many told me that it was now in the city museum if I wanted to see it.

There used to be a little sweet shop called Steve's, and he was known as Stivvy, and you always went there for your ice-cream on a Sunday, your cornet and your sandwich. In fact, I think the museum, the street-life, I think they've still got [it] in there, so if you ever go in you'll see it.

**Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

This suggests that the reconstruction of this building in a new situation (in this case the museum) permits, or indeed encourages, a form of subconscious forgetting. The site remains important in people's memories, but at the same time people don't necessarily feel obliged to recall its details as it is physically preserved elsewhere. In other words, instead of needing to reminisce in order to evoke the past, respondents were able to reference their memories to the museum exhibit.<sup>75</sup>

We will return to the pier shortly, however we first turn right along Humber Street. Until recently this was a wholesale fruit market with the majority of the properties dedicated to the sale of fruit, vegetables and other perishable goods (including flowers) shipped in from overseas and other parts of the country. During the second half of the twentieth century these cargoes were increasingly carried by road, and the Humber Street location became less practical (KHCC 2005:22). During the period of my research the market was in the process of being relocated and many of the properties were already empty. This relocation was completed by the end of 2009. There has been a large-scale consultation process about the future redevelopment of the area, and various designs have been put forward, most of them proposing a mixed-use retail quarter of café-bars and flats. However, the financial crisis of 2009/10 has delayed these plans. At the time of writing

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<sup>75</sup> Interestingly a photograph of the ice-cream parlour was recently included in Hull then and now, volume 1 (Gibson, 2008:11). This photograph may change the way this site is remembered in future by enrolling the kiosk into the popular narratives associated with this area, although this was not evident during the period of my research.

some of the properties have been found temporary uses as creative workshops and galleries, but the long-term future of the area is uncertain.



**Illustration 8.3:** Humber Street, looking from Queen’s Street towards Humber Dock Street (May 2007).

Humber Street and the surrounding streets were laid out on land reclaimed from the Humber using the spoil from the new Humber Dock at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:223). By 1853 the first Ordnance Survey map shows the area as a dense urban area, packed with a mix of houses, commercial buildings and numerous pubs and hotels. By the late nineteenth century Humber Street had also become associated with wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables, including both local and foreign goods, which were unloaded at Humber Dock and Victoria Pier (KHCC 2005:22). After the closure of Humber Dock in 1968 (Ketchell 2005) the market switched to road haulage (KHCC 2005:22).

Humber Street is relatively wide and straight, flanked by two (and occasionally three)-storey buildings. These are all of different dates and designs, but the majority have large



roller-shutter doors on the ground floor, and windows above. Some have painted signs; others have large plastic signs, some of which were already showing signs of decay by the time of my research (**Illustration 8.3**).

Almost everybody I spoke to recognised Humber Street and the Fruit Market.<sup>76</sup> For many, the sounds and smells of the market were associated with their journeys to the pier or days out on the ferry. People often mentioned how quiet the area is now, and how the smells formerly associated with the area are now absent.

That's the fruit market int it? I remember the smell (laughs). Like the other end of town used to smell of fish, this end smelt of fruit. There was always, like, oranges squashed on the pavement and stuff like that, and you always had to watch out for not being run over by lorries. It was always sort of, you didn't venture down there, cos' mum used to take us to the pier and you sort of passed there and it, well I was only little so it was always a problem crossing the road, you was always a bit scared (laughs). But yeah, I just remember it always used to be full of lorries, and smells of fruit, and you used to be careful not to get under a lorry as it was going out onto the street! (laughs).

#### **Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

Other respondents had worked in the area, and they talked about the daily rhythms of the market, which began early in the morning.

Oh, the old fruit market (laughs). We used to actually have a café just round the corner, and all the guys that used to work round the fruit market used to come in for breakfast. It was very early starts. There was a lot of trade going on, down here you couldn't move for anything cos the big wagons would come and off-load and they'd be sort of shunting here and there. Yeah it was quite a busy place, but only ever in a morning. Afternoons it was all finished. [...] And we used to go down there

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<sup>76</sup> Numerous memories of Humber Street were also sent to the project website (Memories of Hull website 2010e)

and we used to buy all our fruit and veg for Christmas, just by walking up and down there, and we'd get everything we needed, because a lot of times you couldn't get things. Bearing in mind when we had Christmas everybody used to come and we always med [sic] our own parsley stuffing and you could only do it with fresh parsley, and you couldn't get things like that anywhere else, but we used to trundle down there and pick it up.

**Ricky (aged 40-59)**

As a wholesale market, Humber Street distributed goods to smaller shops across Hull. The stories associated with the market therefore often connected people and their experiences with other parts of the city. In some cases the places recalled in these stories have now disappeared.

I used to do a lot of work down there when we had the fruit shop. I used to go down there in a morning and buy fruit and veg for the shop.

*Tegwen - Where was that?*

On Holderness Road. It isn't there now, it used to be an arcade just before, now then, you know Mount Pleasant? Well, before Mount Pleasant was built there were two or three streets, Upper Waller Street, Craven Street, and then there was an arcade that had cloths shops [and] a café, and we had the fruit shop on the corner...

**Jack Smith (aged 60-79)**

For some residents then, the Fruit Market evokes not only ghosts of former traders and market activity, but also an alternative spectral city of (re)imagined spaces that no longer exist within the physical city, but which are temporarily recreated through memories and stories such as the one above. Other memories highlighted the effect of particular historical events on local trade and the more personal routines of everyday life.

My husband got a job here importing dried peas and beans from Europe. It was quite prospering, but he was trying to get the farmers to grow their own stuff and of course the climate's against it really. Then after the [Second World] war suddenly you could get things that we hadn't had for a long time, there was all this European fruit that came in, peaches and apricots, it was so lovely, and we bottled them, all of us were bottling. One of my friends, she was very good, a very good cook, and she knew just what to do with all this fruit that was coming in, in the early years after the war.

**Molly (aged 80 plus)**

This suggests that memories of Humber Street are interconnected with the historic movement of goods and people not just within the city, but also on a much wider scale through the global trade networks upon which the port (and city) relied. In recent years geographers have argued that modern cities need to be seen as shifting assemblages of social and economic relations (Amin and Thrift 2002, Mitchell 2005). It has also been increasingly recognised that all places are (re)created through a network of connections. Massey (1995) argues that memories are prompted by perceived disruptions between past and present, caused by changes to the social connections (including trade networks) from which all places are created and maintained (Massey 1995:183). In places like Humber Street these processes (which occur everywhere) are brought into sharp focus by their proximity to these connections. The stories of Humber Street (presented above) show how essentially local and personal memories are also intertwined with wider historical processes and events, and that these processes continue to impact upon how this area is remembered and understood (even if this is not always consciously acknowledged).

We now leave Humber Street and walk out on to the eastern side of a large Marina.



**Illustration 8.4:** Hull Marina (formerly the Humber Dock) with converted Warehouse 13 behind (September 2007)

Humber Dock was the second dock to be constructed in Hull, opening in 1809 (Ketchell 2005). The spoil from the dock was used to reclaim an area of land at the mouth of the River Hull on which Humber Street, Nelson Street and Pier Street were constructed (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:223). A smaller dock, Railway Dock, was opened on the western side of Humber Dock in 1846 connecting the town dock network to the newly established railway system; the first dock in a major UK port to be constructed specifically for railway use (Jackson 1983:76). Next to the new dock was the terminus of the Hull and Selby railway, which was later replaced by a central goods station for the North Eastern Railway Company (KHCC 2005:4). Humber Dock was closed in 1968, but was reopened as the Hull Marina in 1983 (Ketchell 2005). Railway Dock was also closed in 1968, but reopened as an extension to the Marina in 1984 (Ketchell 2005).

Again this part of the walk was familiar to many respondents from across the city. Many people mentioned the numerous sheds and warehouses that once surrounded the docks,

and the train lines that used to run along the dockside. The majority of these features have now been removed, although some sections of railway track still remain and some of the larger warehouse buildings were converted for residential and commercial uses during the redevelopment of the Marina during the 1980s and 1990s (KHCC 2005). Many people told me about their childhood memories of playing in these warehouses and even in the dock itself. Unlike other large ports such as Liverpool and London, where the docks were generally enclosed behind large perimeter walls (Jackson 1983:158), the town docks in Hull were open to the street (Jackson 1983:160). In Hull these docks were therefore not just an accepted backdrop to people's everyday routines, but actually played an active role in the daily lives of many of the city's residents. They were not solely working areas, but also spaces of play, leisure and everyday activity.

[W]e used to swim in the dock. Obviously it was a lot cleaner then because it was tidal, and it was a working dock and the gates were open twice every tide time, twice a day. [...] Do you know round Kingston Street? Well all them bigwig flats round there, they were actually grain silos. The ships used to bring the grain in and it used to be stored in silos, and there used to be trains running all round there. You'll notice some of the tracks are still there, but when I remember it they were actually working trains round the docks. They used to come in and load the grain up. When we was kids we used to go in and slide on the grain (laughs). You couldn't do that now could you? (laughs). And have you heard about the cattle market that was round there? Every Monday the farmers used to go and auction all the cattle, pigs and sheep. They used to bring them in lorries and that's why the slaughter house was so near because the Cooperative would buy maybe fifty pigs a week and walk straight 'em round to the slaughterhouse, and then off they went to the butcher.

**Steve W (aged 60-79)**

Kingston Street is on the western side of the Marina, adjacent to the former railway dock. Many former residents told me about this slaughter house, including a number

who recounted stories about the noise of the animals, and occasions when animals escaped and ran riot along the nearby terraces, causing much excitement for the local children. However, not everybody remembered the dock and surrounding area as busy and bustling. A few respondents also told me about their memories of the period in-between the docks closing and the area's redevelopment in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

I used to use some of the pubs down there in the eighties, cos there was no Princes Avenue or anything like that, so on a Friday or Saturday night you would go down the Old Town. You'd start at the White Hart and then you'd go to the Blue Bell, and then the Green Bricks and the Minerva, and that was it, they were all shut by eleven (laughs). It was quite good actually because it was fairly mixed and fairly cosmopolitan. I mean, when I first arrived in Hull as a student in 1981 the fruit market was still working, and occasionally there used to be a single-decker bus which was a café, and that would be parked, and I used to like to have a cup of tea in there at a weekend. [...] I used to walk round this area and of course there was no Princes Quay. There was still one boat left in what's now where Princes Quay is. It was a dredger, and it was really grim round there then, there was loads of litter, mud and such. It's definitely a lot cleaner these days. There were lots of derelict buildings, and it just generally smelled! (laughs)

#### **Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

These sorts of memories suggest that vanished (now ghostly) sights and sounds connected to the commercial use and eventual decline of the docks still play an important and active role in how local residents imagine this area. Again, as seen in previous chapters, these sensory ghosts are prompted by remaining features (such as the railway tracks) but also recall an assembly of additional missing(or absent) presences that are shaped and (re)created through memory.

Much of the former dockside infrastructure was removed or replaced during the Marina development, creating an aesthetic 'kitsch' dockside environment (Atkinson 2007a). As discussed in chapter 2, this sort of development has been criticised by some academics as over-sanitised, with certain visual elements of the past discarded (or physically 'forgotten') to promote a particular narrative that suits the perceived needs of the present (Edensor 2005a:131). However, the stories above suggest that, rather than being forgotten as the critics might suggest, these former docklands are still bustling with the ghosts of their past. And, despite the current second wave of regeneration, which is again actively reshaping this landscape, the more recent past has also not been so easily rewritten.



**Illustration 8.5:** Humber Dock Street, looking south, showing section of railway track (June 2010)

Now then, that's side of the marina isn't it? Yeah, just down here is where Coco's used to be. My daughter used to work there, about ten years ago. I used to go and pick her up from work, and I used to drive down there, and if she wasn't quite

ready I used to park up on the side, two o'clock in the morning, one o'clock in the morning, whenever, and there was always people milling about, all drunk. I sometimes had to fight off people trying to get in the car! (laughs) They don't care do they? They just wana see a ride home, but the times I've had to move people off me bonnet and what have you, dear me! (laughs). It is much quieter down there nowadays.

**Ricky (aged 40-59)**

Alongside the existing pubs a number of new cafes and bars were opened as part of the Marina development, and the area was a popular nightspot during the 1980s and 1990s. However, more recently many of these dock-side venues have closed making the area noticeably quieter. The area is one of the key development sites in the current City Masterplan, which aims to bring investment into the area and provide better public access to the waterfront. As part of this development a number of buildings have been compulsorily purchased and some of the buildings associated with the first wave of regeneration, now deemed incompatible with current plans, have been demolished. The most visible of these was the former Pepi's building (also known locally as Coco's); a late-twentieth century building overlooking the Estuary at the south end of Humber Dock, that was demolished in 2009 as part of a new landscaping scheme to open up views of the Estuary (Hull Forward 2009). Memories like Ricky's (above) suggest that this regeneration/redevelopment in this area is creating a number of ghosts of its own, connected to the more recent alterations to the everyday landscape of the Marina. These ghosts are not yet recognised in the popular history that has been published about this area, but my walks suggest that they nevertheless play an important role in how this area is remembered and shaped in the current imagination of the city's residents.

Leaving the Marina behind us we retrace our steps along Humber Street before turning right down Pier Street. A short way along we cross Wellington Street - a wide street with a small number of buildings of different ages, interspersed with empty plots. One



respondent told me about an alternative community which was set up on Wellington Street during the late 1960s.

Some people I knew had a community on Wellington Street. They wanted to start somewhere else to live, in a community, you know, and they found this place that had been used as offices. It was a three storey building with little rooms with fire places and so on. I'm not sure it had ever been residential, but anyway they found it and rented it, and they started this community. There were about a dozen people living there I think. They called it 'the building' as I remember (laughs) and people used to go and buy potatoes just down the street, big bags of them, cos along Wellington Street there was vegetable suppliers, wholesalers, you know.

**Sam (aged 60-79)**

The majority of narratives I heard imagined the Fruit Market as a purely commercial district, whereas this story demonstrates that alternative uses for the buildings existed long before current regeneration initiatives. It also represents an alternative way of remembering the area and its past. An increasing number of residents and small creative industries were attracted to the area (partly because of cheap rents) from the 1970s onwards, although these residents are not yet recognised in the official histories of the district. However, unlike the dissonant narratives that memory studies have often focused on in the past (see Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), or the co-existing narratives discussed more recently (Switzer and Graham 2009), this sort of alternative memory does not necessarily challenge more popular interpretations, or just exist alongside them. In the case of Humber Street the alternative memories also intersect and augment the more popular collective narratives, connecting them to additional communities and socio-economic contexts.



**Illustration 8.6:** East end of Victoria Pier (June 2010).

The Pier was first established in 1809 as part of the 'ferry boat dock' (Ketchell 2005). It was initially a breakwater unattached to the mainland, but a linking platform was constructed in 1847, creating a T-shaped pier (KHCC 2005:19). It was originally called Corporation Pier, but was renamed Victoria Pier after a visit by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1854 (KHCC 2005:19). A scheduled ferry service to New Holland ran from Victoria Pier from the 1820s until 1981, when it was replaced by the newly completed Humber Bridge (Gerard 2007:22). The first of the 'Castle' paddle steamers; the Wingfield Castle and the Tattershall Castle, began operating on this service in September 1934, with their sister ship the Lincoln Castle joining them in 1940 (Miles 2007:10).<sup>77</sup>

At the end of Pier Street, we emerge into an open space overlooking the Humber Estuary. Turning left and walking along the front we reach a wooden pontoon. This is Victoria Pier, another important place of memory for many respondents.

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<sup>77</sup> For a more detailed history of the Pier and Humber Ferries, including archive photographs see also [http://www.disused-stations.org.uk/h/hull\\_corporation\\_pier/index.shtml](http://www.disused-stations.org.uk/h/hull_corporation_pier/index.shtml)

Oh, this is what they call the new pier now isn't it? When I was little there was a pier and you could go on the top of it, you could go up the stairs. It was two storeys. Me sister used to take us and we used to go across on the ferry to New Holland, and then we'd come back. It was brilliant, I loved it!

**Beryl (aged 60-79)**

As discussed above, the pier is often shown in historic postcard images of the city. These images generally show a Victorian Pier with an impressive upper platform. This platform was removed during the 1960s (Taylor 2003:46), however it was mentioned by many older residents, who said that the current pier was nothing like the pier they remembered. Interestingly, a number of younger respondents also told me about the upper storey, although on closer questioning these respondents said that they had not actually seen the old pier itself, but had been told about it, or seen photographs. This suggests that the continued existence of this ghostly structure within popular imagination is reinforced by popular images of the pier that stretch beyond the limits of personal memory to intersect with collective imaginings of this area and its history. This also applied to other vanished features, suggesting that these are part of a wider 'spectral' landscape (Edensor 2008).

For instance, many people also had fond memories of the Humber Ferry, which sailed from Victoria Pier to New Holland on the South Bank (see also Memories of Hull website 2010f). The last two Humber ferries; the Tattershall Castle and the Lincoln Castle, were both paddle steamers. After the Lincoln Castle (the last ferry to operate on the service) was decommissioned she was moored by the Humber Bridge and used as a bar and restaurant for a number of years, before eventually being moved to Grimsby (*Hull Daily Mail*, June 19<sup>th</sup> 2010).<sup>78</sup> The ticket office for the ferry was opposite the pier, on Nelson

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<sup>78</sup> During the first draft of this thesis there was a local campaign to bring the Lincoln Castle back to Hull and to moor her at the pier as a tourist attraction (June 2010)., despite the fact that she was in a very poor physical condition and the estimated cost of restoring her was over £1million (*Hull Daily Mail*, June 19<sup>th</sup>, 2010). However, in October 2010 it was reported that the current owner had sadly declined an offer from the Lincoln Castle Preservation Society to buy her, and had instead demolished a large part of the vessel - leaving only the transom - with a hydraulic grab (Lester 2010:14).

Street. This building has been converted to offices and shows little sign of its previous use, although it has a blue heritage plaque explaining its significance. Many respondents remembered the ticket office, often joking that it was the only British Rail ticket office without any railway lines. People also recounted stories about the ferries, including personal accounts of memorable journeys across the Humber (see Memories of Hull website 2010g), combined with more general anecdotes about the ferries getting stuck on the sandbanks in the estuary, and crowds gathering to watch the spectacle of the boats docking at the pier.

In addition to the Victoria Pier, there was also the Minerva Pier (next to the entrance to Humber Dock) and a number of other passenger and goods terminals along the northern bank of the Estuary, including the Riverside Quay (to the west). These were all popular destinations for weekend outings with local residents until the closure of the town docks in the late 1960s.

There used to be a station there, and you got your tickets to go on the boat across the river. The ferry went across to New Holland, and they always used to sound the hooter and the kids used to start screaming. We thought we'd gone to foreign lands you see! (laughs) I remember the Riverside Quay as well. The boats used to come and they were all from different parts you know, and on the pier there used to be another part up, a top storey, it was quite nice that and you could get a better view. Riverside Quay, you got to that from Hessle Road, it was a great long walk towards Hessle, and you looked down at all these boats, and people going on. They used to take passengers as well as goods; it was interesting.

**Mary Mawer (aged 80 plus)**

To the east of the Pier is a concrete slipway leading down to the river, formerly used for unloading boats and washing dray horses. This is known locally as the horse-wash, or 'penny oss-wash', and is another popular postcard image that often features in local history publications (cf Ketchell 1997, Gerrard 2008, Gibson 2008). Some of my oldest

respondents had memories of seeing horses being washed here. For instance, one gentleman in his late nineties told me

They used to take the horses there for a bathe and a scrub, you know, they'd take them in there for a bit of a paddle. Oh aye, I remember that. They could only take 'em in when high water was up, cos the water used to go right down at low tide and leave all the mud, but otherwise they could take the horses straight down. Horse wash they called it, well 'oss wash (laughs).

**Albert (aged 90 plus)**

Residents who were too young to have personal memories of these activities also told me about the site, often mentioning family stories about relatives who had washed their horses here in the past.

I remember the ferry, where the old ferries used to go from, that's near the penny 'oss wash. My great granddad used to have an 'oss that got washed down there. I remember me dad taking us for a ride across the Humber on the paddle steamers a couple of years before they ended the service, they went from there to New Holland, and I remember me dad pointing out the penny 'oss wash. It was before my time really, but I've seen lots of photos of when they were being washed down there.

**Mr. Megson (aged 40-59)**

This all demonstrates how, in this part of the River Corridor, individual memories are actively combined with family stories, popular histories and archive images to create hybrid narratives that describe how this place is collectively (re)imagined and understood by residents of all ages.<sup>79</sup>

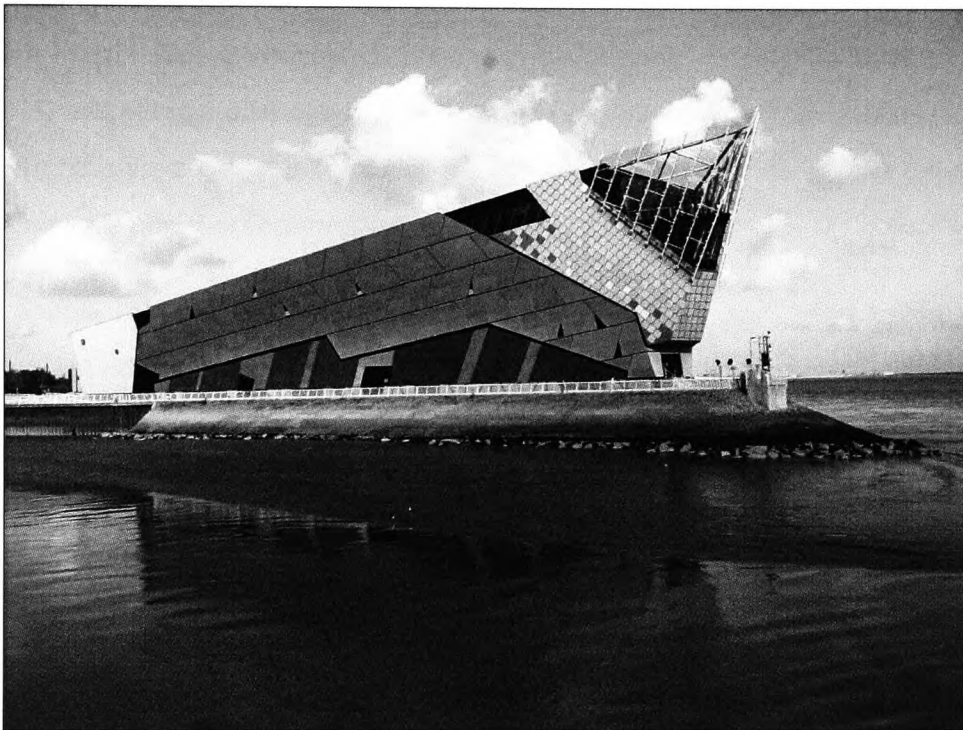
We now leave the pier area and walk to the end of Nelson Street, following the river round to the left on a modern footbridge. A short way along the footbridge crosses the

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<sup>79</sup> This sort of hybrid remembering was also seen in the previous chapter on Princes Avenue.

mouth of a former dry dock, now disused and silted up. At the time of my research the former dockyard fittings had been removed, leaving only the dock itself. A number of people told me that after the Humber Ferries had been decommissioned in the 1980s one of them was moored in this disused dock and used as a nightclub (although nobody actually admitted to having visited the club itself).

Opposite the dock, on the east bank of the River Hull, is 'The Deep'; a large aquarium<sup>80</sup> which opened in March 2002. The headland on which it sits is known as Sammy's point.



**Illustration 8.7:** The Deep on Sammy's Point (August 2008)

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards Hull had two major ship-building companies; Samuelson's and C. W. Earle (Brown 1969:224-5). In 1857 Samuelson's moved from Lime Street to a newly constructed yard on the corner of the River Hull and Humber Estuary; a site that had been partly occupied by the former Citadel (McNicol 2002:62). The business was sold to the Humber Iron Works and Ship Building Company in 1864, although the

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<sup>80</sup> Or more accurately a 'submarium' (The Deep website 2010)

new company struggled and was liquidated in 1866 (McNicol 2002:63). The site was taken over by Bailey and Leetham in 1872 who continued to use it as a shipyard (McNicol 2002:63). This firm was eventually taken over by Wilson and Sons in 1903 and they sold the site, which passed to the Humber Warehousing and Transport Company (McNicol 2002:63). It became derelict during the 1980s and was acquired by the Hull City Council for the Deep flagship project in 1998 (McNicol 2002:63).

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In all forms of commemorative naming (whether official or vernacular), certain elements of the past are celebrated at the expense of others (Hoelscher and Alderman 2000), and although Martin Samuelson was credited with introducing steam ships to Hull (Brown 1969:245) and remained an important public figure in the town for many years (McNicol 2002:63), his shipyard at the corner of the estuary only existed for a short period and only represents one short episode in the site's wider history.

Many people told me that the name 'Sammy's Point' had something to do with a shipyard that had once occupied the site, although only a few knew the actual history.

That used to be called Sammy's Point after somebody called Samuelson who was a ship builder I think, or ship repairer in the seventeen hundreds. I always remember it always had, oh from the forties until the sixties there was a large red buoy on the mud there. Of course it all got knocked down into the Deep.

**Chris (aged 60-79)**

This suggests that, through the name 'Sammy's Point' a long vanished (and partially forgotten) part of the site's history is commemorated, without this knowledge being questioned or even particularly understood. As shown above, in many of the stories I heard this partial historical reference was also combined with more personal, everyday memories and experiences. Most people remembered the area as a patch of scrubland, and many respondents told me that they used to go fishing, or ride their bikes on Sammy's Point as children, sometimes venturing further along the Estuary to Victoria Dock and beyond.

As discussed in chapter 4, until the later twentieth century this area contained numerous timber yards which were clustered around Hedon Road and Victoria Dock, and for some respondents these yards were unsanctioned recreational spaces where they used to 'mess around' as children, whereas for others they were places of work. Hedon Road and Victoria Dock have both been heavily redeveloped in recent years, and no sign of the timber yards now remains, something that was commented on by a number of respondents who had known the area before the redevelopment.

I did my apprenticeship at Hollis's. The wood yards down [Hedon Road] were enormous, absolutely massive. All the way to the prison, if not further, it was all wood, there was nowt else, you can't imagine. You go down Hedon Road and the first turning off, it used to start from there, and it used to go all the way to Craven Street. I think there must have been four or five hundred people working there. They used to bring the logs in from Africa and wherever, they used to saw 'em all, then they used to put 'em into the kilns to dry. Then the next one over used to make strip flooring, block flooring, peg flooring, all that sort of stuff. The next one was called woodwork, and that made anything you could think of; table legs, saw handles, plane handles, they used to do stuff for Stanley Tools, and then the next one was joinery. We used to sharpen all our own tools, we had our own first aid, our own nurse and a surgery and everything, proper canteen, anything you needed really, and Hollis's wasn't just in Hull, it was London, and Liverpool, and Maxwell bought it all and stripped it out. Like Armstrong's on the other side, they bought them out and finished them off. You really can't imagine how big it was. You want an aerial photograph from fifty years ago and you'll see how big it is. That area used to employ hundreds of people. Well, all them roads were wood, but, as I said, you'd have to see it to really understand what it was like, it's all so different now, you can't imagine.

**Tony (aged 40-59)**



The former timber dock, Victoria Dock, was closed to commercial shipping in 1970 (Ketchell 2005). The dock was in-filled in 1971 and it, and the surrounding area, was redeveloped as an 'urban village' from the late 1980s onwards (McNicol 2002). Although a number of original features have been preserved (including the inner basin, a slip way and a winding house), the architecture and design of this residential area makes little reference to the history of the dock itself (Atkinson 2007a). However, in his paper on memory in the Victoria Dock Village, David Atkinson argues that the 'maritime kitsch' aesthetic of the former dock has actually become a positive force in how current residents understand the space around them (Atkinson 2007a). In fact, when confronted by plans to create new port facilities nearby residents put up strong opposition because the real port aesthetic threatened to compromise the comfortable 'kitsch' aesthetic of the village (Atkinson 2007a:537).

Alongside the Victoria Dock Village, the west end of Hedon Road has been almost completely remodelled since the 1970s, including the demolition of the former wood yards and adjacent residential streets. This has upset some former residents who see the redevelopment of this area as a form of attempted municipal forgetting. They have set up a popular website called 'Crowle Street Kids' to provide a forum through which to remember and commemorate the streets (and former communities) around Hedon Road. Their mission statement says that their intention is 'to bring back to life a lost community of Hull, nearly forgotten, but not quite.' (Crowle Street Kids website 2009). This further demonstrates the complexity of the different memories that shape the spaces within this area; spaces that were formerly connected in terms of both community and spatial practice, but which have become physically separated by recent regeneration strategies. It also highlights some of the personal and collective ghosts that haunt these spaces, particularly those connected with changes in industry during the late twentieth century (discussed in chapter 4), and the social and physical changes that have resulted.

We now leave the ghosts of Hedon Road and Sammy's Point and continue south, walking past the end of the footbridge, following the road round and turning right underneath a busy road bridge to emerge on a wooden wharf on the west bank of the River Hull.

#### 8.4.2 *The River Hull (southern section)*



**Illustration 8.8:** View along the west bank of the River Hull, showing the Arctic Corsair at the back of the Museums Quarter (May 2007)

Although the wharf we are walking on appears to be a relatively mundane feature, it plays an important part in local memory. Younger respondents often told me about walking along the wharf on trips to the city's museums as children, and about the narrow gaps between the planks, through which you can see the river below.

I used to walk along that side when I was little cos we used to go to the museums a lot when it was the holidays, you used to always go. It wasn't as scary as the pier [because] the gaps weren't as big! (laughs).

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

Until the late eighteenth century the River Hull provided the only sheltered mooring for the port, and the section of river south of Drypool Bridge is still sometimes referred to as the Old Harbour. By the late-eighteenth century this part of the river was extremely congested with ships, as well as with the numerous barges that used the inland waterways and canal network to carry goods for export from the port's hinterlands, usually returning with imports including Baltic timber and Swedish iron ore (Gillett and MacMahon 1980:224). Until the mid 1980s the river was still used by a large number of barges, however this trade has declined, and the craft using the river are now relatively few in number (KHCC 2005).

Other residents who had worked in the city centre during the post-war years told me about sitting on the wharf in their lunch breaks watching the barges, which for many respondents characterised their memories of this part of the river. Most people just talked about 'barges' without differentiating between different sorts of craft, however some respondents (particularly those who worked on the river itself) had more detailed memories.

At one time, before all this, they used to get the mud dredger and it used to dredge it out quite regular, cos of course Whittaker's barges used to go up the river. They used to go up to near Beverley somewhere, and then come back down, but I mean all that's gone now. There was quite a few, there was Rix's, who did all the petroleum, and John Whittaker, his barges had motors, and there was two or three others, but the other ones was what they called dumb lighter barges, you know, they was pulled by the others. They were quite nice actually. I got an invite to go on a couple of 'em. The front had a little cabin and there was two bunks in it, and the

back was the same like, you know. Some of ‘em stopped overnight depending on the cargo. The grain ones, cos a lot of them carried grain, they was alright, but a lot of ‘em used to carry pottery stuff, clay and that, which was worth quite a bit of money.

**Mike Howard (aged 60-79)**

Almost everybody I spoke to commented on the large mud banks that were visible on some of the photographs that I took at low tide. Some younger respondents told me they were a familiar (if not universally admired) feature of the river, whereas other (usually older) respondents told me they were a modern phenomenon, a result of the natural build-up of silt and the river not being dredged in recent years. This demonstrates how quickly new features can become an accepted, and indeed characteristic, part of the local topography.

We continue along the wharf towards the back of the city’s Museums Quarter, where a large ship is embedded in the mud, alongside the wharf (**Illustration 8.10**). This is the Arctic Corsair, the last remaining Hull side-winder trawler, and a veteran of the Cod Wars<sup>81</sup> (Hull museums website 2010). She was decommissioned in 1986, and was rescued from the scrap yard by STAND (mentioned in Chapter 6), with the help of the City Council (Hull museums website 2010). She was restored as an example of an early 1960s fishing vessel and is now used as a floating museum, with free tours given by former trawlermen during the summer months (Hull museums website 2010). Many of my respondents recognised the Corsair, and a number of people commented on their continuing disappointment at the lack of a ‘proper’ fishing museum in Hull (particularly in comparison to the popular Fishing Life museum in Grimsby). The Corsair also prompted a number of associated memories about the fishing industry.

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<sup>81</sup> During which she was rammed by an Icelandic Gunboat (KHCC website 2010).

That looks like the Arctic Corsair. I've been on that one in Grimsby, Ross Tiger, which is quite a bit smaller. Grimsby boats by and large were a bit smaller than the Hull ones. They didn't go as far north, they tended to fish south Iceland, whereas the Hull ones went to North Bear Island and the White Sea.

**Harold (aged 60-79)**

The Corsair therefore seems to serve as a focal point for memories of different times and places that are entwined in a network of remembered routes and working practices, stretching beyond the physical boundaries of the city to encompass the distant Deep Water fishing grounds that the Hull trawlers used. A number of respondents also noted that a trawler would actually have been an unusual sight in the River Hull. After the opening of St. Andrew's Dock in 1883 (Ketchell 2005), the only trawlers on the river were newly constructed ones making their way down from the shipyards upstream,<sup>82</sup> a sight that one respondent who grew up on the northern edge of the city remembered well.

Oh that's the trawler. I don't know much about what went on in the river, but I can remember seeing trawlers coming down from Beverley shipyard, cos they made them up there, and when they came past where we lived it just used to look like this trawler was wending its way across the flat fields, you know (laughs).

**Jean S (aged 60-79)**

Others told me that they felt the Corsair belonged in the former St. Andrew's Dock. This suggests that, for some residents at least, the Corsair is an 'out-of-place' feature, causing what Karen Till has called 'an irritation in everyday space' (Till 2005:101). Till argues that these sorts of sites allow past and present to collide, awakening memories and forcing people to confront often difficult histories (Till 2005:101-2). Till's work considers public sites commemorating the Second World War in Germany, and the Arctic Corsair may appear mundane in comparison. However, the sight of a former working trawler

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<sup>82</sup> Including Cooke, Welton and Gemmell in Beverley who built nearly a thousand vessels between 1901 and 1963, most of which were trawlers and all of which had to be towed down the River Hull to be fitted out (Taylor 2003:62)

converted to a museum, combined with her (historically inaccurate) presence on the river serves for some local residents as a constant reminder of the Cod Wars, the collapse of the city's fishing industry, and the bitter struggle by some members of the former fishing community to be properly recognised both legally,<sup>83</sup> and in the city's official heritage. In this context the Arctic Corsair should therefore be seen not as a symbol of memory (or a symbol of the fishing industry), but as a context for a range of overlapping memories and debates about the past, present and future (Boym 2001:77).

However, not all of my respondents had strong feelings about the Corsair. Indeed, for some respondents the Corsair (which opened as a museum in 1999) has become a more mundane feature, acting as a familiar landmark rather than an unusual presence.

That's the Arctic Corsair sat in the mud. Over here, next to the Arctic Corsair, this building that would've been here, that's actually where I used to run a radio show (laughs). It used to be owned by what was called Hull Time Based Arts, which was an Arts Group who I think have gone under years ago now. But we had a little studio called Cod City FM and I had a radio programme on a Sunday night. I used to play a variety of stuff and interview people in Hull and stuff like that, it was good fun, you know. That would've been late 90s I think.

#### **Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

As with other parts of the Old Town, from the 1970s onwards the High Street also became popular with a number of alternative and creative industries that took advantage of the cheap rents and available space in some of the former industrial warehouses. These were used as, amongst other things, recording studios and band practice rooms. Personal memories like Eddy's expose additional narratives that, as with those in the Fruit Market, are not recognised or articulated within the official histories connected to this part of the city, but which nevertheless intersect with and augment

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<sup>83</sup> As one former fishermen told me, although the trawler owners were compensated for their loss of earnings after the collapse of the industry, many Hull trawlermen had to fight for years for compensation for the loss of their livelihoods

these histories, highlighting additional connections with fragments of the past, caught up in overlapping experiences and multiple understandings of place.

Further on we come to Drypool Bridge. Taking a short flight of concrete steps up to the road, we look across the bridge towards East Hull.



**Illustration 8.9:** View across Drypool Bridge, from the West bank (August 2009)<sup>84</sup>

When I was about eight or nine I used to go on bike rides and I used to go and see the harbour master, whose office is on Drypool Bridge, and he used to tell me when the bridges were opening and stuff. They used to say ‘oh the bridge is opening soon, are you going to stay and watch it?’ So I’d stay and have a cup of tea with the harbour master. It was really nice. We used to just sit in his office and watch the bridge going up (laughs).

**Stephen Ingram (aged 40-59)**

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<sup>84</sup> NB this photograph was taken on a Sunday and the road was closed in advance of the bridge opening, presumably to allow river traffic through.

Drypool Bridge was originally constructed in 1888 (Ketchell 1996). In the late 1890s it was involved in a scheme of road improvements intended to provide better transport links between the East and West sides of the city (Brown 1969:263). As part of this scheme Alfred Gelder Street was created to the west of the new bridge, and Clarence Street was extended to connect it with Holderness Road to the east (Brown 1969:263). The current bridge is a replacement from the late 1950s (Ketchell 1996). Clarence Flour Mill (to the left of the bridge in **Illustration 8.9** above) was originally constructed in 1890-1 by J Arthur Rank, the first person to employ roller-milling technology in Hull, during a period of expansion in the grain milling industry in Hull (Brown 1969:256). This expansion created new trading patterns using corn from North America, India and the Black Sea (Brown 1969:248). The mill was badly damaged during the Second World War, suffering a direct hit on July 18th 1941 (Markham 1989:14), and was rebuilt in its present form in 1952 (Gibson 2008:59). It closed in 2006 and is presently ear-marked for demolition (Gibson 2008:59).

Drypool Bridge and North Bridge (further upstream) both emerged as important focal points of memory, with many people telling stories about journeys between the East and West sides of the city. In the photo above (taken on a Sunday) the bridge has been closed, something which drew a number of comments, including one respondent who jokingly said 'Oh, Rover's must have been playing at home that day.' This sort of comment alludes to the fact that, for many people, the division between the East and West sides of the city is summed up by their support of two opposing Rugby League teams; Hull FC (who play in West Hull) and Hull Kingston Rovers (who play in East Hull). These stories are part of the social spatialisation of the two halves of the city (which will be discussed later in this section). They are also another part of a city-wide, collective framework of memories associated with Hull's transport system (discussed in the previous chapter), within which road traffic was often at the mercy of the city's rail and river networks. In the days when the river was used more frequently these bridges were opened many times a day, causing road traffic to come to a complete halt. Many respondents compared this to the delays caused by the city's many railway crossings



(discussed in the previous chapters) and, as with the railway crossings, many said they had used the bridges as an excuse for turning up late to school or work.

The large flour mill next to Drypool Bridge is also a well-known landmark for many Hull residents. It once employed many people from both sides of the city and, as discussed earlier, is still known to many locals as Rank's. Crossing the bridge we descend a short flight of steps next to the mill to reach a section of covered concrete wharf, which has a good view back along the river and the wharf we have just walked along (**Illustration 8.10**). Although many recognised the river and the warehouses seen from this location, for a small number of respondents this view held particular significance.



**Illustration 8.10:** View of River Hull from beneath the former Rank's flour mill, looking South (December 2006)

Oh yeah, I've flicked a few tab ends in the river from that spot (laughs). That's under Rank Hovis, under the building. In the seventies and the eighties a vast majority of the wheat that we used to use was imported from all over the World, before the Common Market Agriculture Policy, or CAP as it's known, so wheat

came in from Australia, America, all different parts of Europe. It used to come into Immingham on really big ships and be unloaded into a silo and then transferred to 600 tonne boats, bigger than the Arctic Corsair, but not huge, and our guys used to go in the ship and do what they called trimming. That meant that when the pipe, which looked like an elephant's trunk about a foot in diameter, used to go into the hold their job was to not let the outlet of the hose become uncovered, it had to be covered in wheat all the time. So they used to shovel the wheat to it and that was trimming. I remember me dad did that. It was tough work in the summer. Kept you warm in the winter, but in the summer that was all south facing so the sun would beam in, and we used to stand here and have a bit of a crafty fag in-between shifts and have a look over at the lads trimming. Of course this is tidal so the boat used to be going down and then back up. It used to be sat on the mud for a couple of hours and then come back up [and] if it was stuck on the mud the boat couldn't move, so they used to move this cab on rails along here so that the elephant's trunk, that's what we used to say (laughs), was sat on the right part of the wheat. It used to take about twelve hours to empty 600 tonnes into the big grain silos. We used to be able to store about 20,000 tonnes of this stuff, and we used 400 tonnes a day. That was in the seventies, but when CAP came in there was a lot more pressure on English farmers to grow higher protein wheat and we had to use UK based wheats, so we stopped getting Australian and Canadian wheat, so there wasn't the demand for these boats and this thing became pretty much redundant. But this was an everyday thing. We might do 200 coasters in a year, and then I remember towards the late eighties early nineties that'd be down to nearly five coasters in a year, then it just stopped completely.

**Mr. Megson (aged 40-59)**

This personal story demonstrates how wider economic and industrial changes within the port (and the industrial sector in general) affected the everyday lives and routines of the

people working in this area. Another story prompted by this view further highlighted the social impact of these changes, evoking another collection of connected ghosts.

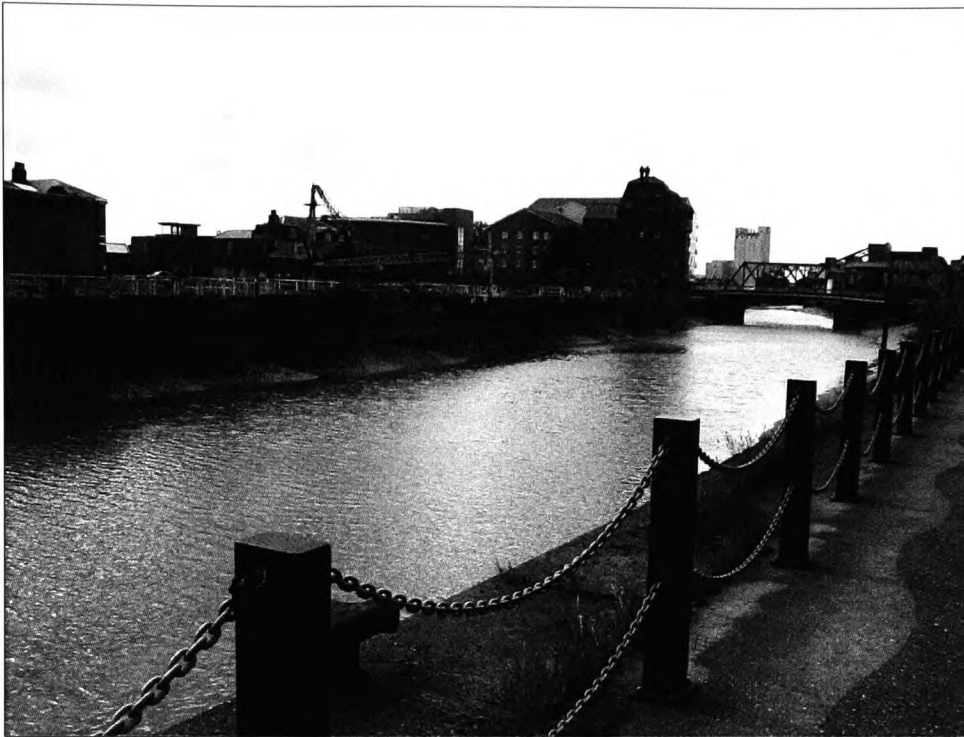
Just over here, on St. Peter's Street, there was a night shelter called Homeless and Rootless, and I used to work there in the late eighties. I started work at ten at night so I'd be walking down there quite late in the evening. Very atmospheric, but unfortunately very poverty stricken as well, you know. The old guys that lived there they all had their problems, and they were rough and ready, but a lot of them had actually had quite normal lives to start with, a lot of them worked in the docks or in fishing and it had all gone wrong for whatever reason. The jobs had gone and the pubs didn't shut, so you know... But yeah, I used to walk down here to get there.

*Tegwen – Underneath the mill?*

Yeah, under Ranksiz, down here, and it was about there. There's a turning point for boats just there and that was where they used to come in when the tide was up. If it was up late at night they'd turn into here and stop by just banging the side, and you'd hear this really loud metallic, quite spooky crrrrrrreak sort of noise, you know (laughs).

**Eddy Bewsher (aged 40-59)**

These stories both demonstrate the importance of the local environment (particularly the tidal conditions in the River Hull) in shaping local routines and experiences. Together they also demonstrate the significance of wider historical processes in shaping this part of the city, and the continued impact of these changes on how different people (re)imagine and remember different parts of the area.



**Illustration 8.11:** View towards North Bridge from Drypool, showing three dry docks and derrick on west bank (June 2010).

Dry Dock No. 1 (at the south end) was associated with the Blaydes family; one of the leading ship-builders in Hull during the eighteenth century (Jackson 1972:180). The middle dock was created from the former lock pit of Queen's Dock during the 1930s (Taylor 2003:93). All three docks were eventually taken over by the Drypool Engineering and Dry Dock Co., who began shipbuilding at the site in 1958 (Taylor 2003:93). The company was taken over by the Yorkshire Dry Dock Co. (part of John H Whitaker (Holdings) Ltd.) in 1976, who continued to work here until 1997 (Taylor 2003:93).

We now retrace our steps, crossing the road beside Drypool Bridge and continuing north along the East bank of the river. Some respondents who grew up in the streets close-by, told me about their childhood memories of this area.

[Y]ears ago the river wasn't like this, you know all this mud and silt has appeared just lately, it used to be drained out, and it was lined with barges and tugs, and we

used to swim off the barges cos’ they were like springboards, and when you got a fast running tide into the Humber you could dive in there and you could be up this end in no time. But I was always threatened if I was ever caught swimming in there I’d be forrit, cos it was dangerous, but you don’t see the danger when you’re kids.

**Jack Smith (aged 60-79)**

Again, this story highlights the importance of the tidal nature of the river in shaping both the experiences and memories of local residents. The river is relatively narrow at this point, and this was also commented on (see Tony’s quote below). As discussed above, ship building was an important industry in Hull throughout its development, and there are a number of disused dry docks along this part of the river. The path along the Eastern bank crosses the mouth of one of these docks, which is now silted-up and over-grown with grass and wild flowers.



**Illustration 8.12:** Former dry dock on east bank of the River Hull, between Drypool Bridge and North Bridge (May 2007)

Many people recognised the shape of the dock, although few had any personal stories connected to it, with the exception of a small number of respondents who had worked in these shipyards.

Yeah, that's the one on the other side of the river int it? There's a pub just round the corner, we used to go into all them (laughs). They used to build 'em in the dock and then slip 'em off, and they used to just miss the wall at the other side (laughs). If you actually go to North Bridge, the one that's further up, and if you look back from there you'll see the marks where they've actually smacked it. They'd set 'em off sideways, that's how they used to tek 'em off. We did a couple of rigs for the support vessels, cos support vessels have everything you can think in; morgue, sauna, they went from one extreme to the other. They was absolutely enormous, and when they was trying to take 'em out they smashed one of them into the dock. They had to bring it back in and repair it.

**Tony (aged 40-59)**

On the River Hull barge trip, as we passed the dry dock to the north of the bridge (mentioned in the quote above), another former dock worker told me the same story about ships hitting the bank and showed me the marks on the other side of the river. These stories again highlight the different sorts of memories and personal and shared understandings of places that shape, and are shaped by, this area. These include memories of leisure alongside (and often intertwined with) memories of work and industry, and of the daily routines and more occasional spectacles associated with both. We now continue past the dry docks to reach North Bridge. Just before the bridge, on the right, is a cobbled surface which was part of the road from the previous North Bridge, which was replaced in 1931 (Brown 1969:90). We walk down here and emerge on the corner of Witham and Cleveland Street.

#### 8.4.3 North Bridge (and Witham)



**Illustration 8.13:** North Bridge from east side, looking west (May 2007)

A river crossing at North Bridge is shown on the earliest plans of Hull, although before the late-eighteenth century it was outside the town walls. The present bridge was built in 1931, a short way to the north of an earlier structure (Ketchell 1996). As with Drypool Bridge, North Bridge was involved in the municipal improvements to transport routes between East and West Hull in the 1890s, and a new approach was created in the form of Jameson Street (Brown 1969:263). The area to the north-east of the bridge is known as the Groves, and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this area housed many of the city's seed-crushing mills. By the late nineteenth century there were a large number of firms involved in seed-crushing in Hull, however after 1899 the industry was dominated by British Oil and Cake Mills, an amalgamation of 17 existing firms (Brown 1969:257).

I grew up in West Hull and I remember as a child thinking that if I went over North Bridge to East Hull then I was going on a voyage of discovery! (laughs)

**Anne B (aged 60-79)**

As mentioned above, for many respondents the bridges on this part of the river represented the boundary between East and West Hull, and played an important role in local divisions between the two, which locals regularly reinforce. As a number of people told me jokingly 'they're like different worlds'. However, although the divide is widely discussed, when I asked people to *explain* the differences between the two sides of the city they often struggled to articulate it - giving explanations which ranged from historical employment differences ('East was docks and West was fish') to rugby rivalry (mentioned above), to social differences including perceived differences in accent. One lady even told me butchers used to cut meat differently on different sides of the river.

East Hull and West Hull was different countries I think. A friend [of mine] exchanged with this woman for a prefab on Holderness Road, and oh I don't think she'd moved in two days and she wanted to come back! She lived there two or three months, but she wasn't ever happy there.

Tegwen - What was the difference?

Oh, the butchers didn't even cut the meat right, [not the] same as they did on Hessle Road. So no, she didn't like it. I knew she wouldn't, I don't know why she went up there, she'd been born and bred on Hessle Road, never lived anywhere else.

**Jean (aged 60-79)**

However, as mentioned previously, from the 1920s onwards many West Hull residents were moved to the new housing estates on the northern and eastern edges of the city. During the second half of the twentieth century therefore, this city-wide Diaspora, along with increasing social mobility and economic and industrial changes across the city



(including the increasing mechanisation of the docks and the collapse of the fishing industry), has meant that the oft-stated differences have become increasingly blurred, as some respondents told me.

A lot people that live on Bransholme, Bilton Grange, Longhill, their families were originally from Hessle Road so their roots are still there even though they live out in East Hull, so you get massive cross-over now of people from the East supporting the West team [Hull FC].

**Steve W (aged 40-59)**

A number of my respondents had also moved between East and West, or mentioned friends and family members who had done so. This suggests that the boundary between East and West Hull has to some extent become a 'space-myth' (Shields 1991); a social spatialisation that has become reinforced in popular imagination over time despite changes in the 'real' nature of the places involved (Shields 1991:47). Interestingly (as mentioned in Chapter 3), although my West Hull respondents often claimed not to know East Hull at all, on further questioning many talked fondly about trips to East Park, on Holderness Road. The journey to East Park was often seen as a great childhood adventure by West Hull residents because (as with other journeys across the city) it was two bus-rides away. Other respondents told me about commuting to work across the bridges (both ways), including dock workers who commuted from West Hull to the eastern docks, and from East Hull to the western docks. This suggests that the perceived physical boundary of the River Hull is not only more permeable than is sometimes assumed, but also that it is a focal point for remembered experiences and shared spatial routines.

When I first started working I was living in West Hull and working in East Hull, so I had to cross the river, and I used to drive down Hessle Road and I knew as soon as I hit the main road traffic whether it was a bridge morning, because it just used to

affect the traffic back all that way, and you could tell, you know doing it the same time every day.

**Carol (aged 60-79)**

This also suggests that the social spatialisation of East and West as distinct identities has been reinforced not only by popular imagination, but also by everyday spatial practice and institutional frameworks (including public transport links) that reinforce the apparent distance between east and west. These external factors also contribute to the ways in which the two parts of the city (and their relationship) are imagined and remembered.<sup>85</sup> This was also highlighted in discussions of Hessle Road, particularly in relation to the housing clearances and the subsequent relocation of former residents to new housing estates on the east side of the city. Some respondents told me that, to begin with, the poor public transport links between Hessle Road and the new estates emphasised the sense of exile for the former Hessle-Roaders.

My parents-in-law were moved up to Bransholme when they started demolishing all the houses, but they still came back to Hessle Road to do their shopping because they were Hessle Roaders, and when they first moved they were on north Bransholme, and there weren't any buses! Or very few, you know.

**Liz S (aged 60-79)**

From North Bridge we look east towards the junction of Cleveland Street and Witham.

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<sup>85</sup> Something which Shields has also highlighted as an important factor in the spatialisation of the North and South of England (Shields, 1992:207-8).



**Illustration 8.14:** View from North Bridge, looking East towards Witham (May 2007)

Witham was once a thriving retail and manufacturing area with many small shops, pubs and cinemas (Gibson 2008:58). Holderness Hall, later known as the Gaumont, and then the Majestic Ballroom, first opened in 1912 at the east end of Witham, near to the corner with Holderness Road (Curry 1992:34). It was renamed the Gaumont in 1950 (Curry 1992:34).

Oh, that's all changed. I used to work down here as an electrician and we used to come up there onto Cleveland Street for our dinner. It's changed since then, but it was one of the few places we could just leave our overalls on and go and have our dinner (laughs).

**Dennis Clarke (aged 60-79)**

Many of the memories that I heard of this area were connected with the local industries and the daily routines and activities associated with them. For many of the people I

spoke to this area was characterised by the distinctive sounds and, more importantly, smells that were associated with the different industries.

Along that side [Cleveland Street] were all the oil seed crushing mills to make oils of various kinds. When I did my PhD I actually used to go to one to get Coconut Butter cos I used to use it for [melting and] sealing a bit of equipment. I always remember in the sixties it was fairly run down then, and there was lots of big machinery clanking around, and it smelt of you know, various plant oils and seed oils. It actually was quite a pleasant smell, it was sort of a malty smell, and they used to give me bits of coconut butter, a big piece like that *[makes a hand gesture]* which actually smelled quite nice.

**Chris (aged 60-79)**

Whereas some respondents (like Chris) said they had quite liked the different smells, others did not agree.

Oh this is the other side of the river isn't it? We lived on a little street near there for a while. It was a tiny narrow little street, and oh the smell! You could just smell Newlon hand cream all day long from Reckitt's, it used to make me feel sick! Or if it wasn't Reckitt's then you'd smell the British Oil and Cake Mill which was a really chocolaty, sickly smell. Yuk. I didn't like it at all.

**Barbara Bourne (aged 60-79)**

Respondents also told me everyday stories about the pubs and cinemas that used to be along Witham, including the Majestic Ballroom formerly Holderness Hall and then the Gaumont Cinema (Curry 1992:34), where the Beatles played their first concert in Hull in October 1962 (Beatles-bible website 2010). They also told me what it was like to live in the streets around Cleveland Street. During the early-twentieth century there were many houses in this area, mostly packed into small terraces (similar to those seen on Hessle Road - see chapter 6). Small areas of housing still remain (for instance around Hodgson

Street), however the majority of the terraces were demolished between the 1930s and 1970s (Gibson 2007). As with other working-class areas of the city, the families living in these terraces were often very poor. As one gentleman told me,

I grew up just down here, which is Cleveland Street. The first street off is Spyvee Street, and I was born down there. [They] used to send the cops round when you paid your rent to find out where you got your money from (laughs).

**Jack Smith (aged 60-79)**



**Illustration 8.15:** The Groves and Wincolmlee on the 1928 Ordnance Survey map (sheet number CCXL.3)

Interestingly, younger respondents from across the city knew this intersection as ‘the way to Spiders’; a nightclub on Cleveland Street (to the left of the picture) celebrated -



particularly amongst former students - for its cheap cocktails and alternative music. We now turn round and cross North Bridge, turning almost immediately right and heading north again, along Wincolmlee.

8.4.4 Wincolmlee



Illustration 8.16: Street map of Wincolmlee area



**Illustration 8.17:** Wincolmlee looking north, showing site of former Blundell's mill on the right (October 2008)

*Kelly's Directory of Hull* from 1929 listed hundreds of businesses along Wincolmlee, including various shops, merchants, mills, manufacturers, warehouses and pubs. On the eastern side; from Scott Street Bridge to North Bridge were listed a number of warehouses, a pub (the Sculcoates Hotel) and two seed-crushing mills owned by British Oil and Cake Mills (BOCM); St. George's Mill and Cato Mills (*Kelly's* 1929:262-3).<sup>86</sup> The same directory listed six separate BOCM properties on Wincolmlee, along with numerous other seed-crushers, seed-dryers, cake manufacturers and oil refineries. Other businesses represented in the area include paint and chemical manufacture, brass founding, corn and maize merchants, brush manufacture and haulage contractors.

Wincolmlee is a wide, open road dominated by the figure of the Maizecor Mill on the horizon. In 1798 local historian J Tickell described Wincolmlee as '[o]ne of the busiest

<sup>86</sup> Although it is likely that the Cato Mills were on the site now occupied by the present North Bridge (Ketchell 1996)

streets in or near Hull' (Tickell 1798:850 quoted in Bellamy 1979 page 8). However, nowadays the area is relatively quiet. There is currently a large car park along the river bank to the right, however the uneven rubble surface interspersed with patches of tiled flooring suggest that the site was recently occupied by buildings. Local history publications also suggest that this area has changed dramatically in recent years, describing, amongst other things, a large complex of mills and warehouses on the site now occupied by the car park (Ketchell 1989c, 1993b and 1996).

In contrast to the southern section of the river, relatively few of my respondents had personal stories connected to Wincolmllee. Although most people recognised the area, many described it as somewhere they had driven through but never paid much attention to.

Oh well I'm not familiar with this area. We used to always go round that way cos we had family up there [in East Hull], but I didn't like it very much, cos you went all through Dansom Lane and all that, you know, Cleveland Street and that area, it was all work places, busy and smelly (laughs).

**Jean A (aged 60-79)**

For many respondents this area appears to represent an amorphous industrial space; a space characterised by unusual noises and smells that most people just passed by on journeys between East and West Hull. As seen in the previous section, many local people draw an important social distinction between the East and West sides of the city along the line of the River Hull. However, in my different walks through the area I found that respondents often talked about the West bank (Wincolmllee) and the East bank (Cleveland and Lime Street) together, suggesting that despite the assumed boundary in local imaginations the two banks of the river may actually have more in common with each other than with the residential areas further to the east or the west.

My first job was down Wincolmllee, I used to work at the British Cocoa Mills on Cleveland Street. Very smelly place it was, all the different smells from the different



industries (laughs). The British Cocoa Mills of course had a very distinctive smell, quite nice but very distinctive!

**Anne B (aged 60-79)**

Some of my respondents also told me that the workforce of the mills along the River Corridor was drawn from both sides of the city.

*Tegwen - where did the people that worked at Rank's come from?*

Probably a fifty-fifty split from East and West Hull, but it passed down through the generations, the amount of people that had family there. I mean, my dad when he left the merchant navy, after labouring round Hull literally for a couple of months he got a job in a warehouse at Rank Hovis and by the time he left he was in charge of all of the warehousing and distribution from Hull. [My] Granddad worked at BOC, on Wincolmlee, but my brother worked in the engineering department [at Rank's]. There were lots and lots of families like that.

**Mr. Megson (aged 40-59)**

One of the strongest connecting factors between the two banks, and indeed between the River Corridor and other parts of the city, were again the various distinctive smells associated with the area). Respondents told me that these smells could be detected in different parts of the city depending on the wind direction. Respondents from other parts of the city also frequently mentioned names of some of the larger, better-known firms in this area, including Reckitt's, the British Cocoa Mills and the British Oil and Cake Mills, even when they denied any personal memories of Wincolmlee itself. These memories were rarely connected to specific sites, but were just mentioned in general conversation. These names were also often connected to particular events, such as a large fire at the Cocoa Mills in the 1950s, which many people remembered. This suggests that the ways that people imagine this area is not just based on personal experiences,

but is also tied-up with other sorts of collective and popular narratives about the industrial city.

We now turn left down Scott Street, walking along past the Maizecor buildings. The large Maizecor tower is a local landmark, and was recognised by many of my respondents. At the end of Scott Street we turn right onto Caroline Street. Directly in front of us is a large, empty factory. This was the premises of Rose Downs and Thompson's (often referred to as RDT), a local engineering company.



**Illustration 8.18:** Former premises of Rose Downs and Thompson Ltd., Caroline Street  
(June 2010)

I served an 6 year apprenticeship training as a mechanical fitter in the erecting shop at RDT just behind the building as shown. The company used apprentices as labourers at times but most of the craftsmen help their appointed mates, as the apprentices were called, providing advice and training showing off their own skills. The whole area during the sixties was booming and hundreds of people travelled up and down Cannon Street on which the plant straddled going to and from their

work places. I think the white building in the background was one of the first buildings to benefit from modular concrete construction methods. In my days it was the admin section.

**Website (aged 60-79)**

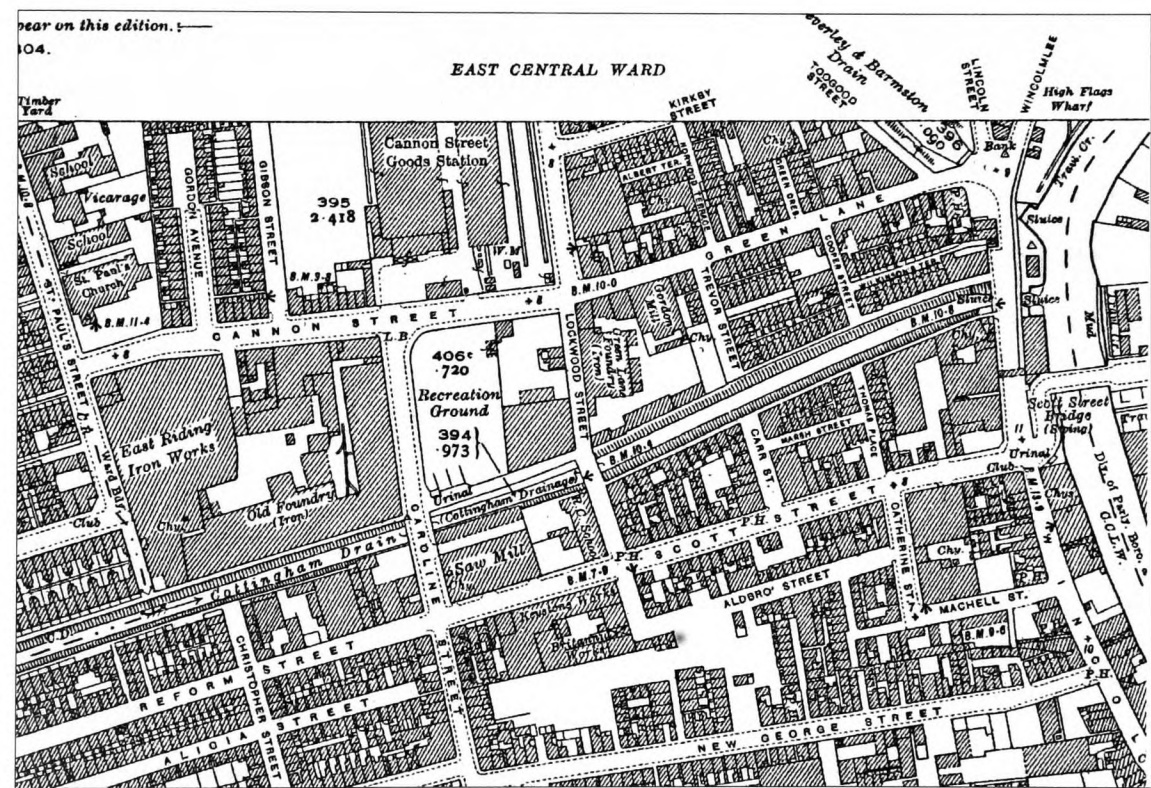
The engineering company Rose Downs and Thompson Ltd. was founded in the late eighteenth century, although the works on Caroline Street was not established until 1900 (Paul Gibson website 2010). The company was best known for producing industrial milling machinery, and was the first to introduce the Anglo-American hydraulic press to Hull during the 1870s (Brown 1969:257). This was one of the most important developments in seed-crushing during the later nineteenth century (Brown 1969:257). Part of the works is an early example of Hennebique Ferro-Concrete and is grade 2 listed (Paul Gibson website 2010).

This site prompted a burst of memories, including from two former employees who e-mailed their memories to the project website (Memories of Hull website 2010h). These sorts of stories animate the nearby streets with ghosts of industry - including the noise and the 'hot' smell of the RDT foundry - and the former working community. The building also prompted memories that were not related to this particular site, but to other places related to the company and its employees elsewhere in the city.

[I]f you go up Westbourne there's some new houses half way up, towards Chants, and that's where Rose Down and Thompson's playing fields were. They had a big cricket pitch and they had a big wooden pavilion with a big black and white balcony across the top, and bowling greens and tennis courts I think there were. And the ten foot opposite, which goes actually behind the Avenues pub, at the end of that they had a really long wooden building where they kept all the mowing machines, cos as a kid you could always smell the grass up there. So that was Rose Down and Thompson's.

**Chris (aged 60-79)**

This again demonstrates how different layers of memory and personal experience can overlap and co-exist across one particular site, whilst at the same time stretching out to connect to a range of other spaces and absent presences created through past spatial practices. Many firms provided facilities for their workers, including sports fields (such as the RDT one on Westbourne Avenue), swimming baths (including the former Reckitt's baths on Dansom Lane) and even housing (the most notable example being the Garden Village on Holderness Road built by James Reckitt for his workers). Industry therefore often had a significant impact on the social and physical landscape of the city beyond the boundaries of their industrial premises. The location of these facilities also shaped the movement of people and created social spaces and routines that (as the quote above suggests) are still remembered by local residents.



**Illustration 8.19:** Green Lane area on the 1928 Ordnance Survey map, showing terraced housing and industrial buildings (sheet number CCXL.3)

Alongside the industrial and commercial premises, maps from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries show this area packed with terraced housing (**Illustration 8.19**). The majority of this nineteenth century housing has now gone: some areas were destroyed during the war, and the rest was demolished during the post-war years (some under Compulsory Purchase Orders as late as the 1970s) to make way for the new Orbital Road Freetownway (Gibson website 2009). However, these demolished streets were still remembered by some of the former residents I spoke to.<sup>87</sup>

We lived on Francis Street and I had a friend who lived on the next street, which was Raywell Street [and] his house was down a tunnel from the street, which went back into a courtyard, and there were three or four houses on each side, and there were that many kids and dogs when I called for him on the way back to school at lunchtime you had to part the dustbins to knock on the door, cos [they] were put there to stop the kids and the dogs from escaping! There were three or four houses on each side, and they had a back yard. We had a back yard that you could actually have a little garden in. His back yard I doubt was a yard square, and on one side was the toilet, and on the other side was the coal house, so you can imagine the claustrophobia.

**Peter Greendale (aged 40-59)**

We now turn right and make our way along Cannon Street, past the site of the former Cannon Street Goods Station (now occupied by part of Hull College) and on to Green Lane. The area is quiet, with a small number of mainly post-war commercial buildings separated by car parks. These are occasionally interspersed with older buildings, which seem somehow incongruous. As with the southern part of the district, this area was also bombed extensively during the Second World War - something that continued to make an impression on local residents for a number of years after the war, although for some these memories have faded as the sites have been redeveloped and the area has gradually changed.

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<sup>87</sup> See also Gibson website 2009 for more personal memories of this area.

I lived around there and where we used to play was on bomb damage, all just rubble, so there was massive areas that were flattened. There were two places we used to go, we'd go on the drain, which was a bit iffy, but you were safe on the bomb damage. You know, when you're in terraced houses there isn't an alternative, you can't sort of say 'let's go on school field' cos there isn't anything. So they built little parks that were kind of play areas on the bombed buildings, but anyway, my memories of that area are sort of fading [...] a bit like the photographs you see, a bit misty (laughs).

**Peter Greendale (aged 40-59)**

At the end of Green Lane we emerge back on to Wincolmllee at the corner of an area known as High Flags. On this corner the pavement is raised above the level of the road. Some respondents told me that this was because, before the Tidal Surge Barrier at the mouth of the River Hull was opened in 1980, the area regularly flooded (Gerrard 2007:77).

Hull used to flood a lot more regularly of course. I remember, I had some stuff stored in a warehouse near Scott Street Bridge, and the road is actually below the level of the river there when it's high, I mean you go up from the road to go over the bridge, and I remember this one time the water was pouring in the back of the warehouse and coming out the doors at the front, onto the road, and I saw this happen!

**Sam (aged 60-79)**

Very few respondents had any personal stories about the flooding in this area, however, the raised pavements and the name High Flags are subtle reminders of the close connection between the River Hull and the surrounding area. This connection was also central to many of the other stories that people told me, which often (both consciously and subconsciously) reflected the importance of the river network and the wider trade routes on which the local industries were based.



**Illustration 8.20:** Wincolmlee at High Flags looking south from the corner of Green Lane (October 2008).

Round here was a nut place, like you know, you get almonds and all this, and we used to order them for Christmas. We used to get loads! And you didn't just get anything, you used to get Brazil nuts, chocolate Brazils, and when you walked in there it was so greasy the floor you were over straight away, just cos of the nuts! (laughs) I don't know quite how they brought them in, but it was a relation of a lad I worked with, and he used to import them and bag 'em all up, and this lad would just go in with a big list for us all. That'll be twenty years ago now.

**Tony (aged 40-59)**

Again this emphasises that everyday places are made up of flows of people and objects (Massey 1994); a process that is brought into focus in places like this where daily routines were centered around the global and local connections that the area's industries depended on.

Alongside the river, this area also had a number of artificial, open watercourses (known locally as drains), which flowed into the Hull along this section of the River Corridor. Many of these have now been filled-in, or culverted, however there is one still visible behind us, at the corner of Green Lane and Toogood Street.



**Illustration 8.21:** Barmston Drain, at the corner of Green Lane and Toogood Street  
(August 2009)

This is Barmston Drain, which runs north across the city and beyond to Beverley. It emerged as a significant point of memory within my research, prompting stories from residents (and former residents) from many parts of the north and west of the city and beyond, including numerous memories sent to the project website (Memories of Hull website 2010i). One of the most popular stories about Barmston Drain, which is also known locally as ‘Barmy Drain’ or ‘Leccy Drain’, was that there used to be a large power station on the drain-side which discharged hot water from its cooling towers into the drain. This warmed the water and made it a very popular - if dangerous - site for



swimming and fishing.<sup>88</sup> The drain has also passed into collective memory, with younger respondents telling me about the warm water as something they knew about, but had never experienced. As one respondent explained, 'from what you hear I think everybody must have swum in the drain at one time – it must have been full (laughs).' These memories are also similar to the memories we heard in the previous chapter (in section 7.4.3) about the Cottingham Drain that ran along the back of Ella Street, suggesting that, as with the public transport networks, the drains are part of a city-wide network of shared memories that have passed into collective and popular narratives.

Although Wincolmllee now continues north, following the river until it meets Air Street and Bankside, the memories I collected from beyond this point were few, and widely scattered. We will therefore end our walk just beyond the corner of Green Lane, outside the Whalebone pub; a gentle reminder of another industry that was in many ways responsible for shaping the area through which we have just travelled.

## 8.5 Summary

Edensor has argued that industrial sites are enmeshed within network 'flows' of people and things, that extend across local and wider spatialities 'to incorporate international markets, materials and supply lines' (Edensor 2005a:65). However, when these sites fall into disuse these networks are disrupted, creating 'fluid spaces' in which people and things are enrolled in more volatile, shifting connections and relationships (Moll and Law 1994, Edensor 2005a:65). As shown above, the River Corridor contains multiple 'fluid' sites, shaped by their connections with other places, and now haunted by the ghosts of industrial decline created by the rupture of established networks. It is increasingly argued that *all* places are created and maintained by multiple overlapping connections on both a local and a global scale (Massey 1994); however in this case-study this is particularly highlighted because of the former immediacy (and therefore visibility) of these connections - as seen for example in areas such as the Fruit Market - and the

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<sup>88</sup> I heard a number of anecdotal stories about children drowning in the drain from respondents who told me that these sad accounts were regularly featured in the local newspapers. A number of respondents also told me stories about 'monster pike' and 'the one that got away'.

ruined and empty spaces left by their collapse. Other physical markers of the collapse in these networks are physically embodied in features like the growing mud-banks in the river, and the permanent mooring of a trawler in what would once have been premium commercial space. These visible signs act as 'irritations' in everyday space (Till 2005), prompting observers to reflect (often subconsciously) on the ongoing socio-economic changes that have resulted in their current existence.

The memories discussed in the walks demonstrate how the rhythms of everyday life in this area were (and to some extent still are) fundamentally shaped by industrial processes connected with the river and local transport networks, as well as the natural rhythms of the River Hull itself – particularly the tides, and the seasonal water table, which until recent years caused regular flooding in parts of the area. This relationship has actively shaped the physical environment around the river, for instance in the creation of raised pavements and land drains, and these features in turn continue to shape how the district is remembered.

This chapter demonstrates that, although the River Corridor is generally seen as an entirely 'industrial' district, many (if not all) of the places visited on the walk are shaped not only by memories of work, but also by memories of home, play and leisure. It also shows that the modern dockland and riverside developments seen in places like the Marina and Victoria dock, often criticised for their production of generic, time-less representations of the past (Edensor 2005a), are far from memory-less, but are in fact dynamic, shifting landscapes that deserve to be studied in their own right (Atkinson 2008). This chapter also highlights the many similarities, and even direct connections, between this and the other two case-study areas, suggesting that all three are entwined in a complex, city-wide network - or topography - of shared remembering, and forgetting.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion**

This thesis has explored ways of tracing memory processes across a normal everyday city, drawing on academic debates that increasingly see different sorts of memory as part of the same dynamic process negotiated through ongoing spatial practice (Crang and Travlou 2001). It contributes to a growing body of work that seeks to engage with memory across a range of mundane, everyday places, as well as within formal sites of commemoration (Atkinson 2008). It also contributes to theoretical discussions that highlight the significance of spatial practice in the creation of everyday places. These discussions call for closer, more detailed investigations of spatial practice through specific case-studies to understand the processes by which people both shape and are shaped by the places around them. This research follows these debates and takes them to their logical conclusion, investigating the detail of memory processes at street-level through in-depth empirical research across three districts of one particular city (Kingston-upon-Hull).

The thesis develops an innovative, engaged methodology in order to investigate everyday memory across a range of different spaces, resulting in a richly textured collection of narratives and interpretations of the past. On the surface this collection of essentially local stories may appear somewhat parochial, with little relevance to wider debates. However, on closer inspection a number of patterns and questions emerge which have significant implications for academic memory studies. In this final chapter I discuss this contribution and highlight the main conclusions that can be drawn from the thesis. I also discuss the implications of this work in presenting new possibilities for undertaking future research in this field.

### **9.1 Research Questions**

As outlined in chapter 1, the work presented in this thesis was shaped by three central research questions:

1. How (and why?) do different residents understand and value relic urban landscapes, and to what extent do these landscapes constitute topographies of memory?
2. What is the relationship between personal memories (or topographies of memory) of residents, and wider collective and public memories associated with these landscapes?
3. How can we interrogate urban topographies of memory?

As the previous chapters show, my thinking evolved as the research developed, and these original questions were transcended to some extent by the data that emerged (which highlighted memory as a dense collection of enmeshed, overlapping narratives that could not be easily untangled). However, having said that, the questions did shape my work and I will now briefly return to each of them in turn to discuss how they were addressed.

*9.1.1 Question One: How (and why?) do different residents understand and value relic urban landscapes, and to what extent do these landscapes constitute topographies of memory?*

One of the main observations that emerged from the research was that *all* of the places I visited, including those that at first glance might appear to be mundane and unremarkable, were richly textured with memories and significances and connected with a range of feelings and emotions. The overwhelming response to the project website further demonstrated that, in many cases, these places are not just valued by current residents, but also by former residents and (in some cases) their descendants. This supports the contention that *all* places have the potential to be sites of memory (Dwyer 2004).

Another key observation was that, in all of the case studies, nostalgia played a significant role in shaping how and why different places were remembered. In all of the districts

that I explored peoples' memories tended to be prompted by perceived changes in the local environment (both physical and social) often triggered by encounters with left-over fragments of past lives and activities. Underpinning this was a sense of active or performative nostalgia (Boym 2001, Blunt 2003, Della Dora 2006, Atkinson 2008) which was apparent in two discernible forms. The most visible was restorative nostalgia - associated with the collective desire to restore positive elements of the past (Boym 2001, Della Dora 2006). This was seen in many of the conservation areas we walked through, and was particularly visible in places like Boulevard and the Avenues where restorative nostalgia is not only shaping processes of remembering (and forgetting), but is also impacting upon the physical landscape. Alongside this, all of the places I explored were also shaped by reflective nostalgia - connected with a sense of loss triggered by traces of past activities or absent presences - which also affected how and why certain places were remembered, and valued, by different people.

Moran suggests that there is a 'specific sort of sadness' connected with memories of everyday life, and in particular with markers of physical and social change (Moran 2004:61), and some of the case studies do present a relatively sad picture, particularly in areas where the physical structures of everyday life are being demolished on a large scale. This was perhaps shown most clearly on the walk round Hawthorn Avenue, when some of the walkers (all former residents) were actually reduced to tears. However, in all of the areas I visited (including places like Hawthorn Avenue) there was also a lot of laughter, and stories about happy memories and enjoyable experiences. This suggests that the frameworks for remembering in which these environments are entwined are shot through with a range of different emotions, through which people negotiate their attachments to particular places at particular times. It also highlights that individual memories do not exist in isolation, but are instead entangled in a mesh of representations and understandings not only of the past, but also of the present and the future. All of which suggests that, rather than talking about memories as individual narratives, we should instead understand them as part of complex, interconnected topographies that stretch across multiple times and places.

*9.1.2 Question Two: What is the relationship between personal memories (or topographies of memory) of residents, and wider collective and public memories associated with these landscapes?*

At the start of the research I decided to classify the different forms of narrative that I encountered as official narratives, popular narratives, and individual and shared memories (see chapter 5). Although in the context of the wider research these labels may appear rather blunt and somewhat artificial, they did help to structure my understanding and interpretation of an otherwise dense and impenetrable set of entwined memories. However, as the case studies also show, although there *are* differences in how different forms of memory are articulated, in reality it is often virtually impossible, and indeed in some ways unhelpful, to separate these strands of memory in explorations of everyday places. Even at this micro-scale these strands are always entangled to some extent. Although many of the stories that I heard were essentially personal, the research has also clearly demonstrated how these narratives continually shape, and are (re)shaped by, multiple (and often overlapping) collective frameworks of shared memories and experiences, as well as by popular and formal narratives about the past.

*9.1.3 Question Three: How can we interrogate urban topographies of memory?*

As discussed in chapter 2, everyday memories are often fragmentary and elusive (Moran 2004) and can be difficult to translate, particularly for an outside observer (Boym 2001). The topographies of memory discussed above are not only shaped by personal narratives, but also involve multiple connections to traces and representations of the past, including formal and popular narratives, objects and absent presences. These connections are often fleeting, or even unconscious, and are therefore almost impossible to capture using traditional research methods (such as structured interviews). As discussed in chapter 3, the research therefore adopted a combination of different techniques, including photo elicitation, walking tours and group discussion, to explore some of the often transient and hard-to-define memories and connections that both

shape – and are shaped by – a range of everyday places. The most important and innovative aspect of the methodology was the use of a virtual walking tour in various forms (including adaptations for group talks and the project website as well as the personal tours used in individual interviews) as a means of prompting spatial narratives. Through these narratives people were able to articulate their memories and understanding of different places.

In many ways this methodology was very successful, resulting in a wealth of rich and highly textured material, consisting of multiple, often overlapping stories and narratives from a wide range of people across different parts of the city. This is what I set out to achieve – to find a way of exposing and documenting the multi-layered, multi-temporal, shifting and fragmentary memories connected with everyday spaces. However, this also posed a number of challenges. The sort of data generated by this sort of research proved difficult not only to handle, but also to represent and interpret using traditional methods. For instance, coding was almost impossible as it tended to flatten the narratives by shifting the focus to single, narrow topics. To tackle this I adopted the technique of arranging the data spatially, in the form of the walking tours. However, even this was not straightforward.

As shown in previous chapters, the memories I heard were rarely articulated as coherent temporal narratives, but often emerged as fragments, disturbed by other momentary thoughts and connected narratives about other times and places (including things in the present and sometimes the future). I felt I should try and represent this wherever possible and therefore tried to include full quotes (rather than edited highlights focusing only on specific sites or issues) to illustrate how people expressed their understandings of different places. This often proved unwieldy in the context of trying to present a clear academic argument. It was also impossible give a voice to *all* of the different people and groups that contributed, despite the obligation that I felt (on both a professional and a personal level) to try and represent them. Choosing what to leave in (which in the end was only a tiny percentage of the data I had collected) and what to take out of the final

drafts was therefore a real challenge, and the results were often ultimately unsatisfying. However, despite these challenges, the overall success of this methodology opens up a number of possible new avenues for researching and understanding memory within everyday spaces.

There are a number of different ways that the study could have been approached. For instance, I could also have just focused on one single case-study, which would in some ways have avoided the sense of repetition that emerges through the empirical chapters. However, not only is this repetition one of the interesting patterns to emerge from the research, focusing on a single case-study would also potentially have missed the important connections between different sites and different parts of the city. Indeed, the methodology I adopted was so successful at tracing these connections that my empirical research ended up covering a much greater geographical area than I was able to discuss and present within the limits of the thesis. For example, alongside the three main case-study areas my work also spread out into a number of districts in East Hull (including Garden Village and Southcoates); the areas around Newland Avenue and Spring Bank (to the north and south of Princes Avenue); the area around Osborne Street (to the east of the NaSA area); and areas around Beverley Road and Sculcoates (to the west of the River Corridor). Any one or more of these districts would have made interesting case studies in their own right had the word limit permitted their inclusion.

## **9.2 Contribution to Knowledge**

As discussed at the start of this chapter, this thesis contributes to a growing body of work that seeks to engage with memory across a range of everyday places alongside more formal sites of commemoration. It has also followed theoretical discussions that call for more detailed studies of spatial practice through specific case-studies and has applied this to the study of memory processes across a particular city. Through in-depth empirical work it has clearly demonstrated what happens when you 'democratise' memory by paying attention to the detail of multiple, individual and group voices across a range of different sites and spaces. For the first time, this thesis shows that when you



examine memory in this way, the city emerges as a dense, interconnected mesh of multiple fragments of past lives and often repeated, shared and overlapping experiences that are linked through spatial and temporal networks created by spatial practice (including the routine flows of people and things through trade and transport networks).

As also discussed above, although it clearly has its own local interest, this sort of data can quickly become confusing and even impenetrable in terms of an academic study. Indeed, it could be argued that this sort of study is ultimately too dense and too detailed to be of use to wider academic debate. Consequently, this also raises questions about whether academic memory studies *need* to pay so much detail to individual case studies, and suggests that perhaps we need to take a step back from such an in-depth empirical approach. However, I would also argue that the underlying processes highlighted by this sort of in-depth study are of great significance in informing how we understand and ultimately how we approach everyday memory, and, alternatively, that memory studies need to adopt different, more innovative ways of collecting and presenting this sort of data to make it more readily accessible for study. For instance, interactive media (including websites) might provide a way of storing data at different levels so that the detail of individual narratives can be preserved at one level, but the academic voice can also be prioritised and brought out more clearly at another.

This thesis also extends thinking about the importance of former industrial spaces and how the 'haunted' or ghostly spaces created by industrial decline affect memory processes. Whereas much of the previous work on industrial ruins has relied on individual personal experiences, this research is based on a substantial and in-depth empirical study that takes account of a wide range of different voices, and different perceptions of these spaces. In doing so the research also contributes to debates about how we define different parts of the built environment, and questions some of the perceived boundaries between everyday places that we tend to label as, for instance, industrial, residential, derelict and inhabited. One of the most interesting, and perhaps unexpected, things that emerged from the research was that the memories associated

with the three case-studies, which on the surface are very different in terms of history, popular imagination and the built environment, were actually very similar and indeed were quite deeply interlinked (both directly and indirectly) through a number of city-wide networks of shared memories and frameworks of reference. This in turn suggests that the sometimes arbitrary borders we establish around areas and districts are not always helpful in discussions of memory.

The virtual tours employed during the research often uncovered a surprising spread of memories, revealing connections between apparently disparate places across the city and beyond. Just as Massey and others have talked of a progressive sense of place (Massey 1994, Crang and Travlou 2001, Edensor 2005a), I therefore suggest that the memories associated with different sites are also constituted by numerous flows of remembering prompted by fragments of former lives and routines. As this work demonstrates, to understand the ongoing, dynamic processes of remembering and forgetting within a particular place, the researcher must therefore also look at the spaces around it and to other sometimes unexpected places, objects and narratives to which that site is also connected - however fleeting these connections may be. This sort of thinking has been developed in other areas of Geography, but has not yet been explored within academic memory studies, and raises some important questions about how 'sites' of memory are approached and understood. Although I found that my respondents tended to structure their recollections in terms of particular places and focal points, whether these were formal commemorative sites, or just familiar or recognizable locations, my research also demonstrates that these sites cannot be understood in isolation. Rather than the sites of memory theorised by Pierre Nora (Nora 1989), with the implicit suggestion that these are distinct, bounded spaces, my work points to a broader, more complex and inter-woven topography in which memories and places are interconnected and entwined.

As discussed in the previous section, the engaged methodology developed during this research presents one way in which it is possible to explore these connections. This

methodology draws upon emerging work from a range of disciplines and responds to calls for memory studies to acknowledge and approach memory as a multi-sensory, spatial process (Till 2008:99). This sort of approach, although relatively experimental, is not innovative in itself. Indeed, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, different combinations of visual and mobile methods are becoming increasingly popular in other areas of Geography. However these techniques have rarely (if ever) been applied to the academic study of memory in this way before now, and their successful application in a project of this nature opens up a number of possibilities for future studies to build upon. For instance, future studies could explore different sorts of prompts, including moving images and audio. Future work should also consider ways of integrating a larger number of districts into a wider city-based survey.

### **9.3 Final thoughts**

In summary, this thesis provides a snap-shot of current memory processes across one modern city at a specific point in time. This may appear to some critics to be somewhat parochial; however, as discussed in this chapter, the research also has broader relevance for memory debates in general. Of particular interest to wider thinking are the patterns that have emerged through exploring memory on a city-wide scale. Memory is increasingly recognised as a spatial process consisting of 'continuous reframing and reimaginings of the past' by individuals and groups (Hodgkin and Radstone 2005:123) that takes place across a range of places, including the mundane spaces that make up the vast part of our everyday lives (Atkinson 2008). This work suggests one way in which we might start to explore and record the detail of the numerous, interconnected and often messy memory processes that take place across large areas of everyday space. This sort of approach permits a better understanding of how and why memories emerge in different places. It also highlights the myriad invisible relationships and boundaries between different places that are continually reformed through people remembering and - perhaps most importantly - sharing their memories.

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**Appendix One: Interview Summary**

This is not entirely representative of the full extent of the data collected during this research, as many of the interviews covered more than one area. Interviews are listed under the area discussed in most detail. In most cases respondents were current or former residents of this area.

**Hessle Road**

Gender	Interest Area	Age of interviewee
Male	Hessle Road/River Corridor	46
Male	Coltman Street*	57
Male	Hessle Road/St. Andrew’s Dock	60
Male	Hessle Road/Fruit Market (Rev)	60
Male	Hessle Road	67
Male	Hessle Road/St. Andrew’s Dock	68
Male	Hessle Road	72
Male	Hessle Road/St. Andrew’s Dock	96
Female	Hessle Road	46
Female	Hessle Road/Coltman Street	51
Female	Hessle Road/Gypsyville	58
Female	Hessle Road/Anlaby Road	64
Female	Hessle Road	68

Female	Hessle Road	72
Female	Hessle Road	78
Female	Avenues/River Corridor	86
Female	Hessle Road/St. Andrew's Dock	84

\* this was one of my first interviews and I didn't use photographs

### **Anlaby Road**

Gender	Interest Area	Age of interviewee
Female	Anlaby Road/Hawthorn Avenue	58
Female	Anlaby Road/Osborne Street	59
Female	Anlaby Road	60
Female	Anlaby Road	62
Female	Anlaby Road	72
Female	Anlaby Road/Albert Avenue	88
Male	Anlaby Road	48
Male	Anlaby Road	59
Male	Anlaby Road/Osborne Street	60
Male	Anlaby Road/Argyle Street	63
Male	Anlaby Road	76

Male	Anlaby Road	82
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**Avenues and Dukeries**

Gender	Interest Area	Age of interviewee
Female	Dukeries/Avenues	26
Female	Dukeries/Newland Avenue/Beverley Road	58
Female	Dukeries/Spring Bank	73
Female	Dukeries	74
Female	Avenues/Dukeries	76
Female	Dukeries/Avenues/Beverley Road	76
Female	Dukeries/Newland Avenue	77
Female	Avenues	84
Female	Avenues/Newland Avenue/Beverley Road	88
Female	Avenues/Beverley Road	94
Male	Avenues	32
Male	Dukeries/Avenues	43
Male	Dukeries/Avenues	46
Male	Dukeries/Avenues	61
Male	Avenues	64

Male	Avenues/Fruit Market	71
Male	Avenues	95

**Central Hull/River Corridor**

Gender	Interest Area	Age of interviewee
Male	River Corridor/Osborne Street	46
Male	River Corridor/Beverley Road	57
Male	River Corridor/Hedon Road/Anlaby Road	58
Male	River Corridor/Fruit Market	84
Female	Sculcoates/Beverley Road	54
Female	River Corridor/Beverley Road	57
Female	River Corridor/Beverley Road/Dukeries	78

**East Hull**

Gender	Interest Area	Age of interviewee
Male	Holderness Road/Greatfield Estate	49
Male	Garden Village	58
Male	Holderness Road	62
Male	Marfleet/Holderness Road	75
Male	Holderness Road/Witham	79

Female	Holderness Road	59
Female	Holderness Road/Ings Estate	78
Female	Holderness Road	84
Female	Holderness Road	87

**Group Interviews**

Group (if applicable)	Interest Area	Ages
	Avenues and Hessle Road	28-30
Avenues Ladies Fellowship	Avenues and Dukeries (also Beverley Road)	70-90
Danish Church Members	Mixed	Mixed
Anlaby Road Reminiscence Group (numerous occasions)	Anlaby Road	50-90
Boulevard Coffee Morning Group (numerous occasions)	Hessle Road	70-90
Hull Heritage Photographic Exhibition	Mixed	Mixed
Blaydes House Volunteers	River Corridor, Beverley Road and Hessle Road	Mixed
Hawthorn Avenue former residents	Hawthorn Avenue	50-80

	(Anlaby Road)	
Carnegie Library Volunteers	Hawthorn Avenue and Anlaby Road	Mixed

**Discussion Groups/Workshops**

Location	Topic	Ages
Carnegie Library	Anlaby Road	Mixed
Boulevard Village Hall	Hessle Road	Mixed
Boulevard Village Hall	Boulevard and Coltman Street	Mixed
Artlink (Princes Avenue)	Avenues and Dukeries	Mixed
Artlink (Princes Avenue)	Princes Avenue	Mixed

NB the Boulevard and Coltman Street Workshop was carried out in collaboration with ARC and funded by Gateway Pathfinder, as part of their community mapping project. The Princes Avenue workshop was held as part of the national heritage open-days event, and was arranged by Artlink.



## **Appendix Two:      List of Illustrations**

**Illustration 4.1:** 14<sup>th</sup> Century Drawing of Hull

**Illustration 4.2:** Hollar's Plan of Hull, 1640.

**Illustration 4.3:** Thew's Plan of Hull, 1784, showing the new dock and legal quay with new streets to the north

**Illustration 4.4:** Cragg's Plan of Hull, 1817, showing second dock and continuing urban expansion to the north and west

**Illustration 4.5:** Rayner and Nicholson's Plan of Hull, 1852, showing continued development

**Illustration 4.6:** Goodwill and Lawson's plan of 1869, showing new western dock

**Illustration 4.7:** Goodwill and Lawson's Plan of Hull, 1861, showing the General Cemetery and the newly developed Pearson's Park on the edge of the town

**Illustration 4.8:** Industry along the River Hull between Green Lane and Fountain Road  
Ordnance Survey Map, 1893 (sheet 240.3)

**Illustration 4.9:** Peck and Son's plan of 1875, showing the layout of the new Princes Bank Estate

**Illustration 4.10:** Peck and Son's Plan, 1890. Showing continued development to the west of the town, including the new St. Andrew's Dock

**Illustration 4.11:** Crowded terraced housing in the Groves and surrounding area  
(Ordnance Survey 1893 sheet CCXL.3)

**Illustration 4.12:** Hull City Justices Plan, 1904, showing new streets to the south of the Avenues Estate

**Illustration 4.13:** Fryer's Plan 1913, showing development along Holderness Road

**Illustration 4.14:** Trade advert from *Kelly's Directory of Hull*, 1930

**Illustration 4.15:** 1930s cinema advert from the *Hull Daily Mail*

**Illustration 4.16:** Advert for local trains from the *Hull Daily Mail*, October 1953

**Illustration 5.1:** Location map of case-study areas

**Illustration 6.1:** Street map of the Newington and St. Andrew's area

**Illustration 6.2a:** Peck and Sons' Plan of Hull, 1870, showing the newly constructed Boulevard on the western edge of the town.

**Illustration 6.2b:** Peck and Son's plan of Hull, 1875, showing development to the west of Boulevard

**Illustration 6.3:** Ordnance Survey map 1910, showing terraced housing between Hessle Road and Anlaby Road (sheet CCXL.14)

**Illustration 6.4:** Ordnance Survey map 1969, showing the start of the housing clearances around Gillett Street, between Hessle Road and St. Andrew's dock

**Illustration 6.5:** East end of the former St. Andrew's Dock (March 2007)

**Illustration 6.6:** Memorial to lost fishermen on the St. Andrew's Dock bull-nose, erected by the Royal Order of Buffalows. (March 2007).

**Illustration 6.7:** Subway underneath the Clive Sullivan Way at the back of the Lord Line building (March 2007)

**Illustration 6.8:** Subway Street from corner of Goulton Street, looking north (March 2007)

**Illustration 6.9:** Rayner's on Hessle Road (January 2007)

**Illustration 6.10:** Former Langham Theatre, Hessle Road (January 2007)

**Illustration 6.11:** Winfield's outdoor shop, formerly Rosen's shoe factory, on Hessle Road (January 2007)

**Illustration 6.12:** Henry Hird's of Hessle Road (September 2007)

**Illustration 6.13:** Boyes on Hessle Road (September 2007)

**Illustration 6.14:** Statue of skipper George Henry Smith (June 2008)

**Illustration 6.15:** Boulevard, looking north from Hessle Road (September 2008)

**Illustration 6.16:** Boulevard Fountain, looking north (September 2008)

**Illustration 6.17:** Gates to Boulevard Stadium from Airlie Street (June 2009)

**Illustration 6.18:** Gates to West Park from Anlaby Road (August 2008)

**Illustration 6.19:** Walton Street looking north from Anlaby Road (September 2007)

**Illustration 6.20:** Corner of Anlaby Road and Sandringham Street (November 2007)

**Illustration 6.21:** Former Carlton Cinema, Anlaby Road (July 2008)

**Illustration 6.22:** 1930s cinema advert from the *Hull Daily Mail*

**Illustration 6.23:** Street map of Hawthorn Avenue area

**Illustration 6.24:** Ringrose Street from Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

**Illustration 6.25:** Members of the Hawthorn Avenue memory walk standing outside 'Sheard's shop' (May 2009)

**Illustration 6.26:** Corner of White Street and Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

**Illustration 6.27:** Shop on the north corner of Greek Street (February 2009)

**Illustration 6.28:** Salvation Army Hall on Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

**Illustration 6.29:** The Hawthorn public house (May 2009)

**Illustration 6.30:** Former Co-op building on the south corner of Rhodes Street and Hawthorn Avenue (February 2009)

**Illustration 6.31:** Scratched graffiti on side wall of former Co-op building, Rhodes Street (January 2010)

**Illustration 6.32:** Level crossing on Hawthorn Avenue, showing factory belonging to Shipham and Co. Ltd. (February 2009)

**Illustration 7.1:** Street map of the Princes Avenue area

**Illustration 7.2:** Ordnance Survey map 1893, showing development at the east end of the Avenues Estate.

**Illustration 7.3:** Plan from *Kelly's Directory of Hull*, 1910, showing suburban expansion around the Avenues Estate.

**Illustration 7.4:** Princes Avenue, from the corner of Spring Bank

**Illustration 7.5:** Old Zoological pub on the site of the former Botanic Crossings Railway Station, Princes Avenue.

**Illustration 7.6:** Painted sign on shop gable, south end of Princes Avenue

**Illustration 7.7:** Advert for 'Propaganda' from *Cannon Cinema listings booklet* July/August 1989 (Carnegie Library Archives).

**Illustration 7.8:** Shops on Princes Avenue between Thoresby Street and Clumber Street

**Illustration 7.9:** Former Co-op warehouse with winch and pulley system, Clumber Street

**Illustration 7.10:** Chatsworth Street, looking north, showing Belvoir Street and Blenheim Street

**Illustration 7.11:** Chatsworth Street, showing Thoresby Street and Welbeck Street

**Illustration 7.12:** Thoresby Street School, from the corner of Hardwick Street

**Illustration 7.13:** St. Cuthbert's Church on Marlborough Avenue.

**Illustration 7.14:** Tenfoot between Marlborough Avenue and Westbourne Avenue

**Illustration 7.15:** Fountain on Westbourne Avenue

**Illustration 7.16:** Number 222 Park Avenue at the corner of Richmond Street

**Illustration 7.17:** Mermaid on Salisbury Street, carved by Jackie Ward-Lomax

**Illustration 7.18:** Gilbert Scott houses on Salisbury Street, from Park Avenue

**Illustration 7.19:** Jack Kaye Walk, looking towards the corner of Ella Street and Salisbury Street.

**Illustration 7.20:** Advert for Jack Kaye's shop on Ella Street. Sponsorship advert from *A Short History of the Avenues* (Sheppard et al 1976)

**Illustration 8.1:** Street map of River Corridor (south end)

**Illustration 8.2:** Development at the north end of the River Corridor, Cragg's Plan of Hull, 1817

**Illustration 8.3:** Humber Street, looking from Queen's Street towards Humber Dock Street (May 2007).

**Illustration 8.4:** Hull Marina (formerly the Humber Dock) with converted Warehouse 13 behind (September 2007)

**Illustration 8.5:** Humber Dock Street, looking south, showing section of railway track (June 2010)

**Illustration 8.6:** East end of Victoria Pier (June 2010).

**Illustration 8.7:** The Deep on Sammy's Point (August 2008)

**Illustration 8.8:** View along the west bank of the River Hull, showing the Arctic Corsair at the back of the Museums Quarter (May 2007)

**Illustration 8.9:** View across Drypool Bridge, from the West bank (August 2009)

**Illustration 8.10:** View of River Hull from beneath the former Rank's flour mill, looking South (December 2006)

**Illustration 8.11:** View towards North Bridge from Drypool, showing three dry docks and derrick on west bank (June 2010).

**Illustration 8.12:** Former dry dock on east bank of the River Hull, between Drypool Bridge and North Bridge (May 2007)

**Illustration 8.13:** North Bridge from east side, looking west (May 2007)

**Illustration 8.14:** View from North Bridge, looking East towards Witham (May 2007)

**Illustration 8.15:** The Groves and Wincolmlee on the 1928 Ordnance Survey map (sheet number CCXL.3)

**Illustration 8.16:** Street map of Wincolmlee area

**Illustration 8.17:** Wincolmlee looking north, showing site of former Blundell's mill on the right (October 2008)

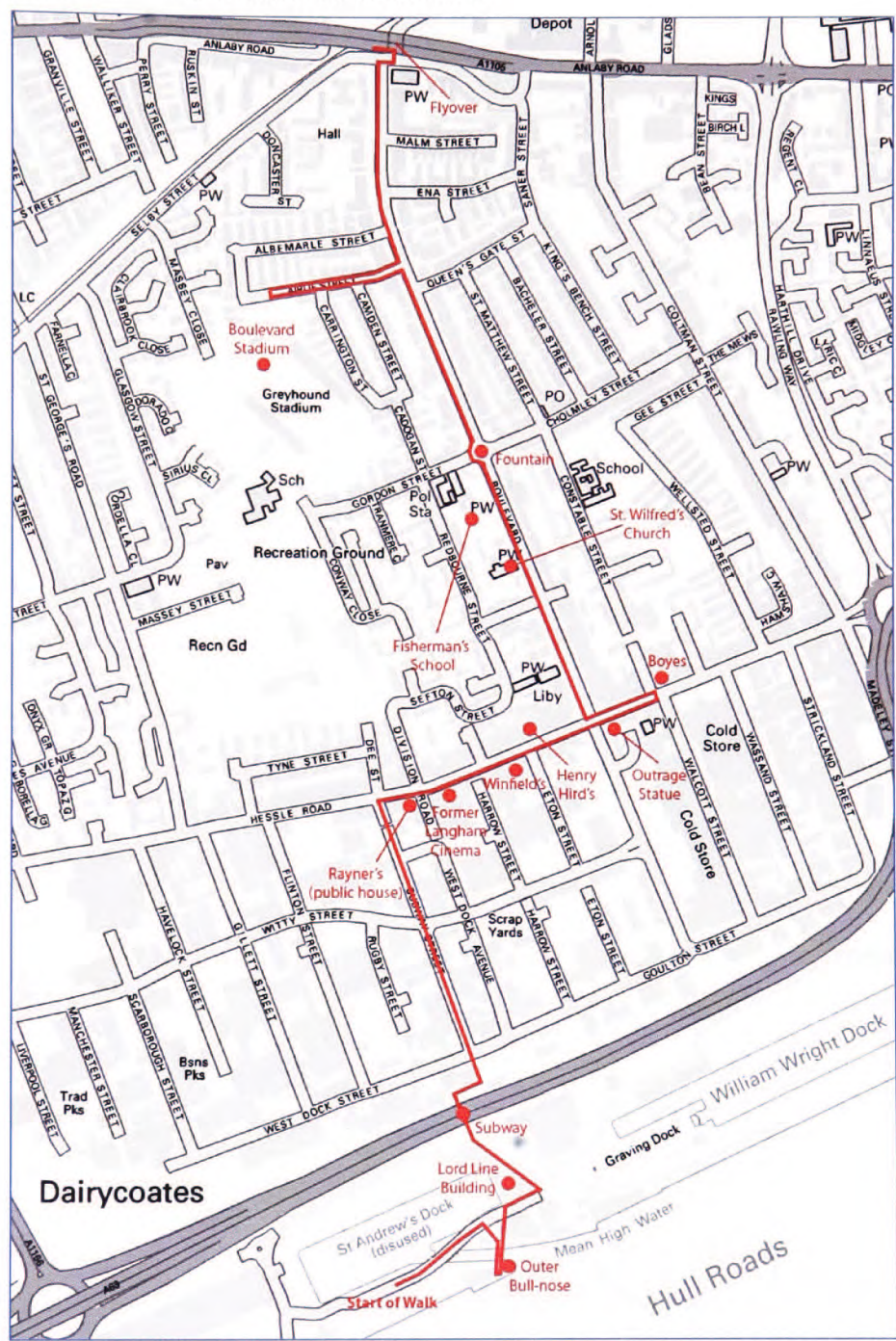
**Illustration 8.18:** Former premises of Rose Downs and Thompson, Caroline Street (June 2010)

**Illustration 8.19:** Green Lane area on the 1928 Ordnance Survey map, showing terraced housing and industrial buildings (sheet number CCXL.3)

**Illustration 8.20:** Wincolmlee at High Flags looking south from the corner of Green Lane (October 2008).

**Illustration 8.21:** Barmston Drain, at the corner of Green Lane and Toogood Street (August 2009)

Appendix Three: Walking Tour Route Map



Walking tour around St. Andrew's, Hessle Road and Boulevard areas (Chapter 6 Part 1)

**Start:** South side of St. Andrew's Dock (to the east end of St. Andrew's Quay Retail Park)

**End:** Anlaby Road Flyover (north end of Boulevard)

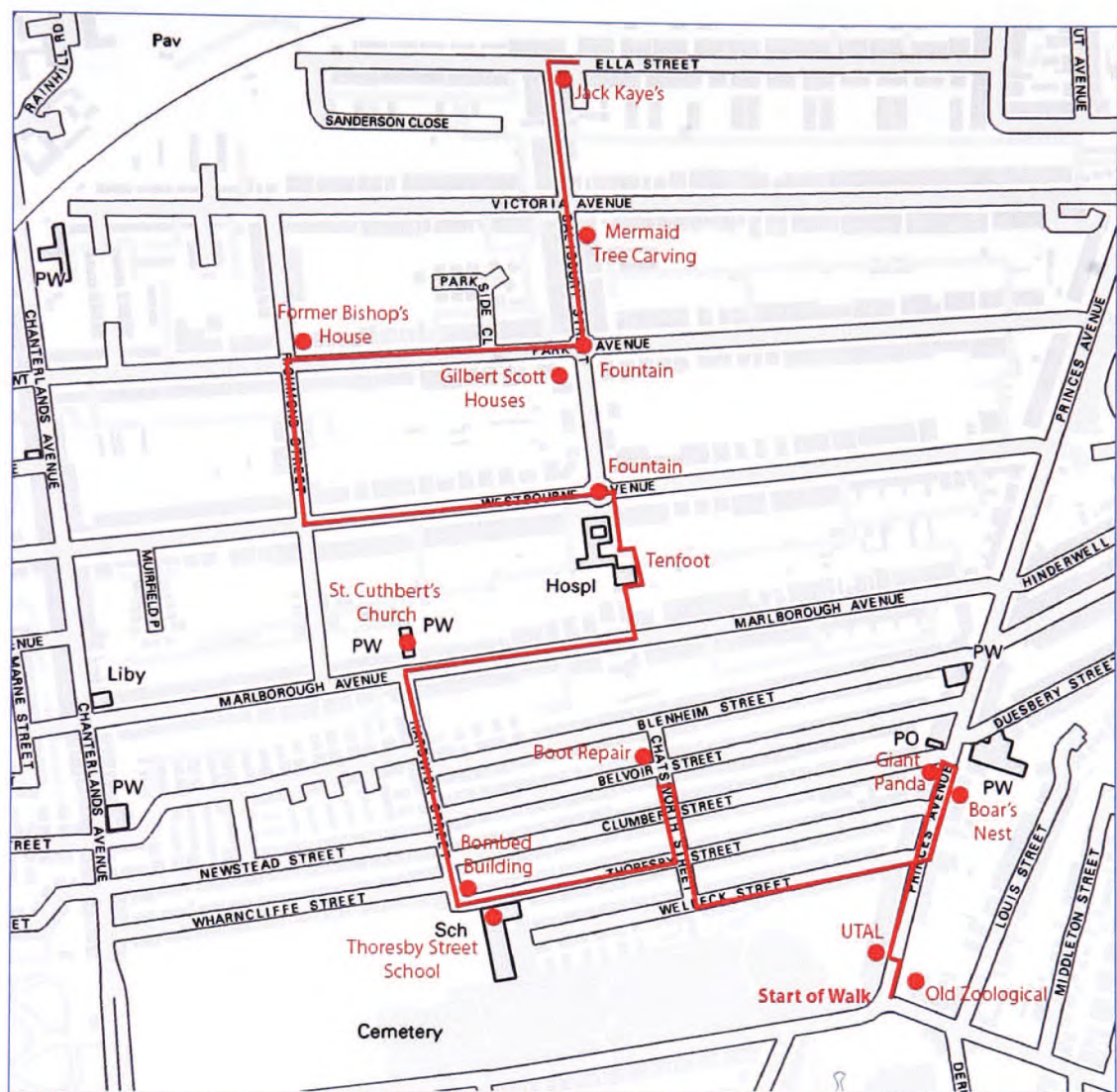




Walking tour around the Anlaby Road and Hawthorn Avenue areas (Chapter 6 part 2)

**Start:** Anlaby Road Flyover

**End:** Hawthorn Avenue Level Crossing



Walking tour around the Princes Avenue area (Chapter 7)

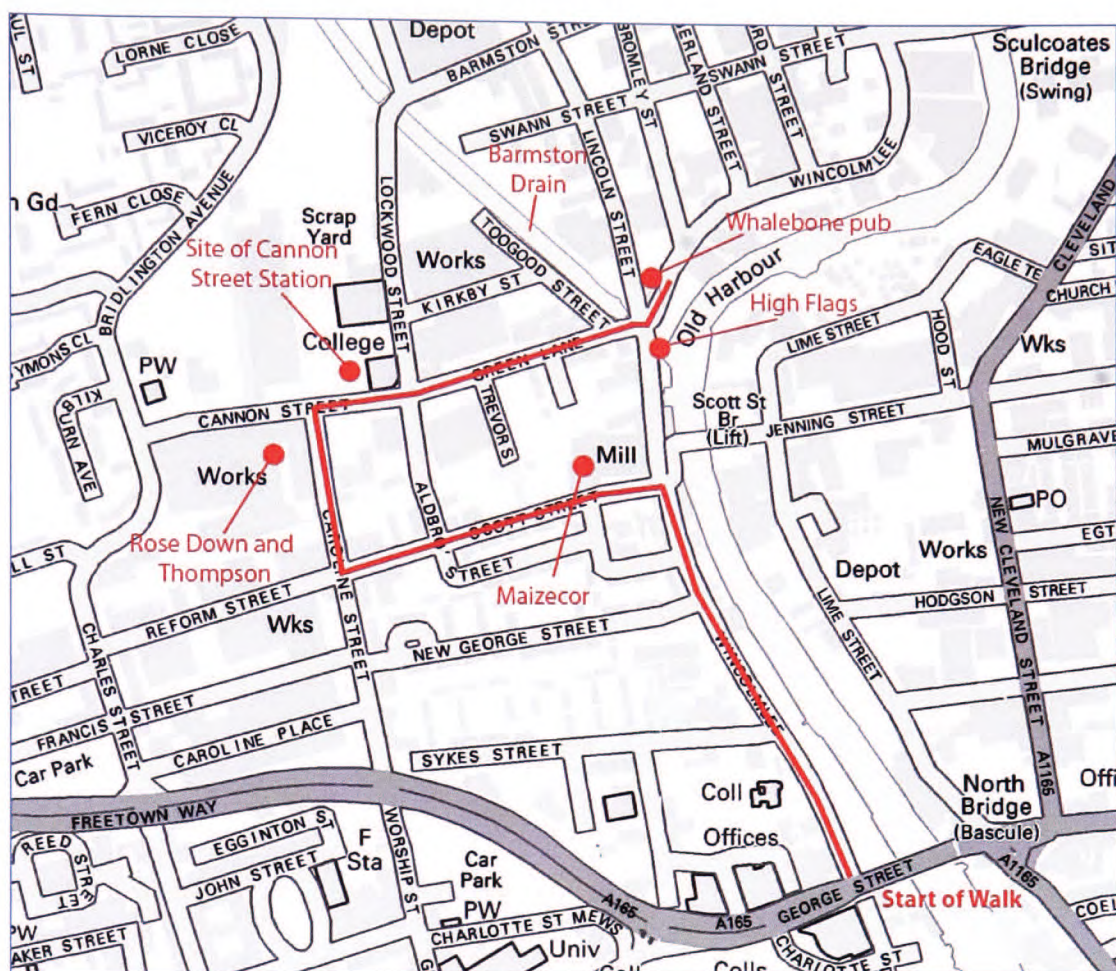
**Start:** Corner of Princes Avenue and Spring Bank

**End:** Jack Kaye Walk (Ella Street)









Walking tour around the northern River Corridor area (Chapter 8 continued)

**Start:** South end of Wincolmllee (next to North Bridge)

**End:** The Whalebone public house (Wincolmllee)