



King of the Deck:

**Sartorial extremism of Hull's distant-water trawlermen,
1950-1980**

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Abstract

During the third quarter of the twentieth century, Hull's distant-water trawlermen pushed the boundaries of acceptable menswear with the collective creation of the 'shore suit', a highly distinctive off-duty uniform. Invariably flamboyant, shore suits were tailored in pastel shades with extreme detailing of Spanish waistbands, half-moon pockets, back pleats and exceptionally wide trousers.

Little research has hitherto been undertaken into this subject. This is largely because evidence relating to the trawlermen's lifestyle ashore is relatively scarce, with an almost apocryphal discourse materialising due to the lack of documentary and visual evidence. The aim of this thesis is to construct a comprehensive appraisal of the design, fabrication and meaning of the shore suit in the social and cultural contexts of the trawlermen's two domains—on the vessel's deck at sea and on land.

Oral history interviews with trawlermen, witnesses and those involved in the tailoring trade, together with object analysis of the shore suit, form the core research methods deployed in this investigation. Interpretivism explores the performativity of the men. The findings highlight the many variations of style within this self-regulated uniform, and its conformity, or otherwise, with contemporary fashion trends. The shore suit was not a singular genre, but plural shaped by the experiences of trawlermen, which were diverse due to the precariousness of their occupation. A device for visual recognition, the shore suit projected both the individual and the collective, beyond the local community of Hessle Road, Hull.

The thesis contributes to knowledge and understanding of two fields of enquiry. First, it adds depth to scholarly debates on the development and meaning of subcultural dress. No other subcultural style was embedded within a specific workforce, the trawlermen's shore suit offers an unusual and revealing perspective on working-class fashion and design in Britain from 1950 to 1980. Second, focusing on those who worked in the most dynamic and industrialised sector of Britain's fisheries, this study instils precision and perception into previous interpretations of Hull's fisheries, and thereby enhances the trawling dimension of the field of socio-cultural maritime history.

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Symbols and Abbreviations

CTA	Credit Trades Association
B2B	Business to business
CC41	Civilian Clothing Order 1941 or Controlled Commodity
CMT	Cut, make and trim
HP	Higher Purchase
HVS	Hessle Valet Service
M&S	Marks & Spencer archives
RN	Royal Navy
RNR	Royal Naval Reserves
RNRT	Royal Naval Reserves Trawler
RNVR(Y)	Royal Naval Voluntary Reserve Section Y
OPEC	The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
QC	Quality control
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

Acknowledgements

Approximately 25 years ago Rupert Creed's *Northern Trawl* was performed at Spring Street Theatre, Hull. The play recounted the distant-water trawlermen of Hull and their community. What struck me more than the performance or dialogue was the suits worn by the actors portraying the trawlermen of Hessle Road. I distinctly recall a two-tone beige suit, the jacket had half-moon pockets, a belted back and the trousers had a deep waistband, worn extremely wide. At the time, I was an undergraduate studying fashion and textiles, and I had not seen dress like it during my historical dress lectures. At the interval, I discussed how outrageous I thought the suits were, it was explained to me that all the fishermen wore such suits. I was blown away by the creativity of this group of Hull men.

This vision has stayed with me throughout my career as a designer in the field of fashion and textiles. But 25 years on, I had not seen another suit like it, and began to suspect that such garments no longer existed. I started to do some initial research, but still the suits remained elusive, although knowledge of their existence has been passed from one generation to another, through oral narration. The suits are recognised as a key symbol to this group of men, and I realised that an important social and cultural symbol of twentieth-century Hull could be lost if it was not documented. I therefore decided to embark on a doctoral-level investigation into the sartorial extremism of the distant-water trawlermen of Hull, from the 1950s to the 1980s.

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Introduction

The port-city of Kingston upon Hull (hereafter Hull), nestled between the river Hull and the Humber estuary, situated 25 miles from the North Sea in East Yorkshire, has developed for many centuries as a maritime trading centre. Emerging as a significant commercial hub in early medieval times, Hull's trading and shipping interests continued to grow in the early modern era.¹ Further sustained expansion occurred in the nineteenth century, as increased production of England's industrial heartlands connected with overseas markets and sources of supplies, through a complex system of railway and shipping lines that converged at the port-city.² Commercial fishing continued to grow in Hull during the 1840s and 1850s, as demand for cheap food expanded along the railway infrastructure into urban areas.³ In turn, this increase in the consumption of fish stimulated investment in net trawling, a relatively innovative and productive means of catching bottom-swimming fish – notably cod, plaice and haddock – in the waters of the adjacent North Sea.⁴ Hull's trawl fishery entered a new phase in the late 1880s and 1890s with wooden sailing smacks being supplanted by steel-hulled, steam-driven trawlers.⁵ These vessels were capable of fishing the inshore waters of the Faroes, Iceland, northern Norway and Russia, where abundant stocks of demersal fish lived.⁶ St Andrew's Dock, Hull's first sole purpose fish dock, opened in 1883 to accommodate the port's burgeoning commercial trawling activities.⁷ The so-called 'distant-water' fisheries prospered during the peacetime years of the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, with Hull becoming synonymous, somewhat inaccurately, with trawl fishing and its ancillary industries.⁸

¹ R. Robinson, *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1996), 15; M. E. Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull: The Rise and Decline of the World's Greatest Fishing Port* (Clapham: Dalesman Books, 1985), 7.

² P. Carter et al., *It's men's lives: A socialist account of the fishing industry* (Hull, 1966), 3; A. Gill, *Hessle Road: A photographer's view of Hull's trawling days* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1987); Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*, 7.

³ A. G. Credland, *Humber Shipping* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2001), 7.

⁴ G. Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing* (Hull: Hull Museums and Art Galleries, 1976), 9; M. Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet 1946-86* (Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd., 1990 [1987]), 5.

⁵ J. Tunstall, *The fishermen: The sociology of an extreme occupation* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1972 [1962]), 6, 28.

⁶ Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*, 3; Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*, 6; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 35.

⁷ Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*, 27; M. Thompson, *Fish Dock: The Story of St. Andrew's Dock Hull* (Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd., 1989), 7.

⁸ M. Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet 1961-88* (Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd., 1988), 8; Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*, 7.

Hull as a port traded in various goods, in terms of fishing it was exclusively distant-water, this was unique as the other UK fishing ports accommodated the near and middle distant trawling fleets alongside the trawlers that went further afield to northern waters.⁹ The men in these mixed fishing ports had different work and leisure patterns by comparison to the distant water trawlermen. From its inception in the 1890s, the distant-water trawl fishery was conducted according to a regular working pattern, with vessels and crews normally spending 18 to 22 days steaming to, fishing, and returning from the northern fishing grounds, with two or three days in Hull before returning for another trip to sea.¹⁰ During these visits ashore, trawlermen tended to partake in what Skipper William Oliver called 'brisk' evenings in the pubs, restaurants and bars of the Hessle Road area of west Hull, the heart of the trawling community.¹¹ From the 1950s, some of the trawlermen started wearing light coloured, custom-made suits during their runs ashore, a sartorial phenomenon that persisted until the industry declined rather suddenly in the mid-1970s.

The suits that bedecked the Hull trawlermen, coined the 'three-day millionaires' form the core subject of this thesis. Photographs, popular histories and oral testimonies help identify the distinctive features of the 'shore suit'. It comprised of a jacket with a shawl collar, half-moon pockets, a pleated back with a yoke, the pleats would be either side knife pleats or a central box pleat. The trousers normally had a three-inch waistband with wide legs, in pale shades of blue, grey, green, including navy and black.¹² Other than this minimal description, little is known about the suit, which has yet to be studied in any depth. Historians of trawling often allude to the short-term shoreside extravagance of trawlermen, but they do not delve deeper than Robinson's observation that:

Young trawlermen in particular had a style of their own: fishermen's suits certainly set them apart. In the 1960s Hull suits generally had twenty-two to twenty-four-inch bottoms, straight legs and pleated jackets. They were usually powder blue and often

⁹ White Fish Authority, *Annual Reports* (London: HMSO, 1951-1981); Hull History Centre, *History of Hull Docks*, 2017. Available online: <http://www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/research/research-guides/history-hull-docks.aspx> [Accessed 28-05-2020].

¹⁰ *How the Humber changed our world*. Directed by Birch, J. [Documentary] (BBC1, 15 January 2012, 30 minutes); Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

¹¹ D. J. Starkey, 'Distant-Water Trawlerman: William Oliver, 1884-1959', in D. J. Starkey et al. (eds.), *Hull: Culture, History, Place* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 207-238, 228.

¹² Inches have been used throughout due to being the accepted unit of linear measurement in the UK in the timeframe being researched; to convert into centimetres x 2.54. Pearson, L., Cox, S. and Wegg, M. in *Three-Day Millionaires*. Directed by Gill, A. (Hull Dovedale Studio, 2001).

had collars lined in black velvet.¹³

Meanwhile, social and cultural historians have been reluctant to analyse all aspects of the trawlermen ashore, with only Tunstall and Horobin focusing on shore life and then in relation to the business at sea.¹⁴ From a very different perspective, fashion and textile specialists have written extensively about the leisurewear of various twentieth-century (sub-) cultural groups,¹⁵ however, the sartorial preferences of those engaged in Hull's trawl fishery have largely escaped their attention.

The research intends to evidence detailed analysis of the shore suit, which offers new insight into an integral part of the trawlermen's life from a social and cultural perspective. This expands on the existing maritime literature and fills a gap in the knowledge of this occupational group during the third quarter of the twentieth century. Furthermore this augments and adds to the fashion research on youth based dress movements and their relationship between the wearer and the observer.

Polhemus and Proctor contend that in Western society 'little in the way of neighbourhood costume can be found'.¹⁶ As no other men in the city wore this look, it remained the dress of the distant-water trawlermen of Hull, and therefore should be perceived as an occupational form of sartorial consumption. Analyses of alternative forms of dress have generally focused on metropolises, with limited discourse relating to style developments in the provinces.¹⁷ The thesis intends to shed new light on this local (sub-)cultural dress to establish links with other communities on a national and international level. The focus concerns the working men with similar occupations and the places the trawlermen frequented on their trips ashore. I argue that territorial movement of the men was a catalyst for their creativity, which had the potential to influence others. I suggest that the shore suit was a performance, to be seen and remembered in their community and beyond, signifying their identity in time and space.

¹³ Robinson, *Trawling*, 198.

¹⁴ G. W. Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 8, 4 (1957), 343-356; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

¹⁵ N. Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); S. Cosgrove, *Young Soul Rebels: A personal history of Northern Soul* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2017 [2016]); A. de la Haye & C. Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters: Subcultural Style from the Forties to the nineties* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997); T. Polhemus, *Streetstyle* (London: PYMCA, 2010).

¹⁶ T. Polhemus & L. Proctor, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 21-22.

¹⁷ A. Horn, *Juke box Britain: Americanisation and youth culture, 1945-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 1.

The key research issues are addressed in three sections. The first part, 'Research Context' seeks to establish what is known, and to discover what can be known about the trawlermen's shore suit. Chapter One reviews the suit from a historical perspective, with specific attention drawn to the lounge suit and dress of mariners. The chapter concludes with presenting the available research regarding the trawlermen's shore suit. Chapter Two examines the sources and methods used to capture what can be discovered about the shore suit. A multi methods approach to collect sources for investigation is utilised, with empirical data being integral to the research.

The second section, 'The Trawlerman's Regime' explores the pattern of the trawlermen's lives, alongside their dress codes when at sea and on land. Chapter Three examines the men's sea and shore clothes in relation to the type of trawler in which they served, their roles, responsibilities and key tasks, and length of time they spent at sea. Chapter Four reflects on the trawlerman ashore, whether landing in their home port of Hull or other ports in the UK and abroad. A typical trip ashore is outlined, with attention afforded to the financial rewards and risks implicit in trawling work, which was technically casual in form and therefore periods of unemployment were not unusual.

The purpose of the third section, '(Sub-) Cultural Drivers', is to analyse the design and tailoring process, to trace the territorial movement of the shore suit, and to identify factors that influenced this particular type of menswear. Framed in the increasingly dynamic fashion setting of the UK in the decades following the Second World War. Chapter Five presents the style specifications from descriptive and empirical evidence. The production of the suits is investigated, including price and payment methods. The chapter concludes with the demise of the dress code as Hull's distant-water fishery experienced terminal contraction. Chapter Six contextualises the suits within the broader spectrum of fashion, maritime and popular culture. Chapter Seven interprets the findings, to speculate on the motivation for the men to create and wear a collective uniform when at leisure. A concluding chapter presents the contribution to scholarship made by the thesis.

Section A: Research Context

The purpose of this section is twofold. First, the lounge suit is presented, and how it developed into a central object of the male wardrobe. This is interspersed with knowledge of working dress, with a focus on mariners, in particular fishermen, which shifts to the Hull distant-water trawlermen's clothing from the early twentieth century. Second, what is known about the Hull trawlermen's suit at the start of this research project is discussed. Thus, it is argued that the suit featured prominently in the memory of Hull's fishing community, but has not been systematically documented by historians of the fisheries, textiles or fashion design. Nevertheless, the various disciplinary contexts, in which the suit belongs are well established, these are outlined to provide an analytical framework for the study. In Chapter Two, the primary sources of information used in this project are described, together with the methods deployed on these raw materials, to yield the valid evidence that underpins the case at the core of the thesis.

The writing is framed within Western culture as the suits under review were made in the UK, fashion was, and still is, a global phenomenon. All levels of the UK class system are evidenced through the differences, and similarities in dress. Recognising changes in how social structures are currently presented, the thesis employs three distinct categories: high-, middle- and working- classes to retain parity with other writers in the field of fashion.¹⁸

¹⁸ BBC, *The Great British Class Survey - Results*, 2015. Available online: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/science/0/21970879> [Accessed 05-02-2016]; F. Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990* (London: Routledge, 1991 [1979]), 29; D. Crane, *Fashion and its social agendas: Class, gender and identity in clothing* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000); T. Edwards, *Men in the Mirror* (London: Cassel, 1997); S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010* (London: John Murray, 2014).

Chapter 1 Of fish and menswear

Masculine ideals presented through the modest suit, have purportedly excelled through political, economic, social and religious reforms prior to Flügel's 'great masculine renunciation' of the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Kutcha explains that the suit can be traced to the late-seventeenth century with the dress reforms that Charles II introduced at the royal court.²⁰ After the Restoration the new king needed to be perceived as a man of the people and wearing a simpler three-piece 'suit' of a knee-length coat, vest and kneebreeches (trousers to the knee) gave the desired impression of modification.²¹ McNeill notes that the significance of culottes worn by the French Revolutionaries, which express difference in class implies:

[...] perhaps an over-interpretation of dress portending social change, but it is interesting nonetheless for the way it makes fashion central to the wider transformations to which it is both witness and contributor.²²

While Breward, an historian specialising in fashion and masculinities, questions whether the suit as object, specifically its production has more gravitas in creating variable change than has been given credit.²³

The lounge suit, a derivative of the 'suit' worn by Charles II in 1666, did not become acceptable attire for men until the late-nineteenth century.²⁴ It took, however, until the twentieth century for men of every class to accept the style as everyday wear, with the frock and morning jacket still perceived as tasteful, and required in some formal circumstances. Conversely, the working-classes had been wearing a version prior to the suit becoming mainstream, in response to the practical nature of the cut when the frock coat prevailed. A generic descriptor of a lounge suit is a single- or double-breasted hip length jacket, with or without a waistcoat and trousers: a form of men's dress that was already evident in eighteenth-century English sailors' clothing (see Figure 1). Though there has been

¹⁹ C. Breward, *The Suit* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2016), 15-17; D. Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 164.

²⁰ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity*, 164.

²¹ 'Charles II', *A Stitch in Time*, 1, episode 1. Directed by Wright, C. (BBC4, 2018, 30 minutes). Available online: <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/105A8324> [Accessed 17-01-2018]; K. Chrisman-Campbell, 'From Baroque Elegance to the French Revolution', in L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [2011]), 37-52; D. de Marly, *Fashion for men* (London: Batsford Ltd, 1985), 57; N. Tarrant, *The Development of Costume* (London: Routledge, 1994), 93-94.

²² P. McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 219.

²³ Breward, *The Suit*, 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

a multitude of variations in cut, material and details since the original silhouette, the core of what makes a lounge suit is the basis of the trawlermen's shore suit.

This chapter documents the lounge suit from an historical perspective with focus on mariners, and the processes involved in their choice of attire. It provides evidence of what is known about the style of the Hull trawlermen in the twentieth century, arguing that the previous research has almost neglected the dress and its importance within the men's lifestyle.

1.1 The sailor and the suit

From the seventeenth century, sailors, encompassing naval, mercantile, and fishermen, wore suits of cotton canvas, unlike those on land of a similar class who wore linen or wool; it was easy to maintain, hardwearing, breathable, and ideal for the working conditions on a ship.²⁵ The kneebreeches could be worn baggy and resembled culottes rather than being fitted at the knee, and were rendered waterproof by the addition of grease or tar.²⁶ Other articles included a Monmouth cap, cotton waistcoat, drawers, stockings, a linen shirt, shoes and a rug, a type of cloak that could double as a blanket for warmth.²⁷ Colours included natural undyed cloth, blue and red.²⁸ Various colours have been worn by seaman through the ages with blue becoming integral to both the military and other mariners, possibly due to indigo dyes resistance to seawater and sunlight.²⁹ Earle notes that by the late-seventeenth century, due to the high costs of new goods bought in bulk, clothing and bedding could be purchased in lieu of payment on return from sea.³⁰ A rationale to clothe mariners was the insufficient clothing worn by some men to sea.³¹ Additionally, a link, although not properly understood at the time between poor hygiene standards and continuously wearing the same clothing was recognised as causing diseases, specifically typhus; a procedure to rectify this was to provide appropriate clothing.³² Typically clothing would have been homespun or

²⁵ A. M. Collier, *A Handbook of Textiles* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co. Ltd., 1980), 174; P. Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seaman 1650-1775* (London: Methuen, 1998), 34; D. de Marly, *Working Dress* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1986), 25; H. Thomson, *Fibres and fabrics of today* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1978 [1967]), 14-15.

²⁶ Earle, *Sailors*, 34; de Marly, *Working Dress*, 37-38.

²⁷ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 39; W. G. Perrin, 'Seamen's Clothes (Continued.)', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 4, 5 (1914), 148-150.

²⁸ J. D. Davies, *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649-89* (US: Seaforth Publishing, 2008), 470; de Marly, *Working Dress*, 30.

²⁹ H. Henningsen, *Sømandens Tøj*. Translated from Danish by L. Jensen (Helsingør: Handels-Og Søfartsmuseets (Trade and Maritime Museum), 1979), 26.

³⁰ Earle, *Sailors*, 35.

³¹ C. Lloyd, *The British seaman, 1200-1860: a social survey* (London: Collins, 1968), 63.

³² *Ibid.*, 63-65.

from the second-hand clothing markets, buying already made-up goods was unusual for this class. In fact, the slops shops as they become known, were the forerunner to the ready-made clothing industry.³³ In the literature there is no evidence to suggest mariners wore anything different when ashore. The distinction between landsmen and seamen is in relation to material and choice of finish, the cut of the breeches, colour and the purchase of new clothing. Commissioned naval officers wore similar dress to those onshore of a similar social standing, this would comprise of a coat, kneebreeches, vest, shirt, stockings, socks, drawers, and a hat, with very little to distinguish them as mariners, apart from their neckerchief.³⁴

From the eighteenth century, the second-hand clothing trade became more organised, possibly due to the early stages of industrialisation and an increase in consumption with an influx of people from rural to urban areas.³⁵ If affluent consumers were not re-using and updating their clothes they would enter the second-hand markets either directly or through gifting to servants.³⁶ De Marly presents those purchasing from the trade in used goods as wearing a mish mash of styles from the previous few decades with little concern for fashion.³⁷

Responding to the practical requirements of their occupation, sailors continued to distinguish themselves through dress by comparison to what was worn onshore, it consisted of a short jacket, a pair of trousers and a vest, rather than a long jacket to the knee, or just below, knee breeches and a vest; visually the mariners style is similar to what was later to become the lounge suit (see Figure 1).³⁸ The importance of the seamen's clothing and their identity is evident in Land's descriptor of the behaviour of sailors, who took offence to men on their ship not deemed to be wearing appropriate attire, therefore cutting off their frock tails making the jacket appear similar to theirs, finishing at the hip.³⁹ Furthermore landsmen were ridiculed by the seamen, the term 'long toggies' referred to their coat tails and the difference in clothing was a catalyst for verbal abuse.⁴⁰ Distinction in style between the labouring classes functional clothing was expressive of those that toiled, as opposed to those

³³ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 25.

³⁴ Davies, *Pepys's Navy*, 469-470.

³⁵ B. Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', 72, 1 (1988), 1-24.

³⁶ M. Ginsburg, 'Rags to Riches: The Second-Hand Clothes Trade 1700-1978', *Costume*, 14, 1 (1980), 121-135, 121; E. Wilson & L. Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass: A History of Dress from 1860 to the Present Day* (London: BBC Books, 1989), 38.

³⁷ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 51.

³⁸ J. Shrimpton, *British Working Dress: Occupational Clothing 1750-1950* (Oxford: Shire Library, 2012), 15.

³⁹ I. Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 34.

⁴⁰ Lloyd, *The British seaman, 1200-1860: a social survey*, 186.

who enjoyed the luxuries produced by the toilers, in a capitalist system of controllers and the controlled.⁴¹ Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* written in 1899 revolves around excess, those that have leisure time demonstrated that they did not need to work and their clothing reflected this through being ostentatious or restrictive rather than practical, indicating an inability to labour in such attire; a signifier of respectability and a manifestation of the social etiquette prescribed to at the time, thus retaining differentiation between the classes.⁴²

Mariners when returning to port with money to spend, created a 'carnavalesque' existence when ashore.⁴³ The men had distinct periods of work and leisure dictated by their occupation, whether at sea or on land, with recreation being an important part of their lifestyle. Port towns have been described as good time places, as Beaven suggests, 'It was a distinct area characterized by its public houses, brothels and low entertainment that employed significant numbers of working people'.⁴⁴ Unlike landsmen when at leisure, the sailors would dress up for their time ashore by wearing their best standard of dress with additional decoration, Dickens describes it as, 'Piping of silk or canvas in the seams of their jackets, braid trimmings, rows of bright buttons and gaudy hat ribbons...'⁴⁵ Lavery states the men altered their attire to, 'make it more attractive'.⁴⁶ The seamen demonstrate a form of unity and performance in how they presented themselves in port, Land refers to this as an act of a 'carefree exhibitionist'.⁴⁷ It was a ritual of street theatre to perform or dodge dependent on the audience.⁴⁸ In contrast, another narrative has emerged, which identifies that for some mariners, the relationship with their families and community was integral to their time ashore. This is particularly recognisable in coastal trade communities where the men, including fishermen were not venturing far or for long periods of time;⁴⁹ therefore, the fishermen's dress may not be as elaborate as those

⁴¹ Chrisman-Campbell, 'From Baroque Elegance to the French Revolution'; A. Sullivan, 'Karl Marx: Fashion and Capitalism', in A. Rocamora & A. Smelik (eds.), *Critical Thinking Through Fashion: A guide to Key Theorists* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 28-45; A. Trigg, 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption', *Journal of Economic Issues*, XXXV, 1 (2001), 99-115, 100.

⁴² T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Armherst, 1998 [1899]).

⁴³ B. Beaven, 'The resilience of sailortown culture in English naval ports, c.1820-1900', *Urban History*, 43, 1 (2016), 72-95, 73.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ G. Dickens, *The Dress of the British Sailor* 2nd edition, (London: HMSO, 1977), 7.

⁴⁶ B. Lavery, *Able Seamen: The Lower Deck of the Royal Navy 1850-1939* (London: Conway, 2011), 97.

⁴⁷ Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850.*, 39.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32, 43.

⁴⁹ R. Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World: A Critical Review', *International Journal of Maritime History*, XXV, 1 (2013), 23-64.

entering ports other than their home town or city, or who had been away for extensive periods of time and felt the need to revel.

The need to subvert this notion of bawdy behaviour of sailors, represents a different idealised man, which was created through compulsory dress for officers.⁵⁰ The use of dress to distinguish between class and by extension moral values was established by the Royal Navy (RN) in 1748. Officers obtained a uniform, whilst the sailor continued to wear their chosen style from the slop shops, not acquiring their own uniform, which was less flamboyant until 1857.⁵¹ Wilson describes the subversiveness of the uniform to general men's dress, as subtle and serious by comparison to the 'enhance[d] machismo and glamour' of the naval dress.⁵² Lemire recognises a continued acknowledgement within 'maritime cultures in shaping masculine ideas and habit of dress.'⁵³

⁵⁰ A. Miller, *Dressed to Kill: British naval uniform, masculinity and contemporary fashions, 1748-1857* (London: National Maritime Museum, 2007), 7.

⁵¹ Dickens, *The Dress of the British Sailor*, 7; Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850.*, 40; Miller, *Dressed to Kill*, 10; J. Summers, *Fashion on the ration* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2016 [2015]), 35.

⁵² E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003 [1985]), 36.

⁵³ B. Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, c. 1600-1800', *Cultural and Social History*, 13, 1 (2016), 1-22.



Figure 1 Illustration showing an English sailor in a short jacket, waistcoat and trousers, 1737.

Source: P. Bøgh, 'Engelsk sømand 1737'. In H. Henningsen, *Sømandens Tøj*, (Helsingør: Handels-Og Søfartsmuseets (Trade and Maritime Museum), 1979), 15.

The suit for men ashore remained consistent for much of the eighteenth century, made up of three components, the 'coat, waistcoat and breeches'.⁵⁴ It was perceived at the time that beautification was the role of women,⁵⁵ whilst men's roles needed to be represented as serious through sombre clothing and the lack of decoration. It offered an extrinsic visual criteria of, 'honesty, sobriety and industriousness',⁵⁶ produced to set standards, which simplified the look, '[...] stopping just short of a uniform'.⁵⁷ Religious zeal continued to influence clothing choices to be modest, practical in cut, material and colour. However, sailors were still driving sartorial boundaries of what was acceptable dress and behaviour for men.

⁵⁴ J. Laver, *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996 [1969]), 134.

⁵⁵ A. Hollander, *Sex & Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016 [1994]), 4.

⁵⁶ S. North, 'From Neoclassicism to the Industrial Revolution: 1790-1860', in L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [2011]), 53-68.

⁵⁷ M. Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 73.

Box 1 - Fashion and textiles terminology

Clothing refers to a textile article that supports the functional and utilitarian needs of the wearer.⁵⁸

Culture represents a way in which style can represent the self through how clothes are designed and, or put together and worn. Many factors can influence the adoption of such sartorial expression, Chibnall explains that for teenagers style element are triggered by, '[...] hedonism, narcissism, faddism, star idolatry and conformity to subcultural codes [...]'⁵⁹

Dress is a term used to denote the whole ensemble of an outfit, described by Edwards as, 'decoration and adornment,'⁶⁰ which retains parity with de la Haye's descriptor of, 'hair and body adornment'.⁶¹ Tortora explains it has multiple meanings and, 'applies to anything that defines or modifies the human body'.⁶² In essence, it is the overall look rather than purely the material components.

Fashion may refer to clothing, however, it has a far broader psychological interaction between the consumer, time and space, including emotive values.⁶³ Wilson recognises that fashion constantly alters thus encourages obsolescence.⁶⁴ This is echoed by Geczy and Karaminas who comment in relation to Walter Benjamin's approach to fashion as an item that relates to a specific time, thus accepting the need for change whilst acknowledging the past in some form.⁶⁵ Goffman, as discussed by Tseëlon describes fashion as a performative approach encompassing all aspects of the visual external self, a conscious act by the individual to signify themselves.⁶⁶ In view of the points described, fashion represents the wearer, their conscious act of projecting themselves in society within a constantly shifting time and space.

Style refers to the manner in which a suit (or any other garment) is worn and by whom, which can influence how the dress and the wearer are perceived. This does not always necessarily include fashion. Kaiser presents style-fashion-dress as a whole, recognising that each term exists separately but overlaps and that many authors within the field use all three interconnected.⁶⁷

Trend is used to express a shift that has an impact on society and culture and builds momentum over time as, 'more people, products and ideas become part of that change.'⁶⁸ It

⁵⁸ Y. Kawamura, *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress* (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 3; Polhemus & Proctor, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*, 9.

⁵⁹ S. Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot: The Changing Meaning of a Suit of Clothes', *History Workshop*, Autumn, 20 (1985), 57.

⁶⁰ Edwards, *Men in the Mirror*, 2.

⁶¹ *Trawlermen: Suited and Booted*. Directed by Hatfield, A. (2015, 30 minutes). Available online: <https://vimeo.com/138997632> [Accessed 11-09-2015].

⁶² P. G. Tortora, *Dress, fashion and technology: From prehistory to the present* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 2.

⁶³ Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 1-2; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 11.

⁶⁴ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 4-5.

⁶⁵ A. Geczy & V. Karaminas, 'Walter Benjamin: Fashion, Modernity and the City Street', in A. Rocamora & A. Smelik (eds.), *Critical Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 81-96.

⁶⁶ E. Tseëlon, 'Erving Goffman: Social Science as an Art of Cultural Observation', in A. Rocamora & A. Smelik (eds.), *Critical Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 149-164.

⁶⁷ S. B. Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

⁶⁸ M. Raymond, *The Trend Forecasters Handbook* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2010), 14.

is the concept of capturing the fashion zeitgeist, of knowing what is required now and bringing it to the fore as a product. Trends are often seen in fashion and are noticeable in other areas of culture too including (but not limited to) food, architecture, and product design.

Uniform describes a collective use of similar dress by a group or an organisation. This could be an official or unofficial collective use of dress. The wearing of a uniform affiliates a group as a whole, which identifies the wearer to the collective, and others, 'it conveys a feeling of conformity, order and virtual absence of variability'.⁶⁹

The change to standardisation of suit production began in 1796, with the launch of the first English tailoring book *The Taylors Complete Guide*.⁷⁰ This continued into the next century with sailors, the slop shop and military uniforms leading the way in mass produced goods.⁷¹ The mechanisation of textile production created homogeny in materials, colour, shape by developments in measuring, pattern and size gradation, improved speed to market, and economies of scale. Together, these developments led to price reductions, which, alongside rising wages, meant that the suit became accessible to a broader range of society.⁷² Cotton was becoming more widespread, with the introduction of hardwearing corduroy for workers on land.⁷³ The development of oilskin, typically a cotton fabric made waterproof by the addition of oil, ousted the need to grease or tar garments, becoming a staple for fishermen, comprising of a short or long frock and a sou'wester hat.⁷⁴ The guernsey, or gansey in Yorkshire, is a knitted blue patterned jumper, that is square in shape like the smock worn by farm labourers; the garment became popular with fishermen.⁷⁵ The role of the sailor and farmer were interchangeable, the relationship with the smock could be a natural transition from land to sea for the wearer.⁷⁶

Men's clothing shifted from the kneebreeches to longer length legwear, the trousers altered between being slim fitting, voluminous to straight. Whereas the coat remained long with the tailcoat

⁶⁹ J. Craik, 'The Cultural Politics of the Uniform', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 7, 2 (2003), 127-147; A. Yagou, 'Foreword: Uniforms in Design-Historical Perspective', *Journal of Design History*, 24, 2 (2011), 101-104.

⁷⁰ North, 'From Neoclassicism to the Industrial Revolution: 1790-1860'.

⁷¹ Breward, *The Suit*, 17.

⁷² W. Aldrich, 'Tailors' Cutting Manuals and the Growing Provision of Popular Clothing 1770-1870 'Falling apart like a ready-made'', *Textile History*, 31, 2 (2000), 163-201; T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 114; C. Breward, *The hidden consumer: Masculinities, fashion and city life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); K. Honeyman, *Well Suited: A History of the Leeds Clothing Industry 1850-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-2.

⁷³ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 97; Thomson, *Fibres and fabrics of today*, 92.

⁷⁴ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 98.

⁷⁵ G. Thompson, *Patterns for Guernseys, Jerseys & Arans* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1979), 6.

⁷⁶ Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World', 43-44.

moving into the frock coat, the morning coat and eventually the lounge as the century progressed.⁷⁷ Waistcoats remained the most elaborate part of the suit, concealable if requiring a more sober projection.⁷⁸ The different classes were becoming harder to distinguish in nineteenth-century England with the second-hand supply chain, industrialisation, mobility and the media influencing the changes. The trade in used clothing enabled people to wear garments that were potentially beyond their financial abilities if new. As Lemire states, 'Such dealers [in second-hand clothes] enabled untold thousands to wear clothes above their rank and beyond their means had the garments been new.'⁷⁹ Sproles stipulates that it is difficult to know how much high fashion trickled down to the masses due to a lack of documentary evidence available.⁸⁰ Simmel's trickle-down theory of the early twentieth century, recognised class as a way in which to reaffirm and differentiate the social structure of society.⁸¹ While Crane discusses fashion as agency to achieve the appearance of having greater 'social or economic resources'.⁸² Honeyman questions the rationale as to why a working-class male would wear a suit as it would be neither comfortable nor practical, other than to imitate.⁸³ However, difference through change by those who were able to would filter through into the second-hand markets, bringing perhaps a level of similarity in dress of various social ranks due to necessity of availability rather than emulation.⁸⁴

The smock, corduroy and fustian garments, viewed as occupational dress were being challenged by the suit and overalls, any differentiation if not already obsolete, began to diminish.⁸⁵ As Richmond recognises:

[...] in addition to its practical functions of providing physical comfort and protection from the elements, clothing could indicate – or disguise – the wearer's occupational or

⁷⁷ N. Bradfield, *Historical Costumes of England 1066-1956* (London: George G. Harrap & Co Ltd., 1960 [1958]); L. Edwards, *How to Read a Suit* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020).

⁷⁸ North, 'From Neoclassicism to the Industrial Revolution: 1790-1860', 59.

⁷⁹ Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England', 4.

⁸⁰ J. B. Sproles, 'Analyzing Fashion Lifecycles: Principles and Perspectives', *Journal of Marketing*, 45, 4 (1981), 116-124.

⁸¹ The directional flow model consists of three individual concepts, trickle-down, trickle-up and the trickle across theories, with each developing at different times as further research on the phenomenon has evolved. Kawamura, *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress*; L. Svendsen, *Fashion: A Philosophy* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2011).

⁸² Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 67.

⁸³ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 2.

⁸⁴ Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*.

⁸⁵ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 100; V. Richmond, *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 42-43.

regional identity, age, gender, religion and social allegiance.⁸⁶

The continued loss of specific workwear, in particular the smock, was commented on by prominent figures of the time, who presented a nostalgic view of traditional working dress, remarking negatively on the homogenisation of workers who were adopting the suit.⁸⁷ The traditional workwear placed the wearers in context of being labourers, in an extremely structured social hierarchy. Whereas the suit, blended, altered and confused the viewer enabling the wearer not to be as socially judged by their appearance, and the stigmatisation associated with being working-class.⁸⁸ Despite this change in consumer perception, fishermen still wore clothing that represented their living, with clothing consisting of canvas trousers, short smock top, gansey, waterproof seaboots, knitted stockings or footless leggings, with a sou'wester hat, mixing bought and home-made garments (see Figure 2).



Figure 2 Fishermen at Whitby wearing worn fearnought trousers, ganseys, a waistcoat, sou'wester and trilby hats, being worn both ways.

Source: Frank Meadow Sutcliffe, *Fishermen on Wharf* ca 1885. [photograph]. Image ID: CRYWPK, Alamy Ltd.

⁸⁶ Richmond, *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England*, 3.

⁸⁷ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 105-109.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Active pursuits were popularised as country 'sports' by the landed gentry in the nineteenth century, an ambiguous term for riding, hunting and shooting. This had an impact on men's tailoring, with specific shaping being introduced to enable ease of movement. The cross over between sportswear and everyday wear became accepted, emphasising a relaxation of strict social dress codes.⁸⁹ This was taken further with the introduction of the lounge suit in the 1860s, by the young man about town bringing modernisation to the shape of the suit.⁹⁰ Conversely, dress remained respectable for the masses through the frock and morning jackets, retaining sobriety and a restrained appearance, however, Shannon explores the idea that men from all social levels countered this attitude and used fashion as a form of expression and performance.⁹¹ Often referred to in the satirical press as dandies and effeminate, however, as time shifted masculine consumption became acceptable by re-inventing the term Dandy as the 'smart man', which enabled men to legitimately consume fashion without their masculinity being challenged.⁹² The Dandy refers to a late-eighteenth-century man who took care in his appearance, wearing refined clothing of the utmost quality in material and tailoring, the dress was presented with perfection.⁹³

The lounge suit consisted of a short jacket, waistcoat and tapered trousers, each piece being in the same woven cloth and forms the basis of the modern suit.⁹⁴ Social distinction continued to be retained through quality of make and material, between bespoke and mass produced clothing, alongside second-hand goods.⁹⁵ An important change in this period, recognised by the tailoring press, was that the ready-made suppliers were being acknowledged for their contribution to changing tastes alongside the established tailors.⁹⁶ In the early-twentieth century, black became the dominant colour, Wright describes a working man donning moleskin or corduroy trousers, black jacket, waistcoat with a cap and muffler, which were clean on after completing work on a Saturday ready for Sunday best, and then for the working week ahead.⁹⁷ Rowntree evidenced that men from working backgrounds purchased a jacket or coat, waistcoat and trousers, all mainly sourced from

⁸⁹ Edwards, *Men in the Mirror*, 19.

⁹⁰ Breward, *The hidden consumer*, 34.

⁹¹ B. Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914* (Athens, OH, UNITED STATES: Ohio University Press, 2006), 121, 125.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 128.

⁹³ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 15.

⁹⁴ Breward, *The Suit*, 52.

⁹⁵ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 12.

⁹⁶ Breward, *The hidden consumer*, 33.

⁹⁷ T. Wright, *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967 [1867]), 189.

second-hand supplies.⁹⁸ The likelihood is, the working-classes considered little about appropriation and were more concerned with actually being clothed, wearing what was financially available to them. Style choices would have been dictated by what was available second-hand, which might have been fashionably out-of-date by comparison to mass-produced clothing of inferior intrinsic quality. As de Marly reflects, 'Without the existence of fashion there would have been fewer clothes available for the poor.'⁹⁹

The shore and sea clothing of Hull trawlermen becomes apparent from the early-twentieth century, visually illustrating various versions of occupational dress. In 1904, the Russian Baltic Fleet mistook Hull trawlers in the North Sea for Japanese warships and opened fire, killing crew members, sinking and damaging trawlers.¹⁰⁰ Known as the 'Dogger Bank Incident', the event has been memorialised in a statue, which clearly depicts Skipper George Smith of the *Crane* wearing his seafaring gear of sou'wester hat, neckerchief, gansey, flap fronted wool fearnought trousers and thigh high leather boots with knitted long stockings (see Figure 3). In addition the photograph shows the crew of the damaged *Mino* dressed in a mixture of styles, which includes high collared jackets (possibly slop jackets), oiled jackets, neckerchiefs, shirts, ganseys, and fearnought trousers, one man, possibly the skipper, wears a three-piece suit (see Figure 4). What is interesting in this picture is the array of hats worn, including the bowler, trilby and peaked caps, the man in the background in a straw boater and clean white shirt, is unlikely to be a member of the crew. The attire, in particular the hats symbolise the different ranks of the crew, as well as the distinction between what is worn at sea and entering port, demonstrating a mixture of work and leisure wear. Furthermore class and social distinction are visually practiced between the seamen and the landmen through their dissimilar styles of dress.

⁹⁸ S. B. Rowntree, *Poverty: A study of town life* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1902 [1901]), 393-394.

⁹⁹ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 149.

¹⁰⁰ Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*, 15.



Figure 3 Sculpture of skipper George Smith of the *Crane* killed in the Dogger Bank Incident.
Source: A. Leake, *Memorial: M2626*. 1906 [sculpture]. Hessle Road, Hull. Photograph C. Day, July 2020.



Figure 4 Image of crew members of the *Mino* demonstrating an array of clothing with rank potentially being shown through the various types of hats and dress.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Russian Outrage*. 1904 [photograph]. ID JV-RussOut-5, University of St Andrews Library. Copyright status unknown.

Box 2 - Fisheries terminology

Deckhands formed the majority of the crew on a sidewinder trawler. This consisted of approximately 10 qualified men and one trainee, a deckhand learner, referred to as a 'deckie learner'. Their role was to maintain the ship for fishing and to catch, prepare and store the fish for market. The crew comprised of a skipper, mate, bosun, wireless operator, chief engineer, second engineer, fireman, cook, cook's assistant, deckhands and deckie learner. The shore suit evolved with the deckhands, and forms the core of this research.

Distant-water trawlermen sometimes referred to as **deep-sea fishermen** or **deep-water fishermen** are the men who fished at these distant grounds. When discussing the men, the term trawlermen will be used throughout to differentiate them from other fishermen, within quotes the word fishermen may be evident.

Distant-water trawling represents trawl fishing from the UK to the waters around Iceland, Norway, Greenland and the Barents Seas. The *White Fish Authority* explains that, "Distant waters" include Barents Seas and waters adjacent to Bear Island, Spitzbergen, Greenland, Iceland, Newfoundland, the Norwegian Coast, and the Mauretanian Coast,¹⁰¹ or 'outside the limits 63° north latitude, 17° west longitude and 43° north latitude.'¹⁰²

Gear is a term used in particular by the trawlermen to describe the articles required when at sea, this includes **heavy** or **wet gear**, which was mainly the bad weather outer clothing, with gear being other clothing, bedding and personal equipment required to fish. **Rig**, although used by the trawlermen, is a term that refers to the various uniforms worn in the RN. Variations of rig terminology include square rig, fore and 'aft rig and working rig, indicating different styles and class of ratings.¹⁰³

Near- and middle-waters are the North and the Irish Sea, the Bristol and English Channels and waters adjacent to the Faroes, Rockall, West of Scotland and West and South of Ireland respectively (see Figure 15).¹⁰⁴

Sidewinder trawlers are descriptive of vessels, which caught fish from the side and processed the vertebrate on an uncovered deck before thrown into the hold. Time at sea was reflective of the fact the fish was stored on ice for returning to market fresh, this would be approximately three weeks, any longer and the fish would spoil. The crew size usually consisted of 21 men (see Figure 16).¹⁰⁵

Stern trawlers caught the fish from the back and processed it undercover either as fresh, frozen or filleted fish. Crew numbers varied dependent on size and whether they were part fresh/frozen, freezer or freezer/factory. The freezer ships had approximately 25 crew whilst the freezer/factory had more, the Hull trawlers *Junella* had 34 crew, the *Kurd* 36, and the *Othello* stern trawler, which was launched in 1966 had up to 51 crew members (see Appendix K).¹⁰⁶ Interviewees were away from two to four months in the stern freezer trawlers.

¹⁰¹ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables 1950* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), 4.

¹⁰² White Fish Authority, *Annual Reports and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 1961* (London: HMSO, 1961), 5.

¹⁰³ M. J. Brayley, *Royal Navy Uniforms 1930-1945* (Marlborough: The Crowood Press, 2014), 8, 139.

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables 1950*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*, 7.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 9.

White Fish Authority was set up in 1951 for 'reorganizing, developing and regulating the white fish industry'.¹⁰⁷ The Authority was concerned with the various industrial factions, export, research and the consumer.

Fishing continued during the First World War at a reduced capacity, trawlers and men became involved in minesweeping and anti-U-boat patrols as part of the Auxiliary Patrol.¹⁰⁸ Those continuing to fish were the men and boys who were either too old, too young or unfit for active service.¹⁰⁹ The trawlermen and other fishermen served in the Royal Navy (RN), the Royal Naval Reserve (RNR) formed in 1859, the Royal Naval Reserve Trawler (RNRT) formed in 1910 and the Royal Army; with the RNR and RNRT having voluntary members and vessels, who were called up immediately as hostilities commenced.¹¹⁰ The trawlermen's gear at sea for those fishing remained their usual attire, whilst those joining the military was reflective of service and rank. Trawler skippers' uniforms of the RNRT corresponded with that of a RN Warrant Officer with an undress coat with RNR buttons, a waistcoat, blue trousers, a cap with RNR badge, a foul weather hat, black boots, necktie, white shirt and collars.¹¹¹ The rest of the men would be in seamen's service uniforms, which consisted of a cap, serge jumper, collar, scarf, serge trousers, white working jumper, duck trousers, jersey and drawers in cold or wet climates, boot stockings, socks, and badges.¹¹² The RNRT seamen could have the initials embroidered onto the upper arm of their serge jumpers with the T being centre justified below the RNR (see Figure 5).¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ *Sea Fish Industry Act 1951*. Chapter 30 (London: UK Legislation), 1.

¹⁰⁸ Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Fisheries in the Great War, being the report on sea fisheries for the years 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), xxiii; R. Robinson, 'A forgotten navy: fish, fishermen, fishing vessels and the Great War at sea', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 19, 1 (2017), 47-61.

¹⁰⁹ Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Fisheries in the Great War, being the report on sea fisheries for the years 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918*, xxxvii.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, xiii, 2; MOD, *A History of our Reserves* [eBook]MOD, 2014), 5; R. Robinson, *Fishermen, the fishing industry and the Great War at sea: a forgotten history?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 20.

¹¹¹ The Royal Navy, *The Navy List* (London: HMSO, July 1914 corrected to June 1914), 838a.

¹¹² Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Fisheries in the Great War, being the report on sea fisheries for the years 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918*, 8; The Royal Navy, *The Navy List*, 840.

¹¹³ Brayley, *Royal Navy Uniforms 1930-1945*, 12; S. Willis, *Tracing Your Seafaring Ancestors: A Guide to Maritime Photographs for Family Historians* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Family History, 2016).



Figure 5 Image of an RNRT crew member with the embroidered initials on the upper arm of his serge jumper. Source: Photographer Unknown 'RNR Reservist of the Royal Naval Reserve Trawler Section'. In M. J. Brayley, *Royal Naval Uniforms 1930-1945* (Marlborough: The Crowood Press, 2014), 12.

The strict hierarchical structure of the RN was unfamiliar to the trawlermen, who pushed the boundaries of their own identities onto their regulated dress. Moustaches were worn instead of being clean shaven or the approved beard, alongside placing their caps and ribbons at jaunty angles (see Figure 6).¹¹⁴ The Navy strictly regulated what, when and how the uniform was worn, with any deviation being punishable, however this did not prevent the men from finding ways in which to challenge authority.¹¹⁵ Ugolini questions this want for individualism by soldiers in the Great War and concludes that wearing a well-fitted suit and being smartly dressed, reflective of the Dandy were important values to men, brought over from their civilian attitudes to dress, which they wanted to retain even in conflict.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Robinson, *Fishermen, the fishing industry and the Great War at sea*, 53-54.

¹¹⁵ The Royal Navy, *The Navy List*, 839.

¹¹⁶ L. Ugolini, 'Consumers to Combatants? British Uniforms and identities, 1914-18', *Fashion Theory*, 14, 2 (2010), 159-182.



Figure 6 Trawler crew on Admiralty service wearing naval and trawling gear with their caps at non-regulation angles.

Source: Photographer unknown 'Trawler crew on Admiralty service'. In R. Robinson, *Fishermen, the Fishing Industry and the Great War at Sea: A Forgotten History* (Liverpool University Press, 2019), 26. Originally in E. K. Chatterton, *The Auxiliary Patrol* (London 1923).

Men's clothing became less formal in the interwar years with the lounge suit becoming prominent with knitwear and trousers or plus fours, a type of baggy breeches becoming *de rigueur* especially after being worn by Edward VIII.¹¹⁷ This consolidated the acceptance of the lounge suit for business attire, as well as country and athletic sports in more urban settings as more health-based activities became popular.¹¹⁸ However, not all in the tailoring profession accepted the changes:

There is much carelessness and unconventionality in the business dress of to-day which is neither good for the firm nor the individual. There can be no question that plus-fours and jazzy pull-overs are out of place in a shop, office, or counting house; although the

¹¹⁷ S. S. Takeda et al., *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear, 1715-2015* (Munich: Prestel Publishing, 2016), 51.

¹¹⁸ C. Breward, 'Manliness, Modernity and the Shaping of Male Clothing', in J. Entwistle & E. Wilson (eds.), *Body Dressing* (Berg: 2001), 165-182.

point may be waived on a Saturday morning.¹¹⁹

The popularity of mass-produced clothes continued to increase with innovation and improvements in production, quality and fit. Whereas durability had been an important value previously, this started to shift with changes in consumption and the desire to own more styles, Sumpter explains that:

The man in the street does not care to be known by the suit he continually wears, hence his desire for a generous change of raiment. Under the old method of production [bespoke] this was only possible among the wealthy, and those comfortably off, owing to the price; but now, thanks to the keen prices and quality of garment produced by the factory, it is possible for even a working man to enjoy a free change, and with it a feeling of increased self-respect.¹²⁰

The tailoring trade accepts that business was ever-changing; however, the working man referred to is not necessarily the working-class man, who was still restricted in what clothing he owned.¹²¹ There seems to have been no major changes in what trawlermen were wearing to sea, apart from the introduction of bib and brace dungarees, and the use of rubber for waterproofing boots.¹²² In contrast, around the mid-1930s a clear distinction begins to appear with a definitive lounge suit for wearing ashore. For the young trawlermen it comprised of a light coloured single-breasted suit, with or without a waistcoat, wide trousers with an inch waistband, a white shirt with a wide collar worn with or without a baker boy cap.¹²³ Defined roles and timeframes for work and leisure are becoming differentiated by the choices of clothing worn by the trawlermen.

Fishing activities declined again during the Second World War, as men and trawlers were requisitioned for Naval Service.¹²⁴ The Admiralty once more stipulated that fishermen should

¹¹⁹ A. S. Bridgland, 'Correct Dress for the Occasion', in A. S. Bridgland (ed.), *The Modern Tailor, Outfitter and Clothier* (London: Caxton Publishing Company Limited, 1928), 3, 14-23, 17.

¹²⁰ G. W. Sumpter, 'The Wholesale Trade', in A. S. Bridgland (ed.), *The Modern Tailor, Outfitter and Clothier* (London: Caxton Publishing Company Limited, 1928), 2, 1-16, 4.

¹²¹ de Marly, *Working Dress*, 154.

¹²² Shrimpton, *British Working Dress*.

¹²³ W. Vandivert, *Grimsby Trawlermen volunteering for minesweeping*. [Photograph] The LIFE Picture Collection, 511334 G. images, Available online: <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/grimsby-trawlermen-volunteering-for-minesweeping-at-the-news-photo/50445062?adppopup=true> [Accessed 22-07-2020].

¹²⁴ Ministry of Agriculture, and Fisheries, *Fisheries in War Time: Report on the Sea Fisheries of England and Wales for the Years 1939-1944 inclusive* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), 5.

continue to serve at sea either in the RN, the RNR, or their normal occupation due to their skills in seamanship, only becoming available to the other armed forces if not required or rejected by the Navy.¹²⁵ The RNRT was consumed into the RNR in 1921, consequently, the trawlermen lost their separate identity.¹²⁶ Skippers called up for service as with the previous world conflict wore the RN Warrant Officer's uniform.¹²⁷ The core items for a seaman's uniform was similar to the 1914 conflict, however changes and adjustments had been made. The items as of June 1939 consisted of a cap, jumpers (serge, duck, drill), collar, scarf, trousers (serge, duck, drill), overalls, socks or stockings, flannels, jersey and drawers, oilskin coat, and a white working jumper, with additional items available dependent on where situated.¹²⁸ Alterations to the compulsory list changed due to material shortages throughout the war, with the suspension of double-breasted jackets in favour of single-breasted jackets for ratings (Class I and III), and other items that were seen as unnecessary.¹²⁹ The Admiralty responded by permitting Chief Petty Officers and Petty Officers to purchase made-to-measure double-breasted suits in navy.¹³⁰ The distinction between naval uniform and the made-to-measure suit becomes blurred, one replaces the other with military and civilian clothing merging the men's two existences. For some trawlerman their transition into uniform was slow and purposeful, when Albert Archer joined the trawler *HMS Cloughton Wyke*, used by the RN for minesweeping duties, only himself and a gunner were in uniform, 'I was deposited over the rails of a dirty and rusting trawler, with not a uniform in sight, all the crew [...] being in dirty overalls or "civvies"', he felt 'let down'.¹³¹ Eventually the crew was sent to Plymouth to obtain their rig, but it was only worn when ashore.¹³² The men wore their fishing gear when at sea, only wanting to transform themselves into the military man when in port. The uniform had no value on the trawler and through wear would become grubby and smelly. It was reserved to perform a shared identity with others when on land, presenting patriotism, smartness, glamour and manliness. The in-depth instructions of how and when to wear specific items were not always followed, the wearer brought their own personality to the uniform, which added a level of individualism to the regimented outfit and

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹²⁶ Willis, *Tracing Your Seafaring Ancestors*.

¹²⁷ Brayley, *Royal Navy Uniforms 1930-1945*, 19.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 64-65, 84-85, 94-95, 104-105.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹³¹ A. Archer, H., *The Death of a Minesweeper: WW2 People's War*, 2005. Available online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/76/a4183076.shtml> [Accessed 28-07-2020].

¹³² *Ibid.*

defiance towards the Admiralty (see Figure 7).¹³³ As Hollander argues when discussing civilian clothing, which can be transferred to military dress, uniformity of dress always appear distinct due to the way in which the whole ensemble is put together and that each human body is individual; Wilson explains that the contradiction of mass conformity is that it cancels itself out.¹³⁴



Figure 7 Fishermen on a converted trawler with guns during World War Two, wearing gansey, fearnought trousers and a boiler suit.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Fishermen on a converted trawler during World War Two*. n.d. [photograph].
Courtesy of R. Robinson.

The introduction of rationing by the British Government from June 1941, to increase material yields and labour for other needs, restricted what could be made and worn by civilians.¹³⁵ Trousers could only be as wide as 19 inches, elastic waistbands and turn-ups were removed. With time double-breasted jackets were banned, as were buttons on cuffs, three buttons were permitted to fasten the jacket with no more than three pockets.¹³⁶ All social classes had to deal with the same shortages and

¹³³ Brayley, *Royal Navy Uniforms 1930-1945*, 105.

¹³⁴ Hollander, *Sex & Suits*, 25; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 12.

¹³⁵ Started in June 1941, lasted until March 1949 and the utility scheme started in 1942 and ended in 1952. L. Clouting, *8 Facts About Clothes Rationing in Britain during the Second World War*, 2015. Available online: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/8-facts-about-clothes-rationing-in-britain-during-the-second-world-war> [Accessed 05-02-2016]; Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 95, 177.

¹³⁶ C. Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2009), 51; N. Rothstein, *400 Years of Fashion* (London: V & A Publishing, 2010 [1984]), 70; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 118.

the same rationing regimes.¹³⁷ To counter the reforms, the Board of Trade introduced intrinsic quality measures of material and make, alongside fashions created by top designers under the Civilian Clothing Order 1941 or Controlled Commodity (CC41 or Utility scheme), which included Norman Hartnell, Digby Morton and Hardy Amies.¹³⁸ The concept was that by improving the quality of cloth, cut and style, less clothing would be required and would last longer. As Summers states:

One of the unintended consequences of clothes rationing was that people tended to trade up in terms of quality. Both consumer and manufacturer sought the best value per coupon and that meant buying more expensive goods.¹³⁹

It has been implied that CC41 clothing was poor quality, however, for the masses it was an improvement to the standards they had been accustomed to.¹⁴⁰ This divergence between good or poor quality is subjective and depends on what the individual was wearing prior to rationing. The consumer press had a positive response to the Utility scheme due to standardisation of quality improvements, whilst the trade press saw the value in the brand being undermined; image, marketing and advertising, the tools to promote were diminished by the shift from the extrinsic to the intrinsic value of quality.¹⁴¹

Men arriving from war to civilian life were issued with a demob lounge suit made by the multiple tailors, amongst other particulars to replace their uniform.¹⁴² Consisting of a dark single- or double-breasted jacket with a notched collar, trousers up to 16 inches wide, either in a plain or small-scale patterned cloth. A white shirt with a conservative tie and a waistcoat if a three-piece suit was required, completed the look.¹⁴³ Many features prohibited during the rationing scheme were reintroduced, and the demob suit was of better quality and weight than a Utility Scheme suit.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ C. McDermott, *Street Style: British Design in the 80s* (London: Design Council, 1987), 10; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 107.

¹³⁸ Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 96-97; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 80.

¹³⁹ Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 99.

¹⁴⁰ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 96; Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 15, 98.

¹⁴¹ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 95.

¹⁴² The other particulars included, 1 raincoat, 1 shirt, 2 collars, 1 tie, 1 hat, 1 pair of shoes and 2 pairs of socks, as well as 1 suit Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear; Demob 1945* (1945). Available online: www.britishpathe.com/video/demob [Accessed 05-02-2016]; Imperial War Museum, *Jacket, Civilian (Demob Suit)*, 2016. Available online: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30104485> [Accessed 05-02-2015].

¹⁴³ Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear; Demob 1945*; Imperial War Museum, *Jacket, Civilian (Demob Suit)*; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

¹⁴⁴ Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 171.

Some variation in the suits was evident, however, mass conformity meant uniformity to the men who had served during the war, symbolically replacing their regimental attire with a civilian uniform, '[...] the discipline associated with military uniform and religious observation ... seemed to have survived two world wars almost intact'.¹⁴⁵ The continued standardisation of menswear created a monotony in terms of colour, material and cut, which was evident through the domination of the multiple tailors on the nation's high streets, and their manufacturing practices.¹⁴⁶ A suit made by a multiple tailor was described as a 'basic Englishman's suit, [...] dark grey and shapeless but respectable. It wasn't glamorous, it obeyed the rules'.¹⁴⁷ The description of menswear in the UK in the 1950s is that of a 'collective uniformity',¹⁴⁸ a 'stifling conformity to keep men in their place'.¹⁴⁹ Men did not want to look conspicuous, clothing was indistinct, they did not want to be seen.

In the 1950s, youths acquired a lifestyle separate from their parents, changes in the social and political landscape with peace, the end of rationing in 1952, and high employment rates brought a level of freedom that their parents and grandparents had not experienced. Young adults of the era, were an audience to manipulate through magazines, music, films and fashion.¹⁵⁰ Teenagers were considered by Abrams to be between 15 and 24 years of age and single, it is acknowledged that this is a broad age range for describing youths, with gender, age, regional and class differentiation not being thoroughly explored.¹⁵¹ However, as McDermott signifies, '[...] the impact of teenagers was catastrophic. In 1939 the concept of the teenager did not exist in British culture'.¹⁵² There was no differentiation between teenagers and adults,¹⁵³ not only were youngsters oppressed by the

¹⁴⁵ Breward, *The Suit*, 65.

¹⁴⁶ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 56, 58.

¹⁴⁷ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ F. Mort & P. Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: The case of Montague Burton, the 'Tailor of Taste'', *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), 106-127, 107.

¹⁴⁹ Breward, *The Suit*.

¹⁵⁰ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 254-255; Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; G. Brown, *Modes & Rockers - The Origins and Era of a British Scene* (Church Stretton: Independent Music Press, 2010); J. Clarke et al., 'Subcultures, cultures and class', in S. Hall & T. Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1976), 9-75; Clouting, *8 Facts About Clothes Rationing in Britain*; C. Steele-Perkins & R. Smith, *The Teds* (London: Travelling Light, 1979); Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 96.

¹⁵¹ M. Abrams, *Teenage consumer spending in 1959* (London, 1961), 1; H. Jenss, *Fashioning Memory: Vintage Style and Youth Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 49; B. Osgerby, 'The Young Ones'. Youth, Consumption and Representation of the 'Teenager' in Post-War Britain', in H.-J. Diller et al. (eds.), *Youth Identities: Teens and Twens in British Culture* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), 7-24, 11.

¹⁵² McDermott, *Street Style*, 11.

¹⁵³ Brown, *Modes & Rockers*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

hierarchical social system, but within their own culture, 'Young men copied their fathers'.¹⁵⁴ Now, a distinction between the mature and young markets became evident, this culminated in teenagers establishing their own dress codes. Youths were able to express their values, creating their own identities through what they wore. The young trawlermen of Hull were no exception, wanting to use clothing as a visual statement and have their own distinctive style, which was contrary to their predecessors. Men no longer wanted to be hidden like the previous generation, but be seen; clothes offered a platform for display and performance.¹⁵⁵

1.2 The trawlermen and their suits

The most comprehensive analysis of the lives of Hull trawlermen, both at sea and in port is by the sociologist Tunstall who, surprisingly, does not mention the suits, the time, or financial investment in their designing, ordering, purchasing or wearing.¹⁵⁶ A possible rationale is that the suit was considered typical clothing for men, which did not warrant being mentioned. As an interviewee in Hewitt's work suggests when referring to the 1950s:

Now, before the Ivy League look everyone wore a suit. Even the guys digging up the roads wore suits. You'd see their jackets slung over a fence or something and they would be in suit trouser and a shirt digging away everyone wore a suit.¹⁵⁷

Or, that the suits were so visually present in the Hessle Road community that it had become the normality and potentially not perceived as being different. A further consideration could be that writers at the time wanted to present, or portray a specific narrative of the trawlermen, which did not include their style of clothing.¹⁵⁸ As Lee indicates:

Despite the historic diversity of maritime communities, the "debauched image" of seafarers ashore was firmly established well before the sixteenth century and has moulded our appraisal of their wider societal role ever since.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 6.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

¹⁵⁷ E. Harvey in P. Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists: Six decades of modernism - from Mods to Casuals* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co. Ltd., 2003 [2000]), 35-36.

¹⁵⁸ S. Piper, *The North Ships: The Life of a Trawlerman* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles (Holdings) Ltd, 1974), 149.

¹⁵⁹ Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World', 23.

What is known about the suits is largely based on the various publications by Gill, who offers anecdotal evidence from oral history interviews. This offers insights into the descriptive style.¹⁶⁰ The shore suits were worn by the younger members of the crew in the 1950s and early 1960s, which is reflective of other subcultural dress movements of the time. The trawlermen commissioned tailors, requesting specific key features including half-moon pockets, shawl collars, yoke backs and pleating.¹⁶¹ The trousers would consist of deep waistbands and would be worn very wide.¹⁶² The colours would range from light and dark blues, pale greys through to white and fawn, including pink and worn with suede square-toed shoes.¹⁶³ An interviewee in Gill's documentary proclaims, the price of a suit, was high, 'I think it cost me £40.00, at the time well that was a lot but we managed it.'¹⁶⁴ Furthermore the suits were classed as hand-made and each suit was unique.¹⁶⁵

Others mention the suits but in no great detail, sometimes referred to as a lounge suit, suit or good clothes.¹⁶⁶ A trainee trawlerman, Ellis describes wearing a sports coat and flannel trousers, which he recognises as being different to the rest of the crew in their lounge suits with wide trousers.¹⁶⁷ It is possible to date when Ellis obtained his first shore suit to 1951 or 1952, when he was sixteen.¹⁶⁸ Participants in Gill's research briefly acknowledge the difference between what the fishermen wore by comparison to the Teds, wide bottomed trousers as opposed to the drainpipes.¹⁶⁹ No other information is offered as to how the trawlermen's suits compared to conventional and youth cultural style movements of the time.

Only a handful of visual images exist in the public domain. Obtaining access to further images is difficult because they are held in private collections, mainly the family album, which was not intended for public exposure. Pictures taken when on a trip home, show the trawlermen socialising; limited visual evidence is available owing to the exposure quality and grainy textures of the

¹⁶⁰ *How the Humber changed our world; Three-Day Millionaires*; A. Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage: Aspects of Life in the Hessle Road Fishing Community* (Barnsley: Wharnccliffe Books, 2003).

¹⁶¹ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

¹⁶³ *Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

¹⁶⁴ Stated by Billie Nelson in *Three-Day Millionaires*.

¹⁶⁵ *How the Humber changed our world*.

¹⁶⁶ R. Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice* (Beverly: Highgate Publications Limited, 2007); Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 350; Robinson, *Trawling*, 198; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 117.

¹⁶⁷ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 46.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁶⁹ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

photographs. The back views of the jackets are almost non-existent in photographs, therefore it is difficult to appreciate the details. Colour is difficult to ascertain, as many were shot with black and white film, information regarding deckie learner blue, a pale blue shore suit worn by the newest recruits, has only been retained through word-of-mouth.

A photograph that has been extensively used is the image on the cover of Gill's documentary *Three-Day Millionaires* (see Figure 8). However, this has been manipulated, it shows a different background to the original, and, has been colour tinted. The viewer may not be aware of image tampering, which can distort the perception of what is viewed. Gill transfers the men to outside the Star and Garter pub, known locally as Rayners on Hessle Road, Hull. The pub was popular with trawlermen, however, it projects a certain image, potentially referring to their drinking habits when in port, when in fact, the original background is of a dairy opposite one of the men's homes on St Matthew Street (see Figure 9). As Sontag rightly asserts, the image 'falsifies reality,' as without the original image and verbal narration from the original owner, the falsified reality becomes real and the truth could be lost.¹⁷⁰ Having knowledge of the person(s) in the image, their social standing and dates, according to Taylor adds 'value [...] to the dress historian'.¹⁷¹ The suits were not the colours presented in the manipulated version, nevertheless, putting aside the alterations to the image, what is evident is the shawl collar, shank button fastening, Spanish waistband, the mid to light tonal colours, pale shoes and thin ties.

¹⁷⁰ S. Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin Books, 2008 [1978]), 86.

¹⁷¹ L. Taylor, *The Study of Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 176.

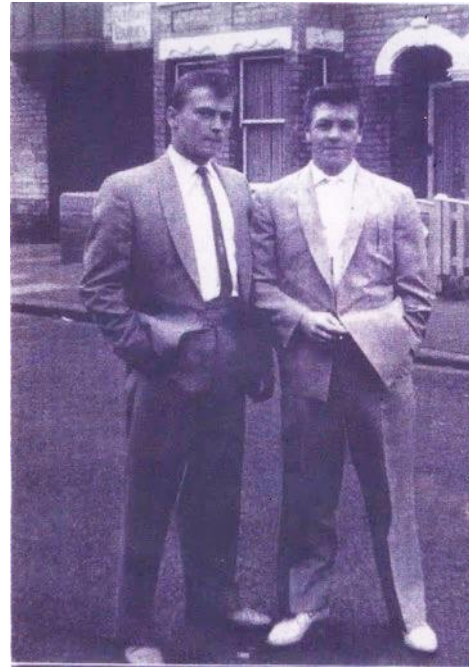
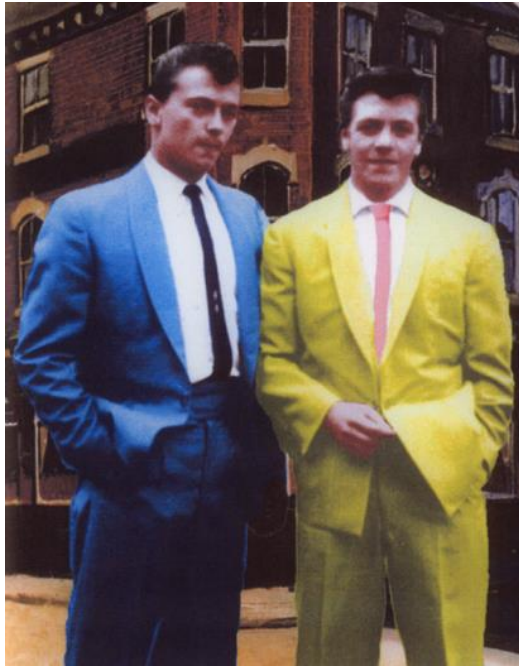


Figure 8 The manipulated image of Alf Louth and Chris Cheevers on the cover of A. Gill's *Three-Day Millionaires* documentary.

Source: Photographer unknown, *Dress* n.d [photograph]. Available online: <http://www.fishingarts.co.uk/dress.html> [Accessed 27-09-2017].

Figure 9 Alf Louth and Chris Cheevers showing the original image in their shore suits.

Source: Photographer unknown, *Alf Louth and Chris Cheevers in shore suits, St Matthew Street, Hull*. 1961 [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of A. Louth.

The most informative photographs sourced to date, which documents the front and the back of a trawlerman's suit, were produced by David Morris in 1971, when he was a student at Hull College of Art. The portrait is of a young deckie learner, who is wearing a typical suit with all the distinct features. The half-moon breast and side pockets, shawl collar with one-button fastening are all visible on the front of the jacket. The back view indicates a straight yoke, with double side pleats and a two-buttoned loose belt. The trousers evidence the Spanish waistband and two folds to ease the width of the trouser legs. The colour is pale, possibly two-tone pale blue or pale grey check.¹⁷² Another feature to note is the knitted tie. Of interest is that the two sets of images (see Figure 9, Figure 10 and Figure 11) are ten years apart, but the suits are extremely similar in cut and style, including the tie being tucked into the top of the trouser waistband.

¹⁷² D. Morris, *Deckie Learner*. [Photograph].



Figure 10 M. Watson in *Deckie Learner* – front view of the suit.
Source: D. Morris, *Deckie Learner*. 1971 [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of D. Morris.

Figure 11 M. Watson in *Deckie Learner* – back view of the suit.
Source: D. Morris, *Deckie Learner*. 1971 [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of D. Morris.

The suit by comparison to contemporary standards may not seem different or even outrageous although very light in colour, however from the 1950s through to the 1970s this was unlike menswear worn by the majority. Hewitt emphasises this point, noting that in the 1950s, ‘Men - real men - wore their demob suits or they went out and bought dark conservative numbers. Colour was frowned upon. It was a sign of femininity. Suits remained rigid and so did their wearers.’¹⁷³ This is reinforced by Goldberg when discussing a tailor’s shop window:

In the conformist Fifties, Phil Kronfeld used to show a suit in his window that looked like a Lenny Bruce parody of the regimental banker’s gray flannel. It was gray, all right, but not the dark Wall Street-shadowed gray. It was light gray, as light as your mother’s hair, and it was single-breasted, in a time when double-breasteds were still the thing. Most outrageous of all, it only had one button. *One button!* Do you understand what that

¹⁷³ Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists*, 36.

means? Can you visualize how deep the cleavage went, how much of your solid-knot tie it showed?¹⁷⁴

Gill's original theory was that the trousers were associated with the British Royal Navy uniform. However, he dismisses this in favour of the idea of the dress being reminiscent of popular culture; the influence of the cowboy was an idea presented to Gill by K. Gay, M. Williams and R Haines.¹⁷⁵ This is corroborated through discussions with trawlermen who account for the dress via influences relating to Country and Western music lyrics, and the similarities between the loneliness of the prairie and life on the ocean, which is described in some music ballads.¹⁷⁶ One participant equates the cowboy's cattle drive as being similar to the fishing trips of the trawlermen and their prolonged periods away from their families and homes.¹⁷⁷ The influence is expanded to include watching cowboy films and reading western novels.¹⁷⁸ The connection is projected by Gill mainly through a similarity of lifestyle rather than style choices. The only descriptive link to the trawlermen's shore suit and the cowboy is a quote referring to the half-moon pockets as, '[...] like the cattlemen had in their small leather waist-coats'.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore Gill argues that the width of the trousers is related to the chaps worn by cowboys rather than sailors; however, this is not corroborated with any evidence.¹⁸⁰ Otherwise, no additional information is available about the shore suit.

1.3 Reflection

The chapter presents a brief overview of the lounge suit, the importance of innovation in seamen's dress, in particular new purchasing choices and production methods, which informed the tailoring industry. Identity and (in-)difference plays a role in the perception of mariners' dress, including when in military uniform. The notion of performance is represented through distinctive articles for when ashore than when at sea, documented from the eighteenth century. This flamboyancy is less evident with fishermen who laboured closer to shore, still, their clothing choices made them visually different, and identified who they were, rather than informed by fashion. It could be argued that the trawlermen were re-enacting their own historical identity of mariners when in port.

¹⁷⁴ J. Goldberg, 'The birth of the cool', in G. Sculatti (ed.), *The catalog of cool* (New York: Warner Books, Inc., 1982), 4-9, 8.

¹⁷⁵ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*, 169.

¹⁷⁶ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*, 160.

¹⁷⁸ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*, 160.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 161-162.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

A shift in separation between the types of clothing worn at sea and on land becomes apparent with Hull trawlermen in the twentieth century. The literature evidences the limited descriptive and analytical material available regarding the topic of this thesis. Robinson's focus was the act of trawl fishing with a brief interlude into the men's time ashore. Whereas Tunstall's investigation was the men's lifestyle, it completely neglects the suit, which was an integral part of the men's existence when in port. Gill offers more insight into the shore suit but is presented in isolation, with content specific to their own community and not expansive through exploring style innovation within fashion and (sub-)cultural movements. This thesis enhances what is already known about the trawlermen and their shore suit, by using the Hull fishing community as a 'localised' case study. It sheds new light on subcultural dress practices across Britain and beyond by generating new evidence on men's fashion, collective style, identity and cultural norms. Furthermore, the research presents the only known collective style worn by a workforce when at leisure, to which the literature has not alluded. The following chapter presents the methods and sources used to reveal what can be known about the trawlermen's sartorial consumption.

Chapter 2 Sources and methods

The chapter describes the primary sources and methods deployed to generate evidence of what can be known about the shore suit, which underpins the discourse at the core of the thesis. It has become apparent from the literature review, informal discussions with trawlermen and their family members, that limited sources exist. The knowledge of the shore suit has retained currency through oral testimony in an extemporary manner through anecdotes by the fishing community that informs Gill's research.¹⁸¹ As the trawlermen age, this very specific dress recognition will be lost as it disappears with time.

Pragmatism shapes the research with the methods directing the investigation, an approach that continues to gain momentum.¹⁸² Interpretivism is used to capture the experiences and meaning of the shore suit, in a social and cultural context.¹⁸³ King and Horrocks describe this as:

[...] offering a detailed account of specific social setting, processes or relationships. The direction of the research is to uncover how people feel about the world and make sense of their lives from their particular vantage points.¹⁸⁴

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill recognise the subjective nature of this approach, reflecting on the social experiences of the subject(s) being researched.¹⁸⁵ The population that created, wore and witnessed the suits are more than this research can capture, the information gathered does not offer truth or fact, but a validated opinion of the participants' experiences, from their perspective.¹⁸⁶ Interpretation is implied by both sets of participants, situating the research in the social sciences rather than the natural sciences.¹⁸⁷ It is accepted that my role as the researcher inflects the data and how it is interpreted. Any form of interpretative analysis will consist of subjective suppositions; as Silverman states:

¹⁸¹ Gill, *Hessle Road; Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

¹⁸² D. Snape & L. Spencer, 'The Foundations of Qualitative Research', in J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: Sage, 2003), 1-23.

¹⁸³ L. Spencer et al., 'Analysis: Practices, Principles and Processes', in J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: Sage, 2003), 199-218.

¹⁸⁴ N. King & C. Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research* (London: Sage, 2010), 11.

¹⁸⁵ M. N. K. Saunders et al., *Research methods for business students* 7th edition, (New York: Pearson Education, 2015), 140-141.

¹⁸⁶ King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 142; S. Kvale & S. Brinkmann, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 1.

¹⁸⁷ J. J. Wellington et al., *Doing Research: Reflecting on Methods, Methodology and Ethics* [eBook] (London: Sage Publishing, 2011).

[...] *all* interviews are active, regardless of how neutral the interviewers and how cooperative the respondents [...] these are interactional accomplishments rather than neutral communicative grounds.¹⁸⁸

The past can offer a multitude of materials from personal accounts and artefacts in written, oral, visual and tangible formats, which can generate new evidence.¹⁸⁹ A plethora of documents are available in the private and public domain for research. Text based artefacts have been in common use for data gathering, while other formats including mass media, the arts and popular culture gain popularity.¹⁹⁰ Primary and secondary data have been considered within this research, selecting appropriate methods to inform practice. The sources reviewed include text, image, film and the object, including descriptions of how each method has informed the data collection and analysis, which substantiate the findings and discussion. As Farriss so fittingly remarks:

How do you reconstruct past systems of meaning (let alone changes in them) when you can neither participate in nor directly observe the lives of the people? Partial answers lie in drawing on new types of evidence, such as visual imagery and oral traditions; in using a wider range of documentary sources; and in digging more deeply into those sources for information the authors did not consciously impart.¹⁹¹

2.1 Research methods (incorporating data collection)

The approach to object-based or material culture research can take various forms, depending on the overall aims and objectives of the investigation; none completely correspond to the requirements of this thesis. A variety of approaches are adopted to construct a singular analytical framework. Taylor discusses *identification*, *conservation*, *display* and *interpretation* as particular areas of importance when considering material culture.¹⁹² The conservation and display aspect of Taylor's methods are potentially more appropriate to archive and museum collections. Harvey stipulates that two important factors are the physical and psychological attributes; the other stages fit accordingly and

¹⁸⁸ J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium, 'Animating Interview Narratives', in D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2011 [1997]), 149-167, 150.

¹⁸⁹ J. Bell, *Doing your research project* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006), 125.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; M. Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2010), 217-211; P. Matthews & L. Ross, *Research Methods: A practical guide for the social sciences* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), 277; P. McNeill & S. Chapman, *Research methods* 3rd edition, (London: Routledge, 2005 [1985]), 147; N. Walliman, *Research Methods: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2011), 79-80.

¹⁹¹ N. Farriss, 'Foreward', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), ix-xi, x.

¹⁹² Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 3.

will be investigated alongside additional material culture frameworks.¹⁹³ Prown identifies *description*, *deduction* and *speculation* as the core requirements, whilst Glassie applies *creation*, *communication* and *consumption* as his three-stage analysis.¹⁹⁴

Taylor's identification stage incorporates, observing garments as closely as possible to ascertain relevant feasible information, including construction and finishing techniques.¹⁹⁵ Prown's concept for description is the recording of facts related to the object, including measurements, composition and the visual appearance.¹⁹⁶ This can be expanded to include any changes through use and the interrelation between the physical form and the object.¹⁹⁷ Additionally, Prown acknowledges that the analysis is set within a time and therefore represents that moment and cannot be considered the same analysis at other periods of the objects existence.¹⁹⁸ Glassie's first stage is creation, whereby observation of the process, alongside verbal interaction with the main producer is conducted.¹⁹⁹ The ability to observe the making process is restrictive when dealing with the past. However, the act of gaining insight through narration into an object's creation is a method that has potential, if the appropriate individuals can be sourced.

Prown's second stage refers to deduction, the researcher engages with the object to establish their own perceptions, bringing the past and the present into the equation, to recognise and eliminate any bias from occurring.²⁰⁰ A different approach considered by Glassie is the idea of communication, what the object does, and what it presents to others, it is the idea of the *other* and what they perceive the meaning of the object and its creation.²⁰¹ This is placed in financial terms of buying and selling, the communication context is transferred in this transaction from the creator to the new owner. Kopytoff discusses this exchange value of a product through a monetary transaction, extending its meaning to other value exchange parameters depending on cultural and age value of

¹⁹³ K. Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', in K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 1-23.

¹⁹⁴ H. Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 48; J. D. Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17, 1 (1982), 1-19.

¹⁹⁵ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 12.

¹⁹⁶ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 7-8.

¹⁹⁷ I. Mida & A. Kim, *The dress detective: a practical guide to object-based research in fashion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017 [2015]), 29.

¹⁹⁸ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 7.

¹⁹⁹ Glassie, *Material Culture*, 48-54.

²⁰⁰ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 8-9.

²⁰¹ Glassie, *Material Culture*, 54.

the product, and the social setting.²⁰² Harvey suggests, an object's value needs to be extended to include any cultural meaning.²⁰³ Simply considering the economic represents a narrow interpretation in terms of this research due to the men's involvement in creating the suits, making them a part of the first and second stage. Contrary to Glassie's and Kopytoff's meaning, although there is an economic transaction between the tailor and trawlerman, there is a continued affiliation for the men, from the commissioner to the wearer. Moreover, the viewer is omitted from this stage, only the user or owner is considered, how others interacted with the suits has the potential to offer another perspective.

Interpretation, described by Taylor, recognises the value of economic, social and cultural history, establishing the link between dress and the vernacular.²⁰⁴ Examples are given that refer to issues of misinterpretation and how the use of a multidisciplinary approach, with particular emphasis on the use of oral history can be used to readdress context within material culture.²⁰⁵ Prown recommends a speculative approach, whereby the information gathered from the previous stages comes together to place the object in a social and cultural context to include methodologies and theories from whatever disciplines are appropriate.²⁰⁶ The final stage for Glassie is consumption, which considers the associated meaning for the owner of the object, recognising that the object, within its lifespan may have more than one owner consequently the meaning can change and be in flux.²⁰⁷

In consideration of the material culture frameworks discussed, the descriptive analysis encompasses all aspects of the research methods, containing specification, contemplation and evaluation stages. The specification stage represents the object analysis of the suit to include the visual appearance (colour, structure, etc.), composition and measurements (if relevant) and alterations; in conjunction with obtaining oral testimonies by those who wore, witnessed or were involved in the creation of the suits. The contemplation stage will respond to the experiences of the owners and viewers of the suits, and is extended to include secondary resources. The final evaluation stage will bring together

²⁰² I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditisation as process', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64-91. It is recognised that both Kopytoff and Glassie consider the value exchange to change depending on cultural and age value of the product and social setting.

²⁰³ Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', 9.

²⁰⁴ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 51-52.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-57.

²⁰⁶ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 9-10.

²⁰⁷ Glassie, *Material Culture*, 57-61.

the information gathered and conclude with a subjective analysis, which will incorporate an interpretivist approach.

Descriptive data collection

The use of objects to obtain data for historical research has a chequered past, not perceived as important as other forms of primary sources, and has predominantly been used to support the written document.²⁰⁸ In contrast Taylor argues that researchers who omit the dress are:

[...] failing to address centrally important themes such as the significance of issues of the ephemerality of fashion, style change and related gendered consumption issues.²⁰⁹

A call-out on BBC local TV and radio channels for a shore suit and additional information resulted in a two-tone suit jacket and two pairs of trousers being donated. No provenance is available because the garments were handed-in anonymously.²¹⁰ During the latter stages of the research, a rare 1970s three-piece shore suit was sourced. First-hand information was captured from the original wearer when interviewed. Additionally, I was able to use the suit in an interview with the salesmen, who had worked at the tailors Waistell's, the suit was constructed at this establishment. Another jacket, created in the early 1970s by the tailor Casril (Cassie) Brown, is still worn and owned by the original wearer, the object has been examined together with interviewing the wearer.

Dependent on research background, the number of articles that need to be described to support validity of the method varies from one to several.²¹¹ All items sourced will be analysed together with photographs showing clear evidence of the shore suit. It is acknowledged that not all sections of the evaluation will be completed from photographs, in particular colour or composition, which in this instance can be deduced from other methods of data collection.

Mida and Kim, whose concepts of materiality follow similar principles to those of Prown, have developed two templates, the Observation and Reflection Checklists.²¹² The Observation Checklist has been used to summarise all the descriptive analytical information from the items sourced (see Appendix A for an example). The Reflective Checklist comprises my opinion and experience of the

²⁰⁸ Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', 1; B. Lemire, 'Draping the body and dressing the home: the material culture of textiles and clothes in the Atlantic world, c.1500-1800', in K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 85-102; G. Riello, 'Things that shape history: material culture and historical narrative', in K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 24-46.

²⁰⁹ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 65.

²¹⁰ The initial call for participants, photos and objects was part of a previous project *Trawlermen: Suited and Booted* funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund.

²¹¹ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 12-13.

²¹² Mida & Kim, *The dress detective*, 216-221.

items, which is not required as first-hand experience of the suits can be acquired and specific questions have been devised to capture this information. From the descriptors presented, it is envisaged that schematic diagrams of the shore suit will be created to give an overview of the style.

The stewardship of the donated articles was adopted by the arts organisation that led the previous research (see footnote 210), which was the catalyst for this PhD. This was agreed with the condition that when required for this research the objects would be accessible. Unfortunately when requested the organisation was unable to allocate the garments. It took 17 months to trace the objects, which are now in my possession, and it has been concluded that I should take ownership until an appropriate archive can be sourced. Eventually the object analysis was conducted with photographs added to give credence to the descriptors in the interviews (see Appendix A). The images were an aide-memoire and not to a professional standard, as it was intended that the objects would be photographed in a studio setting on mannequins. However, the suits became inaccessible once more due to the COVID-19 pandemic and restrictions put in place. Blaydes House, the University of Hull's Maritime History Institute, where the suit articles are stored, abruptly closed and remained so for eight months up to the completion of the thesis. Therefore no professional images of the suits have been presented, only those taken for the observational checklists, together with the schematic drawings (see Figure 34 and Figure 39).

Document data collection

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* for years 1950 to 1979, were consulted to gather data of how many ships were distant-water fishing.²¹³ This was to determine the total amount of men who were fishing from Hull and to cross-reference with other figures available. The information is difficult to obtain as numbers usually account for all fishermen (trawlermen included) in the UK, or when related to a single port consider all employed in the fishing industry and not solely the fishermen.²¹⁴ The information sourced, provides an indication to how many men were potentially involved in wearing the shore suit.

An interviewee has kept 50 settling sheets spanning a period of 16 years, from 1964 to 1980 (see Appendix B). The settling sheet provides information on position on the trawler, days at sea per trip, the basic wage and at what rate, poundage and at what rate, as well as any monies owed (ships stores, bond, telegrams sent or advance payment). The settling sheets have been used to obtain

²¹³ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951-1955); Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956 - 1980).

²¹⁴ From 1951 to 1955 Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*; From 1956 to 1980 Ministry of Agriculture, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*.

data on annual trips, pay by comparison to other unskilled casual labourers, besides analysing the price of a suit in relation to pay.

Hull district telephone directories were sourced to ascertain the trade of drapers, outfitters and tailors within Hull, to establish their scope in the city and any changes to the profession.²¹⁵ The three types of retail have been considered due to the overlap in the goods that were sold, including suits. The directories from 1948 to 1979-81 have been consulted, including 1990 to provide an overview. The local daily paper to Hull and East Yorkshire the *Hull Daily Mail*, was reviewed for articles on trawling prompted by the interviews and information on the decline of the industry.

The Royal Museums Greenwich, which incorporates the National Maritime Museum has an extensive online archive.²¹⁶ When the search for 'uniforms' is entered almost 8,000 articles are available including, 'regulation dress, ratings' clothing, ceremonial wear and accessories.'²¹⁷ From this collection 1,000 items were observed with dates ranging from 1865 to 1975, to ascertain if any form of uniform, whether regulated or not influenced the trawlermen's dress sense.

Where possible other made-to-measure and off-the-peg suits will be used to further contextualise types of menswear worn within the specific timeframe (see 5.1 for definitions of tailoring terms). Marks & Spencer's sold separates for men prior to introducing ready-to-wear suits in 1972, the collections can be perceived as indicative of what was available for working-class men at the time.²¹⁸ The Marks & Spencer's archives, Leeds (M&S archives), hold suits and store images of their menswear departments to use for analysis.

The Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester, has an expansive online archive. When searching using the term 'menswear suit' 763 men's suits were available, consisting of bespoke, made-to-measure, multiple tailor mass produced, designer, and competition pieces; the number was further reduced to 90 by adding a date range '1940-1977'.²¹⁹ The timescale was extended to before and

²¹⁵ Telephone Directory Hull District, (Hull: Hull Printers Limited, 1947-1951); Telephone Directory Hull Area, (Hull: Hull Printers Limited, 1952-1953); Telephone Directory Hull Area with Business and Professional Section, (Hull: Hull Printers Limited, 1954-1968); Hull Area Telephone Directory, (Hull: Hull Printers Limited, 1969-1979).

²¹⁶ Royal Museums Greenwich, *Collections*, 2018. Available online: <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html#!cbrowse> [Accessed 18-12-2018].

²¹⁷ Royal Museums Greenwich, *Collections - uniforms*, 2018. Available online: <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html#!csearch;collectionReference=subject-90245;authority=subject-90245> [Accessed 18-12-2018].

²¹⁸ Marks & Spencer, 2017 M&S Company Archive, Leeds.

²¹⁹ Manchester Art Gallery, *Collections*, 2018. Available online: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/?collections-search=menswear+suit> [Accessed 17-12-2018].

after the original dates that the shore suit was worn to consider any potential influencing factors in suiting. The term 'lounge suit' narrowed the search further, with 50 suits or jackets offering descriptive data. Some of the garments were donated with photographs and explanations of when the suit was worn providing provenance, alongside the name of the tailor, multiple tailors and small to medium sized tailoring companies.

The specific trade titles available for purchase when the suits were made were *Menswear*, *Outfitter*, *Style for Men* and *Tailor & Cutter*. It is known from an interviewee that at least one tailors in Hull subscribed to *Outfitter*,²²⁰ unfortunately no copies have been sourced, however, *Tailor & Cutter* has been retrieved. Referring to *Tailor & Cutter*, the journal existed from 1866 until 1972, was a weekly publication until it became monthly in 1970.²²¹ Access to copies from 1945, 1964 to 1971 were available and reviewed (excluding 1968), with the magazine consisting of industry updates, trend predictions in terms of cut, colour, fabric, technical cutting and making information (for both male and female tailoring) and business to business (B2B) adverts. Content analysis for links with the shore suit, Hull tailors, the made-to-measure trade as well as any other matters of interest were reviewed.

Some of the suits on show are particularly outlandish and push the boundaries of design and technology in menswear (see Figure 12 and Figure 13), it is difficult to gauge whether such products entered the market and become popular without sales figures. Warren and Karner express the notion that media and marketing strategies project cultural ideals for the consumer to 'aspire' to, which may not represent the actuality.²²²

²²⁰ P. Day, *Informal discussion* 29-10-2018; Magforum, *Men's Magazines: Lads' mags I*, 2018. Available online: <http://www.magforum.com/mens.htm> [Accessed 17-12-2018].

²²¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tailoring Reading List*, 2016. Available online: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/reading-list-tailoring/> [Accessed 17-11-2018].

²²² C. C. B. Warren & T. X. Karner, *Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews, and Analysis* (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 2005), 160.

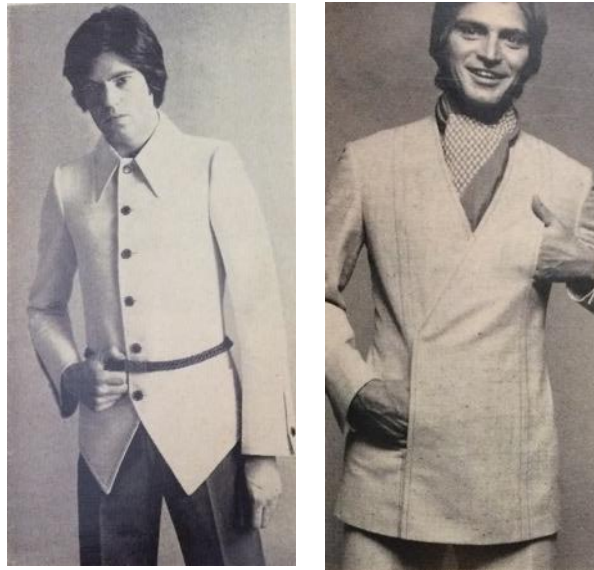


Figure 12 An outlandish belted high necked jacket with pointed fronts.

Source: Tailor & Cutter, 'Pale colours for men', In *Tailor & Cutter*. 21 February 1967, 205.

Figure 13 Collarless non-buttoned fastening double-breasted jacket.

Source: Tailor & Cutter, 'What Others Are Doing', In *Tailor & Cutter*. 26 June 1970, 616.

Within the M&S archives, one of the garments still had the original paper tags explaining sizing, which suggests the suit has not been worn, it could be leftover stock or a style that did not sell well; without context it is difficult to ascertain the suits popularity. In a similar way to the extravagant suits in *Tailor & Cutter* (see Figure 12 and Figure 13), some of the examples donated to the Gallery of Costume archives were created for competitions within the trade, whether these types of suits ever transferred from the catwalk to mainstream menswear is contested.²²³ As with the data from the trade journals, knowing what was worn as everyday suits can be challenging to gauge, without additional information it is problematic to classify or know how a suit was worn. It is imperative to look at various sources, to enable a reduction in these anomalies of what was actual and what was idealised versions of menswear. Personal photographs provided by the interviewees, have offered provenance to the images, including the event, the person(s) in the photo, why it was taken and details of the clothing. The images portray a combination of time at sea and in port.

Popular culture has been suggested as an influence on the trawlermen's dress, particularly the American cowboy, whether fictional or real.²²⁴ Researching films, novels and country music stars has been a pathway to establish any links, obtaining guidance from the interviewees as to what they were reading, watching and listening. McNeill and Chapman discuss the relevance of the social and

²²³ Manchester Art Gallery, *Collections: dinner suit*, 2018. Available online: <http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/search/collection/?id=2010.137> [Accessed 17-12-2018].

²²⁴ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

cultural values held within novels, which can offer details of 'past cultural practices.'²²⁵ The book titles and authors suggested by the trawlermen have been read to obtain any evidence of the dress occurring in either text or illustrative form. In addition to the novels, films have been sourced for visual analysis, the films are not expected to present any other content to the research. Taylor questions whether films including photography can 'exaggerate, mock, deceive or manipulate and can they ever reflect the 'truth'?'²²⁶ It is accepted that the dress may not be accurate to what was worn in the periods the films depict as none were produced in real time. The remit for the film may not have required representation of the 'truth' but, an exaggerated form to present an atmosphere of excitement; the reality of a film or book within popular culture is sales, the requirement of business. In this instance it is purely the descriptor of dress that is of concern, in relation to the trawlermen and their truth than that of period accuracy. Country music has been suggested as another influencing factor,²²⁷ the interviewees have directed which stars to research. Those named have been sourced through an image locator via a search engine, with approximately 400 images for each artist being viewed, to ascertain any visual links with the dress of the trawlermen.

Oral history data collection

Oral history interviews as a technique gained momentum in the twentieth century for capturing information in relation to marginalised societies, along with minority languages, dialects, accents and working patterns.²²⁸ As Taylor expresses:

The essence of oral history is that it can catch hold of people's memories through their own voices, a quality that is especially relevant for those marginalised by or excluded from 'big' history.²²⁹

The value is in the 'hidden' history that is not in the official documentations and although it does not replace it, it adds another vernacular and perspective to what is already available. It represents a personal experience that cannot be translated as collective memory but that of an individual's own experience. Caunce describes this as, '[...] an essential part of understanding our total history, not a

²²⁵ McNeill & Chapman, *Research methods*, 153.

²²⁶ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 150.

²²⁷ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

²²⁸ The Oral History Society, *History of Oral History*, 2016. Available online: <http://www.ohs.org.uk/about/history-of-oral-history/> [Accessed 15-05-2017]; A. Thomson, 'Oral History and Community History in Britain: Personal and Critical Reflections on Twenty-Five years of Continuity and Change', *Oral History*, 36, 1 (2008), 95-104.

²²⁹ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 242.

nostalgic fringe'.²³⁰ Using both a micro and macro approach enables a greater convergence of knowledge, which supports the concept of 'total' history.

In acknowledgement to Gill, his work has presented aspects of the distant-water trawlermen's lifestyles that has not featured in any great depth in the academic literature.²³¹ Limited documentation is available about the trawlermen's shore suit and its connection to their lifestyle and occupation, thus by recording new data it offers, as Abrams states, 'not just *what* is said, but also *how* it is said, *why* is said and *what* it means.'²³² Oral history is subjective and open to interpretation, firstly, from the interviewee who presents a version of the past that is both factual and descriptive alongside their opinion of that memory within a current context. Secondly, the interviewer will develop their own interpretation of the factual and descriptive information given and reflect and evaluate the information within their preconceived current perspective.²³³

Social and cultural perspectives evolve through a life time, which can impact on how information is presented and interpreted by participants of oral history, and is a unique aspect to this method. This is discussed by Kirby who suggests that with time a person through life experiences is prone to change their value of past events, which can change every time it is discussed.²³⁴ As Abrams states:

The oral history sources then is multi-vocal, it contains many voices and more than one point of view. It begins with the orality of the narrator, and that is always our central focus, but it goes through several transformations before it becomes public.²³⁵

A face-to-face interview can provide historical information from a particular period in time,²³⁶ whilst methods of gathering, '...factual information relating to groups of people' when '[...] dealing with specific issues',²³⁷ highlights the relevance of using this method, and offers versatility through the various forms of questioning that can be applied.²³⁸ Qualitative interviews through semi-structured questions were chosen to enable a richer source of information, via additional questioning that this

²³⁰ S. Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian* (London: Longman, 1994), 2-3.

²³¹ Gill, *Hessle Road; Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

²³² L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 1.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

²³⁴ K. R. Kirby, 'Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History', *The Oral History Review*, 35, 1 (2008), 22-38.

²³⁵ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 25.

²³⁶ Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

²³⁸ B. Martin & B. Hanington, *Universal Methods of Design* (Beverly: Rockport Publishers, 2012).

method affords.²³⁹ A less structured approach facilitates participant expansion to diversify, as well as the interviewer being able to ask follow-up questions.²⁴⁰ This has the potential to introduce interesting and relevant outcomes unlike a closed survey or structured interview, which is rigid and does not allow for elaboration.²⁴¹ Semi-structured interviews offer:

[...] an 'interview guide' that outlines the main topics the research would like to cover, is flexible regarding the phrasing of questions and the order in which they are asked, which allows the participant to lead the interaction in unanticipated directions.²⁴²

The digression from the questions could have relevance, to cut the interviewee short or look uninterested in what they are saying may inhibit the interview process. A point that Abrams broaches is the uniqueness of the collaboration within oral history whereby new historical sources are being created by the interviewee and the interviewer.²⁴³ Frisch defines this as a *shared authority*,²⁴⁴ which has been taken further by the interviewees evaluating the writing for both accuracy and, more importantly it represents a version of their reality. This intersubjectivity becomes a part of the discourse between the interviewee and the interviewer, how they interact (both physically and orally) will influence the outcome of the interview; the research is not a static process and is dependent on the relationship between the two to elicit the desired information and how that is reflected upon.²⁴⁵ The research needed to capture the lived reality for the men interviewed and through this shared ownership enables them to be, 'shapers and interpreters of their own experience.'²⁴⁶

A set of questions was constructed as a starting point to obtain the required information, with historical visual documents if available and appropriate used as supporting evidence and stimuli. The criteria for participating in the research was that the interviewees: wore the dress; their family members did; they supported the creation of the dress; or, they witnessed the dress. The relevance to the subject being investigated and their experiences of this lifestyle can, in some respects only be

²³⁹ Kvale & Brinkmann, *Interviews.*, 82.

²⁴⁰ Kawamura, *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress*.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 35.

²⁴³ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 24.

²⁴⁴ M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990).

²⁴⁵ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 54.

²⁴⁶ Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 160.

evidenced by those who had first-hand knowledge of this way of life.²⁴⁷ The researcher used personal connections from Hull to establish contacts with those that fitted the criteria. The author attended events organised by the *Hull Bullnose Heritage Group*, an active group run by trawlermen and their families whose aim is to prevent their heritage being forgotten. This enabled the researcher to interact with the trawlermen and their families to meet suitable participants for the research. Through the group, contact was made with an Iclander who had visited Hull the previous year as part of a delegation to Hull, *City of Culture 2017*. Via email conversations I explained my research topic and links to the Icelandic fashion industry from the 1960s was established in preparation for my trip. When conducting qualitative interviews, Kvale and Brinkman, recommend that 10 interviews are sufficient and does not need to exceed 15 for this type of research.²⁴⁸ All interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder.

Transcribing the text in part or in full needs to occur to support the recorded document, with data indicating which section of a transcript it refers to.²⁴⁹ Bryson and McConville comment that the text of an interview is a translation that can lose meaning when transcribed, due to who translates the recording, the punctuation used and the loss of non-verbal interaction.²⁵⁰ This is reinforced by Brinkmann and Kvale, who discuss the continued removal of non-verbal communication, which alters the context from the live interview through a recording to the eventual transcription.²⁵¹ Recording orally and visually enables greater validity and transparency to the method.²⁵² Overall, the interviews given by the tailors and sales teams have been transcribed in full as the information is a key focus of the research (see Appendix C). All other interviews have been transcribed in a summarised version, described by Thompson as a condensed transcript with all the details required with quotations, which are likely to be used in the main body of work (see Appendix D).²⁵³ The strategy of not transcribing all of the interviews in full is the fact that the text cannot completely represent the interview, nuances that are evident in the recordings can be lost when transcribed. Tone of voice, stresses, intonation and accent are absent from the transcript, whilst punctuation within the text can alter the content; to truly appreciate the essence of an interview the recorded

²⁴⁷ Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*; Martin & Hanington, *Universal Methods of Design*.

²⁴⁸ Kvale & Brinkmann, *Interviews*, 113.

²⁴⁹ Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian*, 173.

²⁵⁰ A. Bryson & S. McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing: Oral History, Social Enquiry and Investigation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 37.

²⁵¹ S. Brinkmann & S. Kvale, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 207.

²⁵² Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian*, 17.

²⁵³ P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 258-259.

version is appropriate to hear.²⁵⁴ Where quotations have been used, the natural rhythms of speech have been retained with limited editing to support flow of the discussion and comprehension. As White *et al.*, argue, by presenting an almost word for word account with some editing provides clarity to the quotations.²⁵⁵ Ellipses have been used to convey the removal of text and square brackets are used when text is added or to denote stresses in the interview such as laughter. The master copies are available in full for all interviews in MP4 format, apart from the participants that requested to remain anonymous.

Interview 1

The questions were adapted to be specific to the criteria and described as: trawlermen, tailor or other, and were devised to obtain factual, opinions/beliefs and behaviour.²⁵⁶ The initial questions were thematised to relate to the trawlermen's time at sea including their first trip, this was to relax the interviewee and to procure the relevant data. The second section focused on the description of the shore suit and potential influencers. Section three asked general lifestyle questions to ascertain who or what was the driving force behind the suits, with attention to popular culture to add gravitas to Gill's theory of the suits being related to the cowboy (see Appendix E).

In conjunction with using appropriate questions, building a rapport is one of the key factors in obtaining useable data. I can speak freely and knowledgeably regarding the distant-water fisheries, as I am a part of the Hessle Road fishing community; I become accepted by the individuals being interviewed, which situates me as an insider. Furthermore my occupation is in the field of fashion and textiles, thus represents another form of connection with the participants, particularly from the tailoring trade. Bryson and McConville state that:

If you share a similar background with your interviewees (social, political or educational) you may have a ready 'in'. An outsider cannot hope to compete with a ready-made shared cache of local knowledge, connections, trust and understanding.²⁵⁷

During the interview process when requesting specific information, it became apparent from a look or gesture, the participants were surprised that I did not know the answer, particularly in relation to the fishing industry. At the beginning of the interviews I usually explained that I was from the Hessle

²⁵⁴ Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 37; Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*, 276-277.

²⁵⁵ C. White et al. (eds.), *Reporting and Representing Qualitative Data* Qualitative Research Practice (London: Sage, 2003), 313.

²⁵⁶ B. Gillham, *Developing a Questionnaire* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011 [2000]), 26.

²⁵⁷ Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 138-139.

Road fishing community, therefore it was assumed that I should know certain answers. In reality, I did, however, this has been passed on by word-of-mouth throughout my life, with little to no recollection remaining of how I know the information; by participants repeating similar context offered validity to my existing knowledge.

Prior to conducting the interviews, I enrolled on two, one-day workshops on how to interview for oral history narration. I produced an initial pilot interview, and what is evident is my enthusiasm, almost wanting to co-own what is being narrated to me. The two courses enabled time to reflect on my own performance and curb my eagerness, enabling the participant to have a voice to be heard and listened to. As Bryson and McConville establish it is appropriate to gain a voice in the interviews and be a part of the discussion, whether this be in agreement with the interviewee or not, as long as the interviewer does not take ownership or assess the comments of those participating.²⁵⁸ In total 19 participants were interviewed, cessation occurred due to saturation with no new data coming to the fore, although there were still willing participants. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours depending on the amount of detail and expansion offered.

It is evident that my ability to conduct interviews with time has improved, a particular area of concern when listening to the earlier interviews, was my use of leading questions in relation to Gill's theory and the connection between the dress of the American cowboy and the shore suit. A rationale for this, is that initially I accepted Gill's concept to be true and did not dispute it, however, with wider critical reading other alternatives may be possible. Instead of dismissing the leading questions they have become a part of the findings, to demonstrate reliability between when participants are influenced or not, and how this changes answers. It is evident that the existing discourse regarding Gill's theory can influence the interviewees as it becomes, 'what everyone knows' through collective knowledge.²⁵⁹ In addition, it opens up questions in relation to transparency of previous research and how the participants in that research came to their conclusions, as the methods and sources are not necessarily presented. No knowledge of the direction of the questions are available to ascertain whether neutrality was observed, or whether the participants were led into agreeing with the interviewer's point of view:

The decisive issue is not whether to lead or not to lead but where the interview questions lead and whether they lead to new, trustworthy, and worthwhile

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁵⁹ Holstein & Gubrium, 'Animating Interview Narratives', 156.

knowledge.²⁶⁰

A recurring event in all the interviews with the trawlermen was the sharing of an horrific event that they had witnessed during their time at sea. Some of this was captured on the recordings, otherwise it was discussed off-record. None of the questions were related to recounting such incidents, the act of recollecting obviously brought this to the forefront of their thoughts, due to the intersubjective nature of the shared cultural meaning. As I am new to oral history interviewing, I was not anticipating the sharing of this knowledge and I need to be aware of my role when engaging with participant in what appears to be harmless questions, but due to the topic will bring to light both positive and negative experiences. As a consequence, when I re-interviewed some of the participants (Interview 3), I asked about memorable experiences when trawling that were positive as a counterpoint to what had already been shared.

After the interviews had been analysed, it was decided that a second set of questions needed to be conducted. The initial interviews mainly focused on the suits, presenting a thorough descriptor of the style and changes over time. The additional questions asked about the broader context of the suits in relation to the men's lifestyle at sea and the various locations when landing, including Hull.

Interview 2

This set of interviews gathered information on one of the core countries the men visited when landing abroad. When in Iceland I met a fashion industry contact alongside a tailor who had worked for the fashion business Karnabær. During the initial meeting between the three of us, it became apparent that the pair had not seen each other for a while, thus the interview became disjointed between discussing my research and other matters. This continued with the information altering between decades depending what visual prompt was used and discussed. I gave long-winded explanations of the trawlermen's clothing alongside aspects of Hull's fishing industry, this was the first meeting and I was unsure of what they knew; therefore, I took the decision to allow the interview to be unstructured. The tailor was an octogenarian and struggling with the noise levels at the café where we met, this contributed to the fragmented nature of the interview. After 30 minutes, it was decided that it was too difficult to continue, concluding that the interview needed to be conducted elsewhere, therefore it resumed at the tailor's home a few streets away. This was productive, the tailor had created his own personal archive, which he was willing to share. This gave an extremely informative account of his experience of working in Iceland, as a tailor and what Karnabær was designing and selling in terms of made-to-measure suits, and the development of the Icelandic fashion industry. After this initial meeting I had some time to analyse my thoughts,

²⁶⁰ Kvale & Brinkmann, *Interviews*, 201.

although no time to listen to the recordings, in preparation for re-interviewing the tailor, semi-structured questions were formulated to add clarification to the previous questions and any follow up questions thought appropriate, prior to the end of the research trip (see Appendix F).

As Gillham rightly states, '[...] the element of professional impersonality [...] seems to facilitate rather than inhibit disclosure.'²⁶¹ The research in Iceland certainly became the case in a similar way to what had been communicated by the trawlermen. None of my questions were related to traumatic events, they were purely data gathering on the subject of dress, lifestyle and commercial activities. However, similar to the trawlermen, horrific stories were presented, which made me continue to question my role as an oral history researcher and how I need to be better prepared when these events occur. I interviewed a nonagenarian, in relation to non-commercial trading activities between the Icelanders and the British trawlermen, which included the trading of textiles for fish. In the process of the discussion the interviewee backtracked to the first time he encountered the British. It was during the Second World War when a group of young British soldiers were trying to cross Hrútafjörður in the north-western region of the country. Instead of walking around the fjord, a short cut was taken by climbing down onto the rocks. Unfortunately, this turned into a tragedy as the sea came in and the men drowned or were crushed against the rocks. Nothing could be done by the witnesses as the tragedy unfolded. The interviewee explained that he could still hear clearly the men screaming, if both parties could have communicated more effectively and there had not been a language barrier, the accident might have been prevented.

I had unintentionally instigated a tragic memory to the forefront of the participant's thoughts, due to my nationality and desire to record the past, which was upsetting for me as this was not my objective. As I was interviewing elderly participants I did not want to arrive in Iceland and then leave, I felt I had a responsibility to those supporting my research especially when needing to account such stories, therefore I decided to meet each interviewee twice. By seeing him more than once I triggered the memory again, which I had used as a method to subjugate the experience; I had not mentioned the past, I purely wanted to thank him and say goodbye. When I returned to see this participant, he explained to me that although this event happened more than 70 years ago this was the first time he had spoken about it, after the event none of the witnesses broached the incident again. The intersubjective relationship between us, activated the recall and was specific to me, Abrams states that, '[...] what we as researchers hear are narrative constructions of memories of experiences actively created for an audience.'²⁶² As King and Horrocks stipulate, 'as an interviewer

²⁶¹ Gillham, *Developing a Questionnaire*, 10.

²⁶² Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 59.

you should acknowledge and if necessary try to verbalise the emotions you observe',²⁶³ which I did through the translator. I was reassured that the interviewee was not upset, I explained that I felt extremely honoured that he shared this experience with me. Although I've experienced guilt from bringing such a poignant emotional experience to the forefront of his thoughts, I have tried to consider it from another perspective, I became an enabler for the participant to share his experience, which he obviously felt was an appropriate time. It becomes the opposite of what Gillham describes as 'cultural backgrounds can present hidden barriers to communication [...]', in this instance it became an opening of barriers.²⁶⁴

On reflection, I need to put more consideration into how I manage this during interviews, I have put in place strategies to retain contact with the participants; firstly to continue to keep an open dialogue for further research and secondly so that it does not appear to be a 'grab and run' scenario from myself as the researcher. Thank you and seasonal cards are sent, that are designed by myself in relation to the research topic, inside, up-to-date information referring to the research is disseminated. Follow up conversations, either face-to-face or by telephone have occurred on a formal and informal basis, but for future research, more needs to be done when the interviews take place.

Interview 3

Following the first round of interviews with the Hull participants, a second round of interviews were conducted, due in part to more information coming through in the original interviews, not initially perceived as relevant but as the research advanced gave grounds for further investigation. The questions were in relation to obtaining clarity on previously asked questions, filling gaps in the research or new topics not considered in the initial interviews, as un-envisioned information can alter the focus and direction of the research.²⁶⁵ Areas of interest included the geographical movement of the suits and the lifestyle of the men when ashore. Five trawlermen and two men from the tailoring trade were re-interviewed using semi-structured questions with photos and suits as supporting prompts (see Appendix G).

When listening to the interviews similar patterns of information became evident, to organise and structure the data, with the other primary sources, headers based on the objectives were used to categorise the findings (see Figure 14). Any other information that comes to light that is deemed of interest will be included. Choices will need to be made with regards to what is and is not included,

²⁶³ King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 115.

²⁶⁴ Gillham, *Developing a Questionnaire*, 15.

²⁶⁵ Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 75.

care needs to be taken not to simply source information that supports the researcher's argument.²⁶⁶ As does the fact that some patterns may only occur once by comparison to others and this does not necessarily mean they should not be included.²⁶⁷ An approach of continually reviewing and referring to the data will support obtaining appropriate information to discuss and interpret.²⁶⁸ At this stage the patterns are solely to organise the data, no interpretation should occur.²⁶⁹



Figure 14 Headers to organise the data.

2.2 Validation of sources

The methods and data collection choices have highlighted that the research encompasses a multi-disciplinary approach, through a mixture of qualitative research methods that have been used to inform the findings. As Rose stipulates by using a broad range of sources, a multi-dimensional perspective is captured, which enables validity to be assessed between the variants.²⁷⁰ Taylor exemplifies that:

[...] the need for historians looking at dress [need] to read across a whole range of books and specialist journals, which deal with aspects of dress, material culture, oral history, ethnography, feminist and social history and so on.²⁷¹

The validation of the objects used for analysis will be from prior knowledge of the suits, images of the suits obtained from the interviews, maker-labels as guides and cross-referencing with the data obtained in the interviews. The recording of the interviews offers insight into the interaction of a two way-process, often missed in historical documents, and presents the data as live, a 'here and

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 139

²⁶⁷ King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 149.

²⁶⁸ Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 139; King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 152; Warren & Karner, *Discovering Qualitative Methods*, 191.

²⁶⁹ King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 153.

²⁷⁰ C. Rose, *Making, Selling and Wearing Boys' Clothes in Late-Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010), 226.

²⁷¹ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 272.

now' question and answer session, which could never be repeated and offers a truth at that moment. As Thompson states, 'it brings it much closer to the human condition.'²⁷²

For the interviews (interview 1 and 3) the same type of semi-structured interviews and questions were used and slightly adapted for the three types of participants (see Appendix E and Appendix G). Using this technique commonalities can be evidenced (the collective or macro memory), alongside the more personal attributes (the individual or micro memory) with saturation being achieved. It is not the truth that is being sourced but a version of the reality for those experiencing the lifestyle and the suits. Memory, visual and material culture become integral to how the past is recalled.

Horn discusses his ethnographic approach and explains that relying on memories of events 50 years earlier, 'cannot be taken as a definitive record'.²⁷³ Likewise, Bryson argues that life experiences since the memory formation, influence and adjust that memory, concluding that it needs to be an accepted part of the process of historical oral data collecting.²⁷⁴ Abrams approach is that this is what oral history depicts and what makes it an interesting method to use, the memory is what influences the social and cultural context; enabling an understanding of the past to be presented rather than a factual representation.²⁷⁵ Thompson states that there is no evidence to suggest that distance between age and the memory being remembered has an impact on the reliability. Even advocating that it has the potential to become more reliable as an aged person reflects more due to changes of circumstances in their life.²⁷⁶ Abrams stipulates that this adds interest to the method and should not be regarded as a negative, but the shift in memory is appreciated and recognised as a part of the process in relation to social and cultural influences.²⁷⁷ It is not always about gaining truth and factual accounts but recognising how the interviewee themselves recount the past and what contemporary currency it represents to them. Frisch rightly states, 'it force[s] us to look at what the interviews actually represent, rather than at what they can not claim to be.'²⁷⁸

It can be perceived that the interviewers approach is neutral, Holstein and Gubrium, state *all* participants in the process are active and can influence the interaction.²⁷⁹ It has to be recognised

²⁷² Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 126.

²⁷³ Horn, *Juke box Britain*, 7.

²⁷⁴ Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 137.

²⁷⁵ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 23.

²⁷⁶ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 137.

²⁷⁷ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*, 23.

²⁷⁸ Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 9.

²⁷⁹ Holstein & Gubrium, 'Animating Interview Narratives', 150.

that my role as the researcher is to elucidate specific data from the participants, thus implicating me from holding a neutral position. From the first interaction, which is typically a telephone conversation explaining who I am, the intention of the research, and if they would like to be involved, I have already made potential participants formulate their thoughts to create specific meaning to their memories. The use of semi-structured interview questions and imagery to support recollection heightens my activity within the interviews. Furthermore, the relationship between all the participants triggers how the past is presented and informs the direction of the discourse.²⁸⁰ Thus, the interpretive practice has already begun prior to collating and analysing the primary research.²⁸¹ The act of the interview as a two-way process implies that:

Meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning nor simply transported through respondent replies; it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter. Respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge – treasuries of information awaiting evacuation – as they are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers.²⁸²

The awareness of any undue influence on my part as the researcher will be acknowledged and its impact on the research will be presented. The three findings chapters (see 00 and Chapter 5) have been reviewed by three trawlermen and two interviewees from the tailoring trade to establish accuracy and validity to the writing. The rationale to extend beyond a singular reviewer is to prevent bias.

2.3 Ethical procedure

Ethics in qualitative interviewing, as King and Horrocks proclaim go beyond methods, consent and confidentiality, a more complete approach to the research is required to include morality, choice and accountability, particularly in relation to the researcher, the researched and how the information will be used.²⁸³ Bell discusses the ethics of participatory research and ‘that participants are fully aware of the purpose of the research and that they understand their rights’.²⁸⁴ A list is presented by Denscombe, which stipulates that the interests of all the participants are protected, it

²⁸⁰ Abrams, *Abrams, Oral History Theory*.

²⁸¹ Holstein & Gubrium, 'Animating Interview Narratives', 151.

²⁸² J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium, *The Active Interview* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011 [1995]), 4.

²⁸³ King & Horrocks, *Interviews in qualitative research*, 104.

²⁸⁴ Bell, *Doing your research project*, 165.

is voluntary, no deception has occurred, it complies with the laws of the country where the interviews are taking place, and, that consent has been given.²⁸⁵

The research has been conducted at several stages, the initial interviews (the majority of Interview 1) were external to this thesis, appropriate ethical clearance and additional approval to enable the material to be used for future research was obtained (Appendix H and Appendix I). The other interviews have been conducted and approved by the University of Hull's ethics committee.²⁸⁶ Ethical clearance was obtained from each participant, initially during the first contact, either via email, a telephone conversation or face-to-face, to ascertain if the individual would like to participate in the research. If agreed, an information sheet was presented to the interviewees, explaining the research and how their historical information would be applied, including storage of the interviews and potential future use of the data (see Appendix H). If approval was agreed a consent form was signed with options to remain anonymous, or to opt out of the research (see Appendix I). Where anonymity has been requested the participants details will be omitted from any forward-facing documentation. The original master copies have information of participants, and will not be disclosed unless otherwise agreed, and will be held securely on a password protected computer and encrypted drive. It is envisaged that any published work either written or visual will be made known to the participants.

As some of the interviews were conducted in participants' homes in the UK and aboard, the safety of the interviewer was taken into consideration. Names, contact details, time and place were made available to an external contact with instructions that if the interviewer had not established contact after the interview, specific safety measures were to be instigated. Furthermore, when abroad the researcher had contact every other day with an allotted member of staff from the University of Hull as standard protocol.

2.4 Reflection

This chapter has described in depth the sources and methods used to establish procedures in which to evidence what can be known about the shore suit, through documentary sources, descriptive analysis and oral history interviews. The research uses a novel and detailed approach to gain insight into an integral part of the trawlermen's existence, to date, no other research has deployed such a range of methods to capture the importance of this understudied part of their lives.

²⁸⁵ Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*, 331.

²⁸⁶ The initial interviews were part of a previous project *Trawlermen: Suited and Booted*, which had several outcomes including an education pack, documentary film and an exhibition.

The primary research will be evaluated to formulate information on how the suits were produced, the influencing factors and their interaction within their various environments. As Harvey stipulates:

Through their very materiality – their shape, function, decoration, and so on – they have a role to play in creating and shaping experiences, identities and relationships.²⁸⁷

Explanations of how the information has been collected is presented, including reflections on the process by the interviewer and the role that they play in this two-way exchange of information. In particular, by conducting interviews, it provides a voice to the wearers of the shore suit, enabling the trawlermen to shape their own past. Furthermore it adds a total history, as the research presents neglected aspects of their lifestyle that visually represented their identity. Validity of sources has been maintained throughout, alongside documenting the ethical procedures that have been conducted.

The following chapter, informed by the interviews and prior research presents the findings of the trawlermen's occupational lifestyle. The research studies their environment when at sea and their relationship with seamanship before the official working age of 15. It further explains how their livelihoods were dictated by the constraints of the ship and the crew members. Throughout, the two forms of dress are contextualised, the work and leisure wear, which has not been previously documented.

²⁸⁷ Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', 5.

Section B: The Trawlerman's Regime

Chapters three and four focus on the men's overall lifestyle during the period of research. Taylor acknowledges that those with an interest in fashion history can inadvertently focus purely on a very narrow aspect of the dress, omitting as example the social and cultural information, the relevance of design within a timeframe and neglecting the detail of the garment and the manufacturing process.²⁸⁸ Within the context of this research all the aforementioned elements are integral to investigating the shore suits, their wearers and the audience within a time and space. The men's reality was defined by two distinct spheres, land and sea, by capturing these two disparate existences it enables a broader understanding of the men, including contextualisation of the dress.

The information has been sourced through the interviews with the trawlermen and others from the Hull fishing community, with further evidence from academic and non-academic documents, including biographies. Throughout the decades several men have written about their experiences at sea as trawlermen, which has given an insight into their lifestyle and the workings of a trawler. The focus remains the sidewinder trawlers with other vessels used for comparative purposes. The freezer factory trawlers offer insights into changes to the fishing industry, as coal-burners, oil-burners, diesel and diesel-electric vessels were operational within the same timeframe. The research does not attempt to give a thorough descriptor of the technique of trawl fishing and the processing of fish but to offer insight into the men's lives and livelihoods from a subjective and humanistic perspective.

²⁸⁸ Taylor, *The Study of Dress*, 2.

Chapter 3 Uniforms at sea

This chapter will consider the trawlermen's time at sea, which includes employment and hierarchy on board a trawler, routine and downtime as the men were still confined to the boundaries of the vessel. Initially the findings will present the background to the fishing industry in Hull before the focus shifts to the men and their employment. Throughout, the clothing, whether workwear or the shore suit will be referenced within their social settings, which has been underrepresented in previous research although an integral part of the men's lives.

Tunstall's research concentrated on the aggression, resentment and conflict between the ranks on the trawler when at sea. The priority of these emotions seemed to focus on those who were perceived to have had an easier role, had paid for their job, or were paid more than they were worth.²⁸⁹ Gill offered little information on the men when at sea as his research primarily focused on the shore side of their existence.²⁹⁰ Whilst Robinson explored the broader situation of trawling from Hull including the post-war economic position of the industry.²⁹¹ Robinson, Piper and Tunstall have provided information on the trawl fishing technique, time aboard and the industry in general, with little to no reflection on the men's clothing in any format.

This chapter substantiates and expands on the previous research, with the addition of new information in relation to the men's dress, with emphasis on their work and leisure wear, routes into the fishing industry and spare time on board the trawler. None of which have been significant factors in any previous research.

3.1 Training for life afloat

The residential area of Hessle Road, Hull is situated extremely close to St Andrew's Dock, which was the main fishing dock of Hull from 1883 until 1975 (see Figure 24).²⁹² In 1956, within a one-mile radius of St Andrew's fish dock, 20 per cent of Hull's population resided in the area, of which 57 per cent were trawlermen, with fishing being the 'largest single industry in the city.'²⁹³ Those living in close proximity to such communities usually moved into employment available locally. Tunstall recognises that for many school leavers in the Hessle Road area the majority of jobs available centred on the fishing industry and its auxiliary companies, with many remaining near to where they

²⁸⁹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 119-134.

²⁹⁰ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

²⁹¹ Robinson, *Trawling*, 186-249.

²⁹² Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 12.

²⁹³ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 344-345.

lived for their employment.²⁹⁴ There was plenty of work available in this part of city, thus individuals were less inclined to leave. Historically, Earle comments that as early as the seventeenth century seafaring by comparison to a shore occupation was a good form of employment from a port city such as Hull, as the economic returns were higher than land jobs.²⁹⁵ Tunstall supports this notion from a twentieth-century perspective.²⁹⁶ In the 1880s apprenticeships were offered to workhouse boys from Leeds and London into the Hull fishing industry.²⁹⁷ Tunstall questions the apprenticeship scheme and whether the young men were actually taught seamanship or whether it was a form of cheap labour to increase profits for the smack owners.²⁹⁸ Further research by Wilcox stipulates that exploitation was evident, but the apprentices attained a level of skill, as it was a necessity within the job role to have technical knowhow to function when at sea.²⁹⁹

The interviewees discuss working on the docks as barrow lads when at school, or as their first employment after leaving, others experienced time at sea, whilst another discusses their education being directed towards seamanship. Walla Longden, originally a deckhand who later in his career became a wireless operator stipulates that at school (The Boulevard, Hull), he had a choice of three topics for the duration of his final year, nautical, clerical or technical. For the nautical topic, subjects such as history, geography and maths were directed towards supporting employment in the maritime industry. A further option was to attend the Nautical College to gain knowledge of seamanship, navigation and nautical astronomy. In addition, Vic Moon, who went to sea at the age of 12 as a stowaway in 1952 and then officially in 1955, recalls learning skills as a form of punishment when aged about 12, he was sent to the *Barge Club* for several months with about nine other children. From 19:00 until 21:00 they learnt skills related to the sea including net mending, with many tasks moving beyond the basics. The interviewee enjoyed his experience, but was unable to remain there after he had done his stint of penance.³⁰⁰

Some families in the area had a tradition of generations of seafarers working in the industry, which is evident in the interviews, ranging from grandfathers, fathers, uncles, cousins and brothers. It is

²⁹⁴ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 108-109.

²⁹⁵ Earle, *Sailors*, 34.

²⁹⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 109.

²⁹⁷ J. Tunstall, *Fish: An antiquated industry* (London: Fabian Society, 1968), 2.

²⁹⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 22.

²⁹⁹ M. Wilcox, *Apprenticed Labour in the English Fishing Industry, 1850-1914*. PhD (University of Hull, September 2005). Available online: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:10511> [Accessed 22-09-2020].

³⁰⁰ V. Moon & R. Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 20-03-2015.

recognised that this was not the case for all families in this close-knit community.³⁰¹ Therefore, many young men had knowledge of the fishing industry before entering the profession. The interviewees who lived close to the fish dock gained a flavour of their future vocation through part-time jobs, work experience, education or 'perceived' punishment. However, it was not compulsory to have any prior understanding of fishing to enter the industry.

Many young boys experienced their first trip to sea before leaving school, either as stowaways or on pleasure trips. The stowaways were boys hiding aboard a ship without the skipper's knowledge or permission, although parents and other crew members may have been aware of their existence. Alf Louth was only 11 when first experiencing distant-water fishing as a stowaway.³⁰² The idea was to keep a low profile aboard until the ship had reached the mouth of the River Humber and the North Sea, as then it was too late to be removed onto another ship and returned to port. Once the stowaway emerged it seems that a 'telling off' occurred, then the boy would be sent to work with the cook's assistant, who was the youngest and most inexperienced position on the trawler.

The pleasure trip is perhaps a slightly ironic term for school boys participating in fishing during their summer holidays in the Arctic, it was a way in which to establish if they would like to go to sea as a career option.³⁰³ Experiencing sea at an early age from the port of Hull was common practice, Starkey presents the writings of William Oliver, a distant-water trawlerman who at the age of 13.5 sailed on a smack in winter 1898; and although not visiting the Arctic it represents the tradition of young boys experiencing life aboard a vessel.³⁰⁴ All the Hull trawlermen interviewed experienced their first trip to sea either as stowaways or during a pleasure trip.

The importance of the fishing industry is integrated into the boys' lives from an early age due to the close proximity of the fish dock and the family, school and disciplinary connections. This was extended further onto the deck of a trawler if the youngsters took the opportunity to experience life afloat. The young boys would have been a part of a fraternity and exposed to a working environment

³⁰¹ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 22-01-2015; R. Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 08-05-2015; Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, iii; Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 349; W. Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 16-03-2015; A. Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 02-02-2015; J. Ottley, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 08-05-2015; D. Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 08-11-2018.

³⁰² Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

³⁰³ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; R. Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 20-03-2015; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

³⁰⁴ Starkey, 'Distant-Water Trawlerman: William Oliver, 1884-1959', 210.

usually preserved for older teenagers, unable to escape for three weeks. Furthermore they would have been expected to act and behave like a member of the crew, adding a level of maturity beyond their years. They would have witnessed the contrast between the tired man in the pounds gutting the fish, covered in detritus and the man in the city, well-groomed and dressed immaculately in the shore suit. The likelihood is that they saw the difference between the man working and the man preparing for his time ashore, the excitement, the pushing and shoving of the men trying to get ready in the limited space available for ablutions, and donning the suit, exhilarated in anticipation of landing. The importance of the shore suit and how the men presented themselves beyond the vessel would have been evident. It represented the collective brotherhood, which they themselves were to join in the near future.

3.2 Lifestyle afloat

The trawlermen of Hull from the 1950s and into the 1970s fished the distant-water grounds off Iceland, Norway, Bear Island, the Barents Sea, Newfoundland and Greenland. They worked in vessels that exceeded 140 feet in length, unlike the near- and middle-water vessels, which were up to 140 feet (see Figure 15).³⁰⁵ Time afloat depended on the type of trawler and weather conditions, including any unscheduled port stops for provisions, injuries or technical problems, and how quickly the trawler was on the fish. Sidewinders averaged 21 days at sea, however, when reviewing settling sheets between 1964 and 1976 the days at sea on the sidewinders vary, the quickest turnaround being 15 days and the longest 25 days.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ Robinson, *Trawling*, 3.

³⁰⁶ Settling sheets courtesy of R. Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 01-05-2019.



Figure 15 Map that illustrates Hull and the various fishing grounds, other UK ports that fished the distant grounds, and, including places that the interviewees landed.

Source: Adapted from G. Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*, (Hull: Hull Museums and Art Galleries, 1976), 18.

It is difficult to ascertain how many men were distant-water fishing from Hull annually due to numbers available often including shore related employment. Figures from 1976 state that approximately 1800 men were employed from Hull.³⁰⁷ A list has been compiled from evidencing the types of trawlers fishing from Hull in the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food's annual *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* from 1950 to 1979 (see Table 1).³⁰⁸ How the trawlers were defined has changed, originally related to engine type and then to length, this extended further to include freezer/factory, diesel/electric and other (see Appendix J). The number of men per ship was calculated as 20 for most types, and 35 men for the freezer/factory, diesel/electric and other. Dependent on the type of trawler, the number of men aboard differs, the sidewinders were stable with between 20 and 21, whilst the freezer ships varied from 24 to 51 men.³⁰⁹ An additional factor is

³⁰⁷ Hull Daily Mail, 'Trawlermen may soon be decasualised', *Hull Daily Mail*. 07 August 1976, 1.

³⁰⁸ From 1951 to 1955 Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*; From 1956 to 1980 Ministry of Agriculture, *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*.

³⁰⁹ Robinson, *Trawling*, 190, 221; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 9; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 124.

that the ships did not always sail with full crew capacity.³¹⁰ In 1969 the freezer trawler numbers are combined and includes Grimsby, Fleetwood and North Shields alongside Hull, therefore, the figures may be high for Hull. Tunstall stipulates that between six to nine percent of trawlermen are out of a ship at any one time whereas Horobin's figures are higher, calculated at 20 to 25 percent.³¹¹ The large numerical differences are caused by the fact the figures are difficult to estimate due to many variables, including the man who does an odd trip per year and would not necessarily be classed as a career trawlerman or those who only fished during good weather in the summer months. A 10 percent contingency has been added to represent the men who worked in the industry, but were unemployed.

Table 1 Total men distant-water fishing from Hull including the unemployed.

Year	Trawlers	Trawlermen (employed)	Trawlermen (employed + 10%)
1951	167	3,340	3,674
1955	147	2,940	3,234
1961	144	2,880	3,168
1971	94	2,255	2,480

Source: Statistical tables of fishing vessels – 1950 to 1979 listed in Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries., *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951 to 1955); Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food., *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956-1980).

As a comparison, Thór calculated the number of men per ship (21) by the number of distant-water trawlers belonging to Hull.³¹² There are limitations to his figures, as there is no contingency for unemployed trawlermen and he has used the average type of ship fishing from Hull when there was others with different crew sizes. Horobin states that in 1955, 2,900 men were required in total to crew the ships available, with an acknowledgement that more men were used, which brought it to 3,564.³¹³ The new figures have been calculated by how many ships were sailing from Hull against the average number of men aboard, this being 20 plus the 10 percent contingency.³¹⁴ A distinct pattern occurs with close similarity in data in the 1950s between all figures (see Table 2).

Table 2 A comparison of figures of total men distant-water fishing from Hull in the 1950s.

³¹⁰ The Othello had space for 51 crew members but is known to have sailed with half that number. Hull Daily Mail, 'Crew safe - Tug reaches blazing trawler', *Hull Daily Mail*. 07 January 1969, 1; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 9.

³¹¹ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 334; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 61.

³¹² J. T. Thór, *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976* (Göteborg: University of Göteborg, 1995), 139-139.

³¹³ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 344.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 344.

Row	Year	Trawlers	Trawlermen (employed)	Trawlermen (employed + 10%)
1	1951	167	3,340	3,674
2	1955	147	2,940	3,234
3	1951	165	3,465	
4	1955	167	2,900	3,564

Source: Row 1 and 2: Statistical tables of fishing vessels – 1950 to 1979 *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*; *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables*; Row 3: Adapted from Thór, *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976*, 237; Row 4: Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 334.

If the shore suit originated with the deckhands, which has been suggested in the interviews, and all trawler types had approximately 10 deckhands, this equates to about half the crew potentially wearing the shore suit. If the figures for 1955 are used as the example, this could be approximately 1,617 men donning the shore suit. With time, as the deckhands moved up the ranks of the trawler and continued to wear the shore suit, they were replaced with new deckhands who took onboard the style, hypothetically this equates to more than half of a trawler's crew wearing the suit when in port. Therefore a substantial amount of men could have been wearing the shore suit at any one time.

Employment

Men started their official trawling profession at the age of 15, as a cook's assistant, colloquially known as a galley boy. The role was to support the cook in preparing the crew meals. An apprenticeship scheme did not exist, so learning on the job through experience aboard the vessel was a precursor to obtaining the various Certificates of Competency to move through the ranks.³¹⁵ Learning on the job from peers appears to be a tried and tested method, which has been documented in seamanship from the eighteenth century.³¹⁶ Once 100 days had been spent at sea and the galley boy was at least 16, two choices were available, either to gain a Cook's Certificate to eventually become a fully-fledged cook, or to become a deckman through the route of a deckie learner.³¹⁷

A deckie learner's role was to support the deckhands and to learn from them how to do their job. When a net was damaged and needed repairing, it was the deckie learner's job to make sure that the needles were constantly threaded; as Longden explains, 'I was there to provide whatever they

³¹⁵ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 202; Starkey, 'Distant-Water Trawlerman: William Oliver, 1884-1959', 213.

³¹⁶ Miller, *Dressed to Kill*, 30.

³¹⁷ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 114-115.

wanted.³¹⁸ When hauling, the deckie learner would work with two deckhands and observe how they operated. Once the deckhands felt that the deckie learner was competent, he would be able to do their role under supervision. When the fish had been caught, a deckie learner would either be in the pounds gutting or most likely in the fish-room preparing the ice for the fish.

A deckie learner needed to have spent 100 days at sea, be 16 years old and to sit an examination to demonstrate his proficiency in seamanship to become a deckhand. The Certificate of Competency, known locally as a 'ticket' was issued by the UK Government,³¹⁹ the trainee would take time off work to study at the Nautical College. Further study was compulsory to continue to move up the ranks of a trawler. The bosun's and mate's tickets necessitated the same conditions, it was possible to be examined at the same time, requirements were four years sea experience and to be 21 years of age.³²⁰ To become bosun eight to ten trips were essential before a trawlerman could become mate.³²¹ Five years sea experience, including one year as mate, alongside completing another ticket of competency was obligatory to become a skipper.³²² Other routes from the deck were to acquire a wireless operator's or an engineer's ticket. The tickets were recognised within the British trawling industry but were not transferable to the Merchant Navy.

Investment in time to study and the confidence to leave one's job, which entailed a loss of earnings, were common. Men would be unemployed for up to six weeks to gain their tickets.³²³ From 1955 the trawler owners decided that men should be encouraged to take their tickets, and were offered their basic wage when studying, this did not include the other financial incentives (share of the catch or liver money).³²⁴ Three points need noting: firstly, one could go to sea in positions earlier than the recommended age;³²⁵ secondly, there were more ticket holders than positions available, especially for those holding their skipper's ticket;³²⁶ thirdly, having a mate's or skipper's ticket did not guarantee employment, as an interview examination by the trawler owner's insurance

³¹⁸ W. Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 02-05-2019.

³¹⁹ The tickets were issued by the *Ministry of Transport* up to 1965, the *Board of Trade*, until it was absorbed into the *Department of Trade and Industry* in 1970, which returned to the Board of Trade in 1975.

³²⁰ Robinson, *Trawling*, 203; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 180.

³²¹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 180.

³²² *Ibid.*, 179.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 185.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

³²⁵ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 13.

³²⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 179.

representatives needed to be passed. This could be suspended or withdrawn if dissatisfied with working practice or used for disciplinary reasons, thus affecting a trawlerman's ability to work.

The interviewees discussed another class of recruit. Dubbed 'Christmas Crackers,' these men were employed during the holiday period, when trawlermen wanted to remain ashore for the festivities and be with their families. The trawler companies struggled to recruit a full crew, and therefore were reliant on a supply of additional labour. The men came from all over the UK, as they had heard trawlermen earned substantial wages. It seems, however, that the physicality of the job had not been explained. Some of the Christmas recruits had never been to sea before, and were not always aware of the physical demands of the job; even miners who were recruited found the physical work demanding and in particular dealing with sleep deprivation. Christmas crackers could be men from the trawling industry that were elevated to higher positions than their ticket or experience.

Dennis Rimmer, whose career spanned 20 years from 1960, recalls an incident with two Christmas Crackers when he worked on the *Brutus* in January 1968, and endured the worst weather he had ever experienced. The conditions in the first two months of that year caused terrible losses of men and trawlers from Grimsby, Iceland, as well as three Hull trawlers lost in the so-called 'Triple Trawler Tragedy'.³²⁷ The Christmas Crackers were enlisted as deckhands, but had never been to sea before. The interviewee was also a deckhand and struggled to get the two recruits to work on deck in the harsh conditions:

We were chopping ice 24 hours to keep the ship afloat. You'd start forehead work your way 'aft and have to go back forehead again by the time you'd got 'aft.

Even the cook and galley boy are out there chopping ice. [...] All hands are out, everybody is out because you've got to keep this ship afloat, because we were icing up that bad, that fast. And the mate said to me, "Where's these two kids?" 'I'll go and get them.' So, I went, so, "We're not going out in this." I said, 'Your life depends on it son.' [...] 'Get your arse on the deck now, the pair of you.' One of them got ready, he wasn't too bad like, he listened but the other kid was such a clever kid, he didn't do it. So he got ready and he went out on deck so I said, 'Come on.' So he went, "No I'm not coming." So I said, 'Come and get your gear on now. You're life depends on it.' And he

³²⁷ Known as the 'Hull Triple Trawler Tragedy', in January and February 1968 the *St Romanus*, *Kingston Peridot* and the *Ross Cleveland* were lost; 58 men perished with one survivor in some of the worst weather conditions experienced, due to heavy seas and black ice forming on the trawlers. L. G. C. Pugh, 'Isafjordur Trawler Disaster: Medical Aspects', *The British Medical Journal*, 1, 5595 (1968), 826-829; S. Russell, *Dark winter: The story of the Hull Triple Trawler Tragedy, 1968* (Hull: Hull Daily Mail, 1997); Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*.

went, “No.” So, I grabbed him by the neck and I dragged him out the mess deck into the alleyway. I said ‘Get your fucking gear on now.’ Anyway, he put his gear on and come out. Christmas Crackers, didn’t have a clue, makes your job a lot harder because you’ve got to look after them, they haven’t got a clue what they are doing so you are watching them all the time.³²⁸

Another interviewee recalls one Christmas Cracker who was not local and was living at the *Mission to Seafarers*,³²⁹ he did consecutive trips over the holiday period. When he returned for his second trip he had not washed his gear, which stank, overwhelming the atmosphere in the tight living quarters. In contrast to the trawlermen, the Christmas Crackers had their work gear, mattress and bedding paid for by the trawler owners, unlike the qualified trawlermen, who paid for their work gear from their earnings, a cost that could be prohibitive if a lot of equipment was required (see 4.2).

On board a trawler

At the top of the hierarchy aboard a trawler was the skipper, whose main role was to make a good catch, and deliver it safely to port in prime condition (see Figure 16 and Appendix K), which required the ship and crew to work effectively. The mate was responsible for the hauling and preserving the catch, by directing the deckhands to process the load appropriately. The bosun was in control of the gutting squad of ten deckhands, and the deckie learner, the two lead deckhands were known as the third- and fourth-hand, who were also able to take a watch. Some of the deckhands would be below deck in the fish-room, stacking the fish on ice to maintain freshness; controlled by the fish-room man chosen from the deckhands by the mate. Some companies took two deckie learners and only nine deckhands, a strategy to reduce costs.

³²⁸ D. Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 03-05-2019, 6, 8.

³²⁹ The Mission is a place for men to go when ashore and needing certain provisions, such as accommodation. See <https://www.missiontoseafarers.org>.

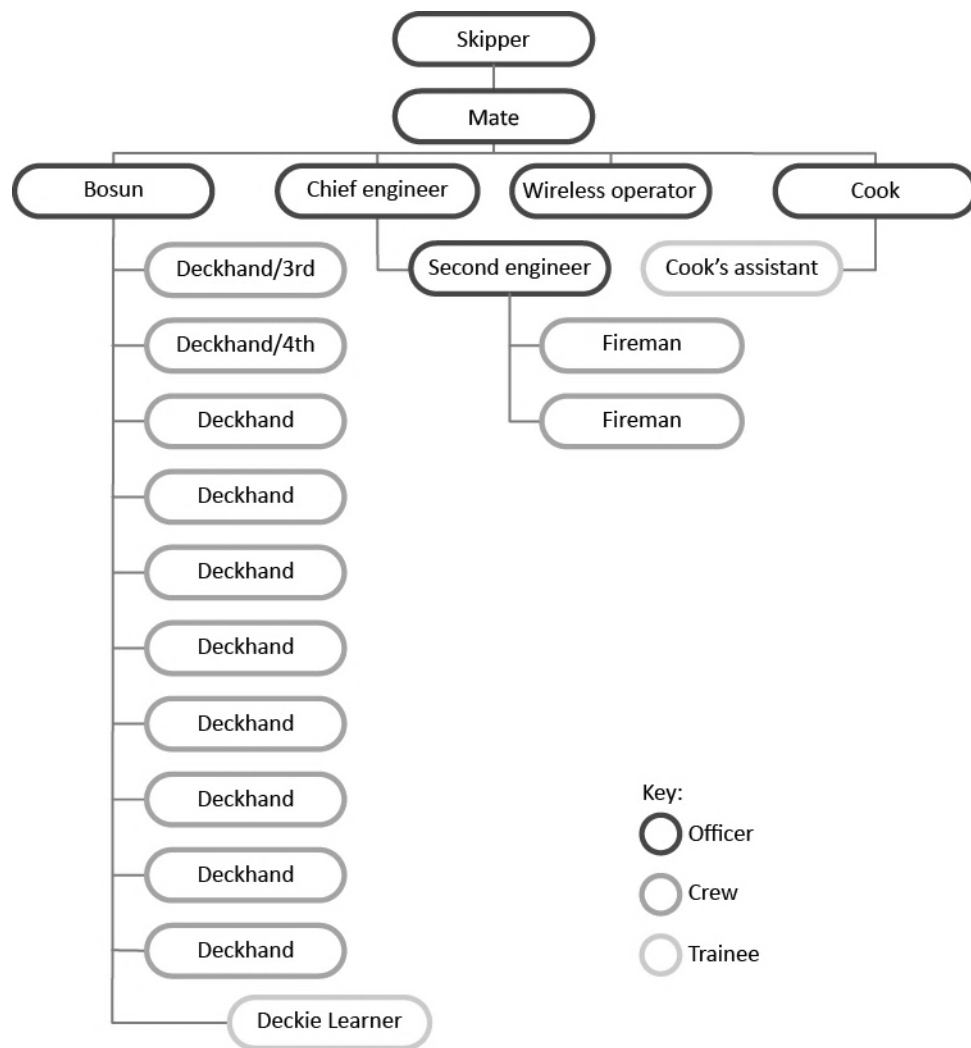


Figure 16 Hierarchy aboard a sidewinder trawler.

Source: Adapted from the interviews and Robinson, *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery*, (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1996), 190.

When heading to the fishing grounds on a sidewinder, steaming or running off as it was known, would take approximately one to six days. The timeframe fluctuated according to where intending to fish and weather conditions, the Faroe Islands would take usually one day, Iceland about three days, whilst Bear Island and Greenland would take longer. The men would join their trawler in a shore suit, and when running off remain in it until they reached the mouth of the Humber (see Figure 17). It would not be their newly purchased or favourite suit, but one that had fallen out of favour and they were less precious about accidentally spoiling. Some of the work tasks such as tying up alongside the fish market, could cause the suits to become soiled or scuffed. As Rimmer says, 'you used to look in your wardrobe and you'd think arrgh I've had enough of that suit, I'll wear it for sea.'³³⁰

³³⁰ D. Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 31-03-2015, 2.

Apart from the men on watch, this was a period of relative calm for the men who would relax, chat and possibly have a few beers if permitted. Some skippers would take alcohol on board whilst others would not. If the crew did drink when running off they would usually obtain a case of beer from Boil Oil, an off-license on West Dock Avenue. It was always open to the trawlermen, day or night for them to obtain provisions. The skippers would often have a drink with the crew, the rationale being twofold, firstly to build camaraderie on the ship especially for those who were new to the crew, and secondly to encourage consumption, so that by the time the fishing grounds were reached no more alcohol was available, apart from the bond ration. The bond alcohol was controlled by the skipper, which was a bottle of rum in winter. The rum would be given to the men in half bottles or a dram a day. The exception to this was if a crew member was anticipating a telegram to announce the birth of his child, alcohol would be reserved to 'wet the baby's head.' An interviewee discusses not drinking on board a ship and would give their bond share to the deckhands as he felt that their job role was extreme. The interviewee recalls when a second engineer, a particular chief engineer enjoyed drinking. The chief would sneak alcohol aboard, and for the first three to four days was inebriated and unable to complete his watches. The second engineer compensated for his superior's inability to labour, by performing his and the chief's duties.



Figure 17 Walter Longden joining his trawler wearing a shore suit with Spanish waistband visible.
Source: Photographer unknown, *W. Longden in a shore suit onboard a trawler*. n.d. [photograph] (Hull).
Courtesy of W. Longden.

After the initial running off period beyond the Humber, the men would change into their work gear and the suits would be put away, either hung from their bunks or placed in lockers dependent on the type of accommodation available onboard. One interviewee recalls wrapping some form of protection around the shoulders of his suits as the movement of the ship caused abrasion when in a

locker, either thinning the material or forming holes after three weeks of friction. The chosen suits value had decreased as far as the trawlerman was concerned and was demoted to their sea going shore suit. However, it was still important for the men to keep it in pristine condition by protecting it whilst they were on the trawler. The trawlermen went away smart and clean, wanting to return in the same manner, it was integral to their shore image.

The gear, clothing and equipment required to work the deck of a trawler included an oilskin frockcoat, sou'wester hat, a jumper better known as a gansey, white wool fearnought trousers, flat cap, woolly mittens, thin cotton gloves, thigh boots, clumper boots (thigh boots cut down) and a muffler neckerchief; the men had to provide their gear including their own gutting knives.³³¹ In later years the frock was replaced with a ducksuit, a pair of bib and brace trousers with a top that had a hood attached, either in rubber or plastic. Additionally, the cotton gloves were replaced with plastic or rubber versions with gauntlet gloves being an option. The muffler was usually a red based Scottish plaid with fringing. Obb wool ganseys retained the sheep's natural oil, lanolin, and was therefore water resistant and warm in harsh conditions. There are various superstitions in relation to seafaring and one is it is bad luck for a mariner to wear green. None of the interviewees seem inclined to believe it, nevertheless several recall incidents in relation to clothing both on- and offshore. Longden explains that on his first trip to sea as a galley boy in 1961 on the *Loch Oskaig*, a fellow trawlerman was wearing a green jumper. Some of the deckhands were not happy about the jumper and made the man aware, who replied by explaining it was his lucky jumper and he did not care what the colour was and refused to take it off for the whole trip.

The clothing requirements worn to sea for the trawlermen and other types of fishermen had not changed drastically for decades.³³² However the link with the shore had been fractured by the Hull trawlermen, who were rarely if ever seen in their gear. Certainly in their home city they only ever donned the shore suit in public, with the work gear potentially seen when landing abroad as they were still working by comparison to when in Hull, their employment had ended when disembarking from the ship.

A mattress and bedding were also required, Des Whitaker who started his seafaring career late, as a galley boy in 1963 at the age of 17 when he moved to Hull, explained that his first trip to sea consisted of a two-inch straw mattress.³³³ Furthermore Ellis describes the options available as either

³³¹ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*; Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

³³² de Marly, *Working Dress*; Shrimpton, *British Working Dress*.

³³³ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

a 'flock bed or donkey's breakfast,' the latter being a 'palliasse of straw for £0-5s-6d.'³³⁴ When Ellis went to sea as a deckie learner for the first time his father gave him £20 so that he did not owe the ship's store money from his forthcoming pay. In 1958 Tunstall stipulates that a trawlerman would spend £50 per year on his gear.³³⁵ If a new recruit was unable to purchase his own gear with available money, he already became indebted to his new employers by purchasing on credit. The gear was usually bought at the ship's store, which was a subsidiary of the *Hull Fishing Vessel Owners*.

This practice of ship's stores to service seamen and a delay in payment has occurred within sailing since the late-seventeenth century. Earle comments on slop shops whereby sailors would obtain the essentials for the trip to sea quoting an inventory of similar goods to that purchased by the Hull trawlermen in the twentieth century, including bedding and workwear.³³⁶ Furthermore Earle explains through probate inventories the expense of purchasing new clothing, which was prohibitive, as usually the men would have bought second-hand supplies rather than new; deferring payment for their gear until they returned to shore ensured that they had the means to pay off their debts.³³⁷

The field day was when all hands would work in preparing for the vessel's arrival at the fishing grounds, this would entail taking the provisions below deck, preparing the trawl and the fish room ready for the catch. The deckhands and the deckie learner would be split into daymen and watchmen. The watchmen were in control of navigation, and would consist of three men, an officer and two deckhands (bosun plus two, mate plus two and third-hand plus two). This was usually a three-watch system on rotation, with two watches at rest when one was on watch. But, this could vary according to skipper preferences, type of vessel and whether auto steering was available.³³⁸ The daymen were the fourth-hand, the deckie learner and the fish room men. The daymen worked from 7:00 until 18:00 (breakfast until tea), their role was to prepare the ship for fishing. This was the watch system when steaming to the fishing grounds.

Once fishing and gutting commenced, the three-watch system changed to a four-watch system and the daymen took a watch. This changed to usually 18-hour shifts x four watches for 10 to 11 days (see Figure 18).³³⁹ The 18 hours were split into six-hour divisions, which meant that six hours were

³³⁴ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 3-4.

³³⁵ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

³³⁶ Earle, *Sailors*, 34-35; D. Jarrett, *British Naval Dress* (London: J M Dent & Sons, 1960), 55.

³³⁷ Earle, *Sailors*, 35.

³³⁸ R. Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 29-04-2019; Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

³³⁹ Gill, *Hessle Road*, 80; Robinson, *Trawling*, 194; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 18.

worked and the men were available for another 12 hours if required, with a six-hour period of rest. The watches were split midnight to breakfast, breakfast to lunch, lunch to tea and tea to midnight. Each watch had an officer assigned to it, the bosun, mate, third-hand plus one of the deckhands became a fourth-hand. The three watches would be on deck at any time and one watch was below, however if the six-hour watch was not the main watch and there was no work to be done the men could use this as downtime, but could be called for as and when required. Ronnie Regan celebrated his fifteenth birthday on his first trip to sea and recalls, 'You were prepared to do the 18 hours and if you got any time off it was a bonus.'³⁴⁰ The interviewees refer to this as gash, which is when the men would relax, read or do some type of hobby.

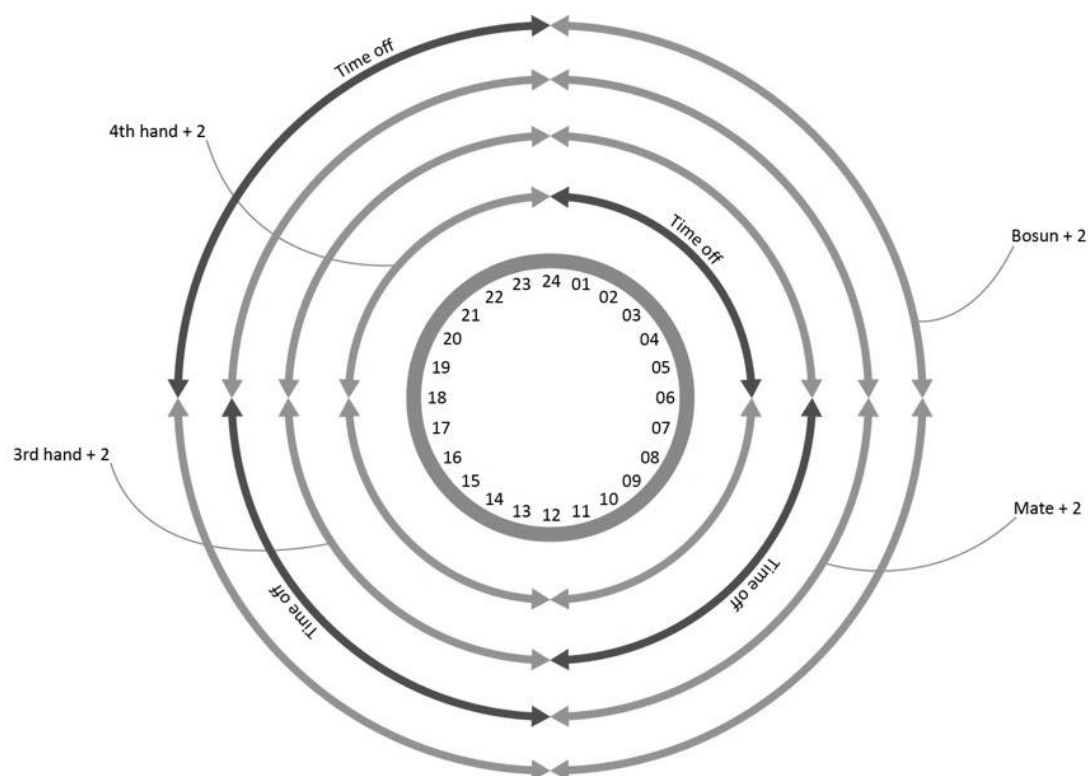


Figure 18 The watch system based on an 18 hours x four-watches in a 24-hour cycle.

Some skippers' preference was to work a 19 and five hours watch system or a 15 and five hours. However, depending on the skipper and the availability of fish, it is known for men to work much longer hours than the allocated 18-hour period.³⁴¹ Ellis recounts a trip and the working practice:

After thirty-six hours I still had another twenty hours to do and already I was shattered.

³⁴⁰ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

³⁴¹ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 64-65; Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 194; K. Shakesby, *From schooldays to the Arctic Circle and beyond* (Tolworth: Grosvenor House Publishing Ltd, 2019), 31.

[...] To say the least, it was dangerous working in that environment in such an exhausted state. A number of times I fell asleep on my feet, often to collapse into the fish, but only to be dragged to my feet by the scruff of the neck and reminded that only a couple of years before there had been no watches below while fishing. The deck-hands were expected to work almost non-stop till the ship was full.³⁴²

Since the nineteenth century long working conditions on shore had been unacceptable, but the practice continued at sea. Thus, injury and death were commonplace, with a possible link to fatigue due to the long working hours.³⁴³ An interviewee recalls two men being put ashore injured, which made the deckmen shorthanded and unable to complete a four-watch rotation. The vessel was at the fishing grounds and catching, the skipper wanted to make the most of the situation by having all men on deck for 18 hours, and then to rest for six hours. The crew agreed, but after 36 hours of non-stop work the men were still catching and gutting fish. The skipper had reneged on his agreement and threatened the crew with disciplinary action if they stopped fishing. However, they could not physically take any more, exhausted they left the deck for their bunks.

The fishing stage of the job would last for approximately 10 days, it could be shorter if the trawler was immediately on the fish when arriving at the fishing grounds. It was the difference between fishing for six to seven days rather than 10 to 12 days. If the men were hauling and there was not much of a catch the skipper may move to different grounds, this could take anything from a few to 12 hours to reach, known as steaming. Again, this was a period when the men could obtain gash.

The deck would be prepared for fishing, with wooden planks being placed in squares to create containers to hold the fish, known as the pounds. The 'washer' would be erected, which was a device that through the movement of the ship and water cleaned the gutted the fish before entering the fish room. Prior to the washer being invented the gutted fish would be thrown to the other side of the trawler and then washed with hoses, the washer was a more efficient method in terms of time and ease. Once the fishing grounds were reached, the men's jobs included hauling, dealing with the winches, releasing the trawl from the towing block, listening to the warps to hear that they were not snagging, hauling in the catch, gutting and net mending if required (see Figure 19).

³⁴² Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 65.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 2.



Figure 19 The congested deck of a sidewinder trawler with ropes, winches and fish in the pounds.
 Source: Photographer unknown, *Deck of a trawler*. n.d. [photograph]. Courtesy of R. Coles.

After hauling, the fish would be gutted and cleaned, entering the fish room via a hatch on deck. The men would be in their heavy gear (frock, thigh boots, muffler, cotton gloves) for gutting in the pounds, which could last for hours depending on the amount caught. Obviously the cotton gloves would become saturated from the process of gutting. Moon describes the older coal burning trawlers as not having sufficient drying space unlike the more modern trawlers. Therefore the men would place their gloves dangling on string between the bridge and funnel, known as the 'fiddle top' as it was always warm. As the items were the same for all, unfortunately the trawlermen would steal or mistake a pair of gloves as their own, when preparing to gut again. This was the same with the mufflers. The gloves would be initialled to prevent them being used by others, likewise, the

neckerchiefs had various elaborate knotting systems on the fringing or were embroidered by the men to create distinguishing features for identification purposes.³⁴⁴

How the fish was stored varied according to the type of ship. If it was a coal burner, firstly the coal from the 'aft fish room needed to be burnt to make space for the fish. Once used the room needed to be cleaned and all the boards would be taken on deck and hosed down to remove the coal dust, then the boards would be replaced.³⁴⁵ The fish room on an oil burner would have the ice stored in it, the room would be checked for cleanliness and prepared accordingly. The boards were either wood or metal with a percentage being in the slats in preparation for arriving at the grounds. The fish would be placed on ice to aid freshness, the ice would be chopped by a member of the crew usually the deckie learner, and two men would be laying the fish on the ice. For comparison, the fish on a freezer ship would be frozen into blocks of ice, the process took four hours and then it would be stored. Depending on the type of freezer ship, the fish would be either gutted to be frozen or on the factory freezer trawlers gutted and filleted to be frozen, the *Coriolanus* could process the latter. The factory trawlers were able to make fish meal from the fish waste.³⁴⁶

Once fishing was completed and all the catch was packed in ice in the fish room, the skipper would announce that it was time to 'clew up', this was when the ship would be prepared for heading back to port, all work spaces and accommodation would be cleaned. All hands would potentially be involved in clewing up, even those below and not on watch, it was at the skipper's discretion. Once the majority of the cleaning was complete the watch system would revert back to the six-hour watches and the others would become daymen. Clewing up consisted of mending the nets and lashing to the trawler if in good condition, otherwise if no longer fit for purpose it would be chopped off. All other parts of the trawl would be maintained and stored, the wires were made safe and everything was secured. The boards and the washer were cleaned, dismantled and put away. Then the decks would be scrubbed with chloride of lime used to remove the greasy slime, blood and guts of the fish that had accumulated. The brass work was cleaned and polished with Mansion Wax Polish, the accommodation and bridge were cleaned, the coconut mats would be scrubbed and thrown overboard to wash in the seawater, which was known as a mat day. Once clewing up was completed, apart from those on watch, the deckhands had a 12-hour rest (gash) period to recover.

³⁴⁴ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

³⁴⁵ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 08-05-2019; M. Thompson et al., *Cook, Welton & Gemmell: Shipbuilders of Hull and Beverley 1883-1963* (Beverley: Hutton Press Ltd., 1999), 5.

³⁴⁶ Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*, 24.

The crew and ship were maintained by the cook and the engineers respectively. The meals provided by the cook revolved around the end of the watches, if the system was 18 on and six off. However, if the skipper was working to a different watch system the cook would always make sure that food was awaiting the men in some format. The cook's pattern of work was usually between 5:00 and 21:00 hours.³⁴⁷ The quality of the meals was dependent on the ability of the cook, the types of provisions ordered and the management of the supplies for the duration of the trip. An interviewee explained that the successful ships were usually the ones with the best cooks and the skippers had some sway about what supplies were taken aboard. The freezer trawlers were different, the owner's employed two cooks, one being a baker, the difference in food quality by comparison to the sidewinders has been described as significant; possibly standards improved due to a larger crew to feed and more time spent at sea.

When running off, breakfast would consist of liver, bacon and eggs, cereals, porridge, and once the grounds were reached fish became a staple ingredient for all meal times. Butter was for use on a Sunday, with margarine available for the rest of the week. Some foods, such as eggs were inadequately stocked, with the men purchasing extra via the bond, or supplying their own, as was the case for tinned or fresh fruit.³⁴⁸ The bond was whereby specific goods were taken aboard the ship from the store for the crew to purchase when at sea, which they paid for from their forthcoming settling money. This included tins of toffees, cigarettes, cigarette papers, tobacco, and in winter a bottle of rum, which was retained by the skipper.

The main meal of the day consisted of three courses, the starter would be a soup or a steam pudding. The men discuss eating 'duffs', which have been described as a steam pudding and this could be an onion duff as part of the main meal with gravy, or as a starter. The steam pudding could be served as a desert too, a jam or treacle duff with custard. Meat varied and included chicken, turkey, pork and beef, including roast meats, stews and pies with vegetables. Once the ship had reached the fishing grounds some type of fish would be available for the main meal. Fresh bread would be baked daily. Supper would include cheese, chopped onion, fish and bread. In between meals there was always some food available, fish or corn beef hash, if the men were working it usually consisted of fish and bread, so that the men could make a sandwich and quickly return to the deck. Tea and coffee were available. Regan recollects that the coffee was Camp coffee, 'it was

³⁴⁷ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 130.

³⁴⁸ R. Mumby-Croft, 'The Living Conditions Onboard UK Distant-Water Trawlers, 1945-1970', *The Northern Mariner*, IX, 4 (1999), 25-33; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 68.

awful'.³⁴⁹ When in an overseas port, a Fleetwood trawler was docked and the crews would mingle aboard each other's ships, he recalls them having very good coffee that they shared, it was not in liquid format and required opening with a tin opener. A point to note, the men were not necessarily eating the fish caught for the commercial catch. An interviewee recalls catching prawns off the south coast of Iceland that were four inches in length. The men would either eat them or divide them up to take home, they were considered surplus to requirements for the fish market.

The galley boy would help prepare the food by peeling and chipping vegetables, setting the tables in the mess and officers' cabin, washing the pots and cleaning the galley and messes after each meal. One cook was nicknamed 'Chippie Wood' because, as the name implies the men had chips with every meal, which the galley boy prepared every day. Ray Coles who signed on a trawler in August 1960 at the age of 15, recalls being a galley boy on an old trawler without refrigeration, with meat for the trip being preserved by salting. One of his jobs was to tighten the lid of the preserved meat to remove the salt water before being cooked, he recalls it as being, 'lovely to eat'.³⁵⁰ The galley boy could complete other unofficial chores such as cleaning berths and washing clothes for additional funds from crew members to supplement his wages.

The engine room was maintained by the chief and second engineer. When the vessels were coal-fired, two trimmers were deployed to continually feed the engine, however when oil replaced coal these posts became replaced by two firemen.³⁵¹ The engines were manned 24 hours a day with the men in a rotation of two men on a six-hour watch system at any time, this was the chief engineer plus a fireman then the second engineer with the other fireman.³⁵² The men maintained and greased the equipment, regulated the fuel supply, as well as distributing the fuel appropriately when hauling large amounts of fish to keep the trawler steady and balanced, alongside keeping their space clean and tidy.³⁵³

The wireless operator's official role was 'safety of life at sea and over the sea,' which entailed listening to the weather reports, retaining communication with other vessels in the fishing grounds and the trawler owners, and, maintaining the equipment.³⁵⁴ Previously the wireless operator helped

³⁴⁹ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 6.

³⁵⁰ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 10.

³⁵¹ Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*, 38, 50, 56.

³⁵² D. Rimmer, *Informal discussion* 18-08-2019; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

³⁵³ E. Johnson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 30-10-2015; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 62.

³⁵⁴ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 11.

to prepare the livers for oil, by 1969 this was no longer a part of their role. The exact date the wireless operators role altered is not known. A note of interest is that the wireless operators were hired to the trawler companies alongside all the equipment, in Hull there were two companies, Marconi and Redifon. The equipment from each company was different and was maintained by the operator when at sea, although he only had rudimentary knowledge of maintenance. If the equipment could be serviced once the vessel had returned to port, this was done by the technical support of one of the two companies when in dock.

Prior to 1969 it was not compulsory for trawlers to have a wireless operator, the skipper would have dual responsibility of a good catch, as well as communications. After the Triple Trawler Tragedy of 1968, it became obligatory for all trawlers to have a wireless operator onboard.³⁵⁵ Some skippers would have a restricted radio telegraphy (RT) ticket, which meant that they could communicate short distance with a telephone, to ships and shore stations nearby. They were unable to communicate long distance through wireless telegraphy (WT), which used Morse code. From 1969 the wireless operator would communicate three times per day (9:00, 15:00 and 21:00) to the control ship, which re-laid the information to the trawler owner's office in Hull. The control ship was the one allocated from whichever company to correspond all the information in relation to position, catch, intentions and any issues. The final call of the day had to be a full comprehensive report of how much fish was on board, position, any issues and to retain communication for health and safety reasons, this was sent in code. If the wireless operator was on the designated control ship, the information would be gathered from all the ships and double coded from plain language. This would then be sent via telegram to the trawler company, the secrecy was to make sure that no other companies were aware of the ships business, only other skippers via the wireless operator from the same company were able to decipher the messages. The codes would change every month. Some of the top skippers used a further secret language to communicate between themselves. This was to share knowledge of where the best catches were taking place, it enabled them to retain their status as 'don' skippers. This was conducted through the wireless operator and was not a legitimate part of the sparky's role.

The trawlers were a 24-hour watch ship, this included radio communications. The receivers were tuned in to 2182 kHz, a calling and distress frequency 24-hours a day. When the operator was on duty it would be on in the wireless room, when off duty the radio on the bridge would be tuned to 2182 kHz for the crew on watch to monitor. At the end of the trip the wireless operator would log all

³⁵⁵ D. Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety: Final Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Trawler Safety* (London, 1969).

forms of correspondence, including telegrams from crew to family members, the monetary forms were filled in and costed for the trawler company to pay and invoice the appropriate parties. Any issues with the equipment when at sea would be reported and repaired if required. In preparation for the ship to arrive in dock the operator's logbook, alongside the skipper's logbook went into the log tin, which was locked and sealed. The wireless operator's role was completed once the ship arrived at the lock gates of the dock, known locally as Bullnose, as the ship is no longer classed as being at sea.

Accommodation

The accommodation on a trawler varied according to the trawlerman's rank and type of ship in which he served. It was common for the officers to have separate living and sleeping quarters to the rest of the crew. In a sidewinder, the deckhands originally slept in the forecastle (fo'c'sle), as the design and size of the ships developed the crew moved to the 'aft. In stern winders, the crew were allocated berths in cabins that could accommodate between one- to six-men per berth.

The fo'c'sle accommodation was tight, with up to 10 men sleeping in bunks and a coal burning stove in the middle of the room for warmth, the fire had to be maintained by those on watch (see Figure 20), until stoves were phased out and replaced by electric heaters. As Piper put it:

The little room [...] was in the shape of a cut-down triangle [...] Its central furniture was a little upright stove set in a concrete hearth with an asbestos lagged chimney leading through the deck-head. It was almost vibrating with the intensity of the fire which had been built inside. The heat it gave off was terrific. [...] along the base of this triangle where I was now standing, was a pair of bunks amidships of the doorway. On the sides of the triangle were more bunks, three sets to the right and two to the left. Where the last pair of bunks should have been on the left side was a little compartment which was our minute bathroom. Wooden benches were ranged alongside the lower of each pair of bunks. The total area of the little room was not much bigger than the sitting room of a small house but it provided sleeping and washing space for ten men.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Piper, *The North Ships*, 57-58.

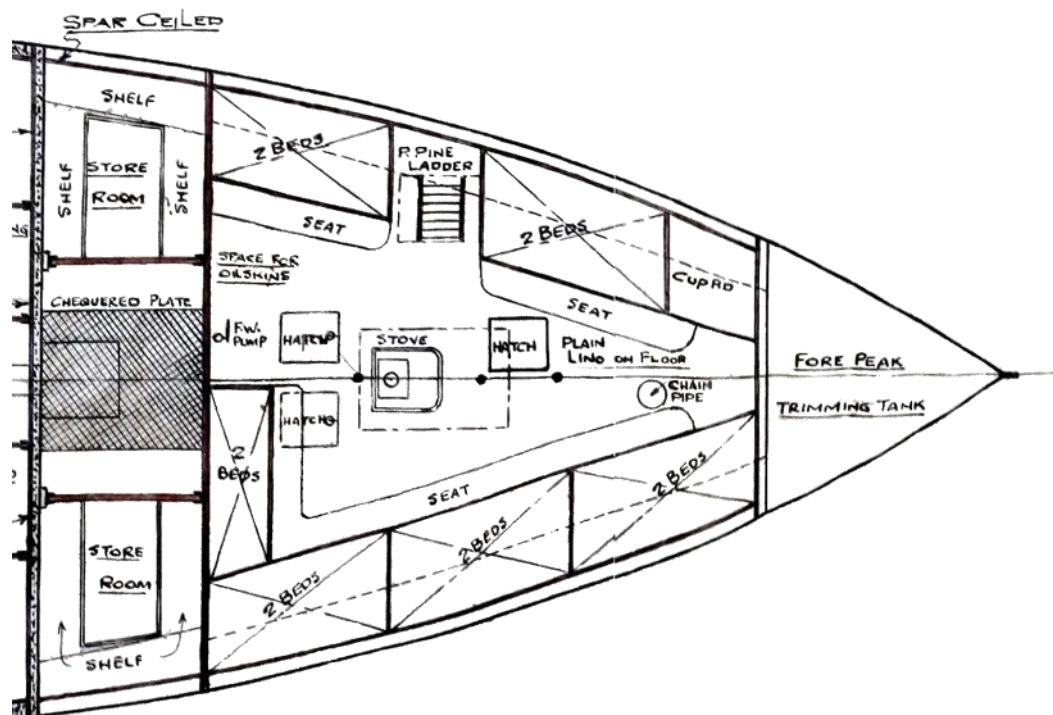


Figure 20 Crew accommodation in the fo'c'sle of the *Brontes* sidewinder trawler.

Source: Adapted from the *Brontes* plan, archive ref DDCO/5/1/590/1, 'Trawling Through Time', East Riding Archives.

The fo'c'sle was noisy especially when hauling, as doors and bobbins banged as they hit the side of the ship, and the crew shouted orders. As early as 1952 the White Fish Authority was aware of the inadequacy of the accommodation, which might deter new recruits from entering the industry.³⁵⁷ An interviewee can recall his time in the fo'c'sle of a trawler:

Some of the fo'c'sles, well they were bloody horrendous when you think about it. I used to be [in the] further fo'c'sle, down below because the walk-in deck fo'c'sle usually in the winter used to be freezing. I mean freezing, even though you used to have two coal fires. But the one's down below because most of it was below the water surface, you know you are down. And they were certainly a lot warmer than your deck levels. Deck levels were bloody awful.³⁵⁸

Twine would be strewn across the quarters for drying the work gear and creating a makeshift curtain for privacy, as well as to hang up the suit (see Figure 21). The men wanted to keep their suits relatively clean and free from dirt for when entering port, as it was important to their image to

³⁵⁷ White Fish Authority, *First annual report and accounts for the period ended 31st march 1952* (London: HMSO, 1952), 11.

³⁵⁸ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 9.

always be seen by others onshore as clean and presentable, in contrast to their existence on the trawler when standards of hygiene altered due to time constraints and restrictions for their ablutions (space and fresh water).



Figure 21 The compact bunk accommodation on a sidewinder trawler.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Fo'c'sle accommodation*. n.d. [photograph]. Courtesy of R. Coles.

The fo'c'sle accommodation was separate to the rest of the ship, making the dash to and from the main working part perilous due to the trawlers having an open deck.³⁵⁹ A lifeline would be rigged up to help the men navigate their way to the main part of the ship, but this was removed when fishing commenced then re-installed later when clewing up. Rimmer describes when on gash heading to the other part of the vessel for a meal:

So, can you imagine right it's blowing a gale and you've got to put all your wet gear on, run all the way 'aft. Take your gear off, have your meal, put all your gear back on and

³⁵⁹ Shakesby, *From schooldays to the Arctic Circle and beyond*, 43.

then run back forehead again.³⁶⁰

The 'aft accommodation could be as compact as the fo'c'scle with many men within the space. It was perceived as being an improvement as access to other parts of the ship were internal to the weather conditions and it was less noisy by comparison to the fo'c'scle (see Figure 22). Over time starting in the late 1950s, accommodation improved as new ships were built, with four- to six-men berths, these changes were supported by the National Joint Industrial Council and the Ministry of Transport.³⁶¹ Furthermore, from the 1960s other trawler amenities were modernised, especially bathroom facilities, these developments were brought about by the British Trawler Federation's concerns with recruitment shortages if standards did not progress.³⁶² The improvements were much needed, however, many old style trawlers with poorer amenities were still sailing well beyond their expected lifespan. Some of the interviewees state that the best accommodation on a sidewinder trawler was in the *Arctic Corsair* and her sister ship the *Arctic Cavalier*, with two- and six-men berths. The officers had their own berths. The wireless operator although classed as an officer, which usually meant he had his own berth, slept in the wireless operator's room on most trawlers. However, ships like the *Arctic Cavalier* and *Arctic Corsair* had separate accommodation.

³⁶⁰ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 7.

³⁶¹ Mumby-Croft, 'The Living Conditions Onboard UK Distant-Water Trawlers, 1945-1970'.

³⁶² *Ibid.*

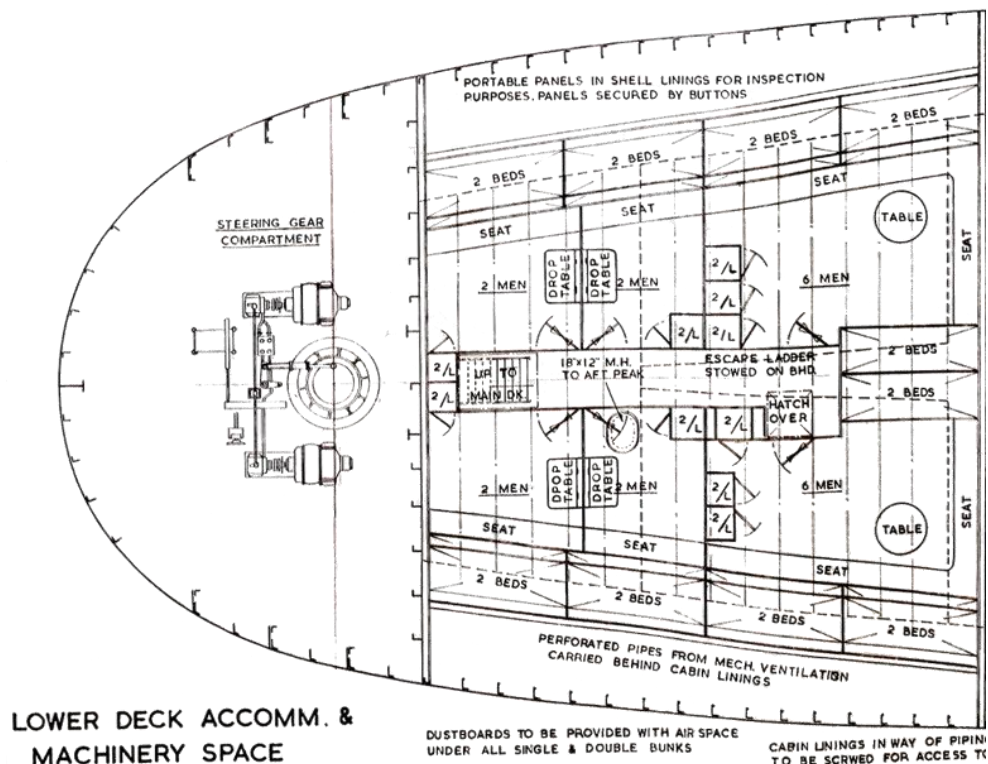


Figure 22 Crew accommodation in the 'aft of the *Arctic Cavalier* and *Arctic Corsair* sidewinder trawlers. Source: Adapted from the *Arctic Cavalier* and *Arctic Corsair* plan, archive ref DDCO/5/1/958/1, 'Trawling Through Time', East Riding Archives.

The stern trawler accommodation was considered superior to the sidewinders, with more space and more comfort. There was no venturing onto the deck for meals or to gut fish. The *Lord Nelson* had air-conditioned cabins, bathrooms, showers and a mess room for 24.³⁶³ An interviewee discusses having laundry rooms, which meant that the men could dry their clothes when wet, as well as two-men berths for the crew.

The men's hygiene standards slipped whilst at sea, with cleanliness being a low priority as it took time away from resting or eating when working long hours. An interviewee explains that in the older ships not enough water was available for grooming, the beards helped to prevent the salt from making their skin sore. The men suffered with salt water boils due to the weather conditions, and experienced 'jummy lumps' a repetitive strain injury from gutting, it was extremely painful. It was difficult to cure apart from rest, which was problematic when at sea and with only three days leave to recover.

The bathroom varied according to the type of trawler. The more modern sidewinders had showers or baths with hot water tanks, while the older versions had step-in tin baths with a convoluted

³⁶³ Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 8.

system of obtaining hot water, this could have contributed to the lack of cleanliness aboard. The men would pump the bath with cold water and use a steam pipe from the engine room to warm the water. When the men were returning home they would spruce up through their ablutions and appear in the same manner that they went to sea, clean and wearing a shore suit, as Coles states:

Everybody coming alongside wanted to be smart. That was one of the reasons why you went away in a suit. So that when you came alongside, you know, you had your own suit on, which you'd virtually got built around you. [...] once you'd got the rigours of fishing out the way and you'd got yourself tidied up and shaved and what have you and then put your suit on, that was like the icing on the cake.³⁶⁴

The disparity between the trawlerman returning to sea, miserable because of leaving friends and family, possibly hungover due to shoreside entertainment and anxious, as it may be his last trip, by comparison to the relieved man returning home, eager to socialise with those he had left behind, and ready to spend his hard earned money on three days of flamboyant living. The tired and dirty man from fishing used the shore suit as a visual indicator that his toil was complete, he was refreshed and presentable for leave ashore. The shore suit embodies the two contrasting emotions and segregates the physical and mental exhaustion of work and the jaded state on the way out with the exuberance of their preparation for action on the way in. The suit would be put on approximately one hour prior to arriving at St Andrew's Dock. As the trawler came alongside the men would throw their sea bag ashore, climb off and get in a taxi heading homeward bound to their families or to the pubs or clubs to meet their friends.

Spare time

The men, when not on watch or during gash remain confined to the ship, thus family and their life in port was unreachable. To occupy their spare time three options were available: - 'rest, diversion and development.'³⁶⁵ Little in the way of entertainment was available onboard unless the men provided it themselves, with the UK government's attitude into the late 1960s being that a trawler was not designed for recreation, due to space being sparse and required for all the fishing gear; other countries saw the importance of providing leisure provisions for their crew, however the UK trawlers lagged behind.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

³⁶⁵ Dumazedier, J. quoted in R. Hope, *Spare Time at Sea* (London: Stanford Maritime Limited, 1974 [1954]), 8.

³⁶⁶ Mumby-Croft, 'The Living Conditions Onboard UK Distant-Water Trawlers, 1945-1970'.

Activities that the men participated in included reading, playing games, listening to music via record players and then transistor radios when they became available in the 1960s, and making products. Games included cards, cribbage and dominoes. An interviewee describes how he made ornaments from the skulls of haddock and cod, transforming them into sharks and butterflies. He would paint them to resemble the insects or animals using identification books and place them in glass cases (see Figure 23). Other pastimes included creating ornamental dolls from wood and nylon twine and making money boxes from the glass bobbins from seine netters, known locally as snibbies.



Figure 23 Elephant created from a fish skeleton.

Source: Unknown maker, *Sculpture of an elephant created from a fish skeleton*. n.d. [sculpture] Bullnose Heritage Centre, Hessle Road, Hull. Photograph C. Day, October 2020.

The types of books available included westerns, adventures, thrillers and erotic books such as D H Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Moon remembers:

I think there was about 10 for the whole of the fishing fleet. When I was fishing there was 145 ships going out of that dock. And there was 10 or a dozen *Lady Chatterley's Lover* books, to share. And by the time they'd come around, you can imagine, can you

imagine the state of them can't you [laughter]?³⁶⁷

Authors including Louis L'Amour, Ian Fleming, Zane Grey, and the Reader's Digest were read, the latter for their short and interesting stories that could be completed in a watch off. The men could buy three weeks of back issues of papers such as the *Daily Sketch* and the *Daily Mirror* to keep abreast of current affairs. If the men landed abroad they would tie up the newspapers to make a mock ball to play touch rugby. The books could be bought from the ship's stores as well as the mission to seafarers providing printing matter. Gill stipulates that, 'some men read between thirty and forty Westerns per trip.'³⁶⁸ This seems excessive, and is perhaps representative of crew members other than the deckhands and when on the longer trips to sea on stern trawlers rather than sidewinders.

Music would usually be rock 'n' roll and country music. Various radio stations were available on the fishing grounds and running off, including Radio Luxembourg, US stations off Newfoundland and Greenland, and from the US airbase at Keflavík; playing American music that had not always been released in the UK when initially heard. Moon explains that some of the ships had been rigged up to play music when the men were on deck or in their berths:

In the pounds, when me and Johnny Dick [...] in the *Man-O-War*, we used to do a trip each. [...] You know they had a veranda right around the bridge. And we had a gramophone shackled to that, taped up to that with twine. [I was] Disc Jockey playing all the records [...] And the next trip he did it, we still did a little bit you know down the fish room, like chopping ice and all that. But we was like DJ's every other trip. It was brilliant.³⁶⁹

Ellis recounts singing when gutting, which is an old sailing tradition, combining old and new songs.³⁷⁰ As do some of the interviewees, one refers to made-up songs about specific skippers to the tunes of popular songs, whilst another explains that the singing sounded like a 'bobbars' opera'. This refers to the men on the dockside who unloaded, sorted and prepared the fish for market, who were shouting all the time and that the trawlermen's style of singing in the pounds was similar, 'what you call a bobbars' opera, you'd all pick a different song and all sing it [laughs]!'³⁷¹

³⁶⁷ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 6.

³⁶⁸ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*, 163.

³⁶⁹ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 9.

³⁷⁰ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 67.

³⁷¹ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 16.

Other interviewees recall wanting to remain up-to-date with songs and dance moves:

We were on the *Kingston Sardius*, me and your dad and we were on watch together, and the first time we are dodging off the Norwegian coast and it was that Chubby Checker's 'Let's Twist Again', and it's a new record. And it was when the twist first come out, and we're both on the bridge err just dodging. [...] Me and your dad are trying to learn how to twist on erm what are they called the carpets that they had? The coconut mats, and I can remember that today, me and him with our bloody thigh boots on trying to dance on coconut mats [laughs].³⁷²

In the 1970s films became available to watch onboard the trawlers. The ships were constantly evolving both in terms of fishing and the how the men lived on board.

Timeframes

The men's time on- and offshore was dependent on the extremities of tides and weather conditions as well as the type of trawlers they were employed on and where they were fishing. Generally, on a sidewinder, it was approximately three weeks at sea and up to three days in port.³⁷³ In the 1950s the time in Hull was less at 48 to 60 hours, this changed in the 1960s to 60 to 72 hours.³⁷⁴ It is documented that in the earlier part of the twentieth century turnaround could be as little as 36 hours.³⁷⁵ An interviewee discusses that on the stern trawlers time away was between two to four months with time ashore between five to 10 days, with the settling money being allocated in two instalments. Thór discusses time reduction when fishing off the coast of Iceland from 20 days at sea in 1951 to just over 17 days in 1959, due to more efficient engines.³⁷⁶ However it needs to be recognised that not all trawlers had new engines or were new ships, with coal burners still operating into the early 1960s alongside the stern freezer trawlers.

The men had a complicated relationship with the stern freezer trawlers. Although accepted that the trawlers were modern and much improved in terms of the techniques of fishing, the working conditions and the accommodation, it changed their way of life. The men were at sea for longer than three weeks, it could be up to four months, which meant long periods of time away from home, friends and family. Kindleberger suggests that short trips do not have the same detrimental impact as longer trips on the wellbeing of the seaman and his family, stipulating that, 'They lacked the

³⁷² Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 8.

³⁷³ *How the Humber changed our world*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

³⁷⁴ Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

³⁷⁵ Starkey, 'Distant-Water Trawlerman: William Oliver, 1884-1959', 220.

³⁷⁶ Thór, *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976*, 114.

anchorage of an identity as husband and father in a nuclear family in a community.³⁷⁷ The freezer ships have been described as brilliant, but, '[...] anything you put on board a trawler cannot compensate for time away.'³⁷⁸ Another interviewee decided that he did not want to spend so long at sea, therefore he quit his position on the freezer ship wanting to return to sidewinders. When he went to collect his second settling payment, he saw a manager who expressed that this type of fishing was the future and that the trawlerman was to re-consider. His response was, 'if that's a step in the right direction, I want to be going the other way, I'm afraid.'³⁷⁹ The interviewee had to go 'walkabout' as the company would not re-employ him, however after a stint ashore and working for another company he could return to the previous company, as bosun on a sidewinder (see 4.2 for a definition of walkabout). This behaviour is echoed in Shakesby's memoirs, he joined the *Othello* in October 1970 and was away for at least three months. This was the longest he had been away from his family, therefore he decided to return to the sidewinder trawlers to limit his time at sea.³⁸⁰

Prior to the stern freezer trawler generation of ships, the men had all been accommodated together in bunk rooms however this changed to single and double berths, therefore separation from their colleagues occurred, which in turn created less camaraderie amongst the crew than had been evident on the sidewinders, the dynamics altered, as Coles reflects:

Once you started moving up into the bigger ships, and they all had separate accommodation then this is when the cliques started to develop. Which I remember vividly err going into one of these ships, and this crew would have been there however long, you know we'd say years. Now I was the outsider and I was young so I didn't fit in that clique.³⁸¹

The camaraderie seems to have shifted as the lack of closeness, due to the cramped working conditions on the sidewinder are reduced, in effect for the better, however, it had a detrimental impact on the trawlermen's social needs when at sea. The feeling of disconnection with their community was apparent with the long haul trips to sea, the men preferred the shorter trips to re-engage with family and friends. The improvements in design and efficiency of the trawlers were

³⁷⁷ C. P. Kindleberger, *Mariners and markets* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 88.

³⁷⁸ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 4.

³⁷⁹ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 9.

³⁸⁰ Shakesby, *From schooldays to the Arctic Circle and beyond*, 84-85.

³⁸¹ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 6.

economically viable for the owners but emotionally imposed a strain on the trawlermen's connections with those ashore and on the vessel.

3.3 Reflection

The chapter reflects on the various methods in which young boys were introduced to the fraternity of distant-water fishing, offering new information to enhance the existing research including individual experiences. The lifestyle of the trawlermen when afloat varied according to rank, timeframe when fishing and the type of vessel. The industry was never static with technological changes occurring that impacted on the men's lifestyle both on- and offshore. How the men responded to this varied with some embracing the changes whilst others reacted against it. The research brings to light the personal reactions to these modifications and how it impacted on the shoreside aspects of their lives. In addition the findings have specified ways in which relaxation was achieved when still constrained by their working environment, presenting the various hobbies when on gash which expands the knowledge of the men's time on the trawler.

The new research depicts an accurate figure as to how many men were distant-water fishing, enabling an approximation to be insinuated as to the number of men wearing the shore suit during the different decades. This establishes that the shore suit was accepted by a large proportion of trawlermen, indicating the importance of the link between their occupation and their identity. The connection was represented through their shore suits and was no longer communicated to those onshore by their workwear, separating their identity from other fishermen, wanting to be recognised as a distinct category of distant-water trawlermen. The occupational association was still wanted, but the desire to present it differently comes to the fore, creating a customised form of dress specific to this group collective.

Furthermore the need to protect the suit when at work signifies its high status, the contrast between the men's appearance on the trawler as unkempt and when in Hull as immaculate, was a further representation of the extremes of the men's lifestyle, the body is transformed and both physical identities are separated between land and sea. The shore suit, and to a certain extent the gear have never been contextualised in relation to the men's occupation, which, when considering its importance to the trawlermen is a major omission in the existing literature. The new information adds to the academic literature and expands on elements that have not been researched in any great depth, this gives a more complete overview of the men's lives when onboard a trawler rather than purely the act of fishing.

The following chapter places the shore suit in perspective of the trawlermen's time onshore. The trip was condensed thus every minute became important. The findings focus on a typical three-day trip

and includes when landing abroad, which was never a scheduled part of their occupation. The financial structure of payment and time unemployed is broached.

Chapter 4 Suits in port

When the distant-water trawlers of the mid-twentieth century entered the dock, the men were spruced up in their finery of the shore suit ready to make the most of their limited time ashore. Their life at sea was temporarily complete and as soon as the trawler was tied up alongside the fish market, they headed off for a few days of escapism. This chapter considers the men's lifestyle when ashore, exploring the structure of the trawlermen's foreshortened time on leave, the continued relationship with their employment, the family scenario, unexpected time ashore and landing abroad.

This chapter argues that the shore suit was integral to the men's routine when in port and has not been contextualised in the literature. Moreover, patterns of consumption have been relatively ignored, as has how the men used the suit to express their identity to others. Robinson, in *Trawling*, offers four sentences in total to describe key features of the suit, including a comparison to what Grimsby trawlermen were wearing (see Introduction).³⁸² Tunstall devotes two whole chapters, 'The Fisherman Ashore' and 'Fisherman's Domestic Life' to the shoreside life, but fails to mention the made-to-measures suits.³⁸³ Gill has expressed in greater detail the suit, with some descriptive analysis and link to time spent onshore, but lacks rigour in relation to their routine when onshore, whether in their home city or abroad. Therefore, this chapter advances the literature by broadening the previous research on shore time activities, embedding the shore suit within the social aspect of life in port.

4.1 Local landscape

The streets surrounding St Andrew's Dock and Hessle Road were compressed with housing, schools and amenities, with certain areas having more than 300 people per acre.³⁸⁴ Mass migration in the mid- to late-nineteenth century from rural to urban communities contributed to this densely populated area. Hull's population increased by almost threefold in this timeframe to 240,000 by 1901, increasing to more than 300,000 by 1951.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Robinson, *Trawling*, 198.

³⁸³ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 135-165.

³⁸⁴ E. Lutyens & P. Abercrombie, *A plan for the City & County of Kingston upon Hull* (London: Brown & Sons Ltd., 1945), 50.

³⁸⁵ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 17; British History Online, 'Modern Hull' *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, 1969. Available online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp215-286> [Accessed 02-01-2018].

Tunstall describes Hessle Road as having 'a tradition of poverty' and young men were escaping aspects of shore life by, 'run[ning] away to sea'.³⁸⁶ Reasons given are overcrowded homes, poor education in conjunction with not being respected on shore due to their inferior position in society.³⁸⁷ Hull was heavily bombed during the Second World War with at least half the population becoming homeless during the conflict, living conditions may have been less than ideal.³⁸⁸ Lavery explains that historically port towns were overpopulated, describing Devonport in the late-nineteenth century with 'more than ten people to a dwelling house in many parts.'³⁸⁹ Furthermore Todd describes housing around docks as being overcrowded.³⁹⁰ Tunstall explains the terraced housing and the cramped conditions in Hull were due to large families, which was common during this period.³⁹¹ The situation could have been alleviated by the families if they had applied for council housing on the newly built estates, which offered more expansive accommodation.³⁹² Families on the new estates were smaller in number (people per household) and the larger families were not being allocated housing owing to the fact that they were not perceived as 'respectable' and 'sufficiently clean-living to be entrusted with new houses'.³⁹³ The ramifications of the city councils social prejudices meant that large families were excluded from moving onto the new estates. Tunstall fails to address this form of ethnic cleansing conducted by the local authorities.

Various research into slum clearance, the term used to describe areas of deprivation, closed-in housing and overcrowding, indicates that dwellers of these areas wanted better housing, but to retain the close community environment.³⁹⁴ Bédarida perceives this as individuals being loyal to the 'neighbourhood, to the street, to the group of houses or the district'.³⁹⁵ A counterpoint that Todd makes is the closeness was through necessity rather than want.³⁹⁶ She describes it as a power struggle for the residents and this was what held them together, 'Some would have preferred more

³⁸⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 13.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 13, 117.

³⁸⁸ D. Atkinson, 'Trauma, Resilience and Utopianism in Second World War Hull', in D. J. Starkey et al. (eds.), *Hull: Culture, History, Place* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 239-269.

³⁸⁹ Lavery, *Able Seamen*, 85-86.

³⁹⁰ Todd, *The People*, 80.

³⁹¹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 156-160; 'Sailors, Ships and Stevedores: The Story of British Docks', *Timeshift*, 16, episode 2. Directed by White, E. (BBC4, 2016).

³⁹² Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 156-160.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 160.

³⁹⁴ Todd, *The People*, 175-176.

³⁹⁵ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 20.

³⁹⁶ Todd, *The People*, 176.

privacy – or at least less dependence on the neighbours’ goodwill.’³⁹⁷ Hessle Road was a close-knit community that potentially did not want to be dispersed, but required better housing, although Tunstall contests this.³⁹⁸ The men interviewed discuss their homes when they started fishing and although some were overcrowded with several children sharing a bedroom, this was not the scenario for all, and was not perceived as an issue. Some of the men had their own rooms, including an inside bath with hot and cold running water, which was far superior to the cramped conditions if the men were sharing accommodation in the fo’c’sle (see Figure 20). The likelihood is that their beds at home were not as narrow or the mattresses filled with straw, a point already substantiated by the White Fish Authority’s concerns that accommodation would impact on their ability to gain and retain new recruits.³⁹⁹ Most trawlermen remained in the area once married, with some couples moving away to other parts of the city to housing with modern facilities. Factors which influenced families to return to the Hessle Road district, into properties lacking the amenities they had become accustomed to, such as an indoor toilet, include the camaraderie, family members in the area, the social aspect of pubs, clubs, other amenities and the close proximity to the starting point of their employment. The interviewees respond fondly to their home environments, recognising the congested scenarios but, ‘they were tidy and clean.’⁴⁰⁰

In respects to a poor education, Tunstall has not substantiated whether the education at the schools in Hull were any different to other cities of a similar size and demographics. However, in a report by the Ministry of Education in 1954, children from semi- and unskilled families were likely to underachieve.⁴⁰¹ This has been attributed to several reasons, including not continuing to study after post-compulsory education, overcrowded homes limiting study time and space, parents aspirations and those of the child themselves.⁴⁰² Bédarida questions whether the two tier education hierarchy of grammar versus the comprehensive school is demonstrative in attaining equality of achievement; including that of the educators themselves and whether their abilities are in alignment with other schools.⁴⁰³ Tunstall agrees with this point, acknowledging that the educators in the schools on Hessle

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

³⁹⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

³⁹⁹ White Fish Authority, *First annual report and accounts for the period ended 31st march 1952*, 11.

⁴⁰⁰ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁴⁰¹ S. Gurney-Dixon, *Early Leaving* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office., 1954). Available online: <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/gurneydixon/gurneydixon.html#06> [Accessed 26-11-2019].

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁰³ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 239-240.

Road are second rate.⁴⁰⁴ The likelihood is, however, that education was typical in Hull for children from this social background. The men in the interviews have not presented their homelife or their education as a reason to escape to the sea. The probability of why these young men went to sea is likely to be the close proximity to their homes, adventure and the projection of a good wage by the trawlermen, which may have been more appealing factors.



Figure 24 Map illustrating the condensed area of Hessle Road and its surrounding streets in relation to the proximity to St Andrew's fish dock.

Source: Ordnance Survey, *Kingston upon Hull*. 54/0727, 1:2500. (Chessington: Ordnance Survey 1951).

⁴⁰⁴ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 99.

4.2 Structure of the time ashore

The men's time ashore was dependent on the type of trawler and era in which they were fishing. As explained in the previous chapter, the sidewinder trawlers ranged from 40 to 60 hours ashore in the 1950s, this altered in the 1960s, to between 60 and 72 with time away being 21 days.⁴⁰⁵ The stern freezers time in port was allocated as five to 10 days and two to four months away at sea. The focus will be the deckhands on the sidewinders, and their three days leave.

When the men were aboard a trawler, they would read or make products in their free time, when ashore there was less time for such pastimes. Most of the men would spend time socialising, or visiting relatives and spending time with their wives and children. The cinema did not seem a popular choice for the trawlermen, it took time away from other activities, every minute counted. Ernie Johnson, who went to sea at 15 as a galley boy and became a second engineer, explains that when on a trip home, 'You seemed to be 100 miles an hour.'⁴⁰⁶ Socialising, drinking, dancing, music, and consuming were the core activities. An interviewee describes that the men could be out socialising for the whole time when on leave and literally collect their clean gear and be off to sea again.

The men would arrive at St Andrew's Dock in their shore suits, and come alongside the market for the fish to be removed, their role was now complete. The wireless operative had an advantage over the deckmen, as did the galley boy, they were able to leave the ship as it entered the dock at the Bullnose, the trawler was no longer classed as being at sea, their roles were complete. The rest of the men would disembark at the market with their sea bag and get into a taxi. Regan describes that prior to going away whichever taxi had taken him to his vessel would be there waiting to collect him; knowing where the ship was going to berth on the market and when to expect the trawlermen to land. The 'Russell List' gave information about when the trawlers would arrive and was placed in shop windows along Hessle Road to inform the community. The taxi would take him home and a discussion ensued as to when the driver would be needed next, sometimes the taxi would wait as the trawlerman got changed into another suit and he would go straight out. The men wanted to arrive home smart by wearing a suit, though not in their best suit, consequently, as soon as they could they would change into another more favourable suit. The relationship with the taxi drivers became integral to the men's time in Hull, as they needed to be mobile quickly, Coles explains that

⁴⁰⁵ Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

⁴⁰⁶ Johnson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

when the pubs were in walking distance a taxi would still be used and the driver retained for the whole night.

Regan discusses a female taxi driver, Elsie Brettell who was in her forties by comparison to the teenage trawlermen, she always made sure the men caught their ships, even if this meant dragging them out of a bar or party. When at a party, losing track of time and about to miss his ship, the interviewee recalls that the taxi driver had the foresight to collect his sea bag with all his gear in from his home and took him from the party straight to his ship, wearing his best shore suit. The men never intentionally went to sea in their latest or favourite suit. The taxi would be there awaiting the men's return and this rapport could last for years. The drivers were resourceful and would inform the men of who had landed and where they were, so they could join them. If single the men would go to the pub and be with other single crew members or meet up with their shore friends for a quick catch up prior to returning home. An interviewee when married recalls returning from sea in the evening and heading straight to the pub with another crew member instead of going home, 'I managed to get away with it, I only ever did it the once.'⁴⁰⁷ Those interviewed, when married typically went home first.

This first day home was usually a partial day depending on the time arriving in port, it could be morning, afternoon or evening, and was reserved for family and friends. The single men after leaving the pub would head off home to relieve themselves of their sea bag, typically get changed into another shore suit, one that was in favour and head out again to see friends. The married men in the interviews eloquently describe staying home and re-acquainting themselves with their wives. Ellis explains that when the men were preparing to land, in anticipation of what was to come when home, 'Most were wearing lounge suits with open-necked shirts and skimpy underwear beneath, the latter for obvious reasons with loved ones waiting not far away.'⁴⁰⁸ It was a period of rest and a chance to get washed again, some of the men felt that although they had done their ablutions aboard the ship, the smell of fish still lingered. If staying home slacks and a shirt would be worn, but if heading out another shore suit would be donned. Those with families would stay at home. Two of the interviewees explain how excited their children were to see them return, 'that was a great feeling.'⁴⁰⁹ The children would dive into the sea bags to retrieve sweet treats that the men had hidden to elevate the euphoric atmosphere of delight further.

⁴⁰⁷ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 12.

⁴⁰⁸ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 45.

⁴⁰⁹ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

The men's time in port was still dictated by their employment. The second day home, which was usually their first full day on land, started with the men witnessing the auction, to establish how much the catch had financially obtained and to pick up their fry of fish.⁴¹⁰ The fry of fish could be collected between 7:00 and 8:00, or the men would turn up later to obtain their settlings, between 9:00 and 10:30, missing the auction and their fry of fish; the mate always attended the auction. The men would turn up on the dock in another shore suit by taxi or would walk to the market or trawler owners if living nearby, ready for the day ahead. As Brian Flaxman who began fishing in 1955, recounts, '[...] you could walk down the dock, you noticed all the suits. They stood outside the offices, the fishermen and err you could see all the suits, they were different [...].'⁴¹¹ From the interviews it is suggested the men wore one to two suits per day when home, with Moon elaborating that:

I put two on a day, go down and settle in one, put one on to go out in on the night time. Clean shirt, clean tie, shoes. There is no doubt about the smartness of them.⁴¹²

The settlings would be collected either in cash or a cheque, that required cashing at a local bank, there were some situated on the dock, on Hessle Road or in the city centre depending on the men's plans. When at the ship owners to collect their settlings, they would sign on to secure a berth on their previous trawler, or on another trawler from the same company, or a different company and vessel.⁴¹³ The runner would give the details of when to join or re-join the trawler and the men would be given a chit to spend in the store for any gear required for the next trip.

⁴¹⁰ Robinson, *Trawling*, 197.

⁴¹¹ B. Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 16-03-2015, 3.

⁴¹² Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 10.

⁴¹³ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 347-348; Robinson, *Trawling*, 197.



Figure 25 Crew and family members on settling day, R. Coles (second from left) showing a Spanish waistband. Source: Photographer unknown, *Socialising with friends and family*. n.d. [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of R. Coles.

Once the finances had been collected, the hovels paid, settling day started in earnest. A trip to the barbers and the tailors would occur, the latter was usually either on Hessle Road or in the city centre dependent on the tailor of choice. If it was for a new suit, the process of designing the outfit would materialise and a deposit paid (see 5.1). If it was for a fitting, the suit would be tried on and the adjustments made, subject to what changes were required, the suit could be picked up a few hours later and worn that trip. The trawlerman would leave the tailors, have a few drinks with friends before returning to collect the suit. How often a trawlerman bought a suit varied, from the interviews it seemed dependent on the individuals relationship with style, with some venturing to buy a new suit every other trip, whilst others every so often, especially if their finances were committed to other leisure activities such as drinking, or they had family responsibilities. A further rationale to purchase a new suit was if the trawlerman did not like the one that he had chosen, as Rimmer states:

[...] I've ordered a suit, gone away come home and ordered another one because I didn't like that one I'd ordered before. "Oooo I aren't wearing that again." I didn't like it, and you've gone off and bought another one. You know it was, it was a trend with us wasn't it suits?⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

Young men were going to sea at the age of 15 and from 16 could earn substantial wages, dependent on volume and type of fish caught, market forces and home financial commitments.⁴¹⁵ The purchasing of a shore suit was not a part of the galley boy's routine, due to financial restrictions. As a result, a visit to the tailor did not become a part of his shore regime until he was promoted to deckie learner, an increase in wages alongside receiving a share of the catch changed their consumption habits.

Nevertheless, despite the suits being unobtainable when starting in the industry, the men could spend their money on other clothing, buying records, and, underage drinking and smoking. An interviewee, in retrospect questions how he could drink in pubs when underage, whether it was due to looking older than he was, or it was tolerated by the landlords and landladies who knew the trawlermen would be spending substantial amounts of money.

The men of all ages seem to have enjoyed collecting records. A part of the schedule when home was to purchase music, songs that were in the charts were bought from stores in the centre of Hull like Hammonds, a local department store, or Sydney Scarborough's a local record shop. The types of music listened to included country music and rock 'n' roll artists such as Dolly Parton, Brenda Lee, Lulu, Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, Timmy Euro, Patsy Cline, Tammy Wynette, The Beatles, The Beach Boys, Dusty Springfield, Dave Clarke Five, Herman's Hermits and The Scaffold. When fishing, some music from overseas bands were heard up to six months prior to their release in the UK, consequently they could not be purchased when the men landed.

The trawlermen were distinct and recognised when visiting the record stores:

As soon as the crews were off the boat a lot of them were in to Sydney Scarborough's to buy music before they even got home. And of course, they were loaded with money, so the staff coined the phrase [Three- Day Millionaire].

The fishermen made straight for our shop. They were all pretty nice fellas as I remember. Loved their music. They took their wads of money wrapped in a rubber band out of their pockets & bought loads of LP's. We used to give them a box to take them home in.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 108.

⁴¹⁶ The first part is as communicated in person to Morris whilst the second part is a posting on the blog. D. Morris, 'Three Day Millionaire', *Whistling in the dark*. 05-06-2017. Available online: <http://davidmorrisphotographer.com/whistle/index.php/2017/06/05/three-day-millionaire/> [Accessed 11-02-2019].

The married men would typically meet their wives after settling and a visit to the tailors, heading to the centre of Hull to do some shopping, and for a meal at restaurants such as Hammonds, New York, Red Dragon or The Gainsborough. The wives enjoyed settling day, Janice Ottley, who married a trawlerman and came from a seafaring family (father, brothers, cousins and uncles), explains time ashore as:

Marvellous, real good fun, and really good company. [...] You just felt like queens [sic] for a day. What you wanted, you could have anything. It was wonderful.⁴¹⁷

The men would be in a shore suit and the women would be smartly dressed, after a visit to the hairdressers. If the trawlerman had a family, the children would accompany them and all would be bought presents and clothes. Afterwards, the men would either head off for a drink or return home to rest for the afternoon, to re-acquaint themselves once more with their wives, or to entertain the children depending on the home environment.

During the meeting of the crew when settling, or with friends, plans for the evening would be discussed and arranged. Baby sitters, usually family members, would be organised if required in preparation for a night out. The camaraderie seems integral to the men's on- and offshore existence with many of the crews socialising together when ashore, as Shakesby describes:

The normal thing was for all the crew (or at least the majority) to get together for maybe one night while we were at home, and just have a drink together. Our jobs were dangerous, difficult and demanding, so we had earned out little get-togethers when we were home.⁴¹⁸

For the evening a new suit or a different suit to what was worn during the day would be donned and the men would head off for the night's entertainment. The single men were out for a good time, meeting friends and crew to go to the pubs and clubs, 'Out with the lads, chasing the lasses.'⁴¹⁹ Apart from the men, it seems that the women were out for enjoyment too:

Me and my best pal saw them two, [referring to her now husband] and Frank, in Hessele Square. We were only 17. She went, "I like the one with the auburn hair." And I went, 'Oh no I like the one with the light grey suit.' It was a blue-light grey. [...] She went, "I bet they are going to Ferry Boat, let's us go to Ferry Boat." So, we followed them and

⁴¹⁷ Ottley, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁴¹⁸ Shakesby, *From schooldays to the Arctic Circle and beyond*, 75.

⁴¹⁹ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

we met them there. We met on the same night, we got engaged the same year, did me and my mate and his mate, and we got married the same year.⁴²⁰

The suit has been fundamental to the meeting and attraction of the women towards the men. The interviewee can also recall what Frank was wearing, a 'real nice dark brown' suit,⁴²¹ indicating the importance of their dress as a platform for visual recognition. It seems that women were drawn to the men as they were easily recognisable in the city, as Rimmer explains:

[...] you stood out amongst the crowd, "Oh he's a fisherman I can tell by his suit." ... they always knew that you had money.⁴²²

Some women would roll the men, helping themselves to their earnings when drunk due to their perceived affluence and generosity.⁴²³ The 'fourth fish room' or 'front cash room' pocket, became a way in which to prevent the men from having no money if rolled (see 5.1). The men would place a certain amount of cash in this pocket, which was discreet and difficult for others to gain access to, it enabled them to continue to enjoy themselves and have the fare for the taxi home. It seems that sometimes the men were unaware of what type of women they were courting until money was requested after sexual intercourse, certain pubs had reputations for this type of clientele.⁴²⁴ Areas around port towns and cities are known to have higher levels of entertainment in the form of drink and prostitutes.⁴²⁵

The women are referred to as 'good-time girls or 'prostitutes,' by Tunstall, who suggests that some were married, however, this statement is not substantiated with any evidence.⁴²⁶ The counter experience of the men and their behaviour is not presented to obtain a more balanced view. In Triplow's research of Grimsby's trawling community a more symbiotic approach is presented with a two-way supportive structure evident:

With 'women of the night' and the regulars like us [in the pub]. If we was out of a ship they'd give you your entrance fee – you'd get half a crown or five shillings to go in – and

⁴²⁰ S. Rimmer in *ibid.*

⁴²¹ S. Rimmer in *ibid.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 2

⁴²³ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1.*

⁴²⁴ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 134, 138.

⁴²⁵ Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World'.

⁴²⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 139.

they'd always buy you a drink. They was good hearted like that.⁴²⁷

The men became acutely aware of which women to stay away from if they so desired, not all women behaved in this manner. It seems to be the new and single recruits, were either unaware, or chose to use the services offered by the women. The married men spent time socialising with their wives, family, friends and crew members, it was a major part of their time onshore. The men appear to have treat the women with the upmost respect regardless of background, in Gill's documentary *Three-Day Millionaires*, one of his participants stipulates that you were never abusive towards women, as you could be sailing with a close family member.⁴²⁸

Listening to live music was important, many pubs had jukeboxes or live bands performing and the men would frequent these establishments. Certain pubs played country music whilst others such as the Blue Bell staged live jazz. Local pubs mentioned, which may be visited during the day or evening include Alexander, Half Way, Locomotion, Star & Garter (known colloquially as Rayners), Rose Tavern, Sheffield Arms, The Criterion, The Foundry, The Lion, and Vauxhall Tavern, all based along Hessle Road. Various other venues further afield were fraternised, such as the Ferry Boat in Hessle, Bircomb in Preston, and The Swan in Hutton Cranswick. It seems that the men would follow where the live music was played, this varied according to which day was settling day. The men were not necessarily arriving home for the weekend, with West Park Club being a good night out on a Thursday, whilst the Larcarno was a Monday. The Barham or The Majestic for dancing were frequented at the weekends, clubs were popular including St Andrew's Club and Dee Street Club. The mates and skippers usually frequented different pubs to the rest of the crew, the Liberal Club (now Ryder Club) on Coltman Street was popular and was considered elite.

The trawlermen would know what times the pubs closed in the surrounding areas, thus when Hull pubs had called last orders, taxis would be caught to areas outside of Hull's jurisdiction such as Hessle, East Yorkshire, for further enjoyment as their licensing laws were later. An interviewee describes frequenting a pub near the cattle market, Edward's Place, Commercial Street on Mondays, which was market day and stayed open until 17:00 rather than the usual 15:00.

When the pubs closed another opportunity to drink was to visit Boil Oil, which had an illegal bar at the back of the premises, or where alcohol could be purchased when the store was officially closed. A further form of entertainment was house parties, which could happen any night of the week due to all being from the trawling fraternity, the families adapted to as and when the men were ashore.

⁴²⁷ Robert Atmore in N. Triplow et al., *Distant Waters* (Grimsby: North Wall Publishing, 2011), 134.

⁴²⁸ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

An interviewee describes a married crew members party, 'You'd have a bit of a feed, a laugh and a giggle, a bit of a dance, and a little bit of a drink and that was how you socialised.'⁴²⁹ Another, explains that they would buy beers from the pub and head to someone's home for music, dancing and drinks.

It is recognised that the men drank when in port, for most, there had been an abstaining from alcohol for the majority of their trip at sea. Thus, a culture of concentrated drinking occurred, potentially with the men not able to handle large amounts of alcohol, due to the lack of continuous sustained drinking.

The men's behaviour in relation to alcohol consumption is presented by Tunstall as excessive, he acknowledges that this could be exaggerated due to the condensed timeframe ashore.⁴³⁰ However, the terms 'drinking' and 'drunkenness' appear regularly in his seminal work, projecting negative social behaviour, which could skew the overall impression of the men. Oliver's logs from 1919 to 1939 indicate his time at sea ranged from 57% to just under 85% annually, the equivalent of between 157 and 55 days in port per year respectively.⁴³¹ In 12 of 21 years Oliver spent less than 20 percent of the year ashore.⁴³² Leave continued to be limited in the 1950s onwards, at less than 46 days per year, working on the principle of 21 days afloat and up to three days in Hull, disregarding weather conditions and holidays that may be taken.⁴³³ If using Tunstall's structure of 13 trips to sea per year, this equates to 92 days ashore annually (approximately three months), therefore restricting time to drink.⁴³⁴ Historically port communities in the UK are known to have a higher percentage of drinking and gambling by comparison to other towns or cities.⁴³⁵ An extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1898, recognised the high spirited behaviour of trawlermen that worked in the North Sea:

I saw an ordinary steam trawler which in five weeks had earned £700 for her owners.
She was then in harbour, and her crew, sharers of her great good fortune, were reeling

⁴²⁹ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 7.

⁴³⁰ Tunstall, *The fishermen.*, 136.

⁴³¹ Starkey, 'Distant-Water Trawlerman: William Oliver, 1884-1959 ', 216.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴³³ Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

⁴³⁴ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 69.

⁴³⁵ Earle, *Sailors*; 'Sailors, Ships and Stevedores: The Story of British Docks', *Sailors, Ships and Stevedores*.

about in various stages of intoxication. They had been celebrating for a week.⁴³⁶

A rationale to produce a naval uniform was to bring an element of decorum, due to sailors' negative behaviour when ashore during the eighteenth century:

[...] Almost every day, or more properly every night, they got intoxicated, and would scour the streets, making a terrible row and breaking window-panes.⁴³⁷

Cooper boats were known to supply alcohol and tobacco to smacks from Hull in the late-nineteenth century, when fishing the North Sea, causing detrimental impact on the men and their behaviour.⁴³⁸ They were eventually prohibited in 1893 due to the perceived negative impact of men drinking at sea.⁴³⁹ Additionally, poor water conditions resulted in high alcohol consumption being a part of British culture.⁴⁴⁰

Reasons why the men drank when ashore vary, it was a short timeframe, three weeks of drinking was condensed into approximately three days; the men's time ashore revolved around socialising, they were extremely hospitable. It may be a reaction to their dangerous jobs and that every trip could be their last, so they lived for the moment and wanted pure enjoyment. The recognition of this fatalistic attitude could relate to why the men returned to sea with no money, continuing to show their generosity by throwing any remaining money to the children who were waving them off on the dockside.⁴⁴¹ They could not spend the money whilst away, retaining the cash may have seemed presumptuous of their return.

The day after settling the men would do their own thing, possibly meet up with family and friends, out on the night if not sailing, or relax in preparation for going away again. The gear would be cleaned at a wash house or a laundrette, this was perceived as a female role with grandmother, mother or wife taking on the responsibility. If the trawlerman was returning to the same ship only the gear that needed cleaning would return with him and not the heavy gear, otherwise it would all

⁴³⁶ W. Wood, 'A NORTH SEA REVOLUTION', *The Gentleman's magazine*, 285, 2013 (1898), 256-264, 256.

⁴³⁷ Miller, *Dressed to Kill*, 7, 28; C. de Saussure, A Foreign View of England in 1725-9: The Letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to his Family, ed. and trans. Van Muyden (1902; repr. 1995), p.224 quoted in N. A. M. Rodger, 'Honour and Duty at Sea', *Journal of the Institute of Historical Research*, 75, 190 (2002), 425-447, 433.

⁴³⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 25-27.

⁴³⁹ S. Friend, *Fishing for Souls: The Development and Impact of British Fishermen's Missions* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2018); Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 25-27.

⁴⁴⁰ M. A. Plant, 'The United Kingdom', in D. B. Heath (ed.), *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 290-299.

⁴⁴¹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

be removed if changing trawlers or having time ashore. The shore suits would be taken to the dry cleaners, this was seen as excessive behaviour by the female contingency, especially when only worn once. However, many of the suits were pale in colour and as Longden describes his favourite pale grey suit could only be worn once, 'it would start to look a bit grubby,' needing to be dry cleaned in preparation for his next trip home.⁴⁴² Longden states he owned up to eight suits at a time, with half of them always being at the dry cleaners. A trawlerman's relative worked at HVS (Hessle Valet Service), a dry cleaners and was earning additional funds through illicit means. Without his employer's knowledge he was collecting and cleaning trawlermen's suits prior to officially starting work each day, earning a small fortune, until he was sacked. Named Hessle Road dry cleaners besides HVS are Zerny's and the Chinese Laundry; in 1960 there were nine dry cleaning companies situated along the road.

The notion of remaining clean and presentable was important to the interviewees, in contrast to their existence when at sea. The financial implications of having made-to-measure suits and their upkeep was noticed and was considered exorbitant. However, it presented the men's ability to own and maintain their pristine appearance, an identity that they wanted to present externally to their community. The extravagance of retaining this smart appearance was important, with some trawlermen proclaiming that over cleaning decreased the smart appearance and the quality of the suiting, which encouraged the need to purchase anew.

When it was time for the men to return to sea, they would put on a shore suit and be collected by taxi and taken to the ship's store; trawlermen could obtain the supplies required for their trip on the grounds as well as provisions for their families. The trawlermen were buying their own gear to wear to sea rather than it being supplied by the ship owners, this went as far as their mattresses and bedding.⁴⁴³ Other types of articles included reading books and terry towelling nappies. The nappies would be sent home to expectant wives or those with small children. The chit would be handed over, the bill calculated with the goods either paid for in cash or sent to the ship owners for deducting from the forthcoming settlements. It has been stipulated in the interviews that the price of goods were inflated, however, the ability to buy on credit was a considerable incentive for the men to shop at the ship's store rather than using commercial retailers, who did not offer similar financial schemes.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 6.

⁴⁴³ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 3-4; Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 195.

⁴⁴⁴ Piper, *The North Ships*, 55.

The main competitor to the ship's store were other outfitters that sold workwear, such as Waistell's, with Tiplady's being cited in the interviews as a major rival to the trawler owners' business. An interviewee discusses having his rubber duck suits made-to-measure at Tiplady's, due to the ship's store only offering inferior plastic versions, which would crack in freezing conditions becoming abrasive. Piper describes what Tiplady's on West Dock Avenue, Hull had to offer:

The shops were small, matching the size of the houses, and the shopkeepers were forced to make as best use they could of their limited space for display and storage. The windows were packed with all the special warm clothing which fishermen need, and to get through the doors and into the shops it was necessary to push aside the foliage of hanging bunches of seaboots, white, red and clerical grey, and the rubber and plastic frocks, blue-green, bright yellow and black.⁴⁴⁵

Once supplies had been gathered the men would join their trawler for another voyage to the distant-waters.

Financial structure

The trawlermen were classed as unskilled casual labourers, when in fact they were skilled in seamanship and were undertaking all stages of the labour for catching and processing fish. The fishermen, although involved in commercial activities were not a part of the Merchant Navy, which is a tertiary industry, the service of transportation.⁴⁴⁶ The men's role effectively consisted of primary, secondary and tertiary industries, catching the fish, processing it, and, included the service of transportation.

The introduction of government acts helped living standards to improve for all through an increase in wages, reduction in working hours per week, and holiday entitlement with pay.⁴⁴⁷ However, these reforms seem to have had little impact on the trawlermen's lifestyle owing to their casual status. No payments occurred when ashore, therefore the three days between trips, the annual refit, time off for holidays, including Christmas or to take their tickets of competency went unpaid. The latter changed with the basic wage paid from 1955.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 20

⁴⁴⁶ The Merchant Navy was originally classed as the Merchant Service originally referring to seafarers who worked for the East India Company. From 1853 it became a term used for all commercial ships and their crew. This became the Merchant Navy in 1922 in recognition by George V for the role played by others than the Royal Navy in World War One. A. G. Course, *The Merchant Navy: A Social History* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1963), 17.

⁴⁴⁷ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 208, 213.

⁴⁴⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 185.

The *Ministry of Labour* implemented decasualisation of the industry in March 1945, all trawlermen and owners were registered, which offered relief for the men during reduced periods of demand for labour, and for those in employment to gain holiday pay.⁴⁴⁹ The out-of-work men would receive £0-10s-0d per day, equivalent to £2-10s-0d per week, which was considered reasonable, the basic wage for a deckhand at the time was £2-0s-0d.⁴⁵⁰ The scheme suffered opposition from the owners and ended in July 1946.⁴⁵¹ The owners complained about the cost of maintaining the scheme, suggesting it was unpopular with the men for three reasons. Firstly, the men would have to go to sea during the Christmas period, secondly, the men could be sent to any port that had a shortage of men and thirdly, they had no choice which ship they would join.⁴⁵² No evidence is available as to whether the trawlermen were consulted. To place in perspective the trawlermen were in the hands of the runners as to which ship they would join, rather than it solely ever being their choice, unless they were classed as one of the extremely profitable skippers. If you were out of favour with a runner you may be placed on a ship that was not known to make high returns. A further element not presented, is how the men were to join a ship in another port, and who would pay the travel expenses. If the men only received the same allocated time ashore, between 48 and 60 hours before the 1950s, this timeframe could be prohibitive and prevent the men from returning to their home port.⁴⁵³ The decasualisation of the trawlermen was once more a topic for discussion in 1976, by the UK government and the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU), which never came into fruition due to the collapse of the industry.⁴⁵⁴

In terms of finances the trawlermen appeared to be affluent, the reality can be contested, whilst at sea they had no means in which to spend their money, which was lower per hour than unskilled labourers on shore.⁴⁵⁵ The term 'Three-Day Millionaires' has been coined to describe the income of the trawlermen, this is contentious.⁴⁵⁶ It was a perception rather than an actuality, as Flaxman describes, 'They were not rich by any means but they had them ready money and it only had to last

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 53

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 241.

⁴⁵³ Robinson, *Trawling*, 191.

⁴⁵⁴ EDM 791, *Compensation for Fishermen* (1995-1996); Hull Daily Mail, 'Trawlermen may soon be decasualised'.

⁴⁵⁵ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁴⁵⁶ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

them three days.⁴⁵⁷ This could be exaggerated further if some of the wage had been retained by their wives, the men were returning to their settling money as well as a proportion of their wages, to be spent during a three day trip. In addition, the men's status as unskilled casual labourers, resulted in no job security, no pension prior to 1960, no danger money, and no overtime payment when not working but restricted to the vessel.⁴⁵⁸

The trawlermen earned a basic wage, as well as a percentage of the catch, the poundage plus cod liver money, known overall as the settling money,⁴⁵⁹ thus a good catch equated to more money minus the vessels expenses (including what had been bought on bond and the ship's store).⁴⁶⁰ The money made from cod livers was shared among the crew and the wireless operator, who helped to prepare the organs.⁴⁶¹ The wireless operator never made a share of the catch as he was never involved in this element of the work. The skipper's and the mate's wages were dependent on the catch,⁴⁶² Tunstall stipulates that by the early 1960s a skipper was allocated a basic wage of £0-35s-0d.⁴⁶³ It is not mentioned whether the mate benefitted from these changes to a basic wage entitlement. The engine room men had a higher basic wage than the deckmen, as well as a share of the catch.⁴⁶⁴

Apart from the wage and settlings, the men were allocated a portion of the catch, known as a fry of fish or vittling.⁴⁶⁵ This was perceived to be the best of the catch, usually one stone of fish reserved for the trawlermen. The crew were allocated three haddocks or cod, whilst the skipper and mate had a different allocation, which included halibut if caught. This was obtainable via a fish pass. Although the men knew how to fillet they would usually pay someone on the dock to do it on their behalf, either paying with cash or with fish. The fry of fish would not necessarily always be collected due to the short timeframe at home, some of the men felt their time was better spent elsewhere,

⁴⁵⁷ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁴⁵⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 69, 267.

⁴⁵⁹ In the early 1950s a deckhand would receive £7 per week plus 12/9 per £100 of the catch. Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 347.

⁴⁶⁰ Tunstall, *Fish*; Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*, 39.

⁴⁶¹ Gill, *Hessle Road*, 78.

⁴⁶² Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 347; Robinson, *Trawling*, 190.

⁴⁶³ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 176.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁶⁵ P. Day, *Informal discussion* 31-03-2019; Vittling meaning food to feed in Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 46; Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

whilst certain relatives would encourage them to collect the goods.⁴⁶⁶ Nominally they would give it away to family, friends, and neighbours, especially the elderly, affectionately named 'terrace enders'.

The basic wage could be collected from the ship owners by the men's wives, mothers or other designated person in their absence.⁴⁶⁷ Or the men could wait and pick up their earnings when they collected their settlings, or have it posted to them. It seems that some individuals made a living from being the designated collector of the basic wage. A man who lived on South Boulevard and a 'little old woman' from the top of Harrow Street, would collect the wages from the owners' offices on St Andrew's Dock for ½ crown (£0-2s-6d).⁴⁶⁸ The rationale for wives or mothers not to collect the wages was due to working, or in the eyes of some it was perceived as undignified to be seen collecting the monies. Otherwise, the wages would be collected each Friday and became known locally as the 'fish dock pram race' due to the wives *en masse* heading onto the dock with their children in prams.

If the men were single or below the minimum age for marrying, which was 16, two scenarios have been discussed in the interviews.⁴⁶⁹ Firstly the wages would be given to their parents or relatives as board money, for keeping a room for them when away. Or, secondly, they kept their wages recompensing their parents, as a 'treat'. It is known that some of the young trawlermen would save their basic wages, whilst others spent their earnings.⁴⁷⁰ The settling money was for the trawlerman to spend as he wished.

When married, and potentially with children, the wage would be given to the wives for the upkeep of the home and family. If married Tunstall stipulates some would share the settling money but the amount is unknown.⁴⁷¹ Todd indicates that most men with onshore employment would retain a large proportion of their wages, only sharing a few shillings for the housekeeping.⁴⁷² This was more evident with men from heavy industries such as mining, who felt that it was their right due to their dangerous jobs.⁴⁷³ Men across all industries were still the core wage earners, this is substantiated by

⁴⁶⁶ Day, *Informal discussion*; Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁴⁶⁷ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 165; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁴⁶⁸ Day, *Informal discussion*.

⁴⁶⁹ Parliament, *Act of Marriage Bill*, 1929. Available online: [http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/overview/lawofmarriage-/](http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/overview/lawofmarriage/) [Accessed 10-11-2017].

⁴⁷⁰ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*.

⁴⁷¹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 165.

⁴⁷² Todd, *The People.*, 198.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 198.

the fact many occupational roles for women were lower paid per hour by comparison to their male counterparts.⁴⁷⁴ During the interviews, how the men shared their settling money has been discussed, with some keeping it for themselves, or sharing with their wives before or during their time ashore. Interviewees who kept their settling, still spent it on their families, as well as themselves. An interviewee used to accompany her husband in a taxi to collect his settling to make sure she got some before it was all spent.

After collecting a meagre wage minus expenses for the trip, the galley boy would be waiting to receive a backhander for his additional work on the trawler, which supplemented his pay.⁴⁷⁵ An interviewee remembers obtaining £6 in backhanders for his first trip to sea when his wage was approximately £1-2s-6d minus expenses. In addition, in 1960, a galley boy recalls his wage being £2-5s-0d and obtaining tips from crew members, a backhander ranging from ½ crown to 10 bob (£0-2s-6d to £0-10s-0d). The backhander was a mutual support system by the trawlermen to one another, mainly for out-of-work trawlermen, known as hovels who were given money or goods.⁴⁷⁶ The area around the company offices, was nicknamed 'Tobacco Road' due to men congregating there to obtain tobacco as a backhander. Another describes how he would get his uncle a couple of tins of tobacco from bond, it was cheaper than ashore. Other goods that were part of the mutual support system were the shirts available from the ship's store, which, 'If you went to see a friend off he'd buy you a shirt or you bought them one.'⁴⁷⁷

The bigger the company the more men would be waiting at the trawler owner offices, with estimates of between twenty to thirty men at each firm looking for employment and backhanders. If the trawlerman had a good trip the backhander may be between £2 and £3, in the later years it could be as much as £5. An interviewee recalls obtaining a telegram, he only used to receive them from his wife, but this was from three colleagues. They were out of a ship and knew he was landing, they were forewarning him that they would come and meet him. The trip cost him £15 in backhanders, £5 each. The interviewee acknowledges that this was a lot of money to give away at once but recognises that at other times these three men had supported him financially. The support could be offered to the out of work man via an evening out with his wife and all expenses paid.

⁴⁷⁴ The government were making moves to bring in equal pay from the 1950s, however, the Equal Pay Act of 1970 did not come into force until 1975, and it can be debated whether true equality in pay has ever been achieved. *Ibid.*, 204, 209, 311; Department of Employment and Productivity, *British Labour Statistics: Historical Abstract 1886-1968* (London: HMSO, 1971).

⁴⁷⁵ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁴⁷⁶ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Robinson, *Trawling*, 198; Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁴⁷⁷ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

Some deckhands worked together for long periods of time and created a co-operative system of financial support. An interviewee recalls his time on the *Kingston Topaz* and that the crew had been together for more than a year. All the deckhands would work several trips at sea on a rotation system, each trawlerman would take one trip ashore as unpaid leave. The agreement was that the other deckhands would share their settling money with the man in port, to support him financially. This mutual agreement would continue with the man on leave offering the same financial support when required on his return. Tunstall presents evidence that men moved ships regularly within the year, which could compound their ability to mutually support one another when wanting time off.⁴⁷⁸

If a trawlerman was injured when at sea and had to be put ashore, from that point his wage would stop and he would not receive any settling money, the crew would get his share of the poundage. As the trawlermen were casual labourers, this could cause financial difficulties for the men and their families, especially as many wives were unable to work due to being the main child carer. In the interviews it is explained that some of the crew when settling would give a backhander for the injured crew member, however, this was not compulsory and was dependent on the relationship between the two men. The key to the various forms of mutual support, is whenever necessary the fraternity of crew members supported each other collectively.

After the catch had sold at auction the crew would arrive at the offices of their employer to collect their settling money.⁴⁷⁹ The poundage (settling) was calculated in relation to position on the trawler per £100 or £1000 of fish caught dependent on era. The poundage varied according to position on the ship, type of fish caught, volume, and market forces, which all played a substantial role in how much the trawlermen earnt.

If the ship had landed well preserved fish, which had been prepared and stored appropriately, the mate would give a backhander to the fish-room man, in recognition of his role in retaining the stocks fresh quality. An interviewee acknowledges that:

He would treat you out of his money [...] you kept the mate in a job. In fact, some mates realised the importance of having good fish-room men and they really looked after them [...] you were sought after.⁴⁸⁰

If too many trawlers were landing at the same time or the quality or type of fish was poor or undesirable, the fish would be condemned and sold for fish-meal. This was usually made from fish

⁴⁷⁸ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 58-59.

⁴⁷⁹ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 347.

⁴⁸⁰ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

waste, or fish not for human consumption and is used in animal feed. As it was a form of hunting obtaining a catch could be challenging, an interviewee describes such a trip:

Sometimes when we were at the fishing grounds and you could steam forever and it's time to go home and you've hardly got a good trip in and we use to stop on the way home. We'd shoot on the way home in the deep-water maybe Faroe, Faroe Isles, or maybe close to England in the deep-water we use to catch coley and swaddies but erm the red soldier fish. And we use to catch that and maybe in abundance and fill the ship up. Erm it all adds up to our settling, you didn't get the price for this fish as you do with cod but a little money is worth it than going home with nothing.⁴⁸¹

Landing in debt was a real possibility, with the men potentially owing the trawler owner money. The situation was compounded further by what had been bought from the ship's store prior to the trip. If lots of equipment was required a substantial store bill may need to be paid from the settlings. Piper discusses the economic hardship for trawlermen when requiring new gear for a trip to sea, some men did not invest in the full gear and only purchased a 'schooner rig', which is descriptive of a vessel that required less sails, therefore the analogy is of the men wearing less, thus reducing their financial outlay, but, being more exposed to the elements.⁴⁸²

An interviewee recalls her husband being on the *Othello* on January 6 1969, off the coast of Norway, when it caught fire in the accommodation section of the trawler.⁴⁸³ Fortunately all the crew were rescued, however the men lost their workwear, equipment and their bedding. The local newspaper the *Hull Daily Mail* reported the incident giving the details of the crew. After the interviewee's insurance company representative had read the article, he tried to gain compensation for loss of earnings plus the gear. Unfortunately, he was unable to claim due to the fire being out of British waters, all the gear needed repurchasing, which could be a substantial investment. Ellis bought all of his equipment for about £20 including a mattress, whilst Piper stated approximately £25 when all the gear was required but does not mention having to buy a mattress or bedding.⁴⁸⁴ Another interviewee discussed it being as much as £40, when everything was needed, including a mattress, bedding, work clothing and gutting equipment (see 0). This fluctuation in price could be in recognition of different timeframes, nonetheless it is recognised that it was a large financial

⁴⁸¹ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4.

⁴⁸² Piper, *The North Ships*, 53.

⁴⁸³ Hull Daily Mail, 'Crew safe - Tug reaches blazing trawler'; Hull Daily Mail, 'No lead on vital Othello questions', *Hull Daily Mail*. 10 January 1969, 1, 11; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 76.

⁴⁸⁴ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 2; Piper, *The North Ships*, 50.

investment for the trawlermen. The notion of being in debt before actually going to sea created a financial obligation for the men, they needed to labour to pay-off their outstanding monies owed to the trawler company. Moon describes the situation:

As soon as you got out of that taxi at stores, to store yourself up, you was in debt. [...] You had to buy your own bed, your own pillow, your own blankets, your own knives. Everything you bought yourselves and you'd sign that pink sheet and the stores belonged to the trawler owners so you was already in debt to them before you even got out of lock pit and went away.⁴⁸⁵

Changes did happen with the trawler owners eventually allocating funds for the men's gear, it did not pay for the entire amount required, the percentage of financial support given was offset against time at sea. The incentive could only be used at the ship's store, owned by trawler owners, therefore continuing to hold a monopoly on what type of gear could be bought and from where. In 1969 the Final Report into Trawler Safety (requested due to the Triple Trawler Tragedy) recommended that all trawlers should be supplied with survival clothing as well as protective work gear.⁴⁸⁶ Up until this point it was at the discretion of the men whether they bought their own survival gear.

An interviewee recalls his worst trip financially was in the *Loch Melfort*, his settling money was £0-10s-1d, from this his bond and store bill needed paying. The trawlerman was single at the time and could use his basic wage to support himself when on leave. Additionally, a trawlerman remembers earning £2-0s-0d settling money, his store bill was £4-0s-0d, consequently for three weeks away at sea he returned to a debt of minus £2-0s-0d.

An additional debt the trawlerman could owe beside the bond and store bills, was if a request for money from forthcoming settlements had been added to the basic wage when at sea. A spare-hand in 1968 on £13-0s-0d a week basic wage, had an advance of £2-0s-0d, equating to £15-0s-0d, this additional money needed to be earned when away. The men could speculate and anticipate their settlements, although never guaranteed. If they were in a trawler renowned as a good ship, under the supervision of a prominent skipper the gamble could pay off, otherwise the men risked landing in debt.

Tunstall stipulates that a deckhand on a sidewinder would have approximately 13 trips per year at sea and three trips off whether as holiday, the annual survey or a walkabout.⁴⁸⁷ An interviewee has

⁴⁸⁵ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety*, 47, 72.

⁴⁸⁷ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 69.

retained a selection of settling sheets with the most complete year being 1967. If all the trips were on a sidewinder (two were on sterns) this would equate to 11 trips per year. Tunstall states that the time ashore was a part of the basic wage; however, there is no evidence on the settling sheets to suggest this, with dates specific to time at sea.⁴⁸⁸ The poundage varied according to volume caught and market conditions, which could fluctuate the overall total earnings. The best financial returns was for a trip of 22 days, which made £41-17s-0d, while the worst trip of 32 days made £2-12s-1d. By calculating earnings (basic and poundage) against time at sea, the best trip per day amounted to £1-18s-1d, whilst the worst trip was £0-1s-8d. If the settling sheets are complete, the annual earnings were £171-2s-11d, the equivalent of £3-7s-4d a week. The distribution of earnings in 1968, for onshore unskilled male manual labourers aged 21 years and over, is the equivalent of £13-6s-0d per week.⁴⁸⁹ This highlights the poor annual pay of the trawlermen by comparison to their contemporaries onshore.

Conversely, the other extreme was the men could land lucrative catches. In the early 1960s an average trip would bring in approximately £6,500 for the ship, anything above £8,000 was considered a good trip. On the *Kingston Topaz* an interviewee recalls a catch of big plaice selling for £18,000, which as a deckhand entitled his settling to be £6-6s-6d per £1000, earning him over £100. The trawlermen interviewed stated their best settlings were between £100 to £300, depending on era fishing and position on the ship. No two trips were financially the same and the figures contextualise the extreme fluctuation of working in the trawl fisheries, and the financial instability from one trip to the next.

When the trawlermen received little or no poundage, how the debt was managed varied. The amount accrued would be taken from the basic wage by the trawler owners, which was paid a week in arrears, this could impact detrimentally if the men had families reliant on the wage. Some would ask their parents for financial support. One interviewee recalls his parents would check the pockets of his suits prior to taking to the dry cleaners, any money found was kept and given back at moments like this. Others had budgeted their wages and could cope financially. Or the trawler company would give a sub to the trawlerman if requested, 'So at least you could pay your taxi off dock.'⁴⁹⁰

A further option was to pawn goods at the pawn brokers, Leightons and Izzy Turners were mentioned in the interviews. The pawn broker was a system whereby an individual could take goods

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁸⁹ With a £0.1 standard error of median. Department of Employment and Productivity, *British Labour Statistics: Historical Abstract 1886-1968*, 134.

⁴⁹⁰ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 8.

in return for money. It worked by stating how much money was wanted, bartering with the broker until an agreement was accepted by both parties. The money was handed over with a ticket to redeem the goods within the legal minimum time, in this case three months.⁴⁹¹ If the goods were collected in the allocated timeframe, the broker would obtain the amount loaned, plus the profit as agreed, otherwise the goods would be put up for sale. An interviewee recalls when a schoolboy taking bundles of bedding and shoes for women who lived nearby to the pawn shop. Likewise a trawlerman stated that he used to sell his records to the broker when on walkabout and needing cash. This extended to include the shore suit as they were surplus to requirements when the men were at sea.

Regan suggests his mother may have pawned his suits without his knowledge due to using it for other goods, 'She always used to say, "Oh I wouldn't pawn your suits," but I think she did.'⁴⁹² Prior to entering the industry another interviewee recalls that he witnessed his mother taking his father's suits to the pawn brokers when he was away at sea. An interviewee used to work at Smith's newsagents (1955-1958) on the opposite corner of the terrace to Izzy Turners and distinctly remembers the suits being delivered amongst other things such as household goods, including bedding, irons and even pans after a Sunday dinner. The shore suits were considered good business, they needed collecting before the husband returned from a three-week trip, unlike other goods they would be collected in a shorter timeframe and the broker knew he would make a profit.

Several of the interviewees recalled a story, whereby mothers or wives would take the suits straight to the pawn brokers as the man headed off to sea. Unfortunately, the ship had not sailed and it became a quick scramble to retrieve the suit from the brokers before the man returned home and realised his shore suit was missing. Some of the interviewees felt the pawn broker was a form of business that was more popular with their parents' generation than their own, the service had weaned by the time they were fishing, however, others interviewed recognised there was still a role for the business within the community.

The wages fluctuated for the trawlermen and their families, adding a level of financial unreliability to their earnings and lifestyle. If landing in debt this would remain until it was cleared by conducting further trips to sea, creating a spiral of dependency between the workforce and the trawler owners. Whether this was mutually beneficial is debateable, however, it enabled the trawler owners to have a supply of men to crew the ships and the men, classed as casual labourers, potentially having job

⁴⁹¹ Ginsburg, 'Rags to Riches', 126; Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*.

⁴⁹² Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 2.

security through needing to repay their debts. Whatever the circumstances, the trawlermen and their families established ways in which to provide during times of economic instability, and when required the worth of the shore suit became an important factor in easing the financial burden.

Time ashore

The average time onshore during the 1960s for a trawlerman was three days, however, this could be extended for various reasons, sometimes unexpectedly. The term walkabout refers to the men when unemployed due to a perceived or actual misdemeanour. Unemployment via a walkabout could be temporary, literally the length of a single trip, short- or long-term, with the most extreme cases being permanent exclusion from working with a specific company.

The skipper or runner had the unofficial power to keep the men from employment, the perception is that the trawler owners were aware of this malpractice, however as long as their ships sailed they overlooked this surreptitious behaviour between their employees. Furthermore, there was always a surplus of men requiring employment therefore the trawlermen's position was precarious and retaining a good working relationship was imperative. The runner was the liaising officer between the owners and the crew, his role was to find recruits to sail on the trawlers. If the runner felt that you were not co-operating he would prevent you from going to sea, forcing a walkabout. This could be for refusing to serve on a ship, usually an old-style sidewinder or one known not to make money, refusing to sail around the festive period, taking leave at an inconvenient time, as a skipper you had entered another port when not requested to, or had several poor catches; whatever the reason, you were classed as a 'bad boy' and the runner could block your employment. If you were prepared to help the runner, the good turn was usually recognised. An interviewee recalls when on a walkabout the runner had a single trip for him, which he took, this placed him in a favourable position with the runner. When a more permanent position became available it was offered to the trawlerman, thus enabling him to return to sea.

If a trawlerman's working relationship with the skipper was positive, he could arrange for a holiday recruit to be hired, with the trawlerman's position being guaranteed on his return; however, this could be scuppered by the runner. Some men would offer backhanders to the runners to gain favours, this would be in terms of gaining a ship if unemployed, gaining a better ship than the one already employed on, or working with a renowned skipper to potentially gain financially. Piper explains that:

In all my years at sea, in all the different sorts of ship I had served in, I had never once paid for a berth, for the privilege of tiling afloat, in fact I had never heard of such deals [...] And when I settled at the end of that trip the very furthest thing from my mind was

the thought of welshing. I paid, and like many trawlermen I sweetened my account with runners at the end of every trip, whether I was sacked or whether I wasn't.

As there were so many more of us than there were jobs, it came to this: if you wanted to ship [sic] you had to pay, and runners got rich.⁴⁹³

The technique was to offer the runner a match for a smoke, instead of the matchbox having matches in it, inside was money. As one interviewee explains, 'Is there out doing Bob?' "No" 'Then the box would be slid across and then the runner would state, "Come back tomorrow"'.⁴⁹⁴ None of the men interviewed stated that they bribed the runners.

Every trawler from Hull would enter dry dock in the summer months for an annual survey, which would take approximately three weeks. The trawler would be painted, the hull assessed, barnacles removed, and any queries with equipment would be dealt with.⁴⁹⁵ The men would not be paid when the ship was in for its refit. Some options were to wait and have time off as holiday, have a few days off and obtain work on another ship, or work ashore for a few weeks. An interviewee explains that you would try to retain a berth on a good ship, unfortunately the men were not always aware the ship was due for its annual survey, therefore no financial planning had been made in advance, forcing the men back to work, potentially on an inferior trawler than the one they had just served on.

The holidays for the crew would be one trip of 24 days, whilst the skipper was allocated two trips. As casual labourers when the men took a trip off they were not paid, therefore financial planning was required. The wireless operators were employed by the wireless company and paid during holidays and the annual refit. An interviewee discusses that his wife disliked him being away and saved money from his wages so that he could have two to three trips off a year, holidaying with his family and in-laws. Research by Tunstall suggests the men would request to be sacked so that they were able to sign on and claim social security when ashore, none of the interviewees in this study present this as an option.⁴⁹⁶ Consequently, it was not always easy to find another ship, if you were on good terms with the skipper, and the runner, it was arranged that you could return to the ship after a trip off.

⁴⁹³ Piper, *The North Ships*, 28-29.

⁴⁹⁴ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 5.

⁴⁹⁵ Piper, *The North Ships*, 24.

⁴⁹⁶ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 60.



Figure 26 A trawlerman on the beach with his family wearing the shore suit trousers and a thin tie.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Family at the seaside*. n.d. [photograph] (East Yorkshire). Courtesy of W. Longden.

An interviewee recalls when young and single he took time off as and when he felt like it, one time not going back to sea so that he could visit Hull Fair with his friends. Hull Fair is the largest travelling fair in Europe and a major event in the city dating back to 1278.⁴⁹⁷ The interviewee was confident that he would obtain another ship, nevertheless, he does recognise that if he was in a good ship earning good money he would not have risked losing his berth. Additionally, if he had dependents his behaviour would have been different due to his responsibility to provide. Another interviewee stipulates that when he was single he only had one trip away at Christmas, he did not need the money and preferred to stay home for the festive period.

When on their holidays, the men would still wear their suits, mixing and matching with other less formal items. Jackets may be removed altogether, or replaced with a jumper, or the jacket would be retained, tie removed and jeans worn to create a more casual look (see Figure 26 and Figure 27).

⁴⁹⁷ V. Toumin, *The history of Hull Fair*, 2019. Available online: http://www.hull.gov.uk/sites/hull/files/media/The%20history%20of%20Hull%20Fair_0.pdf [Accessed 09-08-2019].



Figure 27 A trawlerman with his future wife on a day trip to Hornsea, East Yorkshire, circa 1964 wearing jeans with large turn-ups and his shore suit jacket.

Source: Photographer unknown, *A day trip to Hornsea*. ca 1964 [photograph] (Hornsea). Courtesy of C. Day.

4.3 Landing abroad

The typical reasons why a trawler would enter another port besides the allotted home port was to collect and return local crew members if the ship was short of men, or pilots to guide the trawlers through the Norwegian Fjords, repairs, supplies such as fuel, ice, food, bad weather or if there had been an accident. The ship would only remain in a port for as long as required as harbour duties would need to be paid. An interviewee explained that even in bad weather the ship would potentially leave port, and head for a fjord to shelter to cut costs. Countries visited included Iceland, Norway, Faroe Islands, Newfoundland and Labrador, as well UK ports such as Grimsby, Aberdeen and Lowestoft. During the day the men would wear their work gear to walk about, they were still keen to explore wherever they had landed, but to some extent were still confined to their employment. If the men were not on watch and having a night out, they would get dressed up and

wear their suits, after their routine onboard the ship had been completed (see Figure 28 and Figure 29).



Figure 28 A group of trawlermen in Iceland in their work clothing.

Source: Photographer unknown, *Trawlermen in their work gear in Iceland*. n.d. [photograph] (Iceland).
Courtesy of C. Day.

Figure 29 The same group of trawlermen in Iceland in the suits.

Source: Photographer unknown, *Trawlermen in their shore suits in Iceland*. n.d. [photograph] (Iceland).
Courtesy C. Day.

Regan recalls his first experience of landing abroad, it was his first or second trip to sea and was excited to be going into port for repairs. The young trawlerman had been warned that there was not many facilities and it was true, it was basic with no shops only an oil jetty for refuelling and a landing

jetty, parts for repairing were collected and taken elsewhere. Seydisfjörður in Iceland was rudimentary and a disappointment. The most memorable experience abroad for Regan was in Akureyri in Iceland during the summertime. The interviewee recalls visiting a club that had a music group playing both Icelandic and covers of English (language) songs. He explains the music was good but the club was expensive, however, the trawlermen made sure that they could afford it, the men had time off to enjoy themselves and had a good time. Another factor the interviewee remembers is how Americanised Akureyri appeared through the style of cars and music, 'it seemed modern to what we had at home [...] it was nice.'⁴⁹⁸ According to Prior, the US personnel stationed at the air base at Keflavík brought a level of Americanisation to Iceland, with the introduction of milk bars, diners, dance halls and rock 'n' roll music (see Figure 30).⁴⁹⁹ Wendy's restaurant was the first place in Iceland that sold hamburgers.

⁴⁹⁸ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 6.

⁴⁹⁹ N. Prior, 'It's A Social Thing, Not a Nature Thing': Popular Music Practices in Reykjavík, Iceland', *Cultural Sociology*, 9, 1 (2015), 81-98.



Figure 30 Róska Óskarsdóttir has an ice-cream at the East Bar, Reykjavík, 1957.

Source: A. Kolbeinsson, *Róska (Ragnhildur Óskarsdóttir) fær sér ís á Austurbar*. 1957 [Photograph]. Ref AKO 002023 2-1, Museum of Photography, Reykjavík.

Ellis in his memoirs of visiting Reykjavík expresses how American the capital appeared:

It wasn't greatly developed but it appeared Americanised, with its suspended traffic lights and American cars, due to the air base the Yanks had close by at Keflavík.⁵⁰⁰

An interviewee recalls her grandfather, '[...] always had cool cars, huge American numbers with wings at the back,' and continues to explain that her father as a teenager borrowed his dad's car with a record player on the dashboard, and wondered how the records never jumped, 'as they bumped along the potholy [sic] Icelandic gravel roads.'⁵⁰¹ This Americanisation was extended to include the naval base's radio station, which played the latest American popular music tunes. An

⁵⁰⁰ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 126.

⁵⁰¹ H. McLean, *Informal discussion* 11-04-2020.

interviewee recalls the locals in Akureyri wearing jeans and Icelandic knitted jumpers, with the clothing in Iceland and Norway matching the weather conditions.



Figure 31 July 1960 Iceland, a group of American cars (Fords and a Chevrolet), the first one being a taxi. Source: P. Thomsen, *Bifreiðin fremst á myndinni er Ford Fairlane 500, árgerð 1959, og á númeraplötunni (R 944) framan á stuðaranum má sjá 'L' merki sem þýðir að þetta er leigubifreið. Aftan við Fordinn er Chevrolet Impala árgerð 1960, Dodge 1960 og Ford Fairlane 1958.* July 1960 [Photograph]. Ref PTH 004 117 4-3, Museum of Photography, Reykjavík.

Rimmer recollects landing in Norway and wearing his suit to a café, which sold beer if food was bought. The interviewee remembers a pub opening in Tromsø and being thrown out due to being too loud, he really liked the town and enjoyed landing there. On another trip, due to a breakdown of the winch aboard the *Lord Nelson*, the interviewee spent three weeks in Halifax, Nova Scotia but was not old enough to drink due to the age limit being 21. The crew lied explaining that he was a deckhand, which meant that he would have to be at least 18 but altered it to 21, when in fact he was a deckie learner and younger. He and the crew frequented the pub for the duration of their time ashore. The interviewee described Halifax as being limited with a few houses and shops dotted around, in contrast to what the city is like now, and how disappointed he was to see Canadian Mounties in cars rather than on horseback.

The men would meet fishermen from other ports including European and British seamen. When in Nova Scotia an interviewee recalls drinking with dory men, these were Portuguese who fished using a line from small boats, which would return to the parent ship, a schooner, a sailing ship that still had the capacity to use sails although modernised with an engine.⁵⁰² Rimmer recalls fraternising with the Portuguese:

You'd never seen nowt like it in your life. I always remember it, it was a big long table, wood with big long wooden benches and all they had to eat [with] was a knife, and the bread, they used to pull the bread off, but wine [said in amazement]. She was loaded with wine and we went back to our ship and we've got kettle and we've got buckets, everything and they just topped us up with wine.⁵⁰³

An interviewee when 18 years of age in approximately 1961, remembers being in the *Kingston Ruby* and entering Klaksvík, Faroe Islands, with engine trouble. It was a Saturday night and the crew went ashore in their suits, 'which weren't the best suits but you know they were reasonably tidy,'⁵⁰⁴ as a dance was in full swing. The trawlerman when storytelling becomes coy and decides not to repeat a section of what happened, which is in relation to two girls he and another crew member met when at the dance. By his laughter it can be surmised it is of a sexual nature, and is retold slightly tongue-in-cheek. After the dance, the men decided to take the two girls home and then returned to the ship. Outside the dance were lots of bicycles, they took two, which they planned to return after escorting the girls home. Both men returned separately and left the bikes on the quayside. But they panicked knowing that it would be recognised someone aboard the *Kingston Ruby* had stolen the bikes, they decided to throw them into the water.

The men were asleep in their bunks when a big Faroese policeman with a little lad implicated the two trawlermen. The policeman escorted them off the ship to the police station, they were asked if they had stolen the bikes, he threatened to send them to Tórshavn for one month in the calaboose if they lied to him about the bikes. They stated that they had taken them, and retrieved the bikes with grappling hooks from the fjord and were fined. The policeman told them to stay on the ship and not to come ashore again, otherwise he would lock them up.

⁵⁰² Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 82-83; Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*.

⁵⁰³ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 5.

⁵⁰⁴ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

The next day when in the fo'c'sle, with nothing to do, the men can hear the two girls calling them to come ashore, they explained that they cannot but eventually are persuaded to go to a café. They are drinking Pilsners and in the far corner of the café there were some Faroese lads who started fighting:

And I'm not joking there are tables going and chairs going and the four of us are stood in the corner thinking, "Oooo good god." And next thing guess who comes in? The same policeman and he saw us both, and he ignores these kids fighting, just left them. And of course, as soon as they saw the copper they all stopped and all ran off. So he comes across to me and Frankie and he says, "I've told you", so we didn't go ashore anymore after that. Happy days when you're young and daft.⁵⁰⁵

A tailor from Leeds living in Reykjavík recalls socialising with English trawlermen and particularly remembers his Icelandic wife being accidentally insulted by a Hull trawlerman, who wanted to say to his wife that she was 'falleg,' which means beautiful, unfortunately his pronunciation made it sound like he was stating she had 'fat legs'.⁵⁰⁶ Additionally when in Iceland the trawlermen were not solely competing with the locals for the attention of women but the Americans too, dressing smart gave the men more options as to the types of establishments they could visit; Ellis makes the point that hotels were out of bounds when in their workwear.⁵⁰⁷ Horaldur Sigfússon recalls when a young man working on the family farm and how difficult it was to match the local and international trawlermen. The young women were aware of who were trawlermen by their dress, which signified their wealth and they gravitated towards them rather than to the farmers.

An interviewee can recall being in Harstad, Norway, he was on the *Macbeth* and tied up alongside was the *Imperialist*, another ship from Hull, owned by the same trawler company. The *Macbeth* had been in port for a week and the men had run out of money, they decided to sneak aboard the *Imperialist* and steal a down buoy. The down buoy is a wire with a buoy and anchor attached, which is used as a marker when fish has been located, enabling the same area to be continually fished. The men sold the buoy to the Norwegian agent who arranged repairs for the trawlers when in port, enabling the men to continue to go ashore with the extra finances acquired.

The stories of landing abroad present upbeat experiences for the trawlermen interviewed, even when placing themselves in danger, or misbehaviour. It is evident in the interviews that the men

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4

⁵⁰⁶ G. Bergmann & C. Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*. 18-07-2018, 8.

⁵⁰⁷ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 126.

wanted to explore the ports they entered and mix with the local community or other trawlermen, donning their suits to see what facilities were available:

One of the reasons I always liked to go to sea in a reasonable suit, in case we ever went into any of the Norwegian ports, or the Icelandic ports or for whatever reason. Be for bunkers or err repairs or whatever it was always nice to have a reasonable suit on, bearing in mind because I was only a young man and I very much liked to go ashore if I had the chance, and err see what sort of facilities were available ashore. I won't go any further than that [laughter].⁵⁰⁸

4.4 Reflection

When home for a few days the men's lives continued to revolve around their vocation and St Andrew's Dock, collecting money or goods owed, and obtaining information about their next trip on the grounds. Aside from this perpetual connection to their industry when ashore, leisure time was significant and was focused on socialising with family and friends.⁵⁰⁹ The hardship of the post-war period and the difficult challenges faced by the trawlermen's parents brought about a difference in attitude for this generation, which was reflective in the men's behaviour of living for the moment.

The men lived perilous lifestyles and a stoical attitude existed, living life to the full when ashore in their own or another port. This extended to consuming goods, particularly the purchasing of records and clothing, most notably the made-to-measure suits. This chapter has offered a more personal projection of the trawlermen and their interaction with friends and family, in particular the importance of the suit, especially in attracting the opposite sex. The non-occupational side of landing abroad brings new research to the field, presenting the trawlermen's social side and interaction with the locals and other trawlermen. Once more the shore suit becomes an important element in standing out from the crowd, identifying the Hull trawlermen as different, with more competition due to other 'well-paid' trawlermen and the Americans when in Iceland.

The contrast between the trawlermen's two existences is highlighted by the differences in what they wore when in their different spheres. The workwear presented in the previous chapter, evidences the connection with fishing for centuries, this now remains confined to the trawler's edges, whereas the shore suit is protected until required for their brief spells ashore. It was important for the men to be seen as pristine when landing, which was harder to maintain when in pale colours. The dress has never been the core focus of any previous research on the distant-water trawlermen, therefore the

⁵⁰⁸ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁵⁰⁹ Robinson, *Trawling*, 197.

following chapter will outline the most comprehensive description of the trawlermen's shore suits with information on the designs, the pricing and their ultimate demise.

Section C: (Sub-) Cultural Drivers

This section identifies the cultural factors that contributed to the development of the shore suit within time and geographical placement. Each chapter examines a different element and imparts original findings and inquiry on the subject of the trawlermen and their shore suit.

First, chapter five *The suit makers* refers to the relationship between the tailors and the trawlermen, and explores which tailors were producing the shore suits and the inter-relationship between the maker and the wearer through the creative collaborative process. A thorough descriptor of the shore suit is presented from oral history narration and object analysis, evidencing the details and key features that were retained throughout the timeframe worn (1950s to 1980s), including any changes. The research focuses on Iceland as a hub for innovative fashion due to various converging international influences and how this may have interconnected with the trawlermen's style. No in-depth examination of the shore suit has been conducted previously, in particular there is an absence of detail spanning the duration of the timeframe in which it was worn. Nor has the suits place and status in other venues, further afield than Hull been explored, and how these experiences shaped the suit and the dress of others.

Chapter six, *Shaping the suit*, places in context the trawlermen's shore suit and the rationale to create such a decisive form of dress. Subcultural drivers are considered through the changes in menswear in the twentieth century. The trawlermen's experiences within their roles are explored, as is Gill's concept of the American cowboy, the only known rationale to wear the suit. The chapter is the only investigation that considers the macro and micro influences that were visually present in the men's onshore surroundings. It is demonstrated that the shore suit was a bricolage of styles influenced by their experiences as trawlermen, specifically peer emulation.

The penultimate chapter in this section, *A mariner's suit* refers to the need to wear and present the shore suit and the performativity of the men when in port. Mariners for centuries have used the shore as their stage, with clothing being a way in which to maximise their visual presence. The trawlermen of Hull have been no exception to this, with the chapter considering the symbolic nuances and what is driving the need to construct this sartorial recognition. The chapter proclaims that the shore suit holds various cultural significance for the wearer and the trawlermen's audiences, symbolically representing their occupational collective. Furthermore the suit is a visual indicator for the trawlermen, to project their worth and as a way in which to attract attention when conventional mating rituals are unavailable because of time constraints. The final chapter concludes the research, offering an overview of the findings.

Chapter 5 The suit makers

The chapter presents the results of the primary research regarding the trawlermen's shore suit.

Prown discusses the importance of the designing, making, buying and wearing stages as integral to his method in structuring research around the object and its interrelation with the person(s) within their cultural context.⁵¹⁰ Unusually, as mass-produced goods became ubiquitous in the twentieth century, the trawlermen still took a focussed interest in all stages.

Though other authors researching Hull trawlermen mention the suit and offer some detail on its appearance and pricing, its importance to the trawlermen's lifestyle has largely been ignored or understated.⁵¹¹ The chapter asserts the importance of the suit's development in shaping the men's presence in Hull and further afield, using Iceland as a case study. In addition the chapter will offer the most comprehensive exploration of the shore suit, considering the designing and making process, tracking changes to the style, price and payment methods. The chapter concludes with a rationale as to why the shore suit waned in popularity, leading to its ultimate demise. This is the only known body of work to have considered in detail the nuances of the style and incremental changes to the trawlermen's shore suit.

The men arrived back from sea and on their first full day in port, after collecting their settlings, they visited their tailor of choice. For some, it was for a fitting in preparation for the suit being ready for that trip, for others it was the start of the creative process. According to Flaxman, the designing of the suits would be discussed en route home from a voyage; the men, 'would lash themselves up with all fancy gear,' ready for their short trip ashore.⁵¹²

5.1 The Suit: Specification and the creative process

The Hull trawlermen's shore suit originated in the 1950s with no exact date or year known. Regan speculates that it was a response to the end of clothes rationing in 1952, 'Yeah, yeah. It was I think it was just after the war, the war finished then the rationing did and this allowed them [the trawlermen] to do that.'⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 1-2.

⁵¹¹ *Three-Day Millionaires*; Robinson, *Trawling*.

⁵¹² Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 1.

⁵¹³ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

One interviewee recalls his trawlerman father (lost at sea in 1955) who wore wide legged trousers with a Spanish waistband. Ken Martin worked in the tailoring industry for 19 years, recalls witnessing the suit when he was a child in 1954:

Trawlerman X [...] came home from sea, a powder blue suit on him, off he goes, he goes to Criterion, [...] hadn't come home with his settlings and his wife went and dragged him out of the Criterion pub. [...] I'd only be about nine, ten years old. And there was such a commotion and there's him getting dragged down this ten-foot and she's braying and cussing ten bells out of him [laughing].⁵¹⁴ And he had his powder blue suit on, and of course he'd fallen down in the bloody ten-foot muck.⁵¹⁵

In any event it seems likely the shore suit was created between 1952, with the end of the Utility Scheme and 1954, a date for which there is some evidence.⁵¹⁶

Process of designing a trawlerman's suit

In the late 1800s the UK was considered the 'workshop of the world' with manufacturing as a whole remaining important to the UK economy into the 1960s until it began to decline.⁵¹⁷ Advancements in manufacturing technology and the migration of skilled workers enabled the menswear trade to prosper.⁵¹⁸ Additionally the increase in real income and consumption patterns facilitated the growth of the market in the twentieth century.⁵¹⁹ Figures from 1911 suggest that approximately 800,000 people worked in the garment trade, with about 250,000 being tailors.⁵²⁰ Production continued to increase exponentially through to the 1970s, however employment in the sector shrank.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁴ Ten-foot means a ten-foot wide alleyway usually behind a house. Bray means to beat. Yorkshire Historical Dictionary, *Words*, 2019. Available online: https://yorkshiredictionary.york.ac.uk/words/search?utf8=✓&search=bray&start_year=&end_year=&search_places=&definition_text=&search_source_materials= [Accessed 25-01-2019].

⁵¹⁵ K. Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* 09-10-2015, 11.

⁵¹⁶ Clouting, *8 Facts About Clothes Rationing in Britain*.

⁵¹⁷ M. Kitson & J. Michie, *The Deindustrial Revolution: The Rise & Fall of UK Manufacturing, 1870-2010* (2014), 1, 29; M. B. Rose, 'International Competition and Strategic Response in the Textile Industries Since 1870', *Business History*, 32, 4 (1990), 1-8.

⁵¹⁸ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 1, 3, 20-21; A. Godley, 'The Development of the UK Clothing Industry, 1850-1950: Output and Productivity Growth', *Business History*, 37, 4 (1995), 46-63.

⁵¹⁹ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 1, 3, 20-21; Kitson & Michie, *The Deindustrial Revolution*, 9.

⁵²⁰ Split almost equally between male and female tailors. Godley, 'The Development of the UK Clothing Industry'.

⁵²¹ Kitson & Michie, *The Deindustrial Revolution*, 10; Godley, 'The Development of the UK Clothing Industry'.

The rise of the multiple tailors became a major influence in menswear from the early-twentieth century, which established a new market with the working man.⁵²² Firms like Burton's, Hepworth's and The Fifty Shilling Tailor offered ready-to-wear, wholesale bespoke and made-to-measure suits, through their factory to shop floor operations.⁵²³ Improvements in quality control (QC), including colour fastness and shrinkage improved, supporting the rise of mass-produced clothing.⁵²⁴ The multiple tailors produced and distributed their products (suits, separates and outerwear) through a network of retail outlets.⁵²⁵ By the 1930s there were 2,335 multiple tailor outlets around the UK,⁵²⁶ continuing to encourage a system of homogenisation within menswear (see Figure 32). Between the 1930s and the 1960s the Leeds-based national retailers such as Burton's and Hepworth's produced half of the suits worn in the UK, as they operated their own manufacturing plants.⁵²⁷ The smaller tailors struggled to compete with the multiples who retained their competitive edge through economy of scale, efficiency techniques, unskilled operatives, and had the infrastructure to expand into overseas markets.⁵²⁸

The suit remained an important part of the male wardrobe into the 1950s, yet diversity became key, especially for the young. This was difficult for the multiple tailors to enact as their strategy of homogenisation needed to be maintained for efficient production.⁵²⁹ Consumption began to alter with tailors, multiple tailors, department stores and boutiques offering a profusion of options, this shift in consumption impacted on the small and multiple tailors who invested in various strategies to remain competitive, including selling ready-made clothing and separates.⁵³⁰ By the 1950s and into the 1960s, the multiple tailors began to alter their business structure with a range of tactics, including mergers and operating as retailers only.⁵³¹ Production moved overseas for the multiple tailors with cheaper and trend based imports, however, this was not an option for the independent

⁵²² Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 7, 55; Godley, 'The Development of the UK Clothing Industry'.

⁵²³ K. Honeyman, 'Following Suit: Men, Masculinity and Gendered Practices in the Clothing Trade in Leeds, England, 1890-1940', *Gender & History*, 14, 3 (2002), 426-446; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 79.

⁵²⁴ Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 15.

⁵²⁵ Honeyman, 'Following Suit', 428.

⁵²⁶ S. Levitt, 'Cheap Mass-Produced Men's Clothing in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Textile History*, 22, 2 (1991), 179-192.

⁵²⁷ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 7.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 83-84; Mort & Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain'.

⁵²⁹ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 91.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 134-136.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 101-103.

tailors who began to decline.⁵³² Imports increased from 12 to 30 per cent between 1963 and 1973, with the Leeds clothing workforce reducing by 25 per cent in this period and the closure of smaller tailoring businesses.⁵³³

Different terminology is used to describe the various types of suits, off-the-peg, also known as ready-to-wear, made-to-measure, wholesale bespoke and bespoke; the difference between each is in relation to fit and input by the customer into the design process.⁵³⁴ Ready-to-wear refers to a mass-produced suit manufactured to set standardised sizes, the suit is already made-up with no alterations to fit or features.⁵³⁵ This process of production does not support the creative process and permit variations. No fittings are required. As Regan states, 'Well you could [buy off-the-peg suits] but you wouldn't have got that style that we was looking for.'⁵³⁶ Wholesale bespoke is similar to ready-to-wear, the multiple tailor can produce small production runs of manufactured suiting, which is already made-up to a specific stage and held in stock awaiting minimum alterations from a single fitting; some individual styling can be added but is limited.⁵³⁷

Made-to-measure suits use a standard block like ready-to-wear and wholesale bespoke, a type of template for the shape of the suit but is not made-up, thus input into the construction and design process can take place. The suit is hand-cut with a mixture of hand and machine production used in the making process.⁵³⁸ The contribution of the customer is paramount to the overall look of the suit including choice of material, colour, and style features, which include pockets (how many and type), lapel and collar, pleats, vents and buttons (how many and type).⁵³⁹

Whereas bespoke is made in a similar way to made-to-measure, with more emphasis on fit for the individual rather than using a standard block.⁵⁴⁰ A block for a bespoke suit is whereby the

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 236-238; Rose, 'International Competition and Strategic Response'; Kitson & Michie, *The Deindustrial Revolution*.

⁵³³ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 238.

⁵³⁴ S. Crompton, *Tailoring Obsessions* (London: Hardie Grant Books, 2016).

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50; M. Tungate, *Branded Male: Marketing to Men* (London: Kogan Press, 2008); Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁵³⁶ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4.

⁵³⁷ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 45-47; K. Honeyman, 'Style Monotony and the Business of Fashion: The Marketing of Menswear in Inter-war England', *Textile History*, 34, 2 (2003), 171-191; Mort & Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain'; Tungate, *Branded Male*; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁵³⁸ Crompton, *Tailoring Obsessions*; D. Shaw, *tailoring techniques* 07-03-2016.

⁵³⁹ Crompton, *Tailoring Obsessions*, 58-59.

⁵⁴⁰ Breward, *The Suit*, 10; Shaw, *tailoring techniques*; Tungate, *Branded Male*.

measurements from a body are transferred to stiff paper, which becomes the pattern template for creating a garment. Each pattern becomes unique to the individual, only fitting their body shape. If the customer continues to acquire bespoke suits from that particular establishment, their initial block will be altered each time to retain the perfect fit, as their body shape changes because of age or diet. The customers input is the same as made-to-measure for adding style features.



Figure 32 Advertisement for the multiple tailors in Hepworth's Arcade.

Source: Unknown signmaker, *Advertisement for Hepworth the tailors & clothiers in Hepworth Arcade, Silver Street, Hull*. March 2020 [photograph] (Hull). Photograph C. Day, March 2020.

The choice of tailors in Hull and on Hessle Road ranged from independents, with some working from their homes rather than shop premises,⁵⁴¹ small-scale local businesses who had their own workshops in close proximity to their retail stores and, nationally recognised multiple tailors with centralised workshops in other cities. In the *Hull Area with Business and Professional Section Telephone Directory*, the tailors are listed under several services including *Clothiers, Drapers, Tailors and Outfitters*.⁵⁴² Hessle Road had several tailors and menswear stores, with some combining their skills

⁵⁴¹ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 91.

⁵⁴² Telephone Directory Hull District; Telephone Directory Hull Area; Telephone Directory Hull Area with Business and Professional Section; Hull Area Telephone Directory.

of tailoring with other products, such as off-the-peg clothing and workwear. In 1960 there were 35 tailors, drapers and outfitters situated along Hessle Road.⁵⁴³ Other menswear outlets in the city centre and the suburbs were prepared to make the shore suit. It was usual for the commissioner to visit the store for the designing and measuring process. A peculiarity that has been noted by several trawlermen is that tailors would visit the trawler company offices on the dockside, measuring the men for their suit whilst conducting their business of signing on to a ship or collecting their settlings. Waistell's was mentioned in the interviews, this has been dismissed by their salesmen, whilst Finestein was broached as an alternative tailor.⁵⁴⁴ Another company mentioned is Len Beck the tailor, who would come to collect and return trawlermen as they were based on Endyke Lane, which is more than five miles from St Andrew's Dock.

All the men interviewed were engaged with designing their suits. One tailor expressed that it was the men who usually came to the store to design and purchase the suit, only recollecting one women engaging in the process albeit with the choice of cloth and not the actual style of the suit:

[...] this lady came in with a postcard and there was a very amateurish sketch. 'Wally wants a suit making like this and I've come to choose his cloth.' [...] she brought us a suit in [...] that he owned, that we took the measurements from and we made the suit and she came in later. Says, 'He's delighted, next trip he'll want another one.' She comes and she picks another one and this went on until she said, 'I'm beat now.' She says, 'I've run out of colours he'll have.' [...] we never ever met him but he must have had six or seven suits over a period of time [...] That was an absolute one off usually the chap would come in [...] they would know what they wanted.⁵⁴⁵

Martin of Waistell's, stipulates that it was common practice for the wives to come into the store to order a suit, in preparation for the trawlerman's return from sea. The sales team at Waistell's would write the order number of the suit into the inside of the sleeve jacket lining. To produce a new suit all that was required was the number from the previous suit ordered, which was relayed to the tailor to obtain the measurements and the style details from their order book.

The trawlermen's shore suits were made-to-measure with individual style specifications, it has been established through the interviews that Len Beck, Casril (Cassie) Brown, Jackson's, The Clothing

⁵⁴³ Telephone Directory Hull Area with Business and Professional Section, (Hull: Hull Printers Limited, 1960).

⁵⁴⁴ K. Martin & R. Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 3 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* 05-10-2018; St Andrews Dock Heritage Park Action Group, *The Hull Fishing Industry - post 1950*, 2019. Available online: <https://www.hullfishingheritage.org.uk/educational-hub/> [Accessed 31-10-2019].

⁵⁴⁵ Anonymous 1, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 05-02-2015, 3.

House and Waistell's created versions. Waistell's had their own workshops in close proximity to their retail stores, whilst Len Beck and Cassie Brown also made the suits in the city. It is debatable which method of tailoring was employed by the men who used Burton's, which produced both wholesale bespoke and ready-to-wear. The likelihood is that the wholesale bespoke suits made at Burton's would probably be made in the same factory as their ready-to-wear.⁵⁴⁶ Further confusion occurs between Jackson's the Tailor and Burton's, both were present in Hull with Jackson's being considered more upmarket but in 1953 Burton's gained acquisition of the company.⁵⁴⁷ It is known that Jackson's did make the made-to-measure trawlermen's suits.

The designing of the suits was a collaboration between the trawlerman and the tailor. Roy Wilson worked for Waistell's as a salesman in the early to mid-1960s and explains that, 'it was their style, their design'.⁵⁴⁸ How much input the tailor had in the creative process differed with the age and experience of the trawlerman. A young deckie learner who was inexperienced would be directed by the tailor in terms of choice and what features were available. Whereas the older deckhands and other crew members had gone through the process on various occasions therefore required less guidance.

The process started with the colour and moved onto the fabric, this was chosen from pattern books or bolts of cloth. Fashion plates, illustrating the latest suit styles were available at some tailors as prompts, other tailors used suits awaiting collection as a method in which to demonstrate what could be achieved. Pattern books are filled with small pieces of fabric from various manufacturers, usually between A5 and A6 in size for the customer to select from. There was no need for the tailor to hold expensive stock, or have the space for storage, but the disadvantage was that it took longer to make a suit as time was added for the arrival of the cloth. Waistell's Hessle Road branch, would have 200 bolts of cloth to choose from, with around 25 lengths specifically selected for the trawlermen. Alternative fabrics chosen for the company's other branches were more appropriate for those clients and were not representative of the cloths selected for the trawlermen. The company had branches elsewhere in Hull (Holderness Road) and East Yorkshire (Beverley); as well as stores with other names including Trend Tailors (Holderness Road) and Bradley Lunt (Beverley) to attract different target markets. Trend Tailor's was a boutique, aimed at the young client, whilst Bradley

⁵⁴⁶ Crompton, *Tailoring Obsessions*.

⁵⁴⁷ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Mort & Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain', 115; Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁵⁴⁸ R. Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* 30-10-2015, 18.

Lunt was aimed at the more affluent male, goods varied accordingly, and differed across the Waistell branches.

The cloth at Waistell's was limited to three to four bolts of the same colour and weave structure, this was to restrict waste and to offer the illusion of exclusivity as only four suits could be made. The company must have been working with a merchant and not directly with the manufacturers as greater meterage would have been required. The performativity of choosing the cloth was an important part of the procedure, as Martin explains:

And we would get the cloth out and open one out, so far, get another one out put it on top of it, slightly away. Open it out and again and we'd maybe, I've put 10, 15 lengths of cloth away after a customer decided on which one he wanted.⁵⁴⁹

Once the cloth had been chosen the next stage was to discuss the required style features. This was expressed verbally, in writing or via a sketch. Once the design was approved by both the trawlerman and the tailor, for style and ability to make, respectively, measurements would be taken and the details would be sent to the workshop. Louth recalls an encounter with his tailor:

[...] that's what I liked Jackson's for, you could tell him what you wanted and he'd do it for you. Draw it out for you and he'd say, 'Is this it?' "Yeah, oh yeah that's it." [...] You were working alongside the tailor, how you wanted your suit designing.⁵⁵⁰

Martin explains:

Then the next thing is we state to them, 'Right, how do you want it making? How would you like it making?' And he would start describing what he wanted and we would interpret it. When he would say, "I want this fancy back." 'That's a Vandyke back'. Or he wants it straight, it's a saddle back, and we would write that down on the order form.⁵⁵¹

The timeframe from the initial concept to being made-up was usually the length of a trip at sea, the shore suit would be ready for the trawlerman returning from sea. An interviewee explains that they frequented Waistell's and would forego a fitting to be able to wear the suit when in port for those few days. Cassie Brown would offer a fitting as soon as the trawlerman returned from sea and have it completed for that trip.

⁵⁴⁹ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 8.

⁵⁵⁰ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2, 3.

⁵⁵¹ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 8.

Longden describes the process of procuring a shore suit at the tailors:

[Cassie Brown] He used to show you the material first. [...] “This is one we’ve just got in.” This big roll, proper roll of material. And he’d take you to the window and the daylight and show you. “What do you think of that?” And I saw the electric blue and I said, ‘Ooo yeah I like that colour.’ [...] He made a suit to your specifications.⁵⁵²

I’d order them, go away to sea, come back, go and visit him. ‘Yeah, ‘yeah’ [approving the suit]. He also used to have a bottle of Dimple whisky in his little cubby hole. We used to have a dram and that, and sometimes he’d chuck you a tie in if you bought a shirt and things like that. And you’d go in for a first fitting, you’d try it on, he’d mark it up, “yeah that needs taking up a little bit under there.” And then, “come back in a couple of hours.” So you’d go and have a few bevvies with your mates and what have you and then go back and yeah it’s all ready.⁵⁵³

Yeah it was, it was a pleasure to go there, I used to love going, you know.⁵⁵⁴

This quick turnaround was specific to tailors with workshops in Hull, it was longer for tailors with out of town workshops. Waistell’s became so busy from the early 1960s with orders that they had to expand the timeframe from two to three weeks for all customers. This service was offered until the late 1960s, when unfortunately costs became prohibitive and the company had to start outsourcing rather than using their own workshops.

The trawlermen in the interviews refer to quality of cloth and make as integral to their suits, a well-known multiple tailor who had premises in Hull made a suit for a trawlerman, which he described detrimentally as a ‘dishcloth’,⁵⁵⁵ due to the inferior material quality. Longden explains having his first suit made at Burton’s with six pleats in the back:

And although Burton’s was a well-known name at the time, and a very good tailor, but I didn’t like it. Because it just didn’t seem to fit right, it was fitted, to the shape of my body, if you know what I mean. So when you looked at it, the shoulders sloped and the trousers didn’t seem quite right like they should be. [...] They was [sic] too baggy around the top whereas Cassie Brown, he’d make you them so they’d fit snug round the top,

⁵⁵² Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁵⁵³ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

⁵⁵⁴ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 5.

⁵⁵⁵ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

not tight because it was 20 inch all the way down [...] But they used to always feel comfortable.⁵⁵⁶

Another trawlerman remembers obtaining a suit from John Collier but he never rated it, it was cheaper than his usual suit by £3-3s-0d, he preferred to use Jackson's. This is similar to a trawlerman who bought his suits from Jackson's, although more expensive than Clothing House, which he had tried previously, he felt the latter outfitters were better quality in terms of material and make. Yet for another trawlerman Clothing House was their tailor of choice, explaining that the salesman understood what he required, and he could purchase the whole ensemble at the store, including shoes, shirt, tie and underwear. Overall, it seems that the men were prepared to try the various tailors until they found the one that suited their requirements and would remain loyal to that particular company.

The enjoyment of creating the suits and their distinctiveness was recognised by both the trawlermen and the tailors, as Wilson describes:

It was actually fun to work there because sometimes an individual would walk through the door and you'd think, yeah this is going to be a really good day because I'm gonna get some art form you know put to me. "Can you do it?" And you would always say, 'I don't know if we can do it.' But we always could, you know, we always could do it.

Maybe a week or two later if they were on their sort of three week trip, the week before they came back it [the shore suit] would come [into the tailors] and you'd look at it and think wow, that is really spectacular really. Yeah and I knew in one sense, a new statement would be made and then within weeks somebody else would come in and say, "I saw a lad in a suit the other week when I was last home, last trip I was home and he had [...]"⁵⁵⁷

The competition to look smart and creative was important to the men as it was to the makers. The tailors role was to support the trawlerman in achieving their desired suit. A tailor explained that it was not his role to judge the style, it was purely a business transaction. However, they were prepared to give an opinion if they thought a particular feature or colour combinations would not work. The tailors did not want to alienate potential clients, but at the same time it was their reputation that needed to be considered too.

⁵⁵⁶ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁵⁵⁷ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 15.

The trawlermen's dress

Within the interviews the men have been referred to as the older, the more mature, the new and younger fishermen, and through context three distinct styles have been acknowledged; the traditional, the original, and the adapted trawlerman's shore suit, separated by age and timeframes. Those who did not wear the look are considered the older trawlermen and were wearing a traditional suit. This has been described as typically a double-breasted two-piece suit either plain in colour or a pinstripe. The colours were dark including black or navy and the trousers were wide. The suits are not known to have had the key features of the original or adapted suit (see Figure 33), therefore had more in common with a conventional suit.⁵⁵⁸ Wide trousers were typical in the 1950s, a salesman for Hepworth's working in the Midlands in 1955, professed that he was desperate for his clients to reduce the size of their trousers and encouraged a width of 17-inch bottoms from 22.⁵⁵⁹ The original trawlermen's shore suit represents the early to mid-1950s onwards, and the adapted trawlermen's suit from the 1960s, with both being worn into the 1970s. Changes to the suit are difficult to pinpoint due to ongoing incremental alterations over time, the trawlermen and the tailors were never static with their creations.



Figure 33 Double-breasted pinstripe suits with wide trouser bottoms considered the traditional trawlerman's suit.

Source: Photographer unknown, *Two trawlermen in their shore suits*. n.d. [photograph]. Courtesy of Anonymous 2.

⁵⁵⁸ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁵⁵⁹ M. Wright quote in S. Braggs, 'Menswear chains', *Retrowow*. 2016. Available online: https://www.retrowow.co.uk/retro_britain/shops/menswear_chains.php [Accessed 30-06-2019].

The original trawlermen's suits are so varied within a set structure, it is difficult to describe an overall typical suit. The following descriptor gives the standard features, which would be considered the key characteristics of the suit. The suit was a two-piece single-breasted jacket with a yoke back, some form of pleating with a half belt. The front would comprise of a shawl collar and half-moon pockets with ¼-inch stitching. The trousers had a Spanish waistband, with side pockets, a front cash room pocket, centre front and back creases, with turn-ups. The trousers were wide from top to bottom, to compensate for this the top of the trousers carried one or two pleats adjacent to the pockets to carry the width. The fabric would be pastel in colour, and typically a plain-woven cloth of a weight between 14 to 22 ounces (see Figure 34).

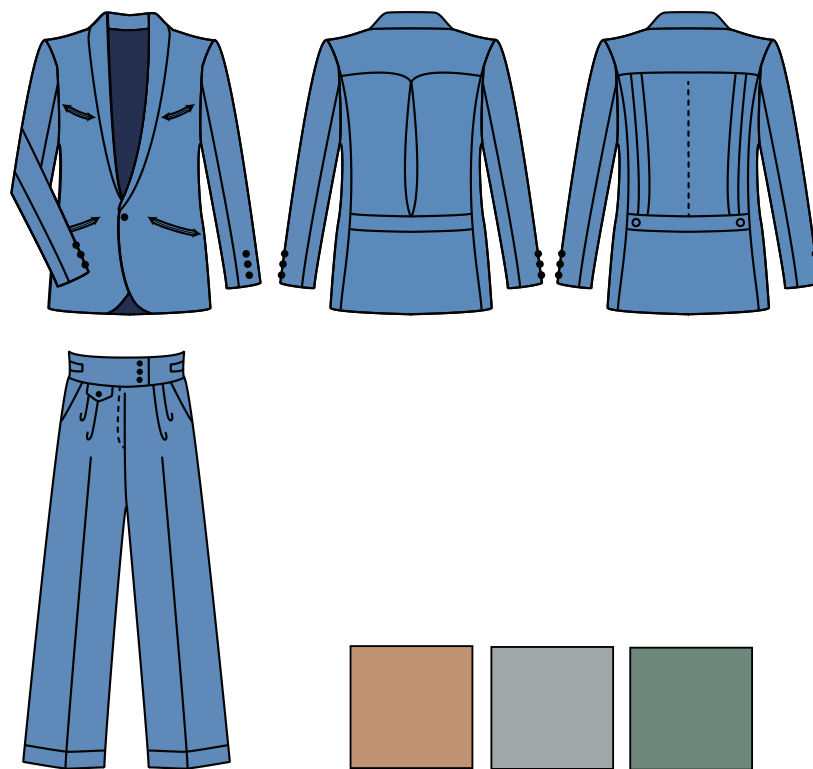


Figure 34 The original trawlermen's suit illustrating the front, two back variations and the wide trousers.

The following descriptor is an attempt to evidence the variations within the typical trawlerman's suit, and the changes from the original to the adapted version. As described, the original suit consisted of a two-piece, usually single-breasted, but double-breasted suits were also made, as were three-piece suits. The yoke backs were Vandyke or saddle, the latter being straight whilst the Vandyke has one centre point aligning with the central back seam. Below the yoke sits an inverted centre box pleat, or knife pleats consisting of one, two or three folds at either side close to the sleeves. The depth of folds varied according to the tailor used. The knife pleats would tend to be

requested with a saddle yoke, the box pleat suited the Vandyke yoke. A half belt underneath the pleating could be fixed or loose. If loose, buttons were used to hold the belt in place. These would be cloth covered, in the same colour as the jacket or bone buttons. Another option was to have no belt at all. Variations on vents included a central vent, two at either side or none at all, referred to as a bum hugger. The vents could be open or closed.



Figure 35 Light coloured suit on the left showing vertical and horizontal jet pockets, with a notched lapel, shank button fastening and wide trousers with turn-ups. A slim pale tie is worn.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Photograph of V. Moon and friend*. n.d. [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of V. Moon.

The front of the jacket typically had a shawl collar, however a notched, and sometimes a double notched are known to have existed. The shawl collar is reminiscent of the dinner jacket or the tuxedo, which was first introduced in the late-nineteenth century.⁵⁶⁰ The width of the lapels would range from one inch up to three inches and taper to the button. The lapel was left plain without a buttonhole. The collar and the front of the jacket could be with or without ¼-inch stitching. This is a row of hand stitching along the edge of the fabric to give a more professional finish. The fastening would comprise of one link button, which consists of one button with a shank. Options for pockets

⁵⁶⁰ C. Cooper, 'The Victorian and Edwardian Eras: 1860-1910', in L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [2011]), 69-83.

included horizontal or vertical jet pockets, with or without flaps or jetted half-moon pockets (see Figure 35). Jetted is whereby strips of fabric are placed to the top and bottom of the pocket opening. This could include one or two breast pockets and two further down. The half-moon pockets were curved and had pointed arrow bars to finish the look. The jet pockets with flaps, provided two options, the first displaying the flaps or the second with the flaps pushed in, to resemble jetted pockets. The ¼-inch stitching could be extended to include stitching on the flaps of the pockets and along the trouser pockets and was produced by hand, as Wilson explains:

[...] I can actually remember one lad who erm, I think he had bright scarlet lining in black barathea or worsted [...] But he had err a maroon ¼ stitch put round the jacket collar, just the collar. Err but that was quite bold, but it really was a sight to behold. You know it was nice.⁵⁶¹

The fit of the jacket tended to be square cut with very little shape, which suited the men's lithe figures. The sleeves could be left plain or could have a vent at the cuff with one, two or three buttons.

The trousers had what is referred to as a Spanish waistband (see Figure 36). This is a wide waistband, that fastens internally at the front and visibly to the side to alleviate pull at the centre front of the trousers, which would appear dishevelled. For every inch of waistband one button was allocated, the average was three to four inches. In some of the interviews the Spanish waistband is referred to as a cummerbund or cummerbund, the difference being that a cummerbund is a separate piece of fabric, which is folded into pleats and worn at the waist. A Spanish waistband is not pleated and is an integral part of the trousers rather than separate. All the men wore a Spanish waistband, even when referring to it as a cummerbund.

⁵⁶¹ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 15.



Figure 36 Photograph illustrating the Spanish waistband with the front cash room.
Source: Photographer unknown, *W. Longden and wife*. n.d. [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of W. Longden.

Side adjusters enabled the wearer to alter the fit at the waist as their girth altered. Button waist adjusters were used, however, Martin of Waistell's kept abreast with innovation in the industry and established zip adjusters as an alternative (see Figure 37).⁵⁶² This company incorporated a non-slip tape into the waistband, which supported the shirt remaining neatly tucked in. This was integral to the smart appearance of the men, as well as being what can be perceived as a unique selling point and an advantage over their competitors.

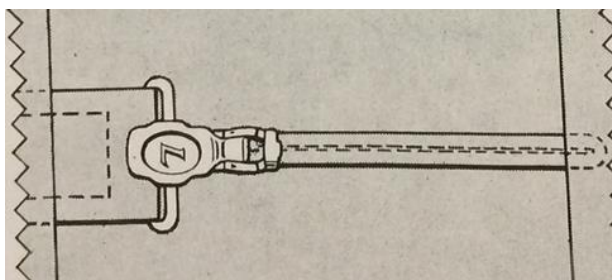


Figure 37 Side zip adjusters as on the Waistell's two colour grey trousers with a blue stripe and a section of an article in the *Tailor & Cutter* 1965.

Sources: C. Day, *Trawlerman's shore suit – Waistell's two colour grey trousers with a blue stripe – detail*. October 2015 [photograph] (Hull); and, Tailor & Cutter, 'Adjusting trouser waists', In *Tailor & Cutter*. 05 November 1965, 1486.

Originally the trousers had button front fastenings, later zip fastenings entered the market. It was the choice of the trawlermen to decide which preference of fastenings were used, with time zips overtook button fastenings due to cost and efficiency of making. The trousers consisted of three

⁵⁶² Martin & Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 3*; Tailor & Cutter, 'Adjusting trouser waists.', *Tailor & Cutter*. 05 November 1965, 1486.

pockets, two side front pockets and the front cash room pocket. The cross pockets at the side of the trousers form a diagonal from the waistband to the side of the trousers, two to three inches deep. The placement of the front cash room pocket was on the right side below the waistband.

The trousers were worn wide, typically 18 to 24 inches (36 to 48 inches in circumference). Due to the amount of fabric in the trousers, and depending on width, single or double pleats would be placed at the waistline to achieve the fullness through the leg, with turn-ups added to weight the trousers. A crease pleat front and back finished the look, Wilson recalls:

[...] the widest width I remember us making, err would have been I think, 28 maybe 30, I think it was 28 inch err and, and I think it was 28 if I recall because the material in total would be 30 inches and you needed the two inches effectively to sew it edge to edge to create the 30. [...] he looked like a schooner in full sail [...] the wind blow[ing] his trousers, it just looked like sails in full [like a ship in full sail] [laughter], it was a lovely sight and it was the only pair we ever made to that width [...].⁵⁶³

The colours of the suits are described as pale and pastels and included pale powder blue, which was nicknamed deckie learner blue, silver greys, beige and fawns. The suits were made of worsted wool cloth in plain weave or a twill gabardine, as well as various types of checks, including double window pane, Prince of Wales and two tone domino in either powder blue or silver grey. Weights ranged from a typical 14 ounce but could go up to 22 ounces. The interviewees described the pubs as cold in winter, the weightier cloths helped to keep the men warm, as did wearing jumpers under the suits (see Figure 38). The weight of the cloths became lighter, possibly as a response to the innovation in synthetic fibres that were entering the market, as well as being reflective of style changes with the Italian look; a subcultural form of dress, which was in vogue and used lighter weight cloths.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶³ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 6.

⁵⁶⁴ Brown, *Modes & Rockers*; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*; M. Costantino, *Men's Fashion in the Twentieth Century: From frock coats to intelligent fibres* (London: B T Batsford Ltd, 1997).



Figure 38 Three young trawlermen in their light coloured suits showing half-moon pockets.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Three trawlermen in a pub wearing their shore suits with jumpers*. n.d. [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of W. Longden.

The linings would tonally complement the colour of the wool, in a plain-woven silk or possibly a satin viscose/rayon regenerated fibre. In the interviews the satin fabric is only referred to by its weave structure rather than composition. A satin weave structure requires more threads per inch than a plain woven cloth, therefore it would be more costly if silk had been used. The satin weave structure purposefully creates sheen on the surface alongside using a lustrous fibre like viscose/rayon, which is known to have similar intrinsic properties to silk.⁵⁶⁵ It is reasonable to suggest that it was produced in viscose/rayon. Louth recalls his choice of lining, 'I used to go for the mauve linings, [...] mauve's my favourite colour.'⁵⁶⁶

The adapted suit retained many key features of the original suit, including the half-moon pockets and the various yokes and back pleats but changed by having a three, four- or five-button fastening rather than the one, and a shorter collar (see Figure 39). Buttonholes were used rather than a shank fastening with the increase in notions. The suits were mainly single-breasted two-piece creations, in line with continued subcultural changes in menswear.

The trousers went as narrow as nine inches (18 inches in circumference), which meant initially only one top pleat was required, this eventually ceased to exist altogether, there was no longer any fullness to ease into the waist. The turn-up became superfluous to requirements, but a crease pleat finish was retained. It was common for men to buy two pairs of trousers per jacket, as the trousers

⁵⁶⁵ Collier, *A Handbook of Textiles*, 101; Thomson, *Fibres and fabrics of today*, 41, 89.

⁵⁶⁶ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

wore quicker than the jacket. The two pairs of trousers consisted of a wide and narrow pair, retaining the past association with the original shore suit, alongside adopting to changing menswear trends for the slimmer leg. The Spanish waistband remained and it is known that the width varied according to the trawlerman's fancy; depths of six to eight inches were requested, this was extreme as the normal was still considered to be three inches. A trawlerman recalls having a six-inch waistband and reflects that at only five foot nine inches tall, probably looked proportionately too big.

The bottom of the trousers altered to complement the wearing of Chukka boots with Cuban heels, and winkle pickers, which became fashionable. The trousers would not hang straight, and the trawlermen and tailors wanted to achieve a smooth line along the leg length. Four variations of trouser bottoms were created, the slope, step, vent slope and vent step bottom. The slope bottom option had the trouser leg at the front sitting straight on the top of the boot and then sloped downwards from front to back. The step had the front panel shorter, again sitting straight on the top of the boot, and the back panel was lower by up to an inch. Variations of both were to insert a vent, with the option of a button above.

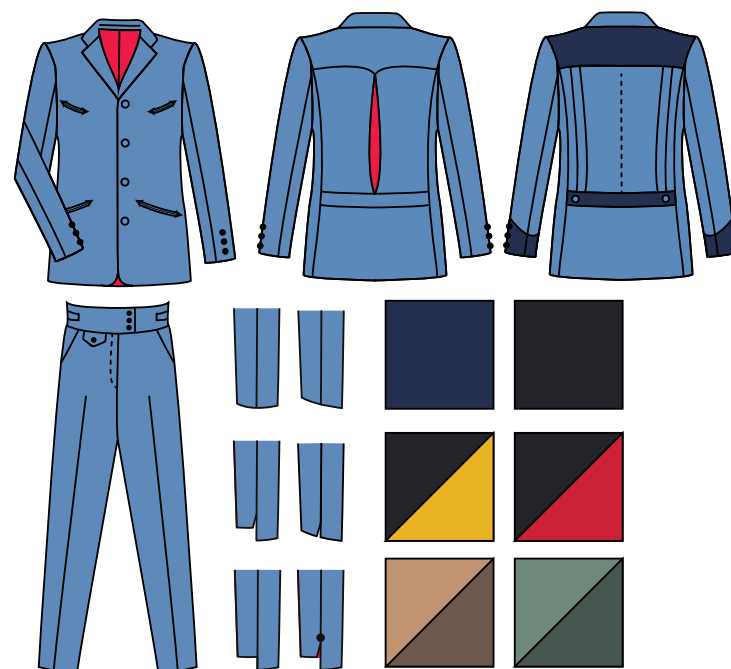


Figure 39 The adapted trawlermen's suit illustrating the changes to the front, back and trousers with some variations on cuff and trouser bottoms.

The pastel shades remained, with the addition of darker shades such as navy and black barathea becoming popular, as did fine striped material. Two-tone suits were a variation on the style, with piped pockets, cuffs (if gauntlet in style), buttons and the yoke back being in a tonal shade, usually

darker than the main suit fabric. The suits could appear outlandish as Ottley, a younger teenager than the trawlermen describes:

You would be amazed as you were walking the street. [...] I came up to a bus stop where this certain person I knew and his friend, two fishermen, and it dazzled you. It really dazzled you because they were that vibrant but they looked nice but I wouldn't have, my friend and myself used to laugh and say, 'Would you wear them? Look at them? How big are them trousers? Oh, look at that sash [Spanish Waistband]! The colour of that!' It was vibrant, it was the palest blue and it had the most royal blue sash which stuck out even more.⁵⁶⁷

The trawlermen started to choose more vibrant colours for the linings of their suits, as opposed to tonally complementing the outer colour. Martin questions whether this was a response to the introduction of colour television. Examples of linings include pastel shades such as mauve, pink and pale blue, as well as black barathea outer with red, yellow or blue silk lining. An interviewee recalls a suit having bright lining placed in the folds in the back of the jacket:

The yellow and black, it was just magnificent. It was a work of art if you can imagine black and yellow. Of course, every time that he raised his arm and went forward with an arm, it was fishes gills [...] Completely black [suit], [...] you never saw the lining at all but as soon as they moved, anything excessive around the arms or they bent down, this is when the colour would just sort of throw back at you. And it was a real pleasure to see it, absolute pleasure.

[...] he actually had it inserted in his sleeve cuffs as well. Not actually buttoned, so they were V vents, erm one on each sleeve. And, again the yellow shone through only when he sort of moved his jacket.⁵⁶⁸

Monograms were available woven into the lining material, Regan's wedding suit consisted of a navy blue suit with a light blue fleck, the lining was royal blue with a gold crown. Fancy cuffs became a feature, which could have piping or ¼-inch stitch in the same or a different colour to the suit. Sleeves were made longer and folded back into a V where a cloth covered button would be placed, known as a gauntlet cuff. This developed further to include up to six buttons up the sleeve. The suits became exaggerated with features being taken to extremes, Longden describes them as, 'odd looking suits,

⁵⁶⁷ Ottley, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4, 5.

loads of pockets and buttons.⁵⁶⁹ One client at Waistell's requested knife pleats as well as an inverted centre box pleat. Another had a royal blue inverted box pleat in a black barathea suit jacket.⁵⁷⁰

Modification to the style of the suit materialised, nevertheless, the original suit was still being designed into the 1970s (see Figure 10).⁵⁷¹ The men in retrospect recognise that their style became exaggerated, and possibly did not always stylistically work or flatter them. However, with time and maturity of age the men reverted to the original suit. Within the set structure of the trawlerman's suit, the adapted suit represents a fad within the overall style. The over the top colouring, sizing of the waistband, use of buttons, all represent a visual display of extreme design contained within this unofficial uniform. As a fad, it was short-lived, quickly adopted and as quickly disappeared, usually due to it becoming mainstream, which was not the case in this instance.⁵⁷² A rationale to why the adapted style ceased to exist was cost. The extra detailing was not originally included in the price, then a charge was incurred, this was initially embraced but could have eventually influenced the adapted suits demise. With the men returning to the original style, which some had never left, it enables the suit to become a classic within the fashion lifecycle. A classic item of clothing is never static and changes incrementally, for the trawlermen it was the narrowing of the trousers and the adoption of darker colours alongside the pastels, which continued to move the style forwards, once the exaggerated features were dropped.

The trawlermen and the tailors responded to the trends at the time, this is most notable with the collarless suit jacket, introduced by The Beatles. Some men incorporated it into their made-to-measure shore suits, whilst the tailoring company Waistell's bought off-the-peg versions from Grant Leaman of Leeds, and displayed the suits in their windows. A salesman remembers, 'When The Beatles stuff come on, I decided we would take all the industrial stuff out and make that the young man's [...] window, down West Dock Avenue.' '[...] The Beatles coat, you know, that was just like hot cakes.'⁵⁷³ Changes in subcultural dress and technology were appropriated into the trawlermen's suits, with aspects of the Italian look and later the Mods infiltrating the trawlermen's style. The introduction of a shorter collar with more buttons, narrow trousers, the use of new synthetic fibres

⁵⁶⁹ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 1.

⁵⁷⁰ Barathea is a fine woven cloth with a slightly textured surface, which is smooth to the touch. It is used for eveningwear and suiting. A. Moon, *Menswear Heritage Stories*, 2015. Available online: <https://www.moons.co.uk/apparel/heritage-collection/> [Accessed 26-01-2019]; Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁵⁷¹ Morris, 'Deckie Learner'; Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*.

⁵⁷² BBC, *The lifecycle of a fashion trend*, 2009. Available online: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8262788.stm> [Accessed 20-05-2009].

⁵⁷³ Martin & Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 3*, 7, 11.

mixed with the worsted wool to create a lighter weight cloth, are all elements taken from youth style movements.

The other accompanying details to the dress were the shirt, tie, shoes and jewellery. The shirts worn with the original suit were made from white cotton, later nylon became popular as Regan explains, '[...] I remember when Bri-nylon come out because you didn't have to iron it. The mothers loved them [laughing].'⁵⁷⁴ Many were plain in style, the men initially wore a typical spread or classic collared shirt however, with the adapted suit some trawlermen wore frills. Brands included Rael Brook and Double Two. The shirts were bought at the tailors, general drapers, outfitters or ship's store.

The ship's store was only supposed to sell industrial workwear due to utility clothing being purchased tax-free. However, they started to sell terry towelling nappies disguised as sweat neckerchiefs for the trawlermen, as well as dress shirts. The terry towelling nappies were sent home to the trawlermen's families and were never used as mufflers. The men certainly had no need for dress shirts when at sea, but, the fact the men went away in their suits, although removed after a short timeframe, may have prompted the ship's stores to sell such goods.

The tie width changed along with the progression of the suit, the original look consisted of three-inch wide Windsor knotted tie, but altered in the 1960s when worn thin, including knitted ties reminiscent of the fishing nets. Trawlermen were known to wear cravats. It was not unusual for men to be tieless with an open shirt, particularly in the summer months. Cufflinks and tie pins finished the look, with some trawlermen wearing armbands to achieve the required length of shirt sleeves on display at the cuff of the suit sleeve. The shoes were originally leather sole moccasins in colours to complement the suits, such as powder blue, white and grey. This changed to chukka boots, which became popular as The Beatles came on the scene. As did winkle pickers. All shoe styles were worn with white socks throughout both periods of the dress, which were always visible with the wide trousers.

The description given represents the shore suit with the key features remaining throughout its duration, combining a broad range of various approaches to the design process. This shows the creativity of the trawlermen in their quest to achieve a unique appearance within the sartorial structure of the made-to-measure two-piece suit. The suits were a one-off, unique in terms of creativity, the likelihood is that no two were the same. The suits varied in design and material, which made each suit appear distinct, by retaining some of the key features this gave a collective

⁵⁷⁴ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

appearance and identity. The suits were dependent on the creative talents of the individual trawlermen and their style requirements. As Wilson said, 'I mean we really did offer hundreds of variations to a suit.'⁵⁷⁵

When the original suit first appeared, it emerged as a young deckhands' look, the older and more senior ranks wore a traditional suit. As the initial deckhands aged and gained various tickets to move up the hierarchy of the trawler, the shore suit became accepted dress for all crew members.

Some men would own several suits, enough to wear at least two to three per trip home. Whilst others interviewed had up to 16 suits and would get a new suit every other trip, this was considered excessive at the time. It was not the norm for working class men to own usually more than one suit. As a participant in the BBC's *How the Humber changed our world*, proclaims, 'I had 25 suits and 18 pairs of shoes I did cause when I came home I went dancing every night. I loved it, I loved music.'⁵⁷⁶

Price and payment

In the interviews the pricing of the suits varied from £12 to £26, although other evidence suggests that they could be much more expensive due to the extravagance of the features.⁵⁷⁷ Martin explains the price of a shore suit in 1958:

When I started, a made-to-measure suit was 10 guineas to 15 guineas. If you got 15 guineas, you got the best cloth we had in the shop. And then as I say the fancy styles started to go onto the top of the price. It literally cost about another five pounds more to have the fancy styles put on. At the beginning as I say gradually the suit prices and everything, the manufacturing costs went up so of course everything else went up with it.⁵⁷⁸

In addition Wilson who started in 1963 suggests the following:

[...] would have been from 11 guineas [...] for top quality material, silk lining and a few extras and that would probably I would guess be 17 guineas. That would probably be your maximum, absolute, 17 pounds and 17 shillings would get you an absolute top of the range two-piece suit.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4.

⁵⁷⁶ *How the Humber changed our world*.

⁵⁷⁷ *Three-Day Millionaires*.

⁵⁷⁸ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 10.

⁵⁷⁹ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 22.

To contextualise further, five settling sheets of a spare-hand from 1964 to 1965 (the nearest dates available to the evidence that has been presented by Waistell's staff members) have been averaged to give an indication of the pay per week, which equates to £12-15s-09d. This indicates well into the mid-1960s the suits were more than a week's wages. The men when asked if they thought the suits were expensive, they consider it to be moderate by comparison to a bespoke suit but expensive if measured against their earnings. However, if the men wanted a suit, no matter what financial situation they might be in at the time they would still invest in an outfit. An interviewee recalls only receiving £2-10s-0d as his settling money and he still went and ordered a suit.

The made-to-measure suits were priced in guineas (1 gn equates to £1-1s-0d), although the coin was no longer in circulation; within the tailoring trade it was traditional to present the pricing in guineas, this was maintained until decimalisation. It can be surmised that all pricing in guineas was before February 1971 and all prices after are in decimal. The only concrete price in relation to a physical suit and year sourced during the interviews, is a three-piece shore suit from Waistell's, which was made for Whitaker in 1977 and cost £178.00.⁵⁸⁰

Longden recollects as a galley boy in 1961 not having sufficient funds to purchase a suit due to his wage being small and relying on backhanders. Unable to invest in a suit he acknowledges that he made sure that he looked smart when collecting his wages from the trawler owner offices by wearing black jeans, a black jacket, a smart shirt and tie. However, a deckhand brought to his attention the fact that he wasn't wearing a suit, 'Now then son, where's your suit? You scruffy looking git.'⁵⁸¹ As soon as he could afford a suit he invested in a two-piece, becoming affiliated with his fellow workers through his attire. This is echoed by Ellis, who, at the start of his fishing career is extremely self-aware when wearing a sports coat and flannels and not a trawlermen's suit, which he acknowledges they all wore.⁵⁸²

The trawlermen and those involved in the tailoring industry discussed various payment methods, all reliant on how much money was available. Options were to pay cash in full when selecting cloth and being measured for a suit. Or, to place a deposit then pay the rest on return from a three-week trip. This could be extended to several trips, which was an important option for new members of the crew. Once on an enhanced wage the men were in a position to pay in full:

[the tailor] [...] let you put so much on a suit [...] and then pay so much next trip and the

⁵⁸⁰ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁵⁸¹ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1, 3*.

⁵⁸² Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 46.

next trip [...] and when you get to deckie learner [...] you could walk into Jackson's [the tailor] and say, 'Ooo yeah I can afford a suit.'⁵⁸³

A further option was to pay by club cheque, this was a credit scheme devised by the *Credit Trades Association* (CTA) who had agents around the city of Hull. The club cheque agent would assess the appropriateness of the borrower, and if approved gave the cash in the form of a cheque. The scheme enabled the borrower to purchase goods and pay back the money to the lender in weekly instalments, usually collected from the borrower's home. The borrower and the store where the club cheque was used paid a percentage to the club check agent. As Martin explains, 'A shilling in the pound interest, the shop gave the club agent two and sixpence in the pound commission.'⁵⁸⁴

A Higher Purchase (HP) agreement was another way in which the suit could be paid off, in incremental stages plus interest. This was a method that the multiple tailors used with small-scale businesses such as Waistell's developing a similar scheme, funded by the company itself rather than through a finance company. The trawlermen had various options in spreading the cost of a new suit, their attitude was, that if they wanted a new shore suit, they would have one, despite the potential additional costs. The shore suit was important to the trawlermen in representing who they were, to their fellow trawlermen and to others they encountered in their home port of Hull and when on their travels.

5.2 Iceland

The men when entering other ports wanted to experience what the towns and cities had to offer and were keen to explore, mixing with locals especially other teenagers. Iceland was one of the core distant-water fishing grounds, where at times the men had to land. American culture had become integral to Iceland, in part due to the airbase at Keflavík and US military personnel being stationed in the country. This manifested itself in the consumption of goods, including fashion and visiting leisure venues such as burger and milk bars.

The interviewees suggest the traditional Icelandic jumpers were worn with other forms of warm clothing, including jeans. The jean was perceived as a rebellious form of dress for teenagers during the mid-twentieth century, and is symbolic of the Americanisation of other countries, Iceland was no exception (see Figure 40). In the 1950s James Dean and Marlon Brando wore white t-shirts and

⁵⁸³ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁵⁸⁴ Martin & Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 3*, 9.

jeans, which signified coolness and male sexuality.⁵⁸⁵ This style of clothing was previously considered workwear and underwear, not typical everyday clothing, the shift in status would have been shocking particularly to conventional conservative thinkers of the time.⁵⁸⁶ The wearing of such clothing was a way in which to emulate the characteristics and personalities the actors were portraying, wanting freedom of expression and parity with all through defiance in dress.⁵⁸⁷ Additionally, in the fifteenth century it was not uncommon for rural labourers to remove their outerwear, revealing their underwear when working in extreme heat. This became a fashion with the upper echelons of society, representing the long tradition of underwear becoming outerwear, the need for change in style and emulation moving in various directions.⁵⁸⁸ The Americanisation of Iceland began during the Second World War with the Allied forces, who equated to more than a quarter of the island's population.⁵⁸⁹ By 1951 the airbase was taken over by NATO, with American forces based there but in reduced numbers, with approximately 1,000 personnel stationed at the base.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ Hollander, *Sex & Suits*, 133; Edwards, *Men in the Mirror*; P. Jobling, 'Roland Barthes: Semiology and the Rhetorical Codes of Fashion', in A. Rocamora & A. Smelik (eds.), *Critical Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 132-148; de Marly, *Fashion for men*.

⁵⁸⁶ Hollander, *Sex & Suits*, 131.

⁵⁸⁷ Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 176, 181-182.

⁵⁸⁸ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 24.

⁵⁸⁹ G. T. Jóhannesson, 'To the Edge of Nowhere?: U.S.-Icelandic Defense Relations during and after the Cold War', *Naval War College Review*, 57, 3/4 (2004), 115-137.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 122; T. Hopper, 'We stand on guard for ... Iceland: Canada takes its turn defending only NATO country without an army', *National Post (Canada)*. (Toronto). 26-03-2013 2013 [Online]. Available online: <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/we-stand-on-guard-for-iceland-canada-takes-its-turn-defending-only-nato-country-without-an-army>, [Accessed 27-04-2020].



Figure 40 1962 Family photo showing the influence of American dress and the rebellious aloofness of the teenager.

Source: G. R. Ólafsson, *Heimilisfólk að Sæbóli á Ingjaldssandi*. 1962 [Photograph]. Ref GRÓ 003 017 3-3, Museum of Photography, Reykjavík.

It was not just teenagers that the Americans were influencing, the government of Iceland requested the airbase be built by Icelanders, this brought the locals into close proximity with the Americans. Numerous Icelanders worked for the US Defence Force, from 1951 until the 1980s this averaged 1,241 people per year.⁵⁹¹ Initially there was not enough space on the airbase for all American personnel, so they took lodgings with local families in the town.⁵⁹² Gudrun Bergmann (a lifestyle coach and wife of Gulli Bergmann co-owner of Karnabær) recounts the style of her auntie's neighbour in Keflavík, who was lodging an American serviceman in the late fifties or early sixties and leaving her house dressed like Grace Kelly:

Light blue dress you know, no sleeves, gloves, a little bag and a kind of, it's not a hat but something like that. [...] Headband and I look and I think it was like from *High Society* or something [all laugh]. So they had access to all the catalogues, the Sears and everything.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹¹ G. Jónsson & M. S. Magnusson (eds.), *Hagskinna Icelandic Historical Statistics* (Reykjavík: Statistics Iceland, 1997), 402.

⁵⁹² Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland; Jóhannesson, 'To the Edge of Nowhere?'.

⁵⁹³ Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland., 4.

The introduction of American mail order clothing companies expanded what was available to islanders, this integration into Icelandic life was not without its problems, some natives were opposed to how Americanised the island was becoming.⁵⁹⁴ However, the Americans financially supported Iceland when in economic difficulty, and the airbase personnel contributed considerably to the country's economy through the consumption of goods.⁵⁹⁵

The American airbase offered other influences, which were specifically British, in the mid-1950s Alexandre, a tailoring firm based in Leeds (UK), had a contract with the US Forces to open stores on their European bases.⁵⁹⁶ After completing his tailoring apprentice Colin Porter moved from Leeds to Keflavík, working as a tailor in Alexandre's outlet on the base. In 1956 he worked in a Nissen hut, by 1957 the company had moved to a new, more appropriate facility (see Figure 41 and Figure 42).⁵⁹⁷ Some of the UK based menswear companies had agents overseas including Iceland during this period.⁵⁹⁸



Figure 41 Alexandre Tailors Shop 1956, Naval Air Station, Keflavík, Iceland.

Source: C. Porter, *Alexandre, Naval Air Station, Keflavík, Iceland*. 1956 [photograph] Keflavík. Courtesy of C. Porter.

Figure 42 Alexandre Tailors Shop 1957, Naval Air Station, Keflavík, Iceland.

Source: C. Porter, *Alexandre, Naval Air Station, Keflavík, Iceland*. 1957 [photograph] Keflavík. Courtesy of C. Porter.

⁵⁹⁴ Jóhannesson, 'To the Edge of Nowhere?', 123.

⁵⁹⁵ V. Ingimundarson, *The Struggle for Western Integration: Iceland, the United States, and NATO during the First Cold War* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, 1999), 44; V. Ingimundarson, 'Iceland's Security Identity Dilemma: The End of a U.S. Military Presence', *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 31, 1 (2007), 7-23; Jónsson & Magnusson (eds.), *Hagskinna Icelandic Historical Statistics*, 402.

⁵⁹⁶ Alexandre, *About Us*, 2018. Available online: <https://www.alexandre-london.com/aboutus> [Accessed 19-07-2018]; Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*.

⁵⁹⁷ Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*; C. Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland* 18-07-2018.

⁵⁹⁸ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 83-84.

Alexandre's enabled US naval personnel to acquire their civilian clothing when stationed abroad. Icelanders who worked at the base (and held a pass) and their families were able to use the facilities.⁵⁹⁹ The store sold men's made-to-measure suits, holding a small stock of ready-to-wear clothing, while women's clothing could be commissioned.⁶⁰⁰ The interviewee recalls designing and taking the measurements for suits, or customers could look through a catalogue, choose what they wanted and be measured.⁶⁰¹ The orders were sent by post to Leeds for making up, the process would take approximately six to eight weeks; the tailor would make any adjustments that were required when the goods arrived in Iceland. The dress style of the Americans has been described by Porter as conservative, dark in colour, brown, dark blue but rarely black, silver grey, sharkskin (pick and pick cloth), Harris tweed jackets, grey flannel trousers with light blue cashmere overcoats were popular.

The interviewee left Alexandre's in the early 1960s to work for Ultima, a local firm based in Reykjavík. They were classed as a traditional tailor, conservative and compared to Greenwoods, a UK based company. Porter acknowledges that there were some excellent tailors in Reykjavík, naming Felixson of Ultima, and Gudrunson, explaining they made beautiful suits, 'really really good, he made bullet proof suits, the old fashioned way, beautiful. But no style, just the same all the time.'⁶⁰² Icelandic men were always smartly dressed in suits, usually dark in colour, a notched collar with three buttons, worn with a white shirt and tie. The available data states that there were 22 suit makers in Iceland in the 1960s through to the 1970s. By 1980 this had reduced to 14, possibly in response to changes in consumption habits and the continued move to ready-to-wear fashions. No data is available for the 1950s.⁶⁰³

In the interview Porter explains that he was making more elaborate suits, catering for the various music bands in Iceland. Porter's reputation spread through word of mouth, which enabled more fashion based attire to be designed for Ultima's clientele. The interviewee was aware of the shift in menswear in the UK, with the young developing their different forms of dress, and that there was a gap in the market that could be exploited in Iceland. The tailor explained this to his friend Gulli

⁵⁹⁹ Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*.

⁶⁰⁰ C. Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 3: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland* 24-07-2018.

⁶⁰¹ Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 6

⁶⁰³ Jónsson & Magnusson (eds.), *Hagskinna Icelandic Historical Statistics*, 365.

Bergmann, a wholesaler, who with two other business partners Björn Pétursson and Jón Baldursson, embraced this potential opportunity. The intention was to import clothing from retailers on Carnaby Street, London (UK), and act as a wholesaler to the Icelandic menswear stores.⁶⁰⁴

Carnaby Street, focused on young fashion particularly menswear, and had become the place for innovative design. The fashions were perceived as extremely creative but considered poor quality in terms of material and finish, the retail companies in Reykjavík declined to take any of the stock.⁶⁰⁵

Porter explained that:

When the stuff came back to Iceland we were going to sell it in our shop [Ultima] and another company was going to sell it. And we saw the crap that it was. I mean I was looking at it as a tailor and it was rubbish absolute rubbish.⁶⁰⁶

Integral to trend based clothing is variation in product design and speed to market. Style becomes the important factor in fashion, which compromises the intrinsic qualities associated with tailoring practices. The *Observer Magazine* published an article in 1964, exploring the revolution in menswear, by interviewing designers and key influencers and well-dressed males living in London. David Mlinavic, considered a dandy of his day, explains that, 'I think a great many of the Carnaby Street clothes are very badly put together and of poor material' (they are.),' agrees Crosby the author of the article.⁶⁰⁷

Bergmann rented a shop to try and shift all the unwanted stock and recoup his finances, the event was so successful, selling out in a week.⁶⁰⁸ The need for change and differentiation in fashion is emphasized by how quickly the clothes sold, and that this type of style could not have been available in Reykjavík at the time. Recognising a gap in the market, Bergmann decided to open a store; in May 1966 Karnabær [Carnaby] was established and is considered the first fashion based teenage store in Iceland.⁶⁰⁹ The company had no competitors for approximately four years until brands Fargo, Buxur, Johann and Adam entered the youth fashion scene; Karnabær had stores in every village in Iceland (see Figure 43).

⁶⁰⁴ A. Ásgeirs-dóttir & Morganbladid., *Hálf öld frá opnun Karnabæjar*, 2016. Available online: https://www.mbl.is/frettir/innlent/2016/05/15/half_öld_fra_opnun_karnabaejar/ [Accessed 20-07-2018].

⁶⁰⁵ Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁰⁷ J. Crosby, 'Return of the Dandy', *The Observer Magazine*. 08 November 1964, 16-21, 20.

⁶⁰⁸ Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland.

⁶⁰⁹ Ásgeirs-dóttir & Morganbladid., *Hálf öld frá opnun Karnabæjar*; Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland.

towns in Iceland than if permanently based in Hull, as a result of the fusion of Americans stationed on the island, London centric boutiques, and subcultural styles via Porter.

As Karnabær grew, the company decided to offer made-to-measure suits and this is when Porter joined the company. Originally suits were made to customer designs as well as creating suits for stock, which were less extravagant. Further expansion meant that production was unable to keep up with demand, therefore the company imported made-to-measures suits from Fox Brothers, London. The company recognised the need for more on trend products, mixed with the intrinsic features of good quality fabrics and made with the extrinsic values of style.

The UK tailoring companies mainly relied on language to communicate design concepts with their customers, initially this was not an option for Porter, his Icelandic was non-existent and English was not as commonly spoken in Iceland as it is today. A way in which to resolve this was to sketch designs, conversing ideas between the tailor and the client. This demonstrates a leap of faith by the Icelanders and their confidence in Porter to be able to replicate the vision that was envisaged by both parties. The tailor states that it was a collaboration between himself and the customer explaining that it is difficult to state what the trends were, as, 'I don't think two were ever alike.'⁶¹² Similar to the Hull tailors, this period was recognised as an exciting and creative time in menswear.

The various nationalities congregating on the island may have influenced the locally produced suits, including the Americans and British, alongside what was being imported from abroad. Porter was a Ted in the 1950s and could have been using his knowledge of UK based subcultures as a way to bring more fashion oriented clothing to Iceland.⁶¹³ Porter had insider knowledge of what the Americans were wearing, which could have been influencing his style ideas too. In addition, the fact that he had been situated in Iceland for several years, including working for an Icelandic tailor would have given him an understanding of local dress. A cross-nation pollination of influences was occurring in relation to the design process of the suits that Porter was creating.

Porter has kept five of his workbooks from his time employed as a tailor. Three are dated 1965 to 1967, the other two are undated. Four demonstrate designs for menswear including measurements and diagrams. One lacks illustrations and is reliant on text and fabric swatches. The book reveals British cloth samples, and local cloth in natural fleece colours, which were sourced from a weave manufacturer in Akureyri. The books visually present how much variation was occurring between

⁶¹² Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland.*, 2.

⁶¹³ Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland.*

individuals, and how quickly trends were shifting in the space of months. Every page illustrates between four to six suits. Where only one image is evident with other measurements, this was collective dress usually for a band, with all the members wearing similar suits.⁶¹⁴ This has resonance with many bands at the time, a trend was to have a shared style and is seen in American and UK music groups too.

In the 1965 Workbook 1, there is evidence of single- and double-breasted jackets with notched collars and a few shawl collars and half belts. The use of velvet for the collars and trims becomes evident, as does the introduction of the Spanish waistband from August (see Figure 44 and Figure 45). This continues into 1965 Workbook 2, but with more interesting variations of the suit beginning to emerge. As an example, on a double page, covering four days there is a variation in all suits, demonstrating both the ingenuity of the tailor and the men that want to wear the creations. As Porter rightly stated, a standardised suit did not exist with creativity coming to the fore on every single page.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

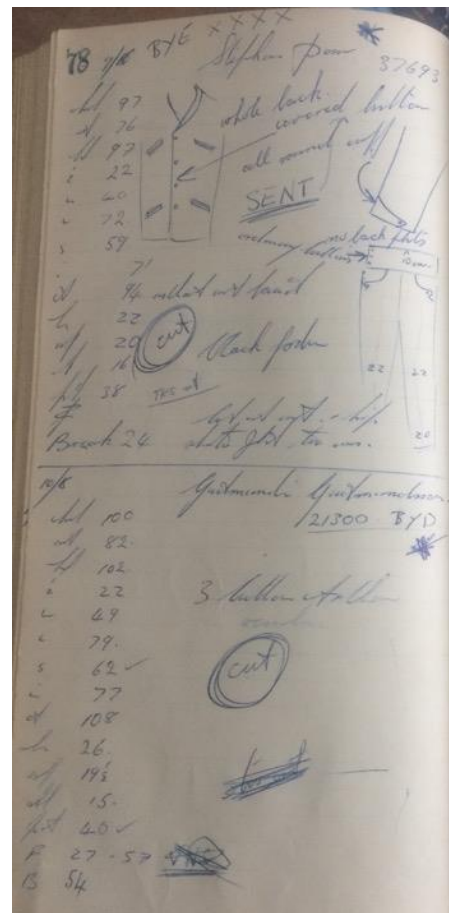
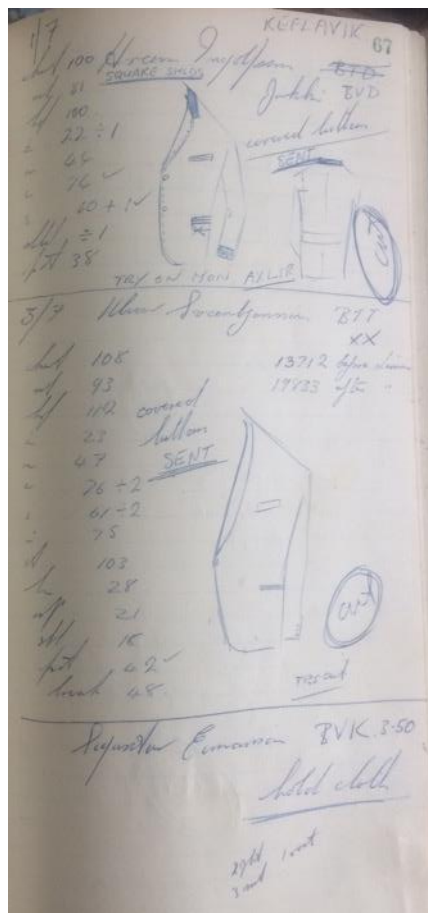


Figure 44 A suit jacket with velvet trim and a half belt in the back. The dinner jacket has a one-button shawl collar. Workbook 1, 1965, p.67.

Source: C. Porter, *Workbook 1*. 1965 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day July 2018.

Figure 45 A four-button short shawl collar jacket with an Italian or mod appearance, fancy cuffs and the trousers have a wide Spanish waistband. Workbook 1, 1965, p.78.

Source: C. Porter, *Workbook 1*. 1965 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day July 2018.

The workbook displays a three-piece suit in which the trousers have a Spanish waistband. Various forms of extreme detailing are evident, with one suit alternating colour for each section, another has vents on the bottom of the trousers, including an alternate colour within, and a button at the top (see Figure 46). Lace up flies with patch pockets also make an appearance (see Figure 47).



Figure 46 A suit made of two colours requiring double the amount of fabric usual to make a suit. Workbook 2, 1965, p.111.

Source: C. Porter, *Workbook 2*. 1965 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day, July 2018.

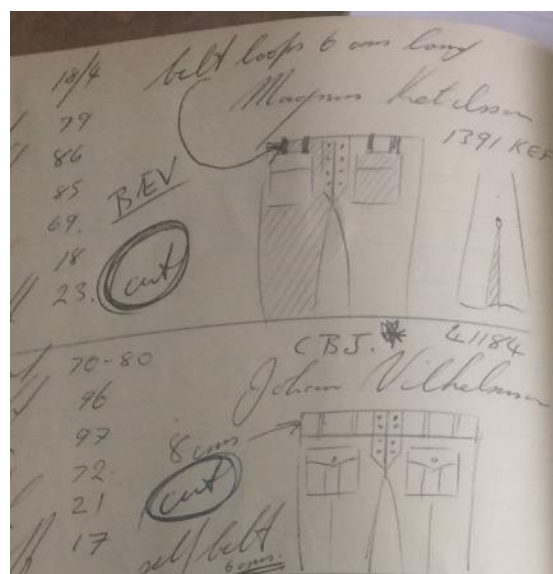


Figure 47 Trousers with lace up ties and illustrating vent bottoms, again in two colours. Workbook 2 1965, p. 126.

Source: C. Porter, *Workbook 2*. 1965 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day, July 2018.

A trend apparent in the 1967 workbook is the use of the frock coat, reminiscent of the late-nineteenth century English dress and at times include a military appearance. Interesting cuffs and back vents become features on the jackets. The introduction of trousers with bib detailing and visible buttons at either side become a detail, which has similarities to naval trousers (see Figure 48 and Figure 64). The Spanish waistband has disappeared. The workbook is on trend with what was occurring in London, demonstrating Iceland was at the zeitgeist of fashion movements during this period and Porter was responding through his sartorial designs. Fletcher refers to the 'Victorian frockcoat' and 'military togger' of the 'Saturday morning promenaders of Carnaby Street and the Kings Road, they come from the desolate suburbs, from the soul-destroying uniformity of the great and terrible housing estates.'⁶¹⁵ The need for escapism and to present different identities for both sets of young people, in the capital of the UK and Iceland, is apparent by their individual style choices.

⁶¹⁵ G. Fletcher, *Geoffrey Fletcher's London* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1970 [1968]), 94, 95.

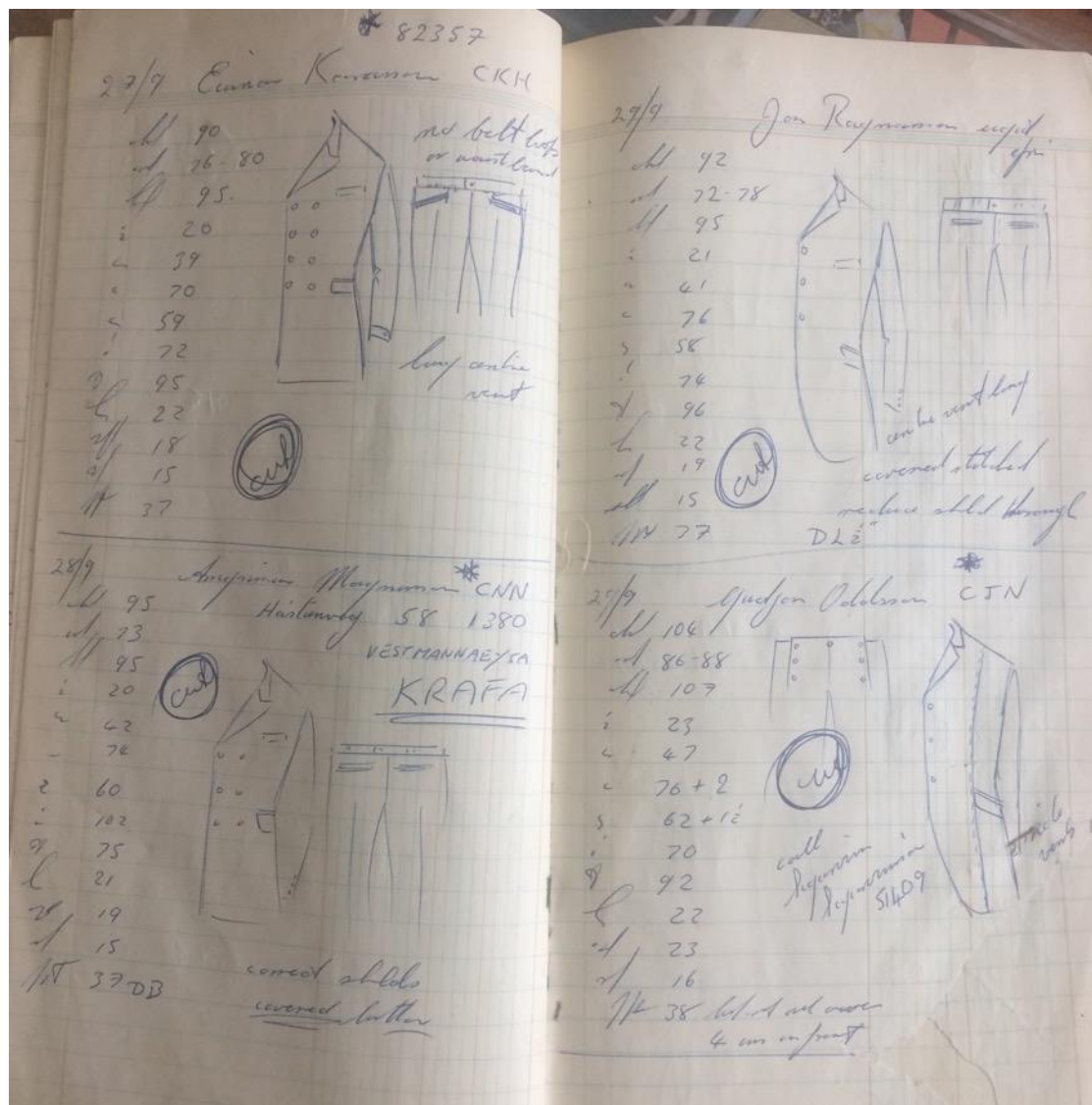


Figure 48 Workbook illustrating the change to frock coats, single- and double-breasted versions are apparent with bib fronted trousers. Workbook 1967 27/9, 29/9.
Source: C. Porter, *Workbook*. 1967 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day, July 2018.

The Spanish waistband reappears in the 1968 workbook. Frock coats are sitting side by side with single-breasted, high notched collared jackets that have similarities with the Italian or mod suits. Some of the designs illustrate the introduction of front and back yokes on the suit jackets. The workbooks are a plethora of styles, in the same way that the trawlermen's suits are all different. It is believed that the choice of colours were more subdued than the pastels worn by the trawlermen of Hull, especially when relying on local yarn, which was not dyed but the natural shades of sheep fleece. The colours vary and include white, fawn, brown, grey, black and the various tones.

It is accepted that none of the UK based trawlermen would have had their suits made in Iceland due to never officially planning to land on the island, therefore timeframes prevented it. However, the

look could have been influencing their own design choices through what they saw when there, and vice versa, the trawlermen could have been inspiring the locals to become more daring in their choice of suits than the 'bullet proof' version. The Hull trawlermen did wear their suits when ashore and fraternised with the locals, especially of the same age group, therefore their choice of dress was seen. It is known that Icelandic trawlermen when in port wore suits, pushing sartorial boundaries like the Hull men. Bergman recalls a specific Icelandic trawlermen:

Yeah, they had money when they came into town, so they bought suits. I remember my late husband telling me that he sold a white suit, completely white trouser, white jacket, black tie, no, black shirt and white tie to some guy, who was slightly drunk but he came into the store in Týsgata [street in Reykjavík], which was on the corner just down the road here. And erm he started off by making jokes about the clothes and then my late husband said, 'Well that's only because you don't dare to wear these.' Many years later we were stopped when we were travelling and this guy comes up to us and says, "Hey I want to thank you for that suit, for selling me that suit because that night I met my wife [all laugh]." So the influence of this was you know you noticed anyone who was different back in those days.⁶¹⁶

The statement resonates with how the Hull trawlermen must have looked in their suits when in port, they did stand out. Within Porter's workbooks there are similarities with the Hull trawlermen's dress, it is unknown when the tailor started to design with specific features that have similarities with the original and adapted shore suit. Porter's earlier workbooks have not been retained for posterity. If we take the wide waistband as an example, the information available illustrates their use from 1967, when it is known the Hull trawlermen had worn Spanish waistbands from the mid-1950s. The suit choices of the Hull men could have been influencing Porter, as by wearing their suits when visiting other ports than their home city presented a visual indicator of their style. Whether intentionally, or through osmosis the trawlermen's dress could have been influential in the styles captured and worn in Iceland.

⁶¹⁶ Bergmann & Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 1: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland.*, 8.



Figure 49 A workbook page showing a variety of styles, top left shows a three-piece with a narrow collar, and a wide waistband, the bottom left is reminiscent of the Mississippi gangster style complete with the ribbon bow tie (see **Figure 54**), and a yoke front and back with ¼-inch stitching, which is similar to the mythical cowboy. Workbook 1967, 9/1, 10/1z.
Source: C. Porter, *Workbook*. 1967 [Design Order Book] Iceland. Courtesy of C. Porter. Photograph C. Day, July 2018.

The workbooks present a range of different influences from various sources including popular culture, subcultures and historical menswear, all based around the suit but evidencing the nuanced shift in cut and style features within a controlled space of the two or three-piece suit. Each day men were expressing their very distinct desires, different from the person who had visited the tailor earlier in the day. When the workbook images were shown to the interviewees who worked at Waistell's in Hull, they expressed excitement at finding such an amazing source, recognising the

similarities to their own experiences and variations of styles that they were a part of creating. They felt a connection to the workbooks and to Porter.

The English tailor designed for the Americans at the airbase, bands, Icelandic trawlermen and the local men in his long career in Iceland. Porter's knowledge of subcultural dress in the UK influenced him, his expertise of tailoring and quality of cloth began when apprenticed at 15. From an early age the tailor has been aware of the importance of intrinsic and extrinsic values of style, quality of cloth and kept abreast with the changes in trends through knowledge of subcultural dress. The influence of international trade and migration of people has impacted on the dress of Iceland, and this has been interpreted and potentially transferred back to those who witnessed these changes.

5.3 Decline of the suit

Changes in the fishing industry which climaxed in 1976, had a knock on effect on the dress of the trawlermen, as Coles stipulates, the shore suit 'it just seemed to fade away.'⁶¹⁷ The Scandinavian countries recognised the fishing grounds along their coastlines were being overfished and wanted to protect them, Iceland's economy relied heavily on fishing. There had been previous cod wars, which resulted in a 12-miles protection zone around Iceland in 1958, extended to 50 miles in 1973.⁶¹⁸ Iceland in at least two of the cod wars considered expelling the NATO airbase in Keflavík, which was a strategic position for trade routes and required protecting, especially during the cold war.⁶¹⁹ The increase in oil prices by the OPEC countries made the situation uneconomical for trawlers reliant on the fuel.⁶²⁰ Each of the cod wars brought conflict between Britain and Iceland, with naval ships from both countries being used to protect and prevent fishing within the designated zones.⁶²¹

A further ruling, which enabled Iceland to protect its fishing grounds was the introduction of a 200-miles protection zone around its coastline, the third and final cod war. This caused significant changes to the fishing community of Hull, in particular unemployment of trawlermen and auxiliary

⁶¹⁷ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1, 2*.

⁶¹⁸ R. Nelsson, 'Iceland v Britain: the cod wars begin - archive, September 1958', *The Guardian*. 07 September 2018 [Online]. Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/from-the-archive-blog/2018/sep/07/first-cod-war-iceland-britain-fish-1958>, [Accessed 18-02-2019]; Manchester Guardian, '12-mile limit for fishing', *Manchester Guardian*. 03 June 1958, 1; The National Archives, *The Cod Wars*, 2016. Available online: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/cod-wars.htm> [Accessed 05-02-2016].

⁶¹⁹ M. Lake & R. Norton-Taylor, 'Aggression charges fly in cod war', *The Guardian*. 30 May 1973, 1; A. Smith, 'Iceland's plain speaking uncle gets tough', *The Guardian*. (London). 04 February 1976, 13.

⁶²⁰ Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 12.

⁶²¹ Nelsson, 'Iceland v Britain: the cod wars begin - archive, September 1958'.

workers that supported the fishing industry.⁶²² As the *Guardian* reported, Laing, the director of the British Fishing Federation stated that:

“There will be considerable distress on Humberside and Fleetwood. There is no alternative for the distant fishing trawlers in other waters, and this comes to regions where there is very high unemployment already.” Mr Laing said that 60 trawlers had already been laid up as a result of the Icelandic situation. If there was no work for these boats some 1,500 jobs would be directly threatened and as many as 10,000 indirectly through the effects of land-based employment.⁶²³

The UK distant-water fisheries response to the decline took an archaic approach. The Hull trawler owners devised a plan to return to a traditional hand operated method of removing fish from the ships rather than the installed mechanical methods, as an attempt to preserve jobs but lacks ingenuity.⁶²⁴ The lack of innovation, diversification and investment in the fishing industry has been considered additional reasons why the UK distant-water fishing industry collapsed.⁶²⁵ This wasn't necessarily a fishing industry problem but perceived as being more of a UK trade problem by social historians:

[...] of 'heirs' succeeded generations of 'pioneers', characters less hardened, less inventive, less aggressive, less hard-working and more concerned to enjoy their possessions. So the '*rentier*' spirit gradually took over from the 'producer' spirit. Technical reasons have also been invoked – ageing machinery, indifference to new technology, lack of scientific spirit, of rationalization, and of professional training.⁶²⁶

Hull's Hessle Road community was built mainly on the fishing industry of distant-water trawling and with the swift collapse it was unable to respond through diversification.⁶²⁷ As the men were arriving home to Hull from fishing, the ships were being laid up; from mid-1976 the distant-water fishing fleet had reduced from 57 to 24 vessels.⁶²⁸ This situation was exacerbated when in December 1976 the UK fishing fleet was exempt from fishing the waters around the Barents Sea, Faroe Island,

⁶²² Robinson, *Trawling*, 244-249.

⁶²³ The Guardian, 'Iceland ends trawler hopes', *The Guardian*. 21 December 1976, 1.

⁶²⁴ Hull Daily Mail, 'Back to baskets for Hull bobbers?', *Hull Daily Mail*. 08 July 1976, 1.

⁶²⁵ C. Reid, 'Britain's Most Antiquated History: Mr. Tunstall and the Fishing Industry', *International Journal of Maritime History*, XXII, 2 (2010), 171-197; Tunstall, *Fish*.

⁶²⁶ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 99-100.

⁶²⁷ Thór, *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976*, 116, 237.

⁶²⁸ Hull Daily Mail, 'Wet fish fleet cut by half in Hull', *Hull Daily Mail*. 01 July 1976, 1.

Norway, Greenland and Newfoundland.⁶²⁹ There were attempts to transform, with trawlers changing to mackerel fishing, or moving away from fishing into other roles, including supply and standby vessels for the oil and gas industries and surveying; however, this was mainly for the stern freezers the sidewinders were severely affected with many being sent for scrap prior to their natural end of life.⁶³⁰ By 1978 two trawlers per week were being decommissioned.⁶³¹ In 1986 after being laid up for four years the sidewinder *Arctic Corsair* returned to sea until December 1987, she was the last working sidewinder trawler to operate from Hull.⁶³²

The trawler owners and full-time trawlermen were recompensed for their losses, however, many of the men were classed as casual labourers therefore were not entitled to compensation. An article at the end of 1976 discusses that during the previous three years, more than half the trawlermen had left the industry but this had not equated to mass unemployment in the city.⁶³³ The rationale given was that the men had moved away from Hull to find similar employment elsewhere or moved into shore based work.⁶³⁴

The demise of the industry has been well documented, however, with the loss of the group collective came the loss of the shore suit, which has never been documented.⁶³⁵ Martin explains:

The look stopped when the fishing industry stopped. It could, you know, it was a sad sad day, but it had to come, there was no more industry.⁶³⁶

Furthermore Wilson surmises that:

I'm pretty sure you know we'd maybe guess right that it, it died with the trawling trade itself in Hull.⁶³⁷

The loss of distant-water fishing brought an end to the shore suit, it signified the men's occupation so strongly that once that connection was severed, the group collective diminished. The need for the

⁶²⁹ Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*, 12.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-20.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶³³ Industrial Correspondent, 'Iceland move has little effect on Hull', *Hull Daily Mail*. 02 December 1976, 1.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵ Reid, 'Britain's Most Antiquated History'; Robinson, *Trawling*; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*; Þór, *British Trawlers and Iceland 1919-1976*; Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*.

⁶³⁶ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 16.

⁶³⁷ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 23.

men to disassociate themselves with their material culture past is substantiated by disposing of their shore suit.

The young men were no longer entering the profession to continue the look and to reinterpret for their generation. The onshore impact was that the tailors began to close, in conjunction with the auxiliary companies that supported the tailors, such as the button and belt makers, and the dry cleaners. The decline in the tailoring companies in Hull during this period is most poignantly documented in the business directories of the city (see Figure 50). The Hull Telephone directory of 1950 stipulates that 237 companies retailed in Hull as general drapers and outfitters with 83 tailors, by contrast the 1979-81 directory indicates a decline to 77, 28 being tailors.⁶³⁸

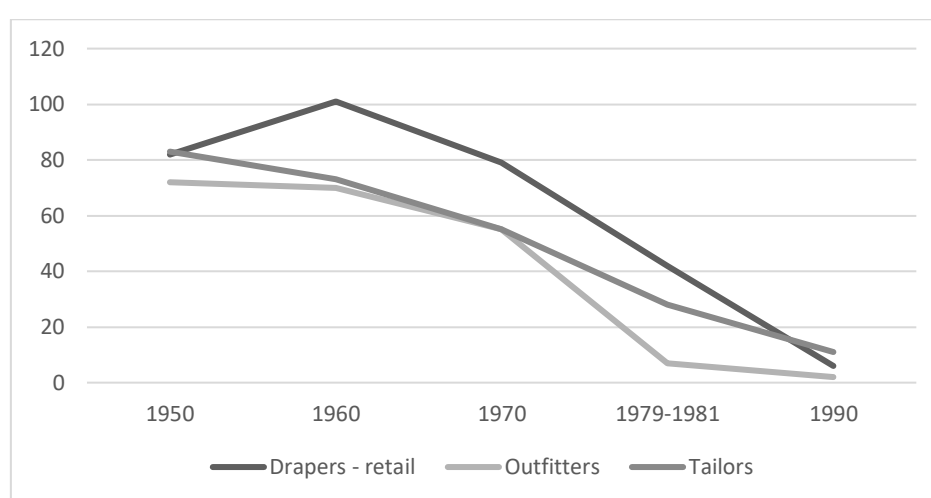


Figure 50 Table of the decline in drapers, outfitters and tailors dating from 1950 to 1990.

Source: Telephone Directories Hull District 1950 to 1990 – listed in Telephone Directory Hull District (Hull: Hull Printers Ltd. 1950-1990).

A contributing factor alongside the decline in the Hull trawling industry, was that consumption in general had been changing for many decades, through innovation in the supply chain and mass-production, improving the goods offered in terms of quality and design.⁶³⁹ The multiple tailors were taking the market away from smaller independent companies due to their competitive economy of scale.⁶⁴⁰ With the use of efficiency techniques including flow-line assembly, unskilled operatives (mainly female) thus cheaper labour, and standardised shaping to produce inexpensive *en masse*

⁶³⁸ Telephone Directory Hull District; Telephone Directory Hull Area; Telephone Directory Hull Area with Business and Professional Section; Hull Area Telephone Directory.

⁶³⁹ R. Worth, *Fashion for the people: A history of clothing at Marks & Spencer* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).

⁶⁴⁰ Breward, *The hidden consumer*; Mort & Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain'.

suits, the independent tailors could no longer compete with the multiples.⁶⁴¹ This was extended further when large-scale companies diversified away from manufacturing, due to increased labour costs and became solely retailers. The multiple tailors had the infrastructure to move production abroad to reduce costs further for both the company and consumers alike.⁶⁴²

In addition, men were moving away from wearing suits to more casual wear for everyday attire.⁶⁴³ Companies such as Waistell's tried to diversify by becoming retailers only, outsourcing manufacturing and selling ready-made clothing and industrial wear. The company differentiated by creating various brands to accommodate specific markets; Bradley Lunt in Beverley for the more discerning and affluent customer, and Trend Tailors boutique in Hull for young and more trend based fashions. However, this did not give the long-term competitive edge required with many companies disappearing, Waistell's last store, the Hessle Road branch closed in 1986.⁶⁴⁴

5.4 Reflection

Historically seafarers have demonstrated a keen desire to express their sartorial inclinations of wanting to dress different when ashore, the twentieth-century trawlerman continued this long occupational tradition. The trawlermen created their own expression of style within the over-arching fashion system. They were the producers and consumers, continually adapting their look, although subtly to the whims of sartorial change in fashion. As Heller states the:

Social pressure to stay within the bounds of the familiar sets limits upon individual expression, but these very limits contribute to maintaining continual, systemic fashion motion.⁶⁴⁵

The results of this chapter have evidenced the in-depth process of the development of the shore suit and its importance to the wearers when home and abroad, as a way in which to visually present themselves to others. Furthermore, the research offers a thorough investigation into the process of producing a made-to-measure suit from an independent tailor. The chapter offers the most

⁶⁴¹ Honeyman, 'Following Suit'; Mort & Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain'.

⁶⁴² Honeyman, *Well Suited*.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁶⁴⁴ Hull History Centre, *Copies of photographs of Waistell & Co. Ltd's shop window 1948-1951*, 2009. Available online: <http://catalogue.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/files/c-dikm.pdf> [Accessed 01-02-2019]; Martin & Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 3*.

⁶⁴⁵ S.-G. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 21.

comprehensive analysis of the trawlermen's shore suit from a descriptive and cultural perspective structured within space and time.

The following chapter will focus on contextualising the descriptor of the shore suit to establish meaning in a social and cultural setting. The existing concepts in relation to the trawlermen's dress will be presented, alongside other cultural dress movements worn in the same period. Furthermore direction from the interviews will form a part of the discussion.

Chapter 6 Shaping the suit

The previous chapters have given a comprehensive assessment of the trawlermen's dual lives, when in port and at sea, incorporating their choice of clothing within the various spacial settings. The descriptive analysis presents the shore suits progression in the timeframe when worn from initial creation to its ultimate demise. So far, the suit has been presented in isolation, a social and cultural frame of reference needs to be established to underpin influencing and motivational components.

Material culture is more than the product, it is the meaning that is projected both to the wearer and to others.⁶⁴⁶ Gill is the only author to theorise the wearing of the shore suit, initially a connection with naval dress was a concept, which was later dismissed in favour of the cowboy.⁶⁴⁷ Although no other maritime authors have provided an interpretation, various writers on subcultures are apparent, specifically from the subjects of sociology and fashion.⁶⁴⁸ Researchers like Muggleton, present thorough experiential data on other forms of youth based dress, including his own personal accounts of the shifting style choices when involved in a subculture. Though no research has considered the Hull trawlermen's suit, this thesis demonstrates the importance of the existing concepts and other subcultures in shaping the shore suit. The trawlermen's own thoughts expand on the influences of their particular style, offering both the macro and micro approach to their relationship with other forms of menswear.

6.1 The tailoring press

Various trade publications in the form of booklets were available as visual prompts to show the latest trends to potential clients, as a method for tailors and cloth manufacturers to market their products. Honeyman explains that these stylebooks pictorially describe in colour the current seasonal fashions.⁶⁴⁹ Levitt stipulates that by selecting a product from these books, the wearer remained up-to-date with incremental fashion changes.⁶⁵⁰ A Hull tailor discusses using Bell's fashion plates, a book that showed all the various styles of suits available to customers, including tuxedos and hunting jackets. The trawlermen's suits were not represented in the images, suggesting the style was not mainstream fashion when they were worn.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁶ A. Gerritsen & G. Riello, 'Introduction', in A. Gerritsen & G. Riello (eds.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 1-14.

⁶⁴⁷ Gill, *Hessle Road; Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

⁶⁴⁸ D. Hebdige, *Subculture: The meaning of style* (London: Routledge, 1998); Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

⁶⁴⁹ Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 53-54.

⁶⁵⁰ Levitt, 'Cheap Mass-Produced Men's Clothing'.

⁶⁵¹ Anonymous 1, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

The trade magazine *Tailor & Cutter* had no commercial illustrations or images that could be considered the typical trawlerman's suit, either the original or adapted version. The nearest the publication comes to visualising a suit similar to the trawlermen's, is two technical cutting and making articles on the subject of the Norfolk jacket.⁶⁵² The editorial from April 1969 stipulates that the journal has had requests for the last 10 years in relation to this cut, yoke and pleat styles, which are considered authentic features of the Norfolk jacket (see Figure 65).⁶⁵³

The journal focuses on bespoke rather than made-to-measure or ready-to-wear tailoring, discussing in the trade news multiple tailors, perceived as the antithesis between bespoke and mass manufacture. Made-to-measure articles do not appear until 1970, although in a negative context and ready-to-wear not until 1971; considering both methods of CMT (cut, make and trim) had been in existence for decades, it seems rather a slow move to accept progress within the field of tailoring. This is exacerbated further by the journal recognising its neglect of the made-to-measure business, which at the time was the largest purchaser of UK wool, demonstrating its significance to the tailoring industry as a whole.⁶⁵⁴

An element of condescension is evident in some of the articles, particularly in relation to Carnaby Street.⁶⁵⁵ This substantiates Porter's descriptor in terms of quality of make and material being inferior to suit production elsewhere (see 5.2). This is extended to include the journal's attitude to the working-classes appropriating dress of the upper-classes, presenting Simmel's trickle-down theory as an injustice to those groups (the upper-classes) who according to the journal have the right to wear it.⁶⁵⁶ At the same time, other contributors start to recognise the importance of street style, namely the Zoot and the Italian suit on menswear in general.⁶⁵⁷ However, some of the feature writers of the trade magazine do recognise that the ready-to-wear market is potentially the way forwards and the consumer does not want a suit that lasts him tens of years, but one that offers modernity, which the bespoke tailors need to respond to, adapting to the changes in their trade.⁶⁵⁸ This echoes Porter and his description of the well-made but unstylish suits of the tailoring companies

⁶⁵² Tailor & Cutter, 'A Summer Ahead', *Tailor & Cutter*. 19 June 1970, 584-586.

⁶⁵³ Tailor & Cutter, 'Another Borrowing', *Tailor & Cutter*. 11 April 1969, 450-451.

⁶⁵⁴ Tailor & Cutter, 'Measure Trade', *Tailor & Cutter*. 28 May 1971, 35.

⁶⁵⁵ K. Dallas, 'MAB Trends', *Tailor & Cutter*. 25 September 1970, 932-933; Tailor & Cutter, 'The Toast Goes West of England', *Tailor & Cutter*. 07 April 1967, 445-447; Tailor & Cutter, 'The Designers Fashion Philosophy', *Tailor & Cutter*. 27 March 1970, 282-283.

⁶⁵⁶ Dallas, 'MAB Trends'; Tailor & Cutter, 'The Toast Goes West of England'.

⁶⁵⁷ Tailor & Cutter, 'The Romantic Look: Is it Byronic or Moronic?', *Tailor & Cutter*. 17 February 1967, 184-186.

⁶⁵⁸ Tailor & Cutter, 'The Designers Fashion Philosophy'.

in Iceland. Furthermore, Bridgland was proclaiming the same discussion in the late 1920s, demonstrating the continued relaxation in suiting and menswear throughout the twentieth century (see 1.1).⁶⁵⁹ Interestingly, modernity was considered too avant-garde in some countries in Europe for being too daring at the time:

Carnaby Street fashion was arrested in Spain last week in the dressed-shape of Patrick Kerr. He was seen wearing an ensemble in Madrid and arrested on the spot for what the local police called “obscene”. Mr Kerr [...] was held in custody for eight hours. His garment consisted of a Regency-styled striped jacket, purple satin shirt, blue bell-bottoms trousers and boots. Mr Kerr had difficulties in convincing the Spanish Authorities that his rig was the current trend in Britain.⁶⁶⁰

For some it wasn't about what they were wearing but to have a presence, to be seen in line with performativity, Elms states about his own transgression through many forms of subcultural styles, 'I must have looked absolutely ridiculous, but at least I *looked*.'⁶⁶¹

The tailors interviewed did keep abreast of what was occurring in the tailoring press responding to innovations within the trade. However, this becomes less apparent with the trawlermen's suits with no direct links being offered in the interviews or viewed in the trade articles. The local tailors used their experience and knowledge of designing and making previous trawlermen's suits, alongside using the suits as actual prompts when awaiting collection, as a way in which to capture the imagination of the potential client and illustrating the incremental changes to the current version of the style.

6.2 Subcultural dress

In the 1950s teenagers were using style as agency to express themselves, being void of emulating others apart from their peers.⁶⁶² It shifted domination of power in terms of innovation from established fashion houses and designers to the up and coming creatives on the street. The subcultural styles were not static, shifting with social and cultural changes and continued to define difference, counter to the major menswear businesses.

⁶⁵⁹ Bridgland, 'Correct Dress for the Occasion', 17.

⁶⁶⁰ Tailor & Cutter, 'Carnaby Causes Arrest', *Tailor & Cutter*. 03 February 1967, 108.

⁶⁶¹ R. Elms, *The Way We Wore: A Life in Threads* (London: Indie, 2014 [2005]), 56.

⁶⁶² A. Lillethun, 'Introduction', in L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 77-82.

The Zoot suit was a style before and during conflict and is potentially the first street fashion movement to influence dress in the UK during the twentieth century.⁶⁶³ Other forms of suit-based subcultural dress will be defined up to the 1980s to contextualise the relationship between the shore suit and other subgroups and their potential influences on the trawlermen's style.

The Zoot suit

The Zoot suit originated in America amongst Mexican-Americans and African-Americans, later spreading to other working- and middle-class youths.⁶⁶⁴ The Zoot suit as explained by Chibnall:

[...] was amongst the first fashionable costumes to be developed by the underprivileged and effectively to reverse the conventions of fashion diffusion – from top down to bottom up.⁶⁶⁵

Its origins are unknown but the term Zoot is to dress or perform in an exaggerated manner.⁶⁶⁶ Kaiser considers potential influencing factors of music and ethnic diversity, commenting that African-Americans were dressed ahead of the current trends in menswear as early as 1931.⁶⁶⁷ Peiss discusses the end of the Great Depression as a catalyst for change and modernity, seen and heard through music and dance; swing, jitterbug and jazz.⁶⁶⁸ In addition Kaiser recognises a link to British military uniforms, however no further evidence is offered.⁶⁶⁹

The Zoot suit in its earlier guise was less exaggerated but with time took on an extreme voluminous appearance.⁶⁷⁰ Peiss notes that the style becomes more fanciful as competition between wearers to outdo one another increased (see Figure 51).⁶⁷¹ The suit was cut wide with broad shoulders and a

⁶⁶³ Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁶⁶⁴ H. Alford, 'The Zoot Suit: Its history and influence', in P. McNeil & V. Karaminas (eds.), *The Men's Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 353-359; K. Peiss, *Zoot Suit: The enigmatic career of an extreme style* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2011), 57.

⁶⁶⁵ Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot', 57.

⁶⁶⁶ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Power dressing: Zoot suits*, 2014. Available online: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/p/powerdressing-zoot-suits> [Accessed 04-02-2014].

⁶⁶⁷ Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 137.

⁶⁶⁸ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 58-59.

⁶⁶⁹ Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, 138.

⁶⁷⁰ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 32.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*

pinched waist. The single-breasted jacket was worn long with padded shoulders and wide notched lapels.⁶⁷² The trousers were high-waisted and wide at the top tapering to a cuff at the ankle.⁶⁷³



Figure 51 An example of a Zoot suit.

Source: Museum Associates/LACMA 'Zoot Suit, 1940-1942 De Luxe Hollyvogue for Lundahl Clothing Co'. In S. S. Takeda et al., *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear, 1715-2015* (Munich: Prestel Publishing, 2016), 58.

The media vilified Zoot suit wearers during the Second World War because the suits required excessive fabric; the US government War Production Board placed restrictions on the amount of fabric that could be used to produce a suit.⁶⁷⁴ Subsequently, men were resourceful either wearing suits bought prior to the restrictions or by purchasing oversized suits and having tailors alter them to the required shape and style.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷² Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*; R. P. Rubinstein, *Dress Codes: Meanings and Messages in American Culture* (Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1995).

⁶⁷³ Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; Rubinstein, *Dress Codes*; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Power dressing*.

⁶⁷⁴ Alford, 'The Zoot Suit: It's history and influence', 357; Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 90; Polhemus, *Streetstyle*; Rubinstein, *Dress Codes*; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Power dressing*.

⁶⁷⁵ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 39.

A version of the Zoot according to Chibnall and Burton was potentially worn in the UK, possibly originating when the American black GI's were stationed in the UK during the Second World War.⁶⁷⁶ Longmate recounts, 'It was like a scene from a wild-west film. All shapes and sizes, pastel-coloured shantung-type suits, gaudy shirts and ties'.⁶⁷⁷ Who the quote is referring to cannot be substantiated, however, it represents the shock at witnessing such difference in dress by comparison to what was usually seen in Britain at the time. Peiss considers how in 1941 the Americans built a military base in Trinidad and considers that perhaps the Zoot suit became integrated into the local culture.⁶⁷⁸ The style originated in America and through social mobility of Commonwealth soldiers during conflict, and post-war, with Caribbean economic migrants presents an indirect route from the country of origin into the UK.⁶⁷⁹

Influencer Cecil Gee of London created his own version of the Zoot suit, importing other parts of the dress including kipper ties and shirts, providing a different style to conventional menswear available in the UK at the time. Chibnall explains that, 'Cecil Gee's was an oasis of colour in a desert of navy and grey, a fantasy land in which Hollywood dreams could be realised'.⁶⁸⁰ The quote hints to escapism, and to the performativity of acting including the symbolic association with Hollywood idols whose lack of conformity to clothing restrictions during the war was evident in cinematic films. Hollywood was exempt and continued to present actors such as Clark Gable wearing the Zoot suit.⁶⁸¹

The multiple tailor, Burton's produced a double-breasted two-piece suit, which is considered reminiscent of a Zoot suit with less exaggerated features and without the cuffed trousers. Gunn and Lockett describe the suit as American in style with a distinct spiv feel to it.⁶⁸² The spiv, a black-market racketeer during the Second World War was caricatured in the media as wearing the Zoot suit, though little evidence exists to establish how the suit appeared. Perhaps the reason for limited photographic evidence, as Burton suggests, it remains underground due to the illicit behaviour of

⁶⁷⁶ R. K. Burton, *Rebel threads: Clothing of the bad, beautiful & misunderstood* (London: Laurence King, 2017), 25; Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot', 64.

⁶⁷⁷ N. Longmate, *The G.I.'s: The Americans in Britain 1942-1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1975), 88.

⁶⁷⁸ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 162.

⁶⁷⁹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 30.

⁶⁸⁰ Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot', 68.

⁶⁸¹ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 92.

⁶⁸² D. Gunn & R. Lockett, *The Vintage Showroom: An Archive of Menswear* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2015), 108.

the wearers.⁶⁸³ This utility scheme suit with the CC41 insignia illustrates the on trend designs produced even when under restrictive conditions (see Figure 52).



Figure 52 Burton double-breasted two-piece suit in the American-style c.1940s.

Source: N. Shonfeld, 'Burton double-breasted two-piece suit in the American-style c.1940s' In D. Gunn & R. Lockett, *The Vintage Showroom: An Archive of Menswear* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2015), 109.

In the interviews Porter recollects subcultural dress in Leeds before his move to Iceland. He recalls Bebop boys wearing 'finger length jackets, with a button one [...] and big waistband and narrow trousers at the bottom,' originating with the black community of West Yorkshire.⁶⁸⁴ The descriptor is similar to that of the Zoot suit. A further explanation is those who wore it were wearing a less exaggerated version enabling the look to be integrated and accepted.⁶⁸⁵ Polhemus recognises the influence of the Zoot on the Caribbean and the Hip Cats styles, which then fed into the development of the Teddy Boy suits.⁶⁸⁶

An alternative concept from Peiss is that seamen on supply ships of African-American and West Indian origin entered the UK ports and introduced the Zoot suit.⁶⁸⁷ The men would probably not

⁶⁸³ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 25.

⁶⁸⁴ Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript]* Iceland, 19.

⁶⁸⁵ Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot'.

⁶⁸⁶ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 30-32, 40-42.

⁶⁸⁷ Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 166-167.

have worn the suits when working but when waiting for the ship to turnaround in port. It is recognised that prior to modernisation of the dock system, to load and unload ships was timely, leave to go ashore may have been granted enabling the suits to be worn and seen.⁶⁸⁸ Peiss does not offer any further evidence to support this argument, however, it is plausible. Besides the fish dock, Hull had seven other docks and a quay for the transportation of cargo and people.⁶⁸⁹ Hull was a prosperous trading port, breaking records several times in the early-twentieth century for the amount of tonnage of goods imported.⁶⁹⁰ Inevitably with the port city situated on the East Coast, trade with Scandinavian countries, Russia, Germany and the Dutch was more frequent than with the Americas although it did occur.⁶⁹¹ It is not unreasonable to suggest that UK port towns and cities that had trading links beyond the North Atlantic may have been witness to a version of the Zoot suit.

The influence of the Zoot suit and American culture through Americans in the UK, popular culture and indirectly via the Commonwealth, was potentially infiltrating British culture. The widespread diffusion of the Zoot suit, with versions being worn in Western and Eastern Europe, and South Africa illustrates that various media outputs, and how the movement of people including occupational mobility can contribute to the distribution of dress.⁶⁹²

The Teds

The New Edwardians, was a look created by Savile Row in the late 1940s, evidence suggest its origins may be as early as 1942, which only came into prominence immediately after the post-war period.⁶⁹³ It is described by Polhemus as 'flamboyant' and daring for the establishment of British menswear, it was worn by the young elite.⁶⁹⁴ For the tailors it represented a platform for change and to stimulate new business after wartime restrictions. The New Edwardian suit was based on menswear from before the First World War, which Bédarida describes as a lavish period for high social ranks in terms of fashion and material wealth.⁶⁹⁵ Returning to clothing of the past was reminiscent of pre-war luxury '[...] young men kicking against the drabness of the austerity and working out their

⁶⁸⁸ R. Hope, *A new history of British shipping* (London: John Murray, 1990), 425; G. Jackson, *The History of Archaeology and Ports* (Tadworth: World's Work, 1983), 43, 155.

⁶⁸⁹ Hull History Centre, *History of Hull Docks*.

⁶⁹⁰ British History Online, 'Modern Hull' *A History of the County of York East Riding*.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 3, 158.

⁶⁹³ Burton, *Rebel threads*; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 74; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁶⁹⁴ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 48.

⁶⁹⁵ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 149.

restlessness in their clothes.’⁶⁹⁶ Whilst Breward argues that it was a reaction against the uniformity of the demob suit and offered glamour and luxury through material and accessories.⁶⁹⁷

Social distinction was being blurred through material values of quality and make becoming available to a broader spectrum of society. The improved quality of clothing through the CC41 scheme during the war was still a desirable feature for the consumer, with the mix of improvements in efficiency of making in the supply chain and high employment rates, which enabled working-class youths to have spare cash to purchase suits.⁶⁹⁸ By the early 1950s the initial wearers had dropped the look, they did not want to be associated with others from different social backgrounds who could now afford to adopt the look.⁶⁹⁹ The Teds or Teddy Boys as the suit wearers became known subverted the dress, possibly as Polhemus indicates, due to expectations of change and improvements after the war that did not materialise for the working-classes.⁷⁰⁰ During the war, ambitions had been lifted, the nation pulled together for the greater good, it felt that a less structured social system would prevail. However, for many it was the return to the same lifestyle they had left behind.⁷⁰¹ This is highlighted in some of the interviews, with speculation that the trawlermen’s suits were either a reaction to peacetime and a way in which to express oneself, or a reaction towards changes that never occurred, when it was assumed it would, due to the collective unison during the war. As Coles explains:

I suppose because of the austerity that our families lived in [...] they’d just got over the war. [...] I remember being like about 10 years old and folk were still on ration so you know, as things progressed and got better, then you know, I think you wanted to express that you was a different person sort of thing. So consequently, you know, I think that’s where it stemmed from, and, so, everyone started to design their own suits sort of thing.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁶ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 22; Steele-Perkins & Smith, *The Teds*.

⁶⁹⁷ Breward, *The Suit*, 137.

⁶⁹⁸ Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁶⁹⁹ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*.

⁷⁰⁰ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰² Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

Breward describes this as, 'a mode of social resistance,'⁷⁰³ wanting to improve their social standing and be visually seen. Wilson suggests the Teds suit had relevance to young versus old, or traditional versus modern rather than solely class based.⁷⁰⁴ The suits are not binary but had multiple associations. The style of the Teds was certainly a young man's attire, updating appropriated styles from the early-twentieth century, which made them appear different to others except their social peers.



Figure 53 Hugh Finnegan (left) in a suit demonstrating a wide waistband with tapered legs, with a long length jacket, a transition from the Zoot to the Teds – 1957 Southsea.
Source: Photographer unknown, *Teds on parade in Somers Street*. From left Hugh Finnega [sic], Micky Hoskins and Eddie Rowlands. 1957, Southsea. Hind, B. 'Teddy Boy's drape is still looking good', *The Portsmouth News*. 24-01-2015. Available online: <https://www.portsmouth.co.uk/lifestyle/heritage/teddy-boy-s-drape-is-still-looking-good-1-6538127> [Accessed 11-10-2019].

Originally dark in colour or various checks (Prince of Wales and dogtooth as examples) with only the waistcoat offering brightness, the jacket length was long to the palm, singular button fastening with turned back cuffs and slanted pockets, the trousers were narrow and tapered with turn-ups.⁷⁰⁵ This early version of a long jacket and tapered trousers for some included a wide waistbands, which

⁷⁰³ C. Breward, 'Style and Subversion: Postwar Poses and the Neo-Edwardian Suit in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Gender & History*, 14, 3 (2002), 560-583.

⁷⁰⁴ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 190.

⁷⁰⁵ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 74, 76; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

potentially illustrates the integration of the less exaggerated Zoot suit (see Figure 53).⁷⁰⁶ Burton expresses that not all could invest in the three-piece suit, leading to innovation through having a wide waistband to mimic a waistcoat.⁷⁰⁷ This could link the wide waistband with the Spanish waistband of the trawlermen, the men may have been inspired to appropriate from the Teds.



Figure 54 A ted suit in the Mississippi gambler style, 1954.

Source: J. McKeown/Picture Post/Hulton Archive/Getty Images 'Teddy boy in Edwardian-style suit, London, 1954' In S. S. Takeda et al., *Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear, 1715-2015* (Munich: Prestel Publishing, 2016), 42.

The style began to change and resonate with the costumes worn by actors from western genre films rather than the actual American West;⁷⁰⁸ Gunn and Lockett coined the look as the Mississippi gambler (see Figure 54).⁷⁰⁹ This variation consisted of long drape single-breasted jacket extending to the finger tips or to the knee, with features typically of velvet cuffs and collars, wide and notched or a shawl, with a single link or multiple buttons, patterned waistcoats and narrow straight trousers that were drainpipe in style, resting on the top of the shoe, which was usually a pair of creepers.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁶ R. Burton, *E-mail discussion* 16 March 2019.

⁷⁰⁷ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 80.

⁷⁰⁸ Steele-Perkins & Smith, *The Teds*; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁷⁰⁹ Gunn & Lockett, *The Vintage Showroom*.

⁷¹⁰ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 79; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 29; de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 132; Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

This gave the benefit of being able to see bright socks as the wearer moved.⁷¹¹ Pockets could be jetted flap or jetted half-moon, some with arrowheads.⁷¹² The colours of the suits were vibrant by comparison to menswear at the time, in purple, maroon, pinks, powder blues and greens.⁷¹³ The slim tie was replaced with the shoestring or the western bow (ribbon) tie. The hair was a quiff at the front, shaped into a DA (duck's arse) at the back, with sideburns becoming a key feature, representing dress as a whole visual ensemble than purely the suit.⁷¹⁴

Rothstein disputes whether the Teds style originated from the New Edwardian look, due to changes in shape, including the jacket being a looser fit with broader shoulders.⁷¹⁵ This could be twofold, firstly the likelihood is the New Edwardian suit was bespoke tailoring rather than made-to-measure, which dominated the Ted suits, representing class and cost differentiation. A made-to-measure suit is less fitted, it is created from a standard block rather than formed to a specific body shape, therefore is likely to be looser. Secondly, the Teds did not slavishly take on every aspect of the Edwardian suit, they used elements and introduced their own take, creating a bricolage effect. Components of the early Teds style reflected the Zoot suit, both had high waisted and tapered trousers, though visually different (see Figure 53). The trouser shape altered with time to become the drainpipes, which epitomises the look.⁷¹⁶ Subcultural authors suggest it is the multicultural communities of London and port towns, which infiltrated their style in the same way as the Zoot suit.⁷¹⁷

A further factor in the style development of the Teds, besides appropriation of historical, subcultural and popular cultural dress, as portrayed in the cowboy films was music. Cohn, Wilson and Taylor, attribute American rock 'n' roll music as influential to the look and behaviour of the Teds.⁷¹⁸ In contrast Polhemus argues that the Teds were influenced by the big band music prior to rock 'n' roll entering the UK music scene.⁷¹⁹ Whereas Porter in the interviews states that bebop music was a precursor to rock 'n' roll, influencing the shift from the Bebop Boys to the Teddy Boys. Whichever music genres were integral to the dress, what can be ascertained is the importance of popular

⁷¹¹ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 23.

⁷¹² Burton, *Rebel threads*, 79.

⁷¹³ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen.*, 24, 30.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29; de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 132.

⁷¹⁵ Rothstein, *400 Years of Fashion*, 71.

⁷¹⁶ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 29.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 166-167.

⁷¹⁸ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

⁷¹⁹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

culture via music and film in the progression of the Teds as a subcultural form of expression, the style evolved beyond the New Edwardian.

The concept of subcultural rebellion, in particular against the parent culture is prominent in the literature, representing a contrast and conflict between those with power and those without. The evolution and growth of subcultural dress movements have been presented as evidence of this division, however, other perspectives have started to be interjected with the 'dominate-subordinate' literature related to postmodernism.⁷²⁰ The importance of empirical research has revealed that style and leisure consumption and the shift into adulthood were integral to the development and wearing of the different suit based dress styles.⁷²¹

Like the Zoots, the Teds were courted by the press due to portraying various negative behaviour, Cohn argues that style was the only value the Teds were concerned with, their motives were nothing to do with rebelling against the parent culture.⁷²² Walden explains it was an act of dandyism by the Teds who invested large amounts of their income on purchasing the look, with a suit costing an average £18.00, but could be as extravagant as £40.00.⁷²³

Wilson and Taylor, contest Cohn and the Teds act of dandyism, arguing that the dress represents 'delinquency and thuggery,' a theory that was attracting significant media attention.⁷²⁴ The style was reflective of the societal outcast, like the gangster in the western films, which their style later portrayed.⁷²⁵ An article in *Illustrated* dated 1955 recognises that some groups of teenage Teds were creating alleged troublesome gangs in London, but acknowledges not all wearers were behaving in this manner. The article's major point is that the suit was a visual rite of passage from boy to man.⁷²⁶ A conference taking place in 1958 on adolescent behavioural problems approaches the dress of the Teds positively, considering their aspirations and not conceding to society norms of the time as a positive shift, recognising working-class innovation through dress.⁷²⁷ Whatever the stance, the

⁷²⁰ M. Barnard, *Fashion as communication* (London: Routledge, 2002), 42; S. Hall & T. Jefferson, *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1976).

⁷²¹ D. Laughey, *Music & Youth Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); D. Muggleton, *Inside Subculture: The Postmodern Meaning of Style* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Peiss, *Zoot Suit*, 10.

⁷²² Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 30, 31.

⁷²³ N. Phillips, 'Teddy Boy', *Illustrated*. August 6th 1955, 26-27. Viewed at <http://www.edwardianteddyboy.com/page10.htm> [Accessed 18-05-2020]; G. Walden, *Who's a Dandy? Dandyism and George Brummell* (London: Gibson Square Books, 2002).

⁷²⁴ Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 165.

⁷²⁵ Phillips, 'Teddy Boy'.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁷ The Manchester Guardian, 'Hope in Teddy-Boy Trend', *The Manchester Guardian*. 05 May 1958, 3.

publicity by the media, including TV documentaries brought the Ted's youth subcultural style to the masses, encouraging the look to spread around the country.⁷²⁸ Horn stipulates as the dress was adopted regionally, local sartorial differences were achieved and were never completely copied as a whole ensemble from the original London wearers.⁷²⁹

The trawlermen were aware of other subcultural dress and mention the Teds in the interviews, though they do not present the shore suit as a copy, more a recognition that some features have been appropriated and embedded into their own style. The Teds appearance was evident in the men's surroundings when in Hull, the Marcus Bishop store on Hessle Road was perceived to sell, 'more the Teddy boy style ... Americanised in the type of clothing that they sold.'⁷³⁰ The branch was open from 1953 to 1969. Adverts for the business, promote the store as, 'Marcus Bishop American Men's Wear', occurring from 1956 until winter 1958 when it drops the term 'American' from its slogan.⁷³¹ Whether the company continued to sell clothing from the other side of the Atlantic is unknown, the company was expanding and introduced womenswear which may have been a rationale to promote the brand differently, or the advert had a limited word count, by adding 'womenswear' there was no space for additional familiar information. Two employees of Waistell's comment on the similarities, which are possibly influencing each other.⁷³² Wilson further articulates:

[...] I think the Teddy boy err era maybe inspired the fishermen's look as I knew it [...] I suppose Teddy boys were a little bit err flamboyant and extravagant and they [the trawlermen] latched on.⁷³³

The deckie learner's blue suit is reminiscent of the powder blue suit described by Cohn as a key colour for the Teds,⁷³⁴ and the Americans in Iceland wore light blue cashmere coats, which would have been viewed by the trawlermen, and been a further influence on their choice of suit colour. Ellis stipulates that the Hull trawlermen were unable to compete with the Americans when landing in Reykjavík, due to how well dressed they were by comparison to him at the time, intimating he was

⁷²⁸ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 31; Horn, *Juke box Britain*, 131.

⁷²⁹ Horn, *Juke box Britain*, 10.

⁷³⁰ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 12.

⁷³¹ E. S. Rabinowitz, *The Hull Watchman* 1956-1958.

⁷³² *Trawlermen*.

⁷³³ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 28.

⁷³⁴ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

in his work gear or possibly prior to him owning a suit.⁷³⁵ The suit wearing becomes a ritual to compete in their various environments, to attract the attention of others.

Both the Teds and trawlermen were wearing a relaxed fitted jacket due to the nature of made-to-measure standardisation of shaping, the Teds wore it long, whereas the trawlermen wore it to the conventional length. The wide width trousers were not a feature for the Teds who embraced either tapered or drainpipe shaped trousers. The trawlermen did not introduce narrow trousers until the following decade. It was about keeping up with trends, their suits were not static and altered accordingly, with enough style details to remain true to the original trawlerman's suit of the early to mid-1950s.

The impact of the Ted's dress gaining significance to others was counterproductive for the original wearers, in a similar way to the Zoot suit wearers, it diluted the look and values associated with the suit. A negative association with the increased exposure and popularity with the masses became apparent, which did not fit with their ethos. The original Teds began to disband in the late fifties and move on, however the distinctive style associated with the original Teddy Boys has undergone various revivals, with each new group redefining and incrementally altering the look accordingly.⁷³⁶

The Italian look and the Mods

The Italian look, sometimes called the Continental or Spaghetti look originated with Brioni in Rome and Cecil Gee brought the style to London in 1956, allegedly inspired by Italian tailors while on holiday.⁷³⁷ The jacket was single-breasted, slim fitting, short and boxy in shape with narrow lapels, skinny tie, and narrow trousers in lightweight worsted wool often mixed with synthetic fibres.⁷³⁸ The influence could still be attributed to America in terms of Italian Americans and American collegiate look through popular culture references, however other points of reference were specifically Italian.⁷³⁹ It was a sartorial shift in shape and fit from what the Teds were wearing.

Polhemus states that native Italians of all classes dressed in smart suits, whilst Crane and Bovine describe the Italian attitude to style, as 'elegance and beauty' and 'sartorial elegance', which was

⁷³⁵ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 126.

⁷³⁶ Brown, *Mods & Rockers*; Steele-Perkins & Smith, *The Teds*.

⁷³⁷ Breward, *The Suit*; Burton, *Rebel threads*, 163; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*; Jenss, *Fashioning Memory*, 40; Porter, *Meeting with tailor for Karnabær 2: Interview 2 [recorded conversation - full transcript] Iceland*; The Jewish Museum, *Moses, Mods and Mr Fish: The Menswear Revolution*. 2016 [Exhibition]. London.

⁷³⁸ Brown, *Mods & Rockers*; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 44; Costantino, *Men's Fashion in the Twentieth Century*, 92; Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, 261; C. McDermott, *Made in Britain* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2002), 28.

⁷³⁹ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 163, 174; de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*, 12; McDermott, *Street Style*, 18; Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 65.

achievable by all no matter what their class or economic status.⁷⁴⁰ It was not representing a form of rebellion but a style choice, all Italian society could participate in if desired.⁷⁴¹ The Italian look could break the social boundaries through young men wearing bespoke and made-to-measure suits, which infiltrated dress in the UK.

By the 1960s the majority of teenage disposable income was spent on fashion.⁷⁴² The Italian look was embraced by the Mods, retaining the slim fitting original shape of the Italian suit, with the single-breasted jacket having a high-notched lapel to make way for a three-button fastening.⁷⁴³ Pockets were visible either flapped or jetted with limited functionality, the Mods wanted to retain a sharp, clean line.⁷⁴⁴ The trousers were narrow and straight cut with no top pleating but with a crease pleat finish.⁷⁴⁵ Alongside the suits, separates became an integral part of the dress including jeans worn very straight, with or without turn-ups, Italian style knitted polo shirts, mid-calf suede or leather coats, or the trench coat with Hush Puppies, bowling shoes or desert boots.⁷⁴⁶ It is suggested that the Mods gained momentum in Soho in 1959, due to their aversion to 'Traditional' rather than 'Modernist' jazz, which is where the name is adapted from.⁷⁴⁷ This level of modernity was extended to include the mixing of ready-made clothing with their suits, recognising advances in material technology and improvements in industrial production could achieve the desired results.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁰ D. Crane & L. Bovine, 'Approaches to material culture: The sociology of fashion and clothing', *Poetics*, 34 (2006), 324-325; Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

⁷⁴¹ Crane & Bovine, 'Approaches to material culture'.

⁷⁴² E. Ewing, *History of twentieth century fashion* (London: B T Batsford, 1974).

⁷⁴³ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 177; N. McLaughlin, 'Rock, fashion and performativity', in P. McNeil & V. Karaminas (eds.), *The Men's Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 370-384; The Jewish Museum, *Moses, Mods and Mr Fish*.

⁷⁴⁴ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 177.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 174, 177.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 174, 177.

⁷⁴⁷ Jenss, *Fashioning Memory*, 39; R. Weight, *Mod: From Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement* (London: Vintage Books, 2015 [2013]), 3.

⁷⁴⁸ Jenss, *Fashioning Memory*, 42.



Figure 55 An early mod at the tailors.

Source: 'Early Mods meticulously choosing their clothes' In G. Brown, *Mods & Rockers* (Church Stretton: Independent Music Press, 2010), 30.

According to Cohn The Beatles changed everything, not only in terms of music but through endorsing particular styles, in the early days embracing the Italian look; teenagers were prepared to buy into their look.⁷⁴⁹ Music and fashion work side by side, the influence of the star performer, in this case The Beatles projected an image to their audience as leaders of fashion.⁷⁵⁰ It is evident through the interviews The Beatles had a major influence in the shift of the trawlermen's shore suit, from the original to the adapted style, when they came on the scene with their first song 'Love Me Do' in 1962 as described by Wilson:

Without a doubt, The Beatles inspired the new fishermen's look.

When The Beatles came on the scene and of course The Beatle jacket came out, which I

⁷⁴⁹ J. F. Blanco, 'The Postmodern Age: 1960-2010', in L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [2011]); Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

⁷⁵⁰ McLaughlin, 'Rock, fashion and performativity'.

was a recipient myself of two different styles. [...] we had those in the window of Waistell's and it caused, it was as though we'd had The Beatles down in the shop. People actually came to look at The Beatle jackets [...] in the window it was such a thing. I'm certain I'm convinced to this day that's what kicked the ball rolling creating a difference and it started with the, probably more than anything, it started with the type of cut of the jacket. [...] As far as I can remember I don't think we ever made a Beatles jacket as part of a suit it was just a variation of how they [the fishermen] saw it.⁷⁵¹

In addition Regan and Rimmer respectively recall the band's influence:

And don't forget when we started in the 60s that's when the fashion revolution started and we were influenced by A, The Beatles. I remember getting one suit, I only ever got one and it was modelled on The Beatles were they had the, that collarless jacket. [...] High up, I had one of them and I think I only wore it about twice it just wasn't me.⁷⁵²

[...] some of the lads got The Beatles suits, I never did it never suited me.⁷⁵³

The collarless jacket worn by the band, based on the Indian Nehru jacket of the 1940s, was appropriated by designers including Pierre Cardin, Michael Fish and Dougie Millings in the 1960s.⁷⁵⁴ The trawlermen and their tailors were not averse to mixing their own style with that of prevailing trends, even if considered unsuccessful. The men engaged with sartorial changes in menswear, which illustrates the trawlermen's ability to respond to the times. The jacket of the suit altered, losing the collar but retaining other features like the half-moon pockets and fancy backs. The trawlermen were responding to major fashion shifts but keeping the key features of their dress, symbolically retaining their own traditional dress, which remained up-to-date by responding to trends in popular culture.

The Mods, as with the Teds were able to stratify pre-determined social levels, attempting to remove those community and social borders through what they wore. Working-class youngsters who would have bought ready-made clothing previously were now in a position to have their own tailor, having the confidence and language to communicate effectively to achieve their desired suit. As Elms states:

⁷⁵¹ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 10.

⁷⁵² Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁷⁵³ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁷⁵⁴ Breward, *The Suit*, 96.

The process itself was sumptuous: the measurements and the fittings, meetings even, the discussion of cut, cloth and linings, with a tailor somewhere off the Edgware Road. In 1965, for a sixteen-year-old from Burnt Oak via Notting Dale, to have meetings and a tailor to call his own was quite something, but then Barry was something – he was a mod. He was one.⁷⁵⁵

The Zoot and the Teds origins of historical, cultural and social influences intermixed to develop these streetwear styles. The Mods direction was influenced by young creatives starting their own boutiques in specific areas of London, in particular Carnaby Street. The stores as described by Lester offered shopping as an experience, which had not been a part of the high street previously.⁷⁵⁶ It represented a '[...] substantial departure from what had gone on before. Not just in terms of what they sold, but also in the way they sold it [...]'⁷⁵⁷ A point that is key, is the age of those who were designing and selling the clothes, it was reflective of the buyers, young consumers.⁷⁵⁸ The young creatives and sales teams are perfectly positioned to understand their clients' needs and desires through peer-to-peer experiences and knowledge, the boutiques were for the young only.⁷⁵⁹ In Hull there were attempts to move in line with young consumers by some outfitters, notably Waistell's employing young staff to appeal to teenagers entering their stores, such as the trawlermen, and opening a boutique style shop, which was purely aimed at the younger clientele.

Interestingly as the Mod suit continued to evolve, a sartorial hierarchy developed relating to price and quality.⁷⁶⁰ Simmel's trickle-down concept of others in society copying the social elite became internalised by the top Mods, creating social division within their own style ranks through peer-to-peer pressure rather than peer-to-peer emulation. As Weight acknowledges, '[...] the original Mods of the 1960s displayed all the elitism of the Establishment they were attacking and which, ultimately, they wanted to join.'⁷⁶¹ Burton explains the hierarchy, those who altered their look continually were known as Top Mods, Faces or Peacocks, those buying cheaper mass produced offerings were known as Numbers.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁵ Elms, *The Way We Wore*, 1-2.

⁷⁵⁶ Lester, *Boutique London*, 9.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁶⁰ Burton, *Rebel threads*, 181.

⁷⁶¹ Weight, *Mod*, 19.

⁷⁶² Burton, *Rebel threads*, 181.

The Mods extended the dress to include fashionable mobility in the form of the Vespa or Lambretta, both Italian scooters. This made the dress visible to a larger audience as wearers travelled further afield, alongside the media influence, which at times could be disparaging; however, by 1964 the look had become a commercial success.⁷⁶³ Not all media attention was negative; the expansion of television programmes directly targeted at youths and Mods instigated mass exposure across the country.⁷⁶⁴ The look, which started on Carnaby Street in the mid-1950s, with a few boutiques, had by 1966 increased to 17 stores, 13 being menswear, like the Teds, this alongside media attention and style mobility began to dilute the look.⁷⁶⁵ It became a hangout for those perceived to be tagging on to the style and for mass-market commerciality, which continued to thin the style.⁷⁶⁶ Carnaby Street was the place to purchase the Mod look but for the original wearers, with time it represented a pastiche of itself, as the mainstream consumed the look.

The trawlermen's adapted suit appropriated many aspects of the Italian look, the single button shawl collar of the original shore suit became multiple fastening with a high collar. The men unsuccessfully explored the collarless jacket in line with popular culture figures. Furthermore, the suit embraced narrow trousers in line with the Italian look, and later the Mods. Some trawlermen bought both a wide and a narrow pair of trousers to wear with a single suit jacket. This was a nod to their past and accepting the new slimmer leg, continuing to be fashionable but not departing from their own style heritage. In conversation, it seems that some wives were not keen on the wide legs and encouraged the men to alter existing suits or to purchase new narrow trousers. An interviewee's wife stated they were, 'big waffy trousers' and thought they were 'foul.'⁷⁶⁷ In the same fashion, another encouraged her husband to get the legs reduced from 24 to 15 inches by taking them to be altered when he was away at sea, 'it was like having a cat around your legs trying to trip you up.'⁷⁶⁸ Likewise a trawlerman explains that when he had 28-inch bottoms they used to wrap around themselves causing him to trip up. Longden discusses his wife encouraging him to have his existing suits altered, the outcome was unsuccessful as the bottoms resembled jodhpurs, which he did not like. The width had been taken in but not throughout the full leg, creating a ballooning effect due to excess material at the top. Eventually he succumbed to having narrow trousers in line with the

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁷⁶⁴ Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists*, 17.

⁷⁶⁵ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 132.

⁷⁶⁶ Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

⁷⁶⁷ J Coles in Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁷⁶⁸ Day, *Informal discussion*.

Italian look but retained the turn-ups. Soon after trends changed from the narrow to wide trouser legs becoming fashionable within commercial clothing, as Northern soul attested to.

Northern soul

Northern soul has its subcultural roots in the industrial North of England and the Midlands, spreading to other parts of the country including Scotland.⁷⁶⁹ The origins of Northern soul are contested with debates as to whether it was a development of pre-existing music and fashion cultures or a stand-alone movement. Hewitt states that the Northern soul crowd were Mods from the North, whilst others align the style as a natural shift in the same way Skinheads evolved from the Mods.⁷⁷⁰ In contrast Polhemus presents it visually as a unique movement that influenced other subcultures such as the Casuels.⁷⁷¹ Like the previous subcultures the core focus was music, dance and clothing, with de la Haye describing it as an update of the Mod style, including, “Oxford bags’, blazers, leather macs and white tennis socks.’⁷⁷²

Oxford bags were a trend in the mid-1920s whereby young men were wearing wide legged trousers counter to the slimline legs that were popular previously, which continued to be worn by older men wanting to distance themselves from the look. The Oxford bags were perceived to represent ‘effeminacy, atheism and moral decadence.’⁷⁷³ The origins are unknown and could be appropriation, trousers were worn wider in the 1890s thus taking a look from a previous generation, a recurring pattern within the fashion industry.⁷⁷⁴ The trouser width was taken to extremes by undergraduates, particularly at Oxford University hence the name.⁷⁷⁵ Breward attributes changes, to the ‘conscientious types’ culminating in dress standards becoming less formal and relaxed.⁷⁷⁶ Fogg considers the width being a reaction towards the popularity of ‘plus four’ knickerbockers.⁷⁷⁷ The width could be extreme, as wide as 40 inches, which was retained throughout the leg, requiring centre front pleats at the waist to fit the fabric into the band.⁷⁷⁸ Turn-ups were an additional feature.

⁷⁶⁹ Cosgrove, *Young Soul Rebels*; de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*, 12.

⁷⁷⁰ E. Constantine & G. Sweeney, *Northern Soul: An Illustrated History* (London: Virgin Books, 2013), 21; de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*, 12; Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists*, 18.

⁷⁷¹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 1.

⁷⁷² de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*, 12.

⁷⁷³ M. Fogg, *Fashion: The Whole Story* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 243.

⁷⁷⁴ Breward, *The Suit*, 132; Fogg, *Fashion*, 243; de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 123.

⁷⁷⁵ Fogg, *Fashion*, 243.

⁷⁷⁶ Breward, *The Suit*, 132; Honeyman, *Well Suited*, 53.

⁷⁷⁷ Fogg, *Fashion*, 243.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 243.

The wearing of wide legged trousers became mainstream in the 1930s, with evidence to suggest that 17½-inch trousers became acceptable.⁷⁷⁹ Like other subcultural dress styles, Northern soul appropriated a look from a previous generation and mixed it up.

Hollander places subcultural style in two distinct categories, suit based or underwear as outerwear.⁷⁸⁰ The binary arrangement of suit or underwear based subcultures are blurred by the Northern soul enthusiasts, who merge the two together with tailored wide trousers with the t-shirt.⁷⁸¹ The trousers were a key part to the Northern soul style, as being extremely wide enabled the fabric to move and flow when dancing, adding a level of performance to the dress. The t-shirt was to aid comfort and remain cool.⁷⁸² African-American music played a central role in the movement, with many B side tracks and rare editions played at dance venues becoming collectible items for the followers.⁷⁸³ Polhemus describes that the trousers went to extremes with widths varying from 24 to 50 inches, with the waistbands being as wide as eight inches.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁹ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 123.

⁷⁸⁰ Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 188-189; Hollander, *Sex & Suits*, 3.

⁷⁸¹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 118.

⁷⁸² Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists*, 18.

⁷⁸³ Cosgrove, *Young Soul Rebels*; Hewitt, *The Soul Stylists*, 18.

⁷⁸⁴ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 118.



Figure 56 Northern soul enthusiasts showing the wide trousers with matching wide waistband.
Source: 'Wigan Casino, mid 1970s'. In E. Constantine & G. Sweeney, *Northern Soul: An Illustrated History* (London: Virgin Books, 2013), 108.

Northern soul in its heyday of the early 1970s was largely an underground subcultural movement, which never seems to have had the national or international publicity that other subcultures acquired. Constantine and Sweeney explain:

[...] it was at its zenith a determinedly self-contained world with its rituals and lore largely unrecognised beyond its precincts and with an intrinsic aversion to the commercial.⁷⁸⁵

What the majority of followers wore was mainstream clothing, the wearers were not necessarily designing their own clothes but purchasing ready-made; it was how the wearers put it together that made it Northern soul. Galilee describes mainstream fashion as, the 'individual and the contradictory' when discussing mass-produced clothing, the wearer feels that they are signifying individualism due to how they put their ensemble together while at the same time being a part of an overarching culture in this case subcultural.⁷⁸⁶ As with the Mods, Northern soul had an enduring

⁷⁸⁵ Constantine & Sweeney, *Northern Soul*, 12.

⁷⁸⁶ G. Galilee, 'Class consumption: Understanding middle-class young men and their fashion choices', *Men and Masculinities*, 5, 1 (2002), 32-52.

resilience to time and continues to be current, retaining the original wearers of the look as well as bringing new audiences to the scene. The long-term legacy of Northern soul has focused on the music and dance rather than style, which remains a continuing and integral role in other cultural dress forms. The fashions have evolved with the times for Northern soul; the motivating factors are to remain cool, physically and metaphorically, and enhance the performance of dancing.

The trawlermen's style of wide trousers with a wide waistband and white socks worn in earlier decades, had by the 1970s become conventional and available to purchase in high street stores, which the Northern soul contingency wore and was fundamental to their style. One of the sales team from Waistell's donated a pair of trousers, which he bought off-the-peg from Littlewoods and kept due to their similarities with the original trousers worn by the trawlermen. They have a Spanish waistband, are pale in colour and are wide at 14 inches. These were the type of trousers Northern soul followers were wearing, showing the shift in the trawlermen's style in line with trends and subcultures.

In an interview, Longden recalls one of the last suits he bought in the 1970s, he relented and shifted trouser width from wide to narrow, recognising the trend of the Italian and Mod silhouette. And within the space of months fashions had altered and that everyone was wearing bell-bottoms, 'Look I've just come out of my fisherman's, proper traditional fisherman's flared trousers and now everybody is walking about in them.'⁷⁸⁷

A point Cohn and Polhemus make, is many subcultures only last a short period of time, but in essence some have achieved greater longevity due to mass market appropriation, the zeitgeist of the moment and manipulating it.⁷⁸⁸ This can take one, five or ten years for the style to spread.⁷⁸⁹ A subculture emerges with those involved unaware of what they have created, they are aware they dress differently but it is a subconscious act in terms of creating a subculture, it is only when it becomes available to the masses via consumerism the significance becomes apparent, but remains lost for the original style developers.⁷⁹⁰ As with the Mods and Carnaby Street, fashion companies become aware of the changes to teenage trends through observing street style, with designers emulating this look for the masses, thereby making it mainstream.⁷⁹¹ Once that intuitive response

⁷⁸⁷ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 5.

⁷⁸⁸ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*; Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

⁷⁸⁹ This is in context of the time, through globalisation this timeframe is now more condensed. Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*; D. Robinson, 'The Economics of Fashion Demand', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 75, 3 (1961), 376-398.

⁷⁹⁰ Hebdige, *Subculture*, 122.

⁷⁹¹ Svendsen, *Fashion: A Philosophy*; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*.

becomes overexposed by market forces, the *real* subculture is lost and those who originally were a part of it become disillusioned.⁷⁹² What started off as user led becomes designer led, and through diffusion of the core group, or acceptance by the masses, dilutes the original principles and belief system for the original wearers.⁷⁹³ Horn reflects that as the dress becomes diffused and meaning changes from the original wearers to the new wearers' ethos, the only option available is to cease the group affiliation.⁷⁹⁴ In the interviews the trawlermen are extremely aware that their style choices were different to other menswear, but are unaware of its importance as a form of subcultural dress. The shore suit never lost its significance as it was never appropriated by the masses, the changes to the men's employment instigated the abandonment of the look.

The subcultural styles presented, remain suit based, it is acknowledged that other style movements were evident and occurring alongside those mentioned (see Figure 57).⁷⁹⁵ The three decades that the trawlermen were wearing their distinctive suits was a time of continuous change in menswear and subcultural styles, challenging the conventional norms. The trawlermen knew of the various subcultures and mention the Teds, Mods and Italian styles in the interviews, which demonstrates their awareness of others who were articulating themselves through their own material culture. The trawlermen have responded to other subcultures by adopting aspects into their own style, the shore suit was never static and moved with whichever trends were occurring at the time. The creators never copied the other subcultures and were prepared to move on to the next style change as and when required, retaining enough of the features to remain a trawlerman's shore suit. The trawlermen were influenced by change and retained modernity by keeping up with the times and trends. The collarless jacket represents a shift towards popular culture and what was occurring on the music scene, frilly shirts in the late 1960s signify a move towards the hippies while the narrowing of the trousers and a shift to lighter weight fabrics is attributed to the Italian look. Furthermore the similarities between the trawlermen and Northern soul enthusiasts both wearing wide trousers with Spanish waistbands and white socks, demonstrate that fashion is never static with influences shifting in various directions.

⁷⁹² Galilee, 'Class consumption'.

⁷⁹³ Blackman, *One Hundred Years of Menswear*; Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

⁷⁹⁴ Horn, *Juke box Britain*, 116.

⁷⁹⁵ See de la Haye & Dingwall, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads & Skaters*; Hollander, *Sex & Suits*; P. McNeil & V. Karaminas (eds.), *The Men's Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2009); Polhemus, *Streetstyle*; L. Welters & A. Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [2011]).

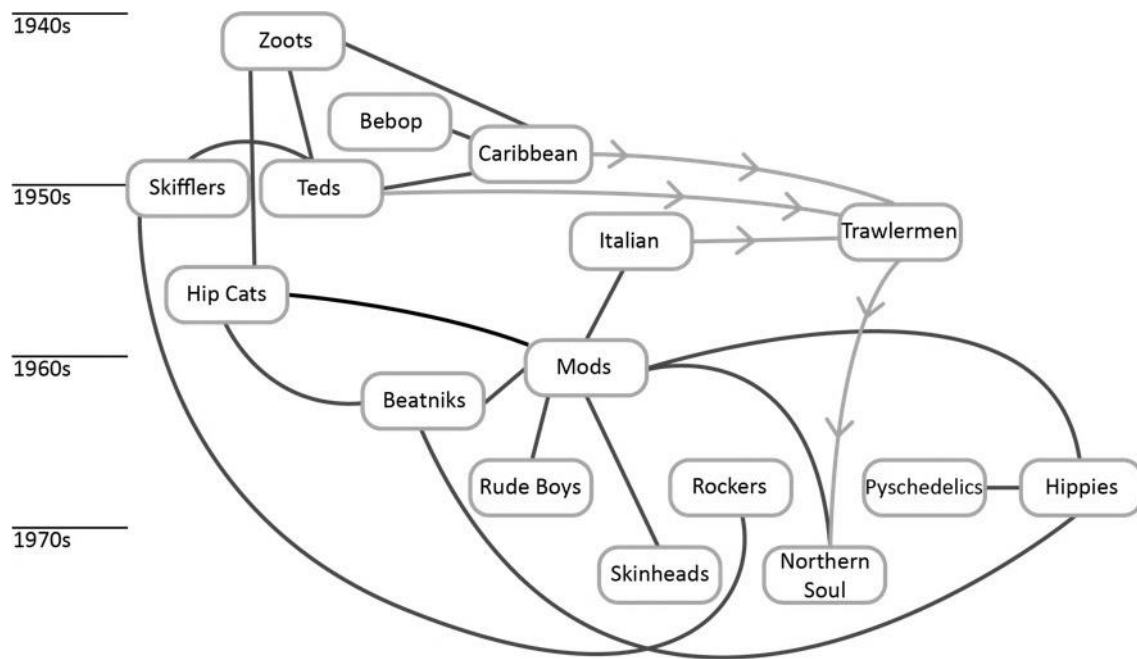


Figure 57 Timeline demonstrating the interconnectivity of youth dress and music movements.

Source: H. Jenss, *Fashioning Memory: Vintage Style and Youth Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 58-59; T. Polhemus, *Streetstyle* (London: PYMCA, 2010), 1.

Youth cultures were an integral part of the British fashion scene in the twentieth century in terms of innovative changes in menswear, away from the perceived conventional lounge suit, which in its various distinctions was still worn by the majority.⁷⁹⁶ There were many more forms of dress occurring, all divergent and existing at the same time or superseding one another; it depended on sartorial allegiance and beliefs whether you remained or moved on. It was a way in which individuals continued to be accepted, evidencing a need to create a link with peers in terms of dress, music taste and cultural identity. Subcultural dress developments informed the trawlermen of what the current trends were, which influenced some of their style choices, nonetheless the designs have not overtaken their own appearance. The trawlermen's shore suit was retained, with all the key features, which made it their own subculture.

6.3 The cowboy

The dress of the cowboy has had two distinct styles, the real and the fabricated. The clothing worn by the cowboys and ranch hands circa 1880-1910 were practical, with none of the elaborate features that were to become a part of the media cowboy, epitomised by the likes of Buffalo Bill in his travelling shows, and in the twentieth century by the early cowboy movie stars like Gene Autry.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁶ Breward, *The Suit*, 67.

⁷⁹⁷ J. Boeck, G. A., 'Rancher and farmer dress in north central Texas, an ethnographic history', in P. McNeil & V. Karaminas (eds.), *The Men's Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2009); S. K. Dickey, 'Work Clothes of American Cowboys: The Pictorial Record', in P. H. Carlson (ed.), *The Cowboy Way: An Exploration of History and Culture*

Later this extends into the realms of elaborately embroidered suits by designers such as Nudie Cohn and Nathan Turk who merged Native American, African, and Eastern European traditions of symbolic imagery into menswear.⁷⁹⁸ Popular culture heightened the mythical cowboy through books and comics and pictorially on chocolate and cigar boxes and further through the Hollywood western films.⁷⁹⁹ Gill from his interviews, builds a link between the trawlermen and the mythical cowboy and discusses that the influence relates to the Hollywood cowboy films, western-based books and country music.⁸⁰⁰



Figure 58 Poster of Buffalo Bill's Wild West horse extravaganza.

Source: Strowbridge Lithographic Company, Cincinnati and New York, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (1967.63), 1907 [Poster]. American Museum in Bath, Bath. Photograph C. Day, July 2013.

(Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2006), 95-107; J. B. Trolinger, 'Rodeo cowboy: "Booger Red" Privett and the origins of rodeo', in P. H. Carlson (ed.), *The cowboy way: An exploration of history and culture* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2006), 155-166.

⁷⁹⁸ J. Aspley, 'All American: Design Sources for Embellished Male Performance Dress in Country Music, 1947 to Present.', *The Association of Dress Historians New Research in Dress History Conference*. Brighton, 25 February 2017.

⁷⁹⁹ J. G. Rainger, 'French Cowboys: The Gardians of the Camargue and Buffalo Bill', in P. H. Carlson (ed.), *The cowboy way: An exploration of history and culture* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2006), 167-178.

⁸⁰⁰ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

In total 36 films of the cowboy genre have been viewed, dating from 1915 to 1970 (see Appendix L). The men interviewed stipulate that they did not have time to visit the cinema when home on leave, but when younger it is known to have been an important past-time. This has been considered when viewing earlier films prior to the 1950s. The influence of the westerns is apparent through the story telling from one trawlerman to another of films or books watched or read respectively. Regan describes a trawlerman who would read cowboy books and visit the cinema when on leave due to being married, unlike the interviewee who was single at the time. The pair when on watch towing would sit behind the funnel where it was warm and watch the warps, as the trawlerman re-laid the stories, 'you felt like you were at [the] pictures.'⁸⁰¹ The importance of the genre is evident, but how much the films were influencing the dress is debateable.

The *Big Country* (1958) was the only film viewed that had strong links to the trawlermen's dress, Charlton Heston's character in a party scene wears a jacket with a Vandyke yoke and piping in a solid colour to complement the check material.⁸⁰² The pointed yoke is on the front as well as the back of the jacket, unlike the shore suit, which only had the back version with some form of pleating. Vertical pockets are visible with arrowhead tacks at the side, as are gauntlet style cuffs, a minor character wears a suit indicating the back of the jacket has a stitched half belt. The top panel is gathered rather than pleated into the half belt to create ease, the interviewees never discuss gathers only pleats in the back of the jackets.

Furthermore a minor character is seen wearing a red sash around his waist, which is typical of the attire of the Mexican vaqueros.⁸⁰³ The vaqueros are classed as the original cowboys, entering the US from Mexico in the 1500s.⁸⁰⁴ The suggestion in the film is that the sash is a separate garment to the trousers, shirt or jacket, which, in the case of the Spanish waistband is an integral part of the trawlermen's trousers. Visually it gives the same appearance of a sash but in reality is more of an extended waistband, the fabric is usually the same as the trousers unlike the sash, which is often described as being silk. Half-moon pockets on shirts are evident, and although different to the trawlermen's dress, which are placed on the suit jacket, it could be a link to their style in the same way popular culture was for the Teds (see 6.2).⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰¹ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 7.

⁸⁰² *The Big Country* [Motion Picture]. Directed by Wyler, W (MGM, 1958).

⁸⁰³ R. Freedman, *In the days of the vaqueros: America's first true cowboy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001).

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; C. Gibson, 'How clothing design and cultural industries refashioned frontier masculinities: A historical geography of Western wear', *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 23, 5 (2016), 733-752.

⁸⁰⁵ M. Parkinson & C. Jeavons, *A pictorial history of westerns* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1972).

Gregory Peck's character portrays a sea captain, who is visiting his fiancée in the country, Peck connects the sparse landscape of America as being similar to that of the empty sea.⁸⁰⁶ This same connection has been made by one of Gill's informants relating similarities with the lifestyle of the American cowboy and that of the trawlermen:

[...] maybe [be]cause they were alone at sea. Maybe [be]cause they still got 19 men around them they felt alone like a cowboy on the prairie. I really don't know, it could be that. You know being away from a loved one, six months cattle drive, three weeks at sea.⁸⁰⁷

Gill's informants conclude that the wide trousers have similarities to the wide cowboy chaps viewed in some films (see Figure 59),⁸⁰⁸ in contrast there is evidence that film cowboys wore narrow chaps too (see Figure 60).⁸⁰⁹ The style could be straight or batwing, which originate from the Spanish chaparajos, therefore, the link to the chaps is ambiguous with different widths being available.⁸¹⁰ No further concrete evidence from the films viewed suggests a connection between the shore suits and western genre films.

⁸⁰⁶ *The Big Country* [Motion Picture].

⁸⁰⁷ *Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*, 160.

⁸⁰⁸ Parkinson & Jeavons, *A pictorial history of westerns*.

⁸⁰⁹ *Blood on the Moon*, 1948; *Stagecoach*, 1939; *The Big Country*, 1958; *The Magnificent Seven*, 1960; *The Man who shot Liberty Valance*, 1962; *Texan*, 1920.

⁸¹⁰ Dickey, 'Work Clothes of American Cowboys: The Pictorial Record'.



Figure 59 Poster for film *Blood on the Moon* showing wide chaps.

Source: R. Johnson, 'Overlooked Movies: *Blood on the Moon* (1948)'. Available online:

<https://randall120.wordpress.com/2012/09/24/overlooked-movies-blood-on-the-moon1948/> [Accessed 13-03-2016].

Figure 60 Film still from *The Magnificent Seven* illustrating narrow chaps.

Source: *The Magnificent Seven*. Directed by John Sturges [DVD] (MGM, 1960).

When the men were aboard the ship and not performing duties, they occupied themselves by listening to music and reading, particularly western and gangster novels. In the interviews, specific authors, in particular from westerns have been mentioned including Zane Grey, Louis L'Amour and J. T. Edson. Books by the aforementioned authors and any titles referred to have been read to ascertain if any descriptors of the clothing are distinguishable within the text (see Appendix M). The only key feature that could be considered similar is the sash around the waist, it foreshortens the torso like the Spanish waistband but as explained, is a separate garment to the trousers rather than attached.⁸¹¹ This extract from L'Amour testifies the importance of dress:

On the streets the folks themselves were a sight to behold, and when it came to the Califonios themselves, you never saw such a dressed-up lot of folks. Many wore short jackets of silk, figured calico, or beaded buckskin, white linen shirts open at the neck, black silk handkerchiefs knotted loosely around the neck, and pants of velveteen or broadcloth, or sometimes of beautifully tanned white buckskin, and nearly every one

⁸¹¹ L'Amour, *The Daybreakers* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1960); L. L'Amour, *Mojave Crossing* (New York: Bantam Books Inc, 1964); Z. Grey, *The Light of the Western Stars*, 1914. Available online: <http://manybooks.net/titles/greyzaneetext97lwstr10.html> [Accessed 15-12-2015].

wore a silk sash, usually bright red.⁸¹²

The quote, though not having any similarity in appearance to the shore suit has a connection in the sense that the men described stood out in their community, by using distinctive materials and colours, presents a level of performativity to their wearer's behaviour. The majority of the novels sourced were the original paperbacks from the 1960s and 1970s, these were specifically selected to reflect the type of illustrations the trawlermen would be viewing when they were originally reading the books. Approximately 200 were sourced, none of the covers illustrated any connection to the trawlermen's dress.

Purchasing and listening to music was a major part of the trawlermen's recreational time both on- and offshore.⁸¹³ The main music categories listened to included anything in the UK charts, which started in 1952, country music and rock 'n' roll.⁸¹⁴ Specific artists from the country music scene have been referenced including Johnny Cash, Jim Reeves, Roy Orbison and Hank Williams. Music was important to the men with several explaining that they would always purchase records when home from sea. The trawlermen were exposed to country music in the UK and from the airbase in Keflavík, and the American stations when fishing off Greenland and Newfoundland. The men at times were hearing new songs six months earlier to them entering the UK market.⁸¹⁵

All artists mentioned in the interviews, whether male or female were researched through visual imagery sourced via a search engine to establish if there were any comparisons. None of the clothing in the photographs exactly resemble the descriptors in the interviews, however, there is evidence of some similar characteristics.

⁸¹² L'Amour, *Mojave Crossing*, 119-120.

⁸¹³ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁸¹⁴ Chibnall, 'Whistle and Zoot', 69.

⁸¹⁵ Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*; Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.



Figure 61 Johnny Cash in a shirt displaying straight front yokes and vertical jet pockets.

Source: Bio., *Johnny Cash – The man in black*, 2016. Available online:

<http://www.biography.com/people/johnny-cash-9240610/videos/johnny-cash-the-man-in-black-21620803705>

[Accessed 13-03-2016].

Many of the stills show the features of half-moon and vertical pockets and yokes on shirts rather than on jackets as in the Johnny Cash example (see Figure 61). The Hank Williams photograph illustrates both features on a suit jacket (see Figure 62), which was less evident than on shirt images. The yokes have not been a feature on the front of the Hull shore suits, only on the back.



Figure 62 Hank Williams in a double-breasted jacket with notched lapels, curved front yokes and half-moon pockets.

Source: Bukisa, *Hank Williams Country Music Records, Collectables and Memorabilia*, 2016. Available online:

http://www.bukisa.com/articles/253014_hank-williams-country-music-records-collectibles-and-memorabilia

[Accessed 13-03-2016].

A potential justification for the trawlermen having the fancy pockets and yokes on their suits is that visually it had more impact and opportunity to be viewed by others, unlike the shirt, which may only be seen incrementally if the jacket is taken off. If wanting to make a statement, the features needed to be on the suit. Gibson indicates that the arrow-pointed smile, what the trawlermen refer to as a half-moon pocket originated in the US by clothiers Miller, Levi Strauss and Rockmount Ranch Wear in the 1940s.⁸¹⁶ The piping became fashionable in the 1960s, and was no longer being worn by just cowboys, indicating workwear features becoming a fashion trend, which the trawlermen may have picked up on.⁸¹⁷ There is evidence of trawlermen wearing vertical pockets on their suits as early as the 1910s. Herbert Johnson was made a skipper in 1912 at the age of 22, in a picture with his wife he is wearing a three-piece suit with a singular vertical pocket (see Figure 63).⁸¹⁸ A similar style is featured in a later image of a trawlerman, taken in approximately 1960, evidencing a continuation of horizontal pockets by the fishing fraternity (see Figure 35).



Figure 63 Herbert and Eva Johnson with the suit jacket showing a vertical pocket.

Source: Robinson, R. *Far Horizons: From Hull to the Ends of the Earth* (Hull: Maritime Historical Studies Centre, 2010), 68.

The lack of photographic visual evidence available, makes it difficult to ascertain if other attributes like the elaborate backs were being worn. Features including the embroidery and the front yokes have not become key elements in the trawlermen's suits. What is questionable is the link between the country music and the cowboy in relation to the dress of the trawlermen. The men may have been inspired by the films, novels and country music stars but were not necessarily copying, but

⁸¹⁶ Gibson, 'How clothing design and cultural industries refashioned frontier masculinities: A historical geography of Western wear', 740.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 745.

⁸¹⁸ R. Robinson, *Far Horizons: From Hull to the Ends of the Earth* (Hull: Maritime Historical Studies Centre, 2010), 64.

integrating it into their own distinctive take on the theme. Gibson describes this as, 'tenuous links to vernacular beginnings' as the clothing was evolving rather than being a pastiche of the mythicized cowboy.⁸¹⁹

The cowboy style may have had a lesser impact on the clothing worn by the trawlermen than first thought. The men interviewed for this research discuss reading cowboy based novels and listening to country music, none have made a connection with their dress and the American cowboy culture, unless they have been prompted through direct questioning; although this theory has been proposed for many years and is known by the men interviewed.⁸²⁰ Thompson acknowledges this influence and that a 'community myth' can become accepted as the norm, which the interviewer conspired to believe within the early interviews.⁸²¹ An angle that Bryson stipulates is that one's memory can be influenced particularly by media outputs such as film and television, Gill used documentary films alongside his books to disseminate his concept of the dress being relevant to the cowboy.⁸²² The connection for the trawlermen interviewed for this research has not given a conclusive answer to Gill's concept, with the tradition of seamanship and peer emulation being more indicative to their style choices.

6.4 The Royal Navy

The origins of the wide trousers are considered by the interviewees to be a link to the Royal Navy, 'Oh the bell-bottoms were to do with the navy suits, yeah.'⁸²³ The trousers in the primary research are often referred to as bell-bottoms, Gill dismisses the bell-bottoms and rightly so, as the shape is inconsistent with the wide trousers worn by the trawlermen. The trawlermen's trousers were not actually bell-bottoms as stated in the interviews, but as the descriptors give evidence to, are in fact wide from waist to ankle, which is like the navy bell-bottoms. The knee flared bell-bottom trousers became popular from the 1960s, whereas the navy bell-bottoms are mentioned as early as 1813 and the flare may not be excessive.⁸²⁴ Lavery notes that the uniform regulations stipulate a bell-bottom shape as the trousers are wider at the foot than the knee, and that this was usually ignored by the

⁸¹⁹ Gibson, 'How clothing design and cultural industries refashioned frontier masculinities: A historical geography of Western wear', 733.

⁸²⁰ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁸²¹ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 142.

⁸²² Bryson & McConville, *The Routledge Guide to Interviewing*, 137; Gill, *Hessle Road; Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

⁸²³ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁸²⁴ A. J. Butchart, *Nautical chic* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015).

sailors who preferred a consistent 12-inch leg.⁸²⁵ In 1890 a more regulated uniform was introduced, which gave a slight flare with an inch difference between a 10-inch knee and an 11-inch ankle.⁸²⁶

Generations of men in Hull have been seafarers, the reality is some fathers and other relatives were in the navy as some of the interviewees testify. Many trawlermen served in the RN and RNR as trawlers were requisitioned during the Second World War for mine sweeping and escort duties, which brought them into close contact with military dress.⁸²⁷ Hull's entire distant-water trawling fleet, par one trawler was requisitioned at some stage during the war, giving an indication of the importance of the Hull fleet of trawlers and the skilled seamanship of the crews.⁸²⁸ As a point of interest, national service was compulsory in the UK for fit men between the ages of 18 to 30 from 1947 until 1960.⁸²⁹ The timeframe in service lasted between 18 months and two years.⁸³⁰ Fishermen and merchant seamen although not exempt, were able to defer until of an age to be ineligible to conscribe, therefore a direct link with the naval dress through national service is not likely to have occurred for the shore suit wearers.⁸³¹

The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich has extensive archives of 7000 regulation dress, ratings' uniforms, and ceremonial items including accessories.⁸³² Visiting the museums online archives of uniforms, 1000 images were observed with 122 photos of trousers being available, ranging from 1865 to 1975. There was no evidence of Spanish waistbands, however, the width of the trousers varied from 16 inches through to 24 inches (32 to 48 in circumference), which is remarkably similar to the width of the trawlermen's suit trousers. The narrowest naval trousers seem to occur at the beginning of the twentieth century whilst the 1950s and 1960s offered the widest widths available.

⁸²⁵ Lavery, *Able Seamen*, 124.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸²⁷ Ministry of Agriculture, *Fisheries in War Time*, 47.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3, 9, 10, 11

⁸²⁹ National Army Museum, *What was National Service?*, 2019. Available online: <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/what-was-national-service> [Accessed 27-03-2019]; R. Vinen, *National Service: A generation in uniform 1945-1963* (London: Penguin Books, 2015 [2014]), 4-5.

⁸³⁰ National Army Museum, *What was National Service?*

⁸³¹ Vinen, *National Service*, 10.

⁸³² National Maritime Museum, *Collections: Uniforms*, 2016, Greenwich, London.



Figure 64 Royal Navy stoker pants from the 1930s illustrating wide width legs from top to bottom.
Source: N. Shonfeld, 'Stoker's pants' In J. Sims, R. Luckett & D. Gunn, *Vintage Menswear: A collection from the Vintage Showroom* (London: Laurence King, 2012), 118.

6.5 Other UK ports

The Hull trawlermen's dress and other middle- and distant-water ports of Grimsby, Lowestoft and Fleetwood have simultaneously fused together a non-compulsory dress code when ashore. The focus of the suits is Hull, though it is known that other port towns were developing their own style of dress. Regan remembers often landing in Grimsby and seeing trawlermen wearing 'the same sort of suit as we was.'⁸³³ Triplow states that as early as the 1920s and 1930s tailors in Freeman Street were producing a trawlerman's suit for the *fisherlads*, as they were known in Grimsby.⁸³⁴ The town was another distant-water fishing port on the river Humber. Freeman Street, nicknamed Fisherman's High Street, was the main thoroughfare for shopping in Grimsby with a John Collier's and an Alexandre's, participants in Triplow's research recall purchasing suits from these stores.⁸³⁵ Ludlam states that in the 1950s the colours were 'pale grey or blue with lots of pleats in the back of the jackets and baggy trousers'.⁸³⁶ A descriptor of the typical suit, which is possibly a later version is described as being a jacket with half-moon pockets, six pleats in the back (three either side of

⁸³³ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁸³⁴ Triplow et al., *Distant Waters*, 12.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 124, 130.

⁸³⁶ Ludlam in T. Gibbons, *Grimsby heyday of the 'three-day millionaire*, 2012. Available online: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-humber-20330148> [Accessed 22-01-2018].

centre), with lapels and collar in black velvet with the rest of the suit being in a bright colour. The trousers were 22 inches with a wide waistband and turn-ups. To complete the look a white shirt and a thin tie were worn.⁸³⁷ The use of colour was much brighter by comparison to what was worn by Hull trawlermen,⁸³⁸ colours such as 'pillar-box red, royal or sky blue' were used.⁸³⁹ The Hull men seemed to wear pale pastel shades or revert to conservative colours such as black, navy or dark grey. However, they did use bright hues for the lining as a contrast to the main suit colour, which is known to have been used by some trawlermen in the back pleats of the jacket. Furthermore, when the Hull trawlermen donned the two-tone suits the secondary shade may have been more vivid to create a contrast. There is no evidence in this research although mentioned in Robinson, to suggest that the Hull men used velvet for their lapels and collar.⁸⁴⁰

A point that Ludlam focuses on is the fact that each man was able to purchase a lot of suits, Triplow's informants support this, with one stating when he got married he owned 25 suits and 18 pairs of shoes, his money was spent on clothes and records.⁸⁴¹ The behaviour of the men when home has resonance with that of the Hull trawlermen, short timeframes in port, which are focused on enjoyment, relaxing with family, friends and crew members alongside spending their money. As Dillon in Triplow testifies:

[...] You went into the pub and that, and it was full all the time, different blokes, fishermen with their wives and everybody mixing together. My wife used to meet me at half past two and we'd go do a bit of shopping in Marks and Spencer's or wherever she wanted. Then we would go for a meal, maybe to Cox's Pea Bung. Or we'd go to a restaurant.

It was a sailor town from one end to the other. Woollies and Marks and Spencer's were full. Every day was a pay day really. [...] seventy or eighty blokes with their wives going down Freeman Street.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁷ Triplow et al., *Distant Waters*, 137.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 136

⁸³⁹ Robinson, *Trawling*, 198.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴¹ Ludlam in Gibbons, *Grimsby heyday of the 'three-day millionaire'*; Wright, R. in Triplow et al., *Distant Waters*, 136.

⁸⁴² Dillon, B. in Triplow et al., *Distant Waters*, 129-130.

Trawlermen from Lowestoft, Suffolk, further along the coast southwards from Grimsby wore a similar form of dress to Grimsby and Hull trawlermen. Here the men are known as *fisherboys*, which is reflective of their young age of fifteen when entering the profession.⁸⁴³ The men have been described as ‘two-day millionaires,’ as they were ashore for two days and away for 12 due to being near and middle-distance trawlermen rather than distant, with close proximity to the ports of Hull and Grimsby they were potentially seeing the suits from these ports.⁸⁴⁴

The available information indicates that their suits, worn from the early 1950s were reminiscent of the Norfolk jacket, with its pleated back, and wide 30-inch trousers reminiscent of the dress from the 1920s.⁸⁴⁵ It is difficult to gauge if there is any correlation between the two as no further evidence is presented. The Norfolk jacket in its original form was designed for shooting with ease of movement required, obtained by pleats in the back with flap patch pockets for storage and a full belt.⁸⁴⁶ The similarities stop at the pleats with the trawlermen’s suits, the available Lowestoft images do not show the belt on the front of the jacket nor the patch pockets.



Figure 65 Front and back specification of a Norfolk jacket.

Source: Adapted from Tailor and Cutter, ‘Another Borrowing’, *Tailor & Cutter*, 11 April 1969, 484-485; Tailor & Cutter, ‘The Norfolk is gaining adherents’, *Tailor & Cutter*, 11 December 1970, 1196-1197.

⁸⁴³ H. Mace & The Journal Lowestoft., *Lowestoft's colourful fisherboys inspire exhibition plans*, 2009. Available online: <https://www.lowestoftjournal.co.uk/news/lowestoft-s-colourful-fisherboys-inspire-exhibition-plans-1-512838> [Accessed 16-09-2019].

⁸⁴⁴ *Making History* (Radio 4, 13 May 2008, 30 minutes). Available online: <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00904010> [Accessed 22-01-2018].

⁸⁴⁵ The Holborn, *The North Sea Dandies*, 2015. Available online: <https://theholbornmag.com/2015/08/12/the-north-sea-dandies/> [Accessed 22-01-2018]; The Journal Lowestoft, *More memories of a fashion craze*, 2009. Available online: <https://www.lowestoftjournal.co.uk/news/more-memories-of-a-fashion-craze-1-509293> [Accessed 16-09-2019].

⁸⁴⁶ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 109.

The Lowestoft suit consisted of wide trousers, double-breasted jackets in bright colours, including more conventional fabrics of black pinstripes, brown stripes and a pale blue.⁸⁴⁷ The pale blue is acknowledged as being a nod to subcultural dress of the Teds or the Cosh boys.⁸⁴⁸ In the image of a group of young fisherboys (see Figure 66), the link to the Teds is noticeable, the male in the foreground has the whole ensemble of a quiff and creepers. Two-tone features of contrasting binding on the half-moon pockets are apparent on some of the suits. The trousers are a mixture of narrow, normal and wide width, with no visual evidence of Spanish waistbands.



Figure 66 A group of young Lowestoft fisherboys in their suits.
Source: Photographer Unknown, 'Dockside Dandies' including David Goldspink, 17, Ray Winney, 16, Johnny Ball, 16, Tony Scrivens, 16 at Lowestoft, Suffolk. 16th May 1962 [photograph]. Image ID: ETP6K6, Alamy Ltd.

⁸⁴⁷ The Journal Lowestoft, *More memories of a fashion craze*.

⁸⁴⁸ The Holborn, *The North Sea Dandies*.

The dress shifted in 1959 or 1960 to have a slightly different appearance but still a style related to this workforce.⁸⁴⁹ The information gathered refers to half-moon pockets, shawl collars, wide trouser legs, all having similarities to the Hull trawlermen's dress but with no mention of a wide waistband. None of the sharp images available show any reference to the waistband, unlike the Hull suits, which denote it as a key feature. This is substantiated by Wylie who has conducted research into the Lowestoft suits and states that they were not a feature.⁸⁵⁰ A further attribute the Hull trawlermen did not incorporate into their suits was the bright outer colours, preferring to remain subdued apart from their later choice of brighter linings and for a few, in the pleats, or as the contrast on the two-tone suits. From the available information colours included red, pea green, mustard yellow, gold, purple and tartans (see Figure 67).⁸⁵¹ Rimmer recalls calling in at Lowestoft and seeing a man wearing a bright pink suit, not a pastel like the shore suits of the Hull men. The collar, half-moon pockets, turn-ups, inserts in the pleats would be of a contrasting shade, which are shown as being darker or white.⁸⁵² This is the opposite of the Hull trawlermen's two-tone suits, the main colour was the paler shade with the features of piping, yoke back and belt, as examples being the darker shade.



Figure 67 A group of young Lowestoft fisherboys in their suits two-tone bright and tartan suits.

Source: E. Payne, *The Dandies of Lowestoft* (2008). Available online: <https://emmapayne.net/wpbirds/?p=131> [Accessed 22-04-2020].

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; The Journal Lowestoft, *More memories of a fashion craze*.

⁸⁵⁰ P. Wylie, *Lowestoft Dockside Dandies* 16-09-2019.

⁸⁵¹ *Making History*; The Holborn, *The North Sea Dandies*.

⁸⁵² *Making History*; The Holborn, *The North Sea Dandies*.

The perception of the bright Lowestoft shore suit is of a breakaway group within the core group collective, retaining some of the features and adding more of their own, which then seems to have disappeared after a short timeframe of a few years, starting in 1960 and ending in 1964.⁸⁵³ Of interest is whether the dress in either format ceased to be worn, or whether it returned to its original version like the Hull trawlermen's suit did, after the adapted shore suit. Rationales offered as to why the exaggerated suit stopped being worn after 1964, are that it was a fad and short-lived, or as the men grew older they stopped wearing and commissioning the suits as their financial priorities shifted.⁸⁵⁴

The BBC Radio Four programme, *Making History* proceeds beyond the descriptive style of the dress and considers the social and economic status of the men's lives.⁸⁵⁵ Through discussion with a tailor and two trawlermen, they are able to establish exactly who inspired the men to wear such ostentatious clothing.⁸⁵⁶ A named trawlerman is described as choosing material reserved for the tailor's female clientele, demonstrating a lack of distinction for this trawlerman between the genders when it came to material consumption.⁸⁵⁷ This trawlerman must have made an impact, emulation quickly followed, as did shock of the dress when moving beyond their community.⁸⁵⁸ An informant for the programme discusses visiting Norwich and due to his flamboyant dress was considered different, 'I actually stopped the traffic when I come off Norwich station because no one could believe what I was in, I was in a light green suit with dark green trimmings.'⁸⁵⁹ Within their own social setting of Lowestoft, the suits are not seen as unusual for the men to wear, however, when seen elsewhere, although only 30 miles away, out of context the suits take on a different meaning. A Hull interviewee highlights a similar incident when he visited Liverpool with his friends and they were stopped due to their attire, 'Everyone was stopping in the streets to see us [...] "Who are you?"' The crowd thought they were film stars.⁸⁶⁰

Beward discusses how influencers could be the likes of Cecil Gee who was selling American and Italian style fashion.⁸⁶¹ How this was disseminated from London to Northern towns is not discussed

⁸⁵³ *Making History*.

⁸⁵⁴ The Holborn, *The North Sea Dandies*.

⁸⁵⁵ *Making History*.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵⁹ Trevor Durrant in *ibid*.

⁸⁶⁰ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1, 2*.

⁸⁶¹ *Making History*.

and no further information is offered as to whether the suits were reflective of what Gee sold; apart from being unconventional. However, as established in this research, the influence could be local stores in Lowestoft that sold Americana like Marcus Bishop in Hull. Furthermore, the London look had already travelled to Nordic countries, inspiring the local fashions exported from the UK. Another angle that Breward offers is that port towns have a reputation of people living on the edge, therefore wearing a fashion that is considered edgy correlates with this concept.⁸⁶² When one considers sailortowns as described by authors such as Land, Lee and even Tunstall it is not difficult to comprehend Breward's connection, short time frame ashore, dangerous jobs, and a fatalistic attitude.⁸⁶³ Breward uses the term *extreme fashions*, which correlates with the narrative Tunstall's uses of an *extreme occupation* to describe the life of the Hull trawlermen, adding gravitas to this concept.⁸⁶⁴

Initial research suggests that there is a lack of information available in relation to onshore dress and distant-water fishing in Aberdeen; the Aberdeen Maritime Museum, and the Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives had limited information in relation to the research. The literature available focuses on the herring, or the oil and gas industries. It is not known whether Aberdeen had a similar dress to the other ports discussed, and to date no literature has been sourced. A potential rationale for this is the swift loss of the distant-water fishing industry in Hull and Grimsby and those involved recognising this and wanting to memorialise it in one form or another. Aberdeen was not solely a distant-water fishing port and adapted to changes, therefore possibly did not experience the sense of acute loss, the collapse of the industry did not impact on their way of life as it did the Hessle Road, Hull community.

No information in relation to Fleetwood has been located, however from the *Making History* radio programme, Wiley received further information stipulating that other ports of Hull, Grimsby and Fleetwood were wearing a similar type of dress. A programme listener responded about Fleetwood stating that, 'Most of the lads had one ambition – to get a 'Deckie' suit.'⁸⁶⁵ This is supported by Martin who remembers creating suits for a Fleetwood trawlerman.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*

⁸⁶³ Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*; Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World'; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁸⁶⁴ *Making History*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁸⁶⁵ The Journal Lowestoft, *Dockside Dandies back in spotlight*, 2008. Available online: <http://www.lowestoftjournal.co.uk/news/dockside-dandies-back-in-spotlight-1-506298> [Accessed 22-01-2018].

This young fella came in the shop and asked for me and I went across to see him. 'Can I help you?' "Yeah, you made a suit for a friend, a lad I met." Mentioned the name and, [...] 'Yes, I know him well I've done several suits for him and his brother.' And I said, 'I can't make you the same suit because we tend just to buy three lengths at three and a quarter, sell them and then we look for something different,' and I said, 'I can offer you something very similar but you can have the same style, no problem.' "Oh that's alright." So off we go and he buys, picks his cloth and I measure him up. Gets his style and I measure him up. [...] And I asked for at least a 50 percent deposit, "No problem." 'Right what's your address?' He gave me name and address and I'm writing his name down, and I'm thinking I don't know this street or avenue, it doesn't ring a bell. 'Where about is that?' "Oh it's Fleetwood." 'I peg your pardon?' "Fleetwood!" I said, 'Have you travelled from Fleetwood or do you sail out of Hull?' "No, I sail out of Fleetwood, I've travelled over today on the train." And I say, 'Do you mind telling me, how did you get to know about me, then?' He said, "Oh we, it was bad weather we ended up in Reykjavík, sheltering." And he said, "We went ashore and went into a pub and there was Hull trawler lads in there," and he said "I met up with this lad and I said 'I like your suit where did you get that from?' And he said, "He gave me your name and the shop." And he said, "Well I travelled over." I said, 'Oh thank you very much [laughing] nice to know.' By the time, before I left shop I think I'd made him four suits, he came and collected one and then decided he'd have another one made to collect next trip. So, as I say about four, five suits I made him.⁸⁶⁶

The Fleetwood trawlerman invested his money and limited timeframe ashore to purchase the suit, the Hull trawlerman's shore suit must have had an impact on him to want to emulate the look. It evidences the mobility of the suit and the importance of the movement of the men in their shore attire abroad. Whenever the men entered their homeport, other UK ports or abroad their suits travelled with them, in case they landed. It becomes an important visual display, a ritual to present themselves to others, a way in which to be recognised and possibly imitated.

6.6 Peer emulation

Within the interviews all the trawlermen have taken inspiration from another trawlerman who they have considered exceptional dressers. It is apparent the cue to push the style forwards, was, each other. Flaxman describes it as being a form of competition between themselves, a type of friendly rivalry, 'Well I'll make you jealous of my new suit.'⁸⁶⁷ Longden recalls Dave Dickinson, an extremely

⁸⁶⁶ Martin, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 16-17.

⁸⁶⁷ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

well dressed individual who was a deckie learner when the interviewee was a galley boy. At the time due to his position on the trawler he could not afford a suit and was conscious of not wearing one. When he sailed with this deckie learner and saw how smart he appeared in his suit, he thought, 'Yeah that looks really really smart. I'm gonna get one of them.'⁸⁶⁸ The interviewee interpreted the style, which he continued to wear throughout his career. Rimmer expresses that he was inspired by his occupational peers, 'You'd sometimes see someone in a suit and you'd think, ooo I like that. You would go and explain it to your tailor, you know, and explain what you want, you'd maybe do a little sketch [...] so you'd work together with him on it.'⁸⁶⁹ Furthermore Regan explains that to be copied was seen as a complement. Louth explains that he was influenced by the older trawlermen and then upgraded the look. The men saw it as a development of what was already available within their collective uniform, they never copied what others wore but modified it to suit their own material needs, retaining an element of individualism within the collective.

In the interviews the trawlermen were asked if others ashore wore the suits. It is explained that the odd shore man was known to emulate their look, 'whether we liked it or not we were envied by a lot people who would never ever choose the life [...] everyone wanted to be in your gang.'⁸⁷⁰ These were men who had been to sea and then stopped, were shore auxiliary workers for the fishing industry, were close friends or siblings. Louth owned about 14 suits and when he was away at sea his younger brother would wear them without his consent. To discourage him the trawlerman placed a chain and lock around his wardrobe, the suits were worth protecting. It was important to retain the integrity of the suit, it was only to be worn by trawlermen, and the financial investment meant the owner wanted to keep his suits in immaculate condition, to be kept safe for when he had the chance to don a shore suit.

Richmond describes the key driver as social group pressure rather than the want to imitate others of a different social order.⁸⁷¹ Therefore it is the community or neighbourhood that individuals strive to be accepted in, rather than areas beyond their reach both spatially and metaphorically.⁸⁷² Evidencing the need to create a link with peers in terms of dress, music taste and cultural identity. This has been extended by the trawlermen to reflect the need to be accepted within their vocation, which has expanded the Hull trawlermen's style beyond the boundary of their city to other port towns in the

⁸⁶⁸ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁸⁶⁹ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 1.

⁸⁷⁰ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

⁸⁷¹ Richmond, *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England*, 46.

⁸⁷² Laughey, *Music & Youth Culture*, 4.

UK and beyond. Only those who were a part of the industry were considered appropriate to wear the uniform, the suit was a statement of who they were and they were proud to be distant-water trawlermen.

6.7 Reflection

This chapter has argued for a more nuanced understanding of how experiences can inform dress, from this it is clear that for the trawlermen peer emulation was integral to the shore suit's progression. Various authors discuss dress based subcultures as defiant whereas for those involved it is about the style, and how it projects an image. Key components from various sources amalgamate in the shore suit, with potential links to maritime dress, other subcultural style movements and experience of other cultures, which created a bricolage appearance. The concept of appropriation of styles was nothing new, but placed together in this context, has created an individualistic collective uniform. The driver to wear and evolve the style was the men themselves, it was not a rebellious act to dress differently, it was about the style. Young men with the financial means to invest and be seen as trawlermen. Their social identity as distant-water trawlermen was invested in the suit and the group collective represented this through their material and design choices. The men continued to present their original style, which to an extent had become their traditional dress, alongside remaining current to trends by the changes selected and adapted into the shore suit.

The trawlermen's experiences in the various ports present a platform to project themselves in their chosen dress style, with others dressing ostentatiously too, the men needed to compete. What makes the trawlermen's dress distinct, apart from the amalgamation of various features, is the fact the dress is representative of a specific occupation, that of distant-water fishing. The following chapter will focus on interpreting the findings to present the motivation for the men to create and wear their own form of collective uniform when at leisure, which was embedded within their workforce.

Chapter 7 A mariner's suit

A collective taste evolved for the trawlermen, with subtle differences between the suits due to material and individual design choices. The desire for the trawlermen to create innovation and meaning within their dress differentiated them from others in their various social settings.⁸⁷³ Lillethun discusses this shift of meaning as 'how people practice their culture, and the objects of culture'. Furthermore Emmerson recognises the connection between mobility and the visual:

Objects, places and locales carry meanings through visual means just like images.

Clothing, gesture and body language are significant signs which we use to establish identity and negotiate public situations.⁸⁷⁴

Goffman indicates the social significance of presentation, as a way in which to suggest meaning to others and how to 'guide and control' that portrayal.⁸⁷⁵ The suit and the gear becomes emblematic of their dual lives (at port and at sea), both differentiate and segregate different aspects of the men's existence. Defined periods of work are juxtapositioned with periods of leisure, the two forms of dress distinguish the men's roles.

This chapter offers a comprehensive interpretation of the shore suit and the trawlermen from a social and cultural perspective. It is argued that the shore suit was a performance to be seen and remembered. The men were competing with each other to grab attention, the suits were the perfect platform to be the peacock. The reason to wear the shore suit, which made the trawlermen appear different in both the local community and beyond will be elaborated on to contextualise meaning. Through the spectrum of symbolism as performance, an evaluation of findings will be presented, interpretation supports achieving the overall objectives.⁸⁷⁶

7.1 Symbolism through performativity

The Trawlermen wore the shore suit as a symbol of their brief respite from the toil and the dangers of their life afloat. The concept that underpins symbolism is the two key elements that occur, the signifier and the signified as coined by Barthes.⁸⁷⁷ The signifier in fashion is material based, whilst the

⁸⁷³ Lillethun, 'Introduction', 80.

⁸⁷⁴ M. Emmison, 'Conceptualizing Visual Data', in D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2011 [1997]), 233-249, 236.

⁸⁷⁵ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1959]), 9.

⁸⁷⁶ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 291.

⁸⁷⁷ Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes*; Jobling, 'Roland Barthes: Semiology and the Rhetorical Codes of Fashion', 135.

signified refers to the association within a cultural or social construct.⁸⁷⁸ This has been referred to in sociology as 'maps of meaning' whereby an individual is 'formed, and form themselves through society, culture and history'.⁸⁷⁹ Goffman discusses symbolism as performance and that the individual is able to project themselves, an image to others and how this is perceived and interpreted.⁸⁸⁰

Goffman's allegory of the theatre with the actors is representative within how Polhemus presents the *Street* as the place to perform, "The Street' is both the stage upon which this drama unfolds and the bottom line metaphor for all that is presumed to be real and happening in our world today.'⁸⁸¹

The trawlermen's main stage was the vicinity of Hessle Road and St Andrew's Dock, which is where their daily lives resided when home, expanding to the city centre and surrounding area of East Yorkshire. An additional stage, though never planned was when landing abroad, not knowing what to expect, the men went prepared in their finery of the shore suit when voyaging to distant grounds.

The performer can signify themselves through various sources, called sign vehicles,⁸⁸² which can include clothing.⁸⁸³ Tseëlon has taken Goffman's concept and constructed meaning within a fashion framework to symbolic interactionism, a form of pragmatism, by considering 'use, individual context and interpersonal meaning'.⁸⁸⁴ Tseëlon describes this as the 'wardrobe approach', it considers the wearer, their cultural significances and not purely the dress out of context.⁸⁸⁵ What they place on their body translates who they want to present within the confines of the social construct whether consciously or not, described as the 'obligations to self and other'.⁸⁸⁶ Similarly Entwistle asserts a similar stance in relation to the body, social spaces and the conscious act of dressing to present oneself in pre-defined social contexts.⁸⁸⁷ Therefore the materiality (signifier) alongside observed consumer behaviour (signified), presents clothing in context of the internal (the body) and external (observer) factors, adding a level of performativity to what is worn. Richmond discusses this as

⁸⁷⁸ Jobling, 'Roland Barthes: Semiology and the Rhetorical Codes of Fashion', 135.

⁸⁷⁹ Clarke et al., 'Subcultures, cultures and class', 11.

⁸⁸⁰ Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*; Symbolic Interactionism is a theory developed by Blumer in relation to 'the process of interpreting or attaching meaning to various symbols, verbal or non-verbal.' Kawamura, *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress*, 26-27.

⁸⁸¹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 6.

⁸⁸² Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 13.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁸⁴ Tseëlon, 'Erving Goffman: Social Science as an Art of Cultural Observation', 155.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁸⁸⁷ J. Entwistle, 'The Dressed Body', in J. Entwistle & E. Wilson (eds.), *Body Dressing* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 33-58.

projecting or disguising the wearer, 'it determined inclusion or exclusion, denoted conformity or differentiation, conferred or withheld respectability, attracted admiration and derision and could be the key to advancement or degradation'.⁸⁸⁸ Edwards places this notion within the context of the suit and the different sign vehicles if worn by a politician, film star or a salesman.⁸⁸⁹ All three need to project the right combination of glamour, sexiness or not, and integrity to influence an aligned forecast, or one that is rejected by the viewer.⁸⁹⁰ Entwistle recognises that, 'Not only does dress form the key link between individual identity and the body, providing the means, or 'raw material' for performing identity, dress is fundamentally an inter-subjective and social phenomenon, an important link between individual identity and social belonging.'⁸⁹¹

Crane argues clothes are worn purely to project an image, and it is the space and time that influences how its meaning is translated, and can be used as a tool to subvert:⁸⁹²

Clothing as a form of nonverbal, visual communication is a powerful means of making subversive social statements, because these statements are not necessarily constructed or received on a conscious or rational level. Changes in the significance of certain types of clothing and in the ways clothes communicate meanings are indications of major alterations in how social groups and groupings perceive their relationships to one another.⁸⁹³

Tseëlon explored how individuals expressed themselves including 'how and why they chose and wear clothes, and what meanings the clothes have for them'.⁸⁹⁴ The most noteworthy results seem to be clothing is used to 'bolster confidence' and semiotic fatigue is occurring as researchers' project more meaning onto dress than those who are engaged with it.⁸⁹⁵ Additionally, Tseëlon critiques the use of stereotypes due to the lack of previous empirical research, overcoming this by enabling the participants to communicate what they and others are signifying within their clothing choices.⁸⁹⁶ An

⁸⁸⁸ Richmond, *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England*, 3.

⁸⁸⁹ Edwards, *Men in the Mirror*, 10.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸⁹¹ Entwistle, 'The Dressed Body', 47.

⁸⁹² Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 237.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁸⁹⁴ Tseëlon, 'Erving Goffman: Social Science as an Art of Cultural Observation', 155.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁸⁹⁶ E. Tseëlon, 'How Successful is Communication via Clothing? Thoughts and Evidence on an Unexamined Paradigm', in A. M. B. González, L. (ed.), *Identities Through Fashion* (London: Berg, 2012), 109-137.

acute example of this is Muggleton who argues that many theories are not presented through practice based research, lacking interaction with the human subject.⁸⁹⁷ Muggleton substantiates this thinking through his own experiences of being a Punk, with core subcultural writers such as Hebdige presenting a version of the dress and its meaning that he struggles to recognise.⁸⁹⁸ Entwistle broaches this concept in relation to theorising discourse rather than through practice, which is highlighted by Tseëlon who suggests this is due to academic theories motivating the discourse rather than those with experiential knowledge.⁸⁹⁹ Muggleton uses Weber's theory of interpretive sociology as his framework into why people create a form of dress.⁹⁰⁰ Weber's theory refers to social action through interpretation rather than purely empiricist means, understanding the purpose and meaning that individuals attach to their own actions and that any outcomes could have multiple meanings.⁹⁰¹ It is the interpretation of these multiple meanings that has significance, with Muggleton highlighting that this can only be done through interaction with the wearers rather than purely on a theoretical basis.⁹⁰² Furthermore, as argued by Thompson the social meaning of how data is collected in whatever format represents a version of perceived reality when thematised, 'it is this which must be evaluated'.⁹⁰³

Similarly, Redhead mentions the tendency in retrospect for current writers to be adding emphasis onto a historic subculture, which then becomes a part of the 'legendary' ongoing and growing identity of the subculture.⁹⁰⁴ It could be contested that if this is purely theorising the existing information it represents an opinion, to substantiate such thinking new information to interpret is required. Therefore, for this research the information presented will be mindful not to read more into the interpretation and the evaluation than what has been presented in the empirical investigation.

⁸⁹⁷ Muggleton, *Inside Subculture*.

⁸⁹⁸ Hebdige, *Subculture*; Muggleton, *Inside Subculture*, 2-3.

⁸⁹⁹ Entwistle, 'The Dressed Body', 41; E. Tseëlon, 'Jean Baudrillard: Post-modern Fashion as the End of Meaning', in A. Rocamora & A. Smelik (eds.), *Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 225-226.

⁹⁰⁰ Muggleton, *Inside Subculture*.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁹⁰³ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 124.

⁹⁰⁴ S. Redhead, 'The End of the End-of-the-Century Party', in S. Redhead (ed.), *Rave Off: Politics and deviance in contemporary youth culture* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993), 1-6.

7.2 The shore suit: a cultural perspective

Subcultures and anti-fashion have similarities that cross over, it is dependent on the wearer and their attitudes and values within a timeframe that presents it as being one or the other.⁹⁰⁵ The majority of work on subcultures has focused on the middle- and working-classes whose boundaries have been defined through specific criteria, of 'activities, focal concerns and territorial spaces'.⁹⁰⁶ Miller's focal concerns are categorised as: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy.⁹⁰⁷ The concept of subcultures being a form of rebellion against the parent culture has been the focus of various writings on the subject.⁹⁰⁸ Miller's approach, although now considered contentious due to the narrow topic, was typical thinking of the time owing to the negative portrayal of working-class male youths as opposed to other categories of class and gender, however his development of focal concerns does remain current with other researchers expanding to move the discourse beyond class struggles to include, gender, race and cultural perspectives.⁹⁰⁹ A point Miller makes is that the focal concerns are on a spectrum of opposites, although he focuses on the extreme negative,⁹¹⁰ an alternative narrative can be created, which can represent positive subcultural allegiance. The trawlermen through their profession actuate the six focal concerns, which presents their attitudes and beliefs as integrated into some of the negative and positive concerns, or to place in a sociological perspective aligns with some of the sub- and the dominant culture concerns (see Table 3). This stratifying of the two polar opposites presents the acceptance by the trawlermen of the main culture as well as their own group values, activated by their occupation.

⁹⁰⁵ Clarke et al., 'Subcultures, cultures and class'.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁰⁷ W. B. Miller, 'Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency', *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 3 (1958), 5-15.

⁹⁰⁸ Hall & Jefferson, *Resistance through rituals*.

⁹⁰⁹ S. L. Gabbidon et al., *Encyclopedia of Race and Crime*. Translated from English (Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009), 299.

⁹¹⁰ Miller, 'Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency'.

Table 3 Placement of the trawlermen in relation to the focal concerns.

Area	Positive (concern)	Trawlerman (concern)	Negative (concern)
Trouble	o law-abiding	- o danger of the job - o insecurity of job	o law-violating
Toughness	- o physical prowess - o skill - o 'masculinity' - o fearlessness - o bravery - o daring	- o physicality of the job - o skill of the job - o danger of the job - o 'masculinity' – male only job role - o effeminacy – dare to wear their suits in pastel shades	- o weakness - o ineptitude - o effeminacy - o timidity - o cowardice - o caution
Smartness	- o outsmart - o gaining money by 'wits' - o shrewdness, adroitness in repartee - o witty	- o money by hard work - o joking with one another - o jesting with one another - o the shore suit	- o gullibility - o gaining money by hard work - o dull-wittedness
Excitement	- o thrill - o danger - o change - o activity	- o thrill - o danger of the job - o every trip different - o explore other towns	- o boredom - o safeness - o sameness
Fate	o favoured by fortune, being 'lucky'	- o danger of the job - o fatalistic attitude - o lived for the moment	o ill-omened, being 'unlucky'
Autonomy	- o freedom from external constraints - o freedom from superordinate authority - o independence	- o independence - o time constrained by job - o mutual support system - o presence of strong authority ('old man' the skipper)	- o presence of external constraint - o presence of strong authority - o dependency - o being "cared for"
	←	Opposites	→

Source: Adapted from W. B. Miller, 'Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency', *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 3 (1958), 5-15; Supporting material: B. Flaxman, *Trawlermen Interview 1 [recorded conversation]* 16-03-2015; E. Johnson, *Trawlermen Interview 1 [recorded conversation]* 30-10-2015; J. Tunstall, *The Fishermen: The sociology of an extreme occupation*. (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1972 [1962]), 75.

Polhemus describes group affinity as a collective that comes together through age, locality, and social status as examples to create a dress style, which echoes the re-evaluation of the focal concerns.⁹¹¹ Interests that cluster group affiliation have been recognised as music, sport, ethnicity, class, political, religious or education association, environmental and sexual orientation.⁹¹² Different social groups, with peer-to-peer bonding recognisable through style choices, supports the development of subcultures from one into the next. With a subculture their concerns are the dress, it is all about the dress and its projection, the wearers are content to move onto the next style phenomenon.⁹¹³ Elms recognises in his own path through various subcultural dress changes, materially existing at the same time and overlapping into one another:

It seems to me then that no sooner had I managed to acquire all the accoutrements than I had to get new ones. [...] It took me a while to understand the mechanics of youth fashion: that it is a perpetual motion machine powered by some collective psychological engine which runs off vast reserves of pure, high-grade adolescent desire. There is always a kid somewhere who's not content with the current dress code, who wants to play the game but by his own rules, wants to fit in and yet shine out.⁹¹⁴

For the wearer, subcultures are short lived and usually become absorbed by mainstream fashion through media and marketing policies. Furthermore the wearer, in particular the innovators and early adopters shift association and attitudes to the next style change. Subcultural dress codes are not always about being 'pure' to one form of dress, the association is ephemeral. The affiliation shifts and moves on, whereas anti-fashion is the dress embodied within specific beliefs and values, the group collective defines the wearers reason to wear the style. As the term indicates it is against the fashion of the time, it is slow to change and it is its permanence that gives it importance beyond the temporal.⁹¹⁵ The impact of where and whom the dress is observed by can influence the discourse on whether it is subcultural or anti-fashion.

As described by Horobin:

The expression, "fishermen are a race apart", is often to be heard in Hull, and it does

⁹¹¹ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*.

⁹¹² Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 188; Polhemus & Proctor, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*, 22.

⁹¹³ Elms, *The Way We Wore*.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66

⁹¹⁵ Geczy & Karaminas, 'Walter Benjamin: Fashion, Modernity and the City Street', 81-96.

convey quite well the nature of the fishing community as a sub-cultural group.⁹¹⁶

The territorial space or locality of the trawler is what holds this group together and when ashore they remain a unit, literally like fish out of water, unsure of the terrain, which they have infrequent access to. The activity that has brought the men together is their occupation, which they refer to even when at leisure through the shore suit. The dominant culture is occurring on land, their community of Hessle Road, it is not class bound but geographically bound; the trawlermen's lifestyle make them oppositional to the social norms. They return to their community as outcasts and have to assert themselves through their subcultural dress, the shore suit increases their social status by being seen as trawlermen.

For the trawlerman who spent most of his life afloat, the opportunity to don a suit was limited. Some men spent most of their careers at sea, whilst others took more holiday than the annual refit. The evidence gathered from the interviews and Tunstall suggests time in port ranged from approximately two and a half years to just over seven years, over a 20 year period.⁹¹⁷ There would be variables within this as not every year was the same, due to job insecurity and weather conditions dictating as and when a trawler would be at sea. However, this gives an indication to the design commitment, considerable financial investment and importance of wearing the shore suit, which for the individual wearer had limited exposure due to his occupational constraints. Therefore, for the trawlermen, their association with their shore suit is subcultural and opportunities to wear are limited.

The suits were worn from approximately 1954 to at least 1980, which places the style in the conventional sense as anti-fashion, although worn for a relative short time by the men the observers ashore witnessed the shore suit for more than 20 years. The dress of the trawlermen stayed contained within their occupation and was oppositional to fashion, it continually shifted with current trends but remained a trawlerman's suit due to always having the key features. It remained outside of fashion, it was never a form of dress that was adopted by the marketeers or mainstream fashion. In addition, some in the community rejected the style due to the suit being out of sync with fashion, and over the top when the men adopted the adapted suit. However, it did spread in the 'modish' sense as it was so embedded within their job roles, expanding to include other trawlermen from other ports, due to, in Flügel's words, 'the same cultural influences' being met.⁹¹⁸ The attitudes and

⁹¹⁶ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 349.

⁹¹⁷ Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁹¹⁸ J. Flügel, *Psychology of Clothes* (London: The Hogarth Press Ltd., 1950 [1930]), 130.

values associated with the men and their lifestyle of three weeks away and three days at home created a specific routine of work and leisure, their occupation signifies the same cultural influences as other distant-water trawlermen, remaining insular to this workforce.

The original wearers were wearing the shore suit alongside the late adopters, who entered the profession years later, creating a spectacular subculture for the wearer and viewer. Those on shore had a continuous reminder for decades of this group's affiliation through their choice of apparel. The ideals and values remained consistent and relevant to the group of men, spanning the age groups, held together by representing a collective workforce with the same needs when ashore.

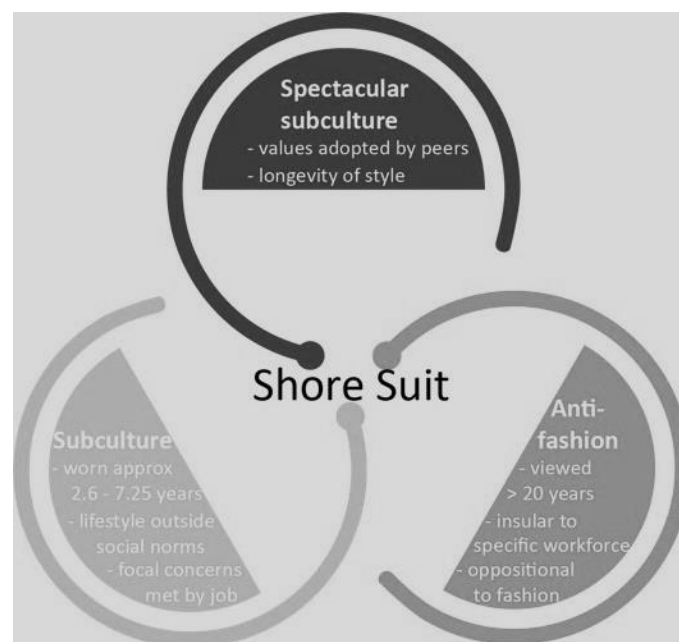


Figure 68 Diagram visualising the cultural aspects of the suit.

Where the suit sits in the conventional understanding of cultural dress is difficult to articulate, due to the longevity of use and from which perspective is considered, that of the wearer or the viewer. Furthermore, the shore suit has temporality for the men but a level of permanency for their audience, continuing to represent the social beliefs attached to the style by this workforce, creating a subcultural, anti-fashion and spectacular subculture discourse in a singular object.

The trawlermen had such a short timeframe to enter their society, a community that continued without them, to gain impact quickly visual recognition became the key. The objectification for the trawlermen is through visual expression, a social individual who performs his culture and identity through his attire representing three signifiers; style innovation, masculinity and wealth.

7.3 Style innovation

In the UK during the mid-twentieth century, it became common with the introduction of various subcultures for young men to establish their own form of collective dress that was different to others. The trawlermen were no exception, creating and designing their own suits, which is a considerable undertaking due to the substantial financial investment and the ability to be creative from concept to product. Historically seafarers created a collective uniform ashore, which was similar to their clothing at sea but more flamboyant, with the men using their sewing skills to individualise their dress by adding details like braids and ribbons.⁹¹⁹ A need to present a collective form of dress ensued prior to compulsory uniforms being commissioned. Limited supplies of fabric would create homogeneity in what was available, which represented similarity of style when in port. The dress generated was a way in which to perform on their chosen stage.

The trawlermen went to sea in their shore suits, these were removed when work began and replaced with another collective dress. The workwear was specific to the requirements of their occupation, having a uniformity to it due to being bought from the ship's store or a few other outlets in Hull. The practical intrinsic values of the workwear necessitate the dress and offers a mutual identity when at sea, which bonds the group. The development of an informal uniform of the shore suit retains this 'band of brothers' unity when in port, which, is reminiscent of the Royal Navy who, through designing an unofficial uniform with the slop shops and subsequently a standard uniform, enabled crew members to be recognised when ashore.⁹²⁰ Furthermore, the near fishermen, as early as the nineteenth century, possibly earlier, were identifiable through wearing the gansey jumpers.⁹²¹ The piece of knitwear visually presents the wearer's occupation but moreover specific patterns can place where the jersey was made; villages had their own patterns passed down from knitter to knitter through oral tradition. Therefore, the continuation of a tradition of style innovation normalised the act of dressing different to other men. Mariners, including fishermen have had a longstanding relationship with style and performance. The distant-water trawlermen of Hull have continued their own tradition of performance when on land, through their inventive choice of dress.⁹²²

⁹¹⁹ Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*; Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England'; Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers'.

⁹²⁰ Butchart, *Nautical chic*, 19.

⁹²¹ Thompson, *Patterns for Guernseys, Jerseys & Arans*, 5.

⁹²² The behaviour is reflective of longer time at sea with those working shorter trips and more time in port projecting a less flamboyant lifestyle when ashore. Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World'.

The shore suit was expressive for the trawlermen and represented quality, luxury and individualism through being hand-made, onshore workers in the community could not afford such luxuries.⁹²³ The trawlermen through conspicuous consumption have used their bodies as a platform 'for the visual expression of identities.'⁹²⁴ If it was hidden there was no point, the materialism of the shirt and tie becomes inconsequential, and it all has to appear on the suit. The features usually identified on a shirt were removed and placed where they could be seen, including the yokes and half-moon pockets. The suit was only worn in public, its purpose was to be seen by others and present a specific image. The trawlermen were using the suits as a status symbol to present their wealth and the value was in the style.⁹²⁵ They stood out from the crowd, with up to three days to establish a presence they wanted and needed to be remembered. By introducing a look that was out of kilter with menswear in all three decades worn, enabled the men to be seen immediately.

The men used the suits as a way in which to present what they had to offer, they had to be inventive, they were dealing with a social structure that they did not fit into, and literally conveyed their wares on their sleeve. As Coles stated:

It was a projection of your personality, you wanted people aware. When you wore that suit, you know you didn't walk down Hessle Road, you know you strutted, you swayed, you know it was everything. You were a fisherman and you were proud to show the world.⁹²⁶

Not only were the suits a part of the display but as Goffman purports, the posture and bodily gesture all played their part in the men's performance.⁹²⁷ Acknowledgement of being dressed differently is recognised by those who wore and created the suits, Rimmer states that, 'You could spot a fisherman a mile away with his suit on.'⁹²⁸ Whitaker proclaims, 'You stood out a mile [...] they knew straight away you were a fisherman. Or had been, or were going to be.'⁹²⁹ It represented the group allegiance:

The Hull fishermen were quite unique and I think one of the reasons why they were

⁹²³ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁹²⁴ Gibson, 'How clothing design and cultural industries refashioned frontier masculinities: A historical geography of Western wear', 735.

⁹²⁵ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

⁹²⁶ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 2.

⁹²⁷ Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

⁹²⁸ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁹²⁹ Whitaker, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 6.

unique, a trawlerman like me, was proud to say that you were a trawlerman or a deep-sea fisherman. And the dress which they wore certainly in the Hull and the Hull area, identified them immediately as being trawlermen.⁹³⁰

The trawlerman's shore suit, despite each one being different through material and features, still represented a uniform to the trawlermen and others. None of the men interviewed disliked the suits, even when feeling obliged to wear it, the association remains positive. In the interviews the suits are often described as being a uniform, Regan suggests, 'It was only a variation of it [the adapted suit] ... they all had it, it was like a variation of the standard uniform.'⁹³¹ In addition Longden proclaims that:

It was mainly a fisherman's uniform, I would describe it as that anyways. There was the odd erm like ex fishermen as it were, who'd been to sea and then got a shore job and they'd still carry on the tradition.⁹³²

Furthermore Rimmer recognises that:

Yeah, I think it was like err a uniform to us you know what I mean, it was like part and parcel. I mean, people used to like to say, "Oh he's a fisherman." By the style of your suit and everything, so you stood out among the crowd sort of thing.⁹³³

The men have instigated a dress code, which lets others know that they are trawlermen, albeit when at leisure rather than when at work, it represents affiliation, unity and occupation.

The trawlermen's shore suit was designed by the singular, creating an illusion of individualism within set parameters of the trawlermen's uniform, which was sustained. The idea of the shore suit being a one-off was compounded by some tailors acquiring limited meterage of four bolts of cloth, which meant only four suits could be made. There is no evidence to suggest that all bolts were used for the trawlermen as the tailors had other clients too, which made up a larger proportion of their business. Even if all the bolts were sold to the trawlermen, the likelihood is that once the style features were added the perception of individuality continued to be present, within the boundaries of what was collectively permissible.

⁹³⁰ Anonymous 2, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁹³¹ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁹³² Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4.

⁹³³ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 2.

The mainstream, is the suit itself, worn by the majority of men, created from a standardised measuring system of the made-to-measure suit, placing it within the normality of menswear. The suit as an object is not radical, the trawlermen's suit corresponded with the notion of conventional menswear. However, their creativity during the design process, adding features that were key to their style made it different to menswear in general, though with a level of uniformity, placing the shore suit firmly within the group and their occupation. The men were not breaking any sartorial rules, but implementing them with such fastidiousness of smartness, cleanliness and refinement in appearance, the men wanted to be seen as well-dressed. The suit represented the fruit of their labour, when at leisure, it delineated themselves from their other existence, on the trawler and working. The pastel shades symbolised their inability to toil, the style was not following other trends but leading their own tribe and setting the shore suit in their community. Unlike the men portrayed by Veblen, the trawlermen did have to labour, nevertheless they subverted this concept of leisure and conspicuous consumption by presenting their wealth, and social standing in their society through their dress, so that they could compete with others in their onshore environments.⁹³⁴ As emphasised by Polhemus and Procter, 'Just as adornment allows us to assert ourselves as individuals, it also allows us to identify ourselves as part of a social collective.'⁹³⁵ The respectability of the suit has been subverted by the wearers, as with other subcultural styles to signify more than conforming to the norms of society. It symbolizes the bond between this group of men initiated at sea and retained on land, being projected outwardly. Hall and Jefferson describes this objectification as a way in which the group organises their relationship with others, including their experiences, and how they are understood.⁹³⁶

As Craik stipulates the uniform portrays mixed messages to the wearer and the viewer.⁹³⁷ The trawlermen were recognised within their community by what they wore. People in the local area knew who they were by the visual signifiers, it was a badge of honour with their other work fellows to be recognised as distant-water trawlermen, 'All you had to do was walk down Hessle Road and you saw the difference in style to what anybody else had.'⁹³⁸ However, the meaning can be misunderstood or misinterpreted when viewed elsewhere, leading to misalignment between intent and projection. The knowledge of the symbolism is known by the social group that has created the shore suit and their usual home environment, however, others external to the group, their ability to

⁹³⁴ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

⁹³⁵ Polhemus & Procter, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*, 11.

⁹³⁶ Hall & Jefferson, *Resistance through rituals*, 11-12.

⁹³⁷ Craik, 'The Cultural Politics of the Uniform'.

⁹³⁸ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 2.

read the dress may be limited. When further afield due to their dapper dress sense it was assumed that they were celebrities.⁹³⁹ When out of context the signifiers become confused, with presentation in meaning shifting, elevating the men's social status, blurring class boundaries.

This suit was in constant flux, new purchases were designed and ordered, which superseded the one before. The men were conjuring more and more elaborate style variations and constantly pushing the boundaries of their sartorial desires. It was a competition to look good and represent their economic worth through the outward projection of quality and style ingenuity. The men were reacting to the extremes of their environment when at sea, for many, time for ablutions ceased and while on the fish they were surrounded by blood and guts. Shifting from the detritus unkempt selves at sea to the immaculately dressed trawlerman ashore, gave the men a sense of self-purpose and worth, Johnson recognises that, 'When you put your suit on, by this looks good.'⁹⁴⁰ It differentiated between the two existences, as Regan explains, 'this is when at sea and this now, it's playtime.'⁹⁴¹

7.4 Wealth

Goffman's concept of performance as symbolism is relevant to the trawlermen and what they were projecting to others, in particular the, 'discrepancy between appearance and actual activity'.⁹⁴² The suit became a coming of age ritual, a boy entering a man's domain, in terms of money, appearance and behaviour. There were limited goods that youngsters could spend their money on, the suits became a visual means to present their hard earned cash. Clarke discusses the term leisure not just being associated with free time and choice but the actual ability to spend, due to the relationship shift of attaining money.⁹⁴³ Expectations had risen and clothing's intrinsic values were a way in which to present this, as Summers laments, 'it sat well with the changing social attitudes towards equality and benefited society at large at all levels'.⁹⁴⁴ Bédarida explains that:

Doing without was no longer a virtue, but a misfortune; instant enjoyment and conspicuous acquisition, egged on by advertising and the mass media, became the

⁹³⁹ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁹⁴⁰ Johnson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1, 2*.

⁹⁴¹ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 2, 2*.

⁹⁴² Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 53.

⁹⁴³ J. Clarke, 'The Creation of Style', in S. Hall & T. Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1976), 175-191.

⁹⁴⁴ Summers, *Fashion on the ration*, 177.

paramount consideration. The sole and openly avowed aim was happiness.⁹⁴⁵

Times had changed and after the austerity measures of the Second World War, it was a generation that wanted to express themselves, peace brought prosperity for many who projected it through their spending power. It has been presented that the men had a fatalistic attitude due to hardship and experiences of injury and death when at sea,⁹⁴⁶ however, it could be questioned whether this was a nationwide phenomenon and not just recognisable in the trawlermen. This was the first generation of three to experience peace. The impact of war will have been present through the devastation and destruction on a visual scale due to bombed towns and cities, which gave rise to the housing crisis. As well as witnessing the physical and mental strain on those who had experienced war first-hand, which may have led this generation of youngsters to have a 'live for the moment' attitude. Consumption became a method to express the now. The catalyst for the trawlermen was threefold, firstly the young men were the first generation within the twentieth century not to be involved in conflict; secondly the men had what is perceived to be well paid jobs; and, thirdly the affluent young were being targeted to consume.

If they were returning home with a good catch, this equated to three weeks of hard labour and only three days maximum to spend it. The lack of time ashore gave a false impression of their affluence, the perception was that the men were wealthy. The notion of wealth was misaligned with the reality for many deckhands, the extremes of earning a good or poor wage made their existence precarious. The research to date suggests that they were poorly paid, but due to compacted time in port it presented a different image, that of affluence. Longden explains that others:

They thought we were millionaires, but we just wasn't, it was just that we were spending that little bit of money we had in a short period of time. They all thought we had loads of money, I never had loads of money.⁹⁴⁷

The suits were an expensive investment evidenced by the substantial amount of wages spent on their creation, whether they had the means to pay or not (see 5.1).

The shore suit expressed their wealth to all in their social arena. Polhemus states that some of the subcultural dress styles, 'addresses the same need: the need felt by those who come from poor

⁹⁴⁵ Bédarida, *A social history of England 1851-1990*, 254.

⁹⁴⁶ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 75.

⁹⁴⁷ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 3.

backgrounds to use their personal style as a badge of success.⁹⁴⁸ The trawlermen were using the same tactics as the other youths of the time, leisure time consisted of drinking, dancing, the purchasing of music and clothing; all grossly exaggerated due to time constraints, to express their successful return. The impression given by the trawlermen interviewed, was that they spent a large portion of their earnings prior to returning to sea. A trawler skipper, in 1967 when asked if he saved any money, frankly replied, 'What for? You might die.'⁹⁴⁹ They were living for the moment, investing or saving for the future in such a dangerous occupation seemed futile or might jinx their trip on the grounds.

Hull like London was severely bombed during the Second World War, Tunstall discusses that there were issues with housing with many being overcrowded.⁹⁵⁰ This is evident with children sharing rooms or having large beds with the children sleeping together.⁹⁵¹ It should be remembered that the trawlermen started their 'official' careers at sea at the age of 15, and usually started to wear the suits from 16, the disparity here is the potential hardship of home life in relation to their external appearance of wealth via the suits. An interviewee recalls when first married living with his in-laws, awaiting renovation work to be completed on his home, the room consisted of a bed and no wardrobe for him to hang his 16 suits and all his shirts, resulting in the suits being hung on the picture rail around the room.⁹⁵² The internal environment is hidden from observers thus the discrepancy between this and the external projection is manipulated with the suits expressing affluence as opposed to poverty. The observers only witness the performance in the public space and not the private space, which presents another narrative.

Tunstall expresses that:

One reason why these boys want to go on trawlers and see the shore only at infrequent intervals is that they are trying to say 'No' to their inferior positions in the class system. At sea they are not inferior on a class basis.⁹⁵³

Tunstall offers no evidence to support this concept, in reality the environments that the trawlermen were being exposed to would have been mainly local, it is hard to imagine that within their

⁹⁴⁸ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 36.

⁹⁴⁹ 'ST. ANDREW — may the good Saint preserve us!', *Education + Training*, 9, 7 (1967), 298-314, 314.

⁹⁵⁰ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 13.

⁹⁵¹ Lutyens & Abercrombie, *A plan for the City & County of Kingston upon Hull*, 1-2, 17; Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 157.

⁹⁵² Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁹⁵³ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 117.

community and social setting the men would have felt inferior from a class perspective. What is being underplayed is the adventure experienced when a stowaway or on a pleasure trip, witnessing the extravagant lifestyle of the seamen when ashore, including the perception of a well-paid job, all incentives to join the industry.⁹⁵⁴ A participant in Horobin's research explains:

They see their dads or their brothers, or their pals' brothers, "flush" when they come ashore. They *see* them drinking, having a good time, and they think "that's the job for me."⁹⁵⁵

It is known as the trawlermen left for the fishing grounds they would empty their pockets of any change to children waiting at the lock gates of St Andrew's Dock. Returning to sea penniless substantiates the superstition that carrying money may have impacted on their safe return. Whereas for the future generations who were on the dockside collecting the coins, it was an incentive to sign onto a trawler, it presented the men as 'loaded,' who literally had enough money to throw it away.

The likelihood is that after the 1950s, being a trawlerman had a certain cachet within the community. The men were perceived as being affluent by comparison to shore workers of the same class, most had experience of dockside employment prior to fishing and were aware of the financial perks by comparison to being a bobber or filleter. When home on leave their short time was full of entertainment, good times and consumption, which although gives a false sense of 'real life' it offered a complete contrast to their dangerous and exhausting employment on the trawlers. The men were well dressed, presenting themselves as the dandy, able to afford made-to-measure suits often, to their design specifications. The men's focus was not in relation to class but wanting to be seen, owing to their time away they needed to reaffirm their status within their social arena. Shifts in social mobility were evident, it seems unlikely the trawlermen were wearing such extravagant suits to climb the social ladder, it was more in relation to their current setting. It remained embedded in their employment and social surroundings of Hull, directed towards significant others, a peer-to-peer want for recognition by climbing up the hierarchy of the trawler, or as commented in the interviews to attract women.

The potency of material culture presents a disparity between the trawlermen who have the means to purchase the suits, against others in their community who could not afford such luxury goods. They were mingling with their peers when on- and offshore, inferiority of class was not a concept that the men broached in the interviews, it was the incentive of competing with their fellow peers

⁹⁵⁴ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁹⁵⁵ Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', 350.

alongside their lack of contact with the shore side of their lives that instigated the creativity. The meaning attached to the shore suit was acknowledged by the Hessle Road fishing community and other distant-water trawling ports, representing their trade, which in turn expressed perceived affluence and good times. As the trip to Liverpool evidenced the meaning can become confused when the suit is disassociated from place (various trawling communities and their local areas). However, although being recognised as different the suits presented intrigue rather than the concept of inferiority (see 6.5).

This notion of affluence through dress is highlighted further by de Marly who states that the 'ordinary man' with his two suits cannot afford to wear pale colours so continues to wear dark suits to hide the dirt, due to the expense of dry cleaning:

Accordingly colour on the streets was rare, for the majority of men stuck to safe dark grey and blue which did not show the dirt.⁹⁵⁶

The trawlermen owned more than two suits and dry cleaned them often, though it is acknowledged this was perceived as outlandish behaviour by the trawlermen's family members. The financial ability to own more than a couple of suits, and in pale colours is a visual expression of wealth and the ability to consume and care for the product if desired (see Figure 69). The shirts bought from the ship's store are perceived as a 'throw away item'⁹⁵⁷ due to them not being 'the best shirts,'⁹⁵⁸ the financial and visual importance was the suit. The upkeep of retaining the shore suit in pristine condition by frequent dry cleaning was in contrast with the shirt, which offered nothing of interest in terms of style, quality or visual appearance. However, it projected wealth in a different way, owing to the ability to be disposed of and new shirts bought regularly.

⁹⁵⁶ de Marly, *Fashion for men*, 135.

⁹⁵⁷ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.

⁹⁵⁸ Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 3.



Figure 69 The smooth line of a pale salmon shore suit with a shawl collar and wide trousers, Hull Fair 1963. Source: P. West, *G. Day at Hull Fair in a pale shore suit, Walton Street, Hull. 1963* [photograph] (Hull). Courtesy of C. Day.

When the tailors started to charge for the additional extras, it prompted the men to accept it and take it to extremes, overemphasizing they could afford these changes in cost by accentuating and exaggerating the details on the suit.⁹⁵⁹ A three-inch waistband extended to eight inches, two buttons at the cuff became six, vents and gauntlet sleeves were added including two-tone suits. As Moon recalls, 'I think they were about 38 inch, [...] the bottoms, you could have made a suit out of one of the legs.'⁹⁶⁰ These excesses were short lived, a fad within the classic suit of the trawlermen. The additional features became an extra cost the men embraced whilst taking the dress to sartorial extremes. The interviewees are aware of the excesses, as Louth and Flaxman testify, 'Waistbands, it got out of hand in the end, you know what I mean, people trying to beat each other. [...] Oh some of them went up to eight inch.'⁹⁶¹ 'Some of them were outrageous. Some of them was nice, but even the outrageous, they all liked it. [...] Well, it err, it was like a contest between them [...]'⁹⁶² Visually as

⁹⁵⁹ Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

⁹⁶⁰ Moon & Regan, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 10.

⁹⁶¹ Louth, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁹⁶² Flaxman, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2, 3.

well as financially it outwardly projects their ability to spend, consume and respond to price inflation and fashion changes.

The shore suit continues to re-affirm the trawlermen's status in their group and the wider community of Hull, as they could afford to have their suits made to their specifications. This was extended by the fact that the trawlermen would wear more than one suit in a day, some interviewed would wear a different suit everyday they were ashore, whilst others would have a day and an evening suit. An extreme case was an interviewee recalling a friend, who when on an evening out would make his excuses as if leaving to use the washroom, when in fact he would go home and return in another suit for the rest of the evening. The need to show change and the ability to do so was integral to the men's projection, reaffirming their ability to show wealth through mass ownership of suits.

The trawlermen used their dress to stand out in their community, the double function of the suit is to eliminate others from emulation and to demonstrate their affluence to all, particularly when not in their usual surroundings. It was a visual voice for the men. Confined to the ship and to other men; the suits had no worth on the deck of the trawler or when inside their homes, where the men would wear more relaxed clothing. But in their home port or abroad, exiting a taxi, on the street, in the pubs, cafés, restaurants, in the stores in the city centre, they all become places to present themselves through the sartorial expression of the shore suit. With their exaggerated use of material, it suggests an image, the persona to others that 'I've got it made',⁹⁶³ in this connotation both metaphorically and physically. A form of exhibitionism in the various surroundings, they presented themselves as objects of desire.

7.5 Masculinity

Boys from the Hessle Road community, from a young age were being exposed to an extremely masculine environment. The exposure to a man's world is explained by Longden, who recalls reading a pamphlet circa 1960 when he was about 14 years old when in hospital to have his appendix removed. It showed a photograph of a 15 year old in his work gear on the deck of a trawler and it read, 'Here is a boy doing a man's job.'⁹⁶⁴ The language was enough motivation to encourage the interviewee to sign on at 15, 'I'm a man now.'⁹⁶⁵ On board, as recalled in the interviews there was jesting and joking, seen as being a part of the life, alongside the camaraderie of keeping each other

⁹⁶³ Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 22.

⁹⁶⁴ Longden, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 2.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

safe when on the deck of a trawler. The support system continues onshore seen in the form of the backhanders and spending time together. The youngsters would socialise illegally with the deckhands, experiencing male domains of the pubs and clubs earlier than others in their age group who chose a different career path. The suit was a part of that ritual, the transition from boy to man. As Cole poignantly portrays the day after landing:

The next morning was getting suited and booted, getting a taxi and going down the dock. Organising your money and then you know, coming off dock. [...] And this is one of the things I liked about that era, you know when you was a good crew you were a crew ashore as well as at sea. So you would all meet in whatever pub was designated.⁹⁶⁶

The discourse on dress cultures discusses the fact that the tediousness of everyday life and dead end jobs for many men made them establish ways in which to escape, via football and rugby league terraces, dances, pubs and clubs. Recreation activities of watching sport, cycling, hiking, watching films, listening to music and dancing became mechanisms of diversion for the young, which clothing played an important part evidenced through the emergence of various subcultures.⁹⁶⁷ The trawlermen are known to have enjoyed such activities, however, the reality of their job was less than boring and therefore did not require an outlet from the mundane. The trawlermen did not fit into the ideal of creating imaginary excitement for the weekend to escape the dullness of the week.⁹⁶⁸ Their jobs were extremely dangerous and all the trawlermen who have been interviewed, unprompted recall a tragedy, which they have witnessed.⁹⁶⁹ The escapism is in a different format to the doldrums of the shore worker, no two trips to sea were the same. The suits, dances, pubs and clubs were a way in which to forget their experiences at sea and to ease the potential fear of not returning, or the sadness of leaving loved ones behind. The idea of living life to the full and projecting a lack of trepidation was a catalyst for the men to enjoy the moment. As Rimmer so movingly expresses:

[...] I don't think you actually come out and said it but, you knew you were only home for a couple or three days, and it could be the last time you'd ever be home. So, you just went for it, sort of thing. You know, you never come out and said that but basically it

⁹⁶⁶ Coles, *Trawlermen: Interview 2*, 5.

⁹⁶⁷ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*, 17; Wilson & Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 83.

⁹⁶⁸ Hall & Jefferson, *Resistance through rituals*, 48.

⁹⁶⁹ B. Bailey, *Trawlermen: Interview 1 [recorded conversation - summarised transcript]* 07-07-2013; Johnson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*; Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*.

was always there with you. That this could be your last one, you know.⁹⁷⁰

The suit and lifestyle became a mechanism for this escapism.

The men have presented an image when on land different to that at sea, Triplow describes the Grimsby trawlermen as:

[...] looking just right when they came ashore was important. It was a matter of self-respect and an opportunity to play the part – the successful fisherman.⁹⁷¹

Goffman mentions this as a front that:

[...] refers to all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers.⁹⁷²

It was a projected image with a purpose. The men moved in their suits from land to sea and vice versa. The men would arrive and leave the St Andrew's fish dock in Hull in their suits, only changing once they had left the mouth of the Humber; the observers can no longer witness the men. On their return, as soon as all the jobs onboard the ship have been completed the men prepared for their arrival back on land, ablutions were finalised and the suit returned to their physical form. Therefore, the performance of preparing what they wanted to project to the observer was complete, in their home port the men were never witnessed in their work gear, only the shore suit. The trawlermen controlled how they wanted others to see them, smart, clean and different to men on land. Goffman refers to a 'discrepancy between appearance and the actual activity', typically only the end product is presented to the observer.⁹⁷³ The viewer is never witness to the sweaty, smelly, dirty trawlerman displaying his need to toil, the working man remained hidden, only the man of leisure is presented in his shore suit, 'finished, polished and packaged.'⁹⁷⁴ Breward describes this as a form of 'dissidence and disruption,'⁹⁷⁵ it enabled the active involvement of appearance and consumption to be

⁹⁷⁰ Rimmer, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 4.

⁹⁷¹ Triplow et al., *Distant Waters*, 136-137.

⁹⁷² Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 32.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 53

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹⁷⁵ Breward, *The Suit*, 116.

normalised for the men, using performativity and the consumption of sartorial luxury as a platform to disrupt what it meant to be a modern man.⁹⁷⁶

A reason why the trawlermen dressed so flamboyantly has been considered by Gill who stipulates it is because they were unable to learn the dance styles of the time due to their short timeframe in port.⁹⁷⁷ Whilst Cohn stipulates that new dance steps during this period only lasted a short amount of time, therefore it seems irrelevant to even try to learn the steps.⁹⁷⁸ It could be reasoned that it was a way to sexualise themselves, the rituals of attraction, in the same manner as other subcultures.⁹⁷⁹ They preened and behaved in the style of a peacock, to display their sexual prowess. It is about the visual, the outlandishness of needing to be seen through their style choices.

The usual courtship patterns and places to meet were restricted for the trawlermen due to their limited time ashore, which was condensed further due to obligations to the job and family when on leave. The work environment had become the most likely place to meet a prospective partner, but for the men their workplace was male dominated.⁹⁸⁰ Their limited leisure time became important as a time and place for socialising with the opposite sex. The shore suit was a visual means to attract attention and to retain that attention when no longer visible. It was a mating ritual to entice, without the ability to compete with men ashore through the conventional forms of courtship and relationship building (cinema, walking out, social, religious or political clubs),⁹⁸¹ the men used other tactics. Crane suggests that dress is not worn for oneself but for others especially in the public domain,⁹⁸² echoing Goffman's approach to symbolism through performativity. Likewise Lord Litchfield states, 'A man doesn't dress for himself. He dresses to attract the girls.'⁹⁸³ The men were using their dress to attract the opposite sex, to compete against others they encountered in their homeport and further away, such as the Americans when in Iceland.⁹⁸⁴ It became a ritual of being seen and wanting others to know they were distant-water trawlermen. The men were subversive by

⁹⁷⁶ McDermott, *Made in Britain*, 21; Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat*, 121, 125.

⁹⁷⁷ *Trawlermen*.

⁹⁷⁸ Cohn, *Today there are no gentlemen*.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁸⁰ C. Langhamer, *The English in Love: The intimate story of an emotional revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105.

⁹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 92-93

⁹⁸² Crane, *Fashion and it's social agendas*, 237.

⁹⁸³ Crosby, 'Return of the Dandy', 18.

⁹⁸⁴ Ellis, *Arctic Apprentice*, 126.

shifting and controlling the female gaze, the shore suit was to draw attention to themselves, to attract the opposite sex.

The suit for the men offers a double meaning, a mixed metaphor of both conforming to wearing a collective uniform, whilst expressing their individuality and sexuality. The *suit as uniform* represents practical and respectable undertones, which date back to the Victorian era. The *suit as display* represents sexuality through 'broadening [of the] shoulders and chest and connecting larynx to crotch through collar and tie'.⁹⁸⁵ The suit not only showed their ability to design, consume and aspire, it also presented their sexuality, shaping the body within, Hollander suggests that:

Competitive dressing came to be based on suggestive changes in shape, color, line, and proportion, all with respect to bodily shapes, and on variable piquancy in the forms of ornaments, not just on their value.⁹⁸⁶

The structure of the suit drew attention to the trawlerman's form, svelte figures, broad shoulders, half-moon pockets following the contours of the ribs, the shank button and wide waistband emphasising the torso and the tucked in tie, which focused the eye to the crotch. The sexualisation of the male form was heightened, with mixed reviews from the observers as to whether the suits were liked, however, it represents the men's success, they had returned safely, they projected that they had money to spend, and they were virile, in need of a good time.

The men wore the look with assurance and attitude, they were the bees knees. They were aware of their conspicuous consumption and they wore it with pride. They worked in hard dangerous conditions, never knowing if their next trip would be their last. Therefore, the concept of enjoying it while they could was at the forefront of their belief system. It offered danger, power, risk and they countered this through their image in particular in their choice of colour, effeminate in pastel shades was counter to menswear but they knew their sexuality, their physical prowess, lean but strong, confident and comfortable in the choices made.⁹⁸⁷ It was not representing a lack of masculinity but demonstrating strength in group allegiance, in the tribal sense.⁹⁸⁸ As Wilson corroborates:

[...] to be walking around as a fit young man in powder blue or almost pinky beige, err, you, I thought was actually quite brave. But of course to them, I honestly think it was a

⁹⁸⁵ Edwards, *Men in the Mirror*, 3.

⁹⁸⁶ Hollander, *Sex & Suits*, 20.

⁹⁸⁷ Crane, as an example discusses the dandy in terms of effeminate colours of pale blue and pink alongside other feminine details. Crane, *Fashion and its social agendas*, 193.

⁹⁸⁸ Polhemus & Proctor, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*.; Tungate, *Branded Male*.

statement of, 'I'm a deckie learner, look at, and challenge me if you will [laughs]'. You know, and they were very proud, they were very proud of the style, without a doubt.⁹⁸⁹

The men lived in two extreme conditions, the harshness of the trawler and weather conditions, juxtapositioned with their life ashore, which was exuberant and high spirited. The trawlermen only presented one version of the self when in port, the trawlerman in the shore suit. The men needed to find a meaning when ashore, this was uncharted territory, an environment that continued without them, and the suits offered them what was required. It securely held the fraternity together, the suit pushed the boundaries of the trawler onto land, by visually representing the collective trawlermen as a social entity. The men were always on the periphery within the two spheres they inhabited, constrained by the trawlers edges and their community, their role within that populace being ambiguous. The men needed and wanted to be seen, with such a short timeframe on land, to project their affluence, vigour, youth and the allurement of danger, the shore suit was a way in which to attract attention.

7.6 Reflection

The chapter has argued that the trawlermen's lives were never static in terms of mobility, moving from land to sea within short timeframes, from hunter-gatherer to consumer. At sea, the closeness and camaraderie for the group is essential but once ashore this belief system has the potential to breakdown. Retention of that sense of belonging found an outlet in the change of uniform from the gear worn at sea to that worn when on leave, the shore suit.

Furthermore, the chapter has established that for the trawlermen the shore suit was subcultural due to the limited time it was worn, what is more, the style was anti-fashion in the sense it never was, or became fashionable, and through longevity of use, spectacular, due to the continued relationship for the original wearers and new recruits who joined the profession. This interpretation presents the trawlermen's shore suit as a unique entity in terms of style, and the social and cultural meaning the men attached to the object. The men created a sartorial allegiance with their fellow workmen when at leisure as a way in which to interact with one another, alongside using the shore suit to differentiate themselves from other men and to attract the female gaze. The men used the shore suit to build relationships with the opposite sex when the conventional methods were unavailable due to their occupational constraints. The final chapter draws together the various strands of the thesis.

⁹⁸⁹ Wilson, *Trawlermen: Interview 1*, 8.

Chapter 8 The shore suit: A sartorial extreme

Hull was one of Europe's leading fishing ports during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, disrupted by the First and Second World Wars, when the Hull trawlers were requisitioned for military and convoy duties.⁹⁹⁰ From the 1880s, when steam propulsion and steel hulls were rapidly adopted by Hull's trawling sector, quick expansion followed with the move to new distant-water territories. The Faroes, Iceland, northern Norway, Russia, Greenland and other countries became regular destinations to capture cod, haddock, plaice and other demersal species.⁹⁹¹ The business flourished to the mid-1970s, when the distant-waters were closed to foreign trawlers, by coastal nations eager to prevent overfishing by protecting inshore stocks—that is, fish living within 200 miles of their shores—for their exclusive use.⁹⁹²

Stimulated by high levels of domestic demand for white fish, those engaged in Hull's distant-water trawling business accumulated the resources necessary to conduct a comparatively high-risk activity. As well as the appropriate vessels, nets and fishing gear, expertise and experience of reaching and working the fishing grounds quickly evolved into a significant intangible asset.⁹⁹³ This entailed the early emergence of an operational pattern that lasted more or less as long as the distant-water trawl fishery. Although there were variations, most trawlers left the Humber, steamed to the fishing grounds, caught enough fish to fill the hold, and steamed back to St Andrew's Dock in Hull to sell the catch. Such voyages took between 18 and 21 days, with vessels and crews generally having two or three days in their home port before departing on their next northern voyage.

The labour dimension of this business during the three decades following the Second World War is the broad concern of this thesis. Particular attention is afforded to the clothes worn by the trawlermen during the short breaks ashore between trips, when many of those engaged in a notoriously arduous occupation chose to wear suits that were distinctive in design, colour and fabric, and replete with symbolism and meaning. This is a novel perspective. Although the secondary literature relating to Hull's distant-water trawl fishery is extensive, very little has been written about the trawlermen's 'shore suits', which, nevertheless, feature prominently in the popular memory of an industry that was highly significant in its local setting. Whereas the people interviewed during this enquiry could vividly recall these distinctive suits, they warrant only a single short mention in Robinson's numerous research-informed works on British trawling, while Tunstall's oft-cited study of

⁹⁹⁰ Robinson, *Trawling*; Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull*.

⁹⁹¹ Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*; Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁹⁹² Robinson, *Trawling*; Thompson, *Hull & Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet*.

⁹⁹³ Pearson, *Hull & East Coast Fishing*; Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet*.

fishermen at sea and in Hull during the early 1960s makes no reference to the shore suit.⁹⁹⁴ A similar picture emerges if the suit is viewed through a different lens—that of clothes design. Here, it is evident that innumerable scholarly and popular works have been written about menswear, with much space devoted to fashions, trends, workwear and subcultures. Yet, the trawlermen's shore suit does not appear in this literature, despite its distinctive design and occupational specificity.

In focusing on a particular aspect of a wide-ranging subject, this thesis adds to the existing knowledge and understanding of life afloat and ashore, in Hull's distant-water trawl fishery. The research has presented the shore suit through the tangible knowledge of material culture and experience of the wearers and their audience, through oral narration. The comprehensive use of sources captures what can be known about the shore suits and the trawlermen's lifestyle. The findings are an interpretation and confer a possible truth grounded in the evidence.⁹⁹⁵ It offers numerous fresh insights into a business that not only shaped the lives of the trawlermen, but also those of their wives, children, relatives, friends and other members of the closely-knit fishing community concentrated in the Hessle Road area of west Hull. The research makes this contribution to scholarship by focusing on the 'shore suit'. As well as calculating how many men (2,940 in 1955) were working in the trawl fishery at any one time, the thesis estimates that approximately 45 per cent of these individuals wore the distinctive suits during their relatively short runs ashore. This percentage had the potential to increase as the deckhands progressed and achieved other roles on the trawler, enticing the new recruits to wear the shore suit alongside the experienced trawlermen. Moreover, for the first time, the settling sheets used to calculate the earnings of crew members have been analysed to gauge the proportion of a trawlerman's income that might have been spent on the purchase of a suit. This could be more than the weekly basic wage, indicating the high value that trawlermen placed on the extravagant suits they chose to wear ashore. In turn, this generated demand for the designs and sewing skills of local tailors, who catered for the idiosyncratic tastes of this particular occupational group of working-class men. Limited business records exist by this branch of the clothes industry, by delving into the past and capturing first-hand accounts from tailors and outfitters, this thesis reveals the close—almost symbiotic—relationship that developed between the producers and consumers of the suits, that were invariably made-to-measure—which was becoming more unusual with regards to working men's leisure clothes in the third quarter of the twentieth century. The men embraced the shore suit, retaining unity as a whole, adapting to the individual whims of the design process.

⁹⁹⁴ Robinson, *Trawling*; Tunstall, *The fishermen*.

⁹⁹⁵ Wellington et al., *Doing Research*.

This tailoring line of enquiry raises questions as to why the shore suit developed as it did, when it did, and where it did? Various possible answers emerged during the research. Trawlermen may have simply been following the trends of the time, their distinctive suits representing a Hull variant of the attire worn by a multitude of subcultures, emerging with rebellious young males in the increasingly fashion-conscious Britain of the 1950s and 1960s. Such an explanation is incomplete, however, for the Hull shore suit was worn by workers in a particular occupation, at specific times in their working cycle, in a distinct area of the city. Unlike other trends, this was not a fashion that diffused across occupations, work regimes and districts. The style is not embedded in one source thus removes being a pastiche of other cultures, including known subcultures. The men became innovative when creating their made-to-measure suits, which set them apart from other men in their community and beyond.

The trawlermen of Hull have established a social allegiance to their occupation and their fellow workers through their shore suit, creating a 'neighbourhood costume,' which according to Polhemus and Proctor is rare in Western society, even more so in the twentieth century.⁹⁹⁶ Moreover, as this research reveals, there were wider influences at play in the style and meaning of the shore suit. In occupational terms, trawlermen, like naval seamen, spent a considerable part of their working lives at sea in clothes fit for maritime duties. Time ashore not only offered these maritime men the opportunity to expend their pent-up energies in leisure pursuits, but also to dress in a fresh uniform that marked their safe return to a terrestrial environment, and expressed their feeling of difference from those who worked and lived on land. Capturing and comprehensively presenting the men's lifestyle ashore enables a fuller picture to emerge balancing both spheres of their existence and the constraints attached to their vocation. In spatial terms, Hull's distant-water trawlermen ranged across the western ocean in pursuit of fish, a calling that has led some to contend that the shore suit was based on the clothes worn by another figure that ranged across wide-open space—the cowboy of the American West.⁹⁹⁷ However, analysis of 'westerns', as presented in twentieth-century movies and novels, indicates that archetypal cowboy attire had little in common with the shore suit and therefore was unlikely to have influenced suit designs in Hull. A more plausible proposition was the transatlantic cultural exchange of ideas and trends with other ports evidenced in the case study of Iceland, where Hull trawlermen occasionally landed, and US servicemen were based, during the 1950-1980 period. The relevance of this interaction to the evolution of the shore suit is demonstrated in this study through the evidence generated by Porter, an octogenarian born and

⁹⁹⁶ Polhemus & Proctor, *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*, 21-22.

⁹⁹⁷ Gill, *Hessle Road; Three-Day Millionaires*; Gill, *Hull's Fishing Heritage*.

trained as a tailor in Leeds, who has lived and worked in Keflavík and Reykjavík since 1956. Porter's design books from the 1960s—previously unknown to researchers—indicate clearly the influence of American culture on the young men and women of Iceland, owing to the US military personnel. Furthermore, the interaction with Porter sharing his knowledge of UK based subcultures, London centric boutiques entering the export market, the interaction of trawlermen from UK ports when visiting towns like Reykjavík, have combined, fusing these influences into what was worn by the locals in Iceland, and the shore suit the Hull trawlermen ordered when back on home territory. This represent important changes in social mobility, consumer purchasing habits and the influence of the global fashion economy. The research has conclusively evidenced that the dress of the trawlermen is an amalgamation of styles from social and cultural experiences related to their livelihood. And, vice versa, the influence of the trawlermen's dress cannot be underestimated, and although their style was retained for decades for this occupational group, evidence suggest it was encapsulated momentarily in the workbooks of the tailor in Iceland, and other distant-water ports.

With the demise of the distant-water fisheries in the UK the dress was dismantled alongside the trawlers. The loss of 'we' the tribe was reflected in the loss of the suit, the employment held this group of men together even when at leisure. The collapse of the industry dispersed the men into other types of jobs. Some were still working on ships, in fact some men were employed on the trawlers converted into supply ships for the offshore industry rather than fishing. But the shore suit was so embedded within their occupation that the association ceased, the identity with their brotherhood had become expendable metaphorically and physically. Prown appropriately conjectures, 'Objects with or associational value are preserved, but when they lose that association, they become disposable'.⁹⁹⁸ Without the overarching togetherness there was no need to wear the suit, it became surplus to requirements. The collapse of the industry decreased the value of the shore suit, there was no more reason for the ex-trawlermen to strut their stuff when in port.

This thesis brings a new dimension to knowledge and understanding of a maritime business, in particular the social and cultural elements of the distant-water trawl fishery based in Hull, as well as the fashions adopted by British working-class males in the post-1945 era. For the shore suit to have had longevity for more than twenty years with the lead users and the followers alongside one another in harmony retains uniqueness to an extreme workforce. In 1962, Jeremy Tunstall famously described Hull's trawl fishery as 'an extreme occupation' – extreme in earnings, extreme in danger, extreme in conditions, extreme in hours worked.⁹⁹⁹ This thesis adds another extreme—sartorial

⁹⁹⁸ Prown, 'Mind in Matter', 4.

⁹⁹⁹ Tunstall, *The fishermen*, 1, 12, 114, 126, 133.

extremism—to scholarly perceptions of the fisheries and fashions of the third quarter of the twentieth century.

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Appendices

Appendix A Example of object analysis

Observation checklist: Trawlerman's shore suit – Casril Brown – two-tone jacket

General	
1. a. What type of garment is it? Man's suit jacket.	b. Is the garment intended for: Male, female, Unisex? Male.
2. a. What are the main fabrics that have been used to make the garment? Outer jacket: Wool. Lining jacket pockets: Cotton Lining jacket: Acetate (satin)	b. Are these fabrics predominately natural in composition (silk, wool, cotton, linen), synthetics or a blend? Outer jacket: Wool. Lining jacket pockets: Cotton Lining jacket: Acetate (satin)
3. What are the dominant colours and/or patterns of the garment? Colour: Outer jacket: beige and taupe (coffee and cream) Lining front and back – biscuit Lining sleeves – cream with a brown and a blue, white and red stripe Lining pockets - beige Weave: Outer jacket: twill Lining front, back and sleeves – satin Lining pockets – plain	4. Does the garment have any labels? Jacket: Makers label – Browns Country of origin label. Federation of merchant tailors – including care label. See section 26, 28.
5. What decade or general period does the garment or accessory belong to? ☐ mid-1950s to mid-1970s (when the trawlermen's suits were known to being worn), although this looks like a later one – adapted suit when the style started to get exaggerated. ☐ When interviewing Ken Martin and Roy Wilson 05-10-2018 both men independently dated the jacket to 64-67 so decided approximately 1966.	6. Can the garment be handled safely without causing further damage? Yes.
7. What are the most unusual or unique aspects of the garment? The two colour effect, half-moon pockets, yoke and pleats.	8. Does the collection have any other garments like it, either by the same designer or from the same period? Private collection, no.

Construction

9. Describe the main components of the garment, such as the bodice, collar, sleeves, skirt.

Jacket

Double breasted six button fastening. Main colour of suit is beige. Four pockets, all piped half-moon with arrow points (in same colour as jacket), taupe in colour. Notched collar with no buttonhole. Single front dart. Cuff closed and four button. The back has a half belt stitched, two side pleats at either side, a yoke is a saddle (taupe). There are no vents. In total 5 panels are used, two front and one back which is split 4 times horizontally (bottom, belt, pleat section and yoke). Lined with one inside pockets at breast level on either side (two in total). The weave of the suit is twill. Both linings are satin. The lining of the body is biscuit in colour the lining of the sleeves are cream with a brown and a blue, white and red stripe.



Pocket of jacket lined with the outer taupe colour and then in a plain woven beige cotton. Sleeve has two panels and four buttons at cuff which is closed. The buttons are imitation horn. Evidence of both machine and hand stitching. Machine topstitching on the collar, front fastening. Twin needle topstitching on yoke bottom and top and bottom of belt. A loop in the lining fabric on the internal part of the collar for hanging the garment.

If relevant to your research, note measurements in both imperial and metric measurements such as:

Jacket notch width 4" (10.5cm)	Trouser waistband depth N/A	Trouser width at hem N/A

Trouser slant pocket width from side seam inwards and length from waistband (excluding waistband) N/A

10. Does the structure of the garment emphasize one part of the body? No

11. Is the garment machine-stitched, handmade or a combination of these methods?

A combination of both, lining and bottom of jacket hand stitched and can see internal stitching under collar. Buttonholes hand stitched, the rest is machine.



12. How is the garment closed or fastened?

Jacket: 6 button double breasted, so fastened with 2 external buttons and two internal buttons (one is missing).

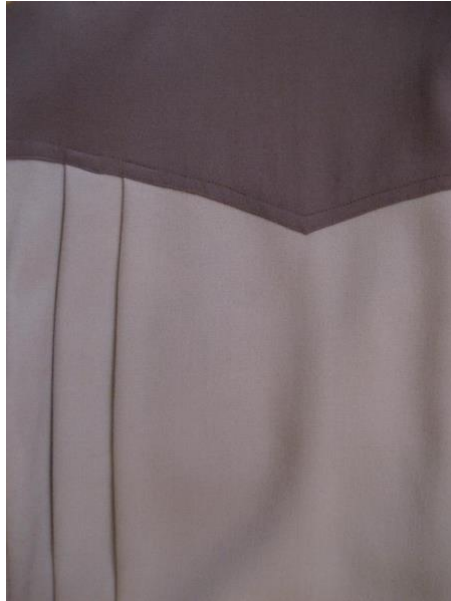


13. Are there any front, side, flap, or hidden pockets?

Jacket: Two internal pockets in the lining.

14. Are there any remarkable features in the construction, such as a bias cut, or use of non-traditional materials or structural elements?

Jacket: The use of half-moon pockets and a yoke back.



15. Is the fabric selvedge visible in the seams, and has this been incorporated into the cutting or construction of the garment?

Jacket: No.

16. Is the type of construction consistent with the dating of the garment?

Jacket: No, think it is unusual for the period. Most jackets had a smooth back, without a yoke and vents. The half-moon pockets are also unusual.

17. Is the garment reinforced in any way, such as padding, boning, metal hoops, or wire reinforcements?

Jacket: Padding at shoulders.

18. Is the garment lined?

Jacket: Yes

Colour

Lining front and back – biscuit

Lining sleeves – cream with a brown and a blue, white and red stripe

Lining pockets - beige

Weave:

Lining front, back and sleeves – satin

Lining pockets – plain

Textile	
19. What is the dominant textile or material that has been used? Is it a natural or man-made fibre?	
Jacket: Worsted wool	
20. Has the dominant textile been subjected to a finishing process, such as bleaching, pressing, or glazing?	
Jacket: No appearance of any finish.	
21. Have any other textiles been used in the garment or in the lining?	
Jacket: Lining jacket pockets: Cotton Lining jacket: Acetate (satin)	
22. Does the garment incorporate a stripe or pattern? It is woven into the fabric or printed or formed by a different method such as stencilling, painting or manipulation of fabric?	
Jacket: Weave: Outer jacket: twill Lining pockets – plain Lining front, back and sleeves – satin	
23. Is there any form of applied decoration such as applique, trim, lace, beading, embroidery, buttons, ruffles, pleated bands, or bows? Are there signs that any such decoration has been removed?	
Jacket: No.	
24. Has the fabric been reinforced in any way with padding, quilting, interfacing, wires, or boning?	
Jacket: Shoulders are padded.	
25. Has the textile faded or otherwise changed in colour with the passage of time?	
Jacket: No evidence this has occurred.	

Labels

26. Is there a maker label? If so, is the label consistent with the designer's *oeuvre* and does it offer clues as to dating such as a number or season?

Jacket: Makers label is *Brown's*. It is simple using a combination of black and red. It offers no clues to its date. Inside of right front.



27. Is there a store label to identify where the garment was purchased? Does this reveal anything about the garment's history?

Jacket: Brown's, an independent tailors in Hull. Casril Brown, known as Cassie. 10 Anlaby Road. See Section 26.

28. Are there any care labels or information about the garment?

Jacket: A care label stating it's pure new wool and needs to be dry cleaned. The label also explains that the tailor is a craftsman and has been made by a tailor of the *Federation of Merchant Tailors*.



Inside of right front.



Inside of left front.

29. Are there any size labels in the garment?

Jacket: No.

30. Is there a marking inside the garment that indicates the specific owner of the garment, such as an embroidered initial, nametag, or laundry mark?

Jacket: No.

Use, alteration and wear	
31.	Has the garment been structurally altered in any way? No.
32.	Where does the garment show wear? Sleeve lining is fraying – see section 33.
33.	Is the garment soiled or damaged in any way? Have seems ripped, silk split, or fabric decomposed? Is there evidence of insect damage? The jacket has insect damaged. Front left panel has three holes. Left sleeve has two holes. Right sleeve has six holes. Back has eight holes. Sweat stains are visible under the arm on both the sleeve and body lining.
	 
34.	Has the garment been dyed to alter its original colour? Have trim or other forms of embellishment been unpicked or removed? No.
35.	Does the styling of the garment conform to the predominant fashions of the period, or does it represent a hybrid, perhaps custom-made for the owner? The likelihood is that it was made specifically for the wearer, as it is made-to-measure. It fits in with what other trawlermen were wearing at the time, and evidences the shift in menswear to becoming more exaggerated, however it does not represent the predominant fashion at the time.
Supporting material	
36.	Does the collection have any provenance records associated with the garment? No, it was donated anonymously.
37.	Are there any photographs of the garment? Yes as attached.
38.	Are there any further documents or information about the garment that might indicate the original price of the garment? No.
39.	Are there any manufacturer, store tags or original packaging associated with the garment? No.
40.	Are there any similar garments by the same designer, or by other designers from the same period, in this collection? No, the suit has similarities to a black suit jacket, owned by W. Longden. See Trawlerman's shore suit – Casril Brown – black barathea jacket – Waller Longden

Appendix B Example of a payslip

J. MARR & SON LIMITED N^o 11474

HULL, - 1 DEC. 1955 19

STATEMENT OF EARNINGS S.T. Trip No. 111

Rating *John Marr* Name *R. E. Cole*

Total Gross Value of Catch £5163 :

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gross Sharemoney at of 14 Shares on :						
Gross Wages <i>21</i> days at £ <i>14/11</i> : per week				<i>34</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>-</i>
do. do. do.						
Shorthand Wages						
Less Amounts Paid during Trip :						
Allotments (including postages)	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>6</i>			
National Insurance and W. & O.	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>			
Association Stores						
Odd Days Payable next Pay Day						
Gross Poundage at <i>13/3</i> in the £100	<i>34</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>
Shorthand Poundage						
Less Deductions as under :						
Skippers and Messes Insurance						
Provisions						
Association Stores	<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>9</i>			
Bond	<i>4</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>6</i>			
Radios	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>				
Sweep		<i>5</i>				
Income Tax	<i>15</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>-</i>			
Pension Scheme		<i>19</i>	<i>3</i>			
Taxi		<i>10</i>				
Motor Boat						
Sailors' Children's Society			<i>6</i>			
Advances at Office						
Trip Money				<i>6</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>
Oil or Liver Money						
Galley Coal Money						
Gross Earnings for Trip				<i>75</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>-</i>
Total Deductions				<i>67</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>
Add : Income Tax Refund						
Balance £	<i>7</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>7</i>			

J. MARR & SON LIMITED

Appendix C Example of a full transcript

Transcript Colin Porter (CP) interviewed by Claire Day (CD) July 18th 2018.

Continuation of interview CP and CD.

[Looking at CP's workbooks]

CP These are them, I think 1967.

CD So these are the books that you would use to record the information from when they came in -

CP [overlap] Yeah I'd ask them what they wanted and then I would draw things like this.

CD [end of overlap] Yeah, so these ones, like this one here is like proper fishermen's trousers, with the button fronts [Maslow CP work book 1967 27/9-29/9].

CP And there's lace up at the back. [The lace up was actually on the fronts. Examples CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.126-127]

CD Yeah.

CP There's a shawl collar.

CD Yep.

CP But this is a dinner suit.

CD OK.

CP And this is just a normal.

CD So that dinner jacket is with a silk collar.

CP Silk collar yeah. The wide band.

CD Aargh there's a wide band.

CP Yeah.

CD So, there's another one, so we are seeing the, what the trawlermen call the Spanish waistband.

CP That's different.

CD Oh look at this.

CP Oops. There's a dinner suit as well, but still wide trousers.

CD Yeah. Lots of wide trousers. This is an interesting wide trousers as well because, I don't know how to describe that it's like a flap

0:35:00

but a deep flap for the buttons going to one side. [An example CP workbook n.d. pp. 126-127]

CP Yeah, there's no waistband on that. It's just an extension of the fly.

CD And the cut away pockets as well.

CP Mmm.

CD A double breasted with a wide waistband.

CP Yeah, must have been this was 67 actually wasn't it?

CD Yeah.

CP So they are all pretty much the same. Slight difference of course.

CD Yeah that's like a, almost looking like a frock coat.

CP Yeah.

CD Yeah.

CP See if some other interesting ones. But they used to ask for all kinds, one chap, he had a suit and err this was grey and this one was black, this was black, all, everything different. This was grey, this was black, this was... everything. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.110-111]

CD So literally -

CP [overlap] I had to charge him for two suits, I had to cut two cloths.

CD [end of overlap] So he was doing one sleeve part black the other part grey, then the opposite on the opposite sleeve, one front black one front grey. So we got also...

CP The wide.

CD I wonder how wide the trouser legs are, if there is any information there.

CP No there isn't.

CD Right. So what does that mean when it -

CP [overlap] That's the trousers, I don't have a measure for it.

CD [end of overlap] No, would that mean a flare with that sort of shape?

CP Yeah. Yeah, and the sleeves are flare.

CD Yeah.

CP All pretty much the same these. Mind you sometimes they would be a band and they would all be the same.

CD Yeah, yeah. [On page this is shown by just having the measurements with no illustrations]. So I suppose in this era, with.

CP Mmm?

CD I suppose with this era and rock 'n' roll music. I imagine everybody who was young wanted to be in a band.

CP Yeah I guess so.

CD But whether they could sing or not was a different matter.

CP Yeah. Well I didn't know I could sing actually, I was just working in ... on the base in my little room, I was sewing on my machine and I was singing to something on the radio. And a knock came on the door and this guy says err, 'Are you a singer?' [Doing a mock American accent] I said, 'I'm sorry?' He said, 'You sing professional?' I said, 'No, I sing in the bath, if you want to come and listen.' He said, 'Well I've been listening outside and I have a band on base.' To cut a long story short I ended up in the band.

CD Great.

CP But I only knew one song right through [CD laughs]. Look at that.

CD Wow, so this looks like it's, how would you describe that, it's, it's fastening across at the top.

CP Yes, like a John Wayne shirt.

CD And then. Yeah, yeah yeah it's like a John Wayne shirt and then it's coming down at an angle. So it's starting off almost like a double breasted coming down like a bib front isn't it? The shirts are called, yeah. [CP work book n.d. pp.70-71]

CP But they wear, nearly all waistcoats.

CD Yeah.

CP Yeah, that's a little different with the cuffs.

CD So there's a turned up cuff [CP laughs].

CP They are all pretty much the same.

CD They are.

CP Different of course, a lapel on the waistcoat.

CD Yeah.

CP Still with the wide trousers though.

CD Yeah. So, when you were with someone and they've come in and they've said I'd like a suit how much are you influencing them? How much it is their own idea to your suggestions.

CP Well all these here are basically my style I can't see any of the weird ones. Err, and as I say, it was just word of mouth. So I'd make one for somebody and his mate would come in and say, 'I want one like he had.' And we'd do it that way, or they would bring a picture or *Sir* magazine which I think went bust. And I had pictures of course to show them. Nothing much exciting there. They are all the same period so they'd be pretty much the same.

CD Yeah.

40:00

CD But I mean what's fascinating for me is seeing those erm wide waistbands [CP laughs]. Because nobody talks about them apart from this one person that I read last week.

CP Yeah.

CD Ooo you've got cloth in this one as well.

CP This is Icelandic material.

CD Yeah.

CP Yeah, this is made in Iceland.

CD So we're looking at a mid-greys, brown and cream herringbone, a, don't know if that's, it that a half panama?

CP Yeah, what was it anyway, oh it's just a jacket.

CD Cream and two-shades of brown.

CP I haven't drawn many pictures here have I?

CD No.

CP Oh yeah, I did. Brown seems to be in then, oh that's ladies.

CD Oh so you did ladies as well?
 CP Yeah.
 CD OK.
 CP I think this must be more Karnabær.
 CD So we've got a, we've got a pinstripe in grey and white.
 CP Yeah this is Karnabær, definitely.
 CD Yep.
 CP Because by then we had just fixed styles basically, and people used to come and ask for the same thing. Yeah. Nothing fancy here.
 CD Ok, so.
 CP Ladies. That's a more fancy one.
 CD Yeah you've got a yoke back.
 CP [Mumbling to himself]
 CD A grey.
 CP That's Icelandic terylene.
 CD Is this still women's or are we in men's now?
 CP Pardon?
 CD Is this men's or women's?
 CP Well it could be both.
 CD Right it could be mixed.
 CP There's no...
 CD A mid-blue a beige, it's interesting isn't it?
 CP A big check.
 CD A brown and cream check. Brown.
 CP They are all the same because it was a travel agency.
 CD Oh.
 CP Oh sorry it was the airline ??? [name of airline, possibly Amarflug] designed and made for the airline.
 CD Ok.
 CP Even the pinnies they wore.
 CD Oh wow, so what year was this book?
 CP Have I put a date anywhere? It must be definitely 70s.
 CD Right ok.
 CP I haven't put any date on it. Perhaps it's 1968, I don't know. [Muttering to himself], it could be 1968. There's not much ... Just see if there is anything interesting.
 CD Wide trousers and still the wide waistbands.
 CP Yeah.
 CD Oooo that's like a Nehru jacket.
 CP That's good, quite interesting.
 CD Yeah. A four buttoned waistcoat, err four buttoned waistband with front flap pockets and then at the back it looks like it's got erm –
 CP [overlap] It's like a waistcoat.
 CD [end of overlap] Yeah, like a back on a waistcoat. Yeah I don't know what they are called. So erm frock coats, waistcoats.
 CP Dinner suits.
 CD Yeah.
 CP This was quite popular this err long coat.
 CD Yeah and that one's got buttons on the back I think hasn't it?
 CP Yes quite different really, with an upstanding collar. [Possibly CP workbook n.d. pp.96-97]
 CD Yeah. We've got something going on here as well, some fancy cuff.
 CP This one is unusual that the stripes, he wants them to go that way -
 CD [overlap] So horizontal rather than vertical, ahh -
 CP [overlap] instead of that way.
 CD [end of overlap] aargh this is interesting as well Colin because it's horizontal on one, the jacket.

CP Yeah.

CD And vertical on the trousers. [CP work book 1968 21/1-22/1]

CP Yep.

CD So this looks like when people are starting to experiment with their clothing.

CP Yeah.

45:00

CP See nearly all the trousers are wide.

CD So we've got one here that's got a yoke back.

CP Mmm mmm.

CD And it's also got a yoke front. [CP work book 1968 9/1-8/1]

CP Yeah.

CD And it's got a wide waistband with three buttons at either side. I can't work out if that's the back, no that's the front, isn't it? Because you've got your bum shape.

CP Yeah that's the back, yeah.

CD Yeah, arrgh, and you've the sort of saloon -

CP [overlap] string bow.

CD [end of overlap] cowboy, saloon erm tie as well.

CP Yeah.

CD So that's really maybe being influenced by the Westerns.

CP And there's a cape there [CP laughs].

CD Yeah, wow.

CP Yes unbelievable the stuff I used to make.

CD How exciting though as well to make all this variety, constantly.

CP Yeah.

CD Nothing being the same, I don't think we've seen that.

CP I often, honestly I never considered it work, I used to love it.

CD Yeah, nice

CP That was for a band.

CD Yeah.

CP Dumbo and Steely was...

CD And this is 67, that said there, 1967.

CP Yeah that's right 67.

CD So we can date this one, as well. Yeah it's great when you've got a job where it doesn't feel like employment.

CP Sorry.

CD It's great when you have a job that doesn't feel like employment.

CP Oh it was, I use to love it.

CD It's so -

CP [overlap] I really did.

CD [end of overlap] Interesting and ... That one had a fancy cuff as well. Is that a, it's military style.

CP Yeah.

CD Placket of the jacket is going across.

CP It was green that. It says green.

CD Stand up collar and pointy fancy cuffs. [Possibly CP work book 1967 23/9-25/9]

CP Appear to be just slightly, just to be slightly different, you know.

CD Yeah.

CP You won't see any half-moon jets here though.

CD No.

CP No.

CD I think that's the nearest we've seen so far isn't it? That one, but it's a straight one not a half-moon. So we have what looks like a, a double breasted frock coat.

CP Yeah.

CD With, looks like it's going to be a plain colour.

CP Welt pocket.

CD A welt pocket, and then do you think that, erm sleeves are striped?

CP Well that's a stripe material anyway.

CD Yeah, and then it's got a diagonal cuff and stripe occurring. [CP work book 1967 2/11 -/11]

CP It's a pirate nearly.

CD Yeah very military some of this. [CP work book 1967 19/6-22/6; CP work book 1967 23/9-25/9].

CP With a normal waistband that.

CD A lot of this, we're looking at a book that's 1967 –

CP [overlap] This would be velvet. [Anything coloured in represents velvet in the workbook]

CD [end of overlap] Yeah. And the first half of the book we are not seeing erm wide waistbands but the second half of the book we've started to see the wide waistbands. [Referring to 1967 book]

CP Yeah, yeah.

CD And you are getting more frockcoats as well at the beginning of this book.

CP A lot.

CD And they are all different styles and different shapes.

CP See someone probably brought this picture. [CP work book 1967 17/10-18/10]

CD Yeah.

CP For me.

CD I want something like that.

CP And I would just put it, draw it for myself and that is that jacket.

CD Yeah. And these books that we are looking at, is this the period where you were using.

CP Speak up.

CD Is, these books that we are looking at, is this the period when you were using Icelandic cloth? Was it just when you were with, at the American airbase that you were using -

CP [overlap] No we didn't -

CD [overlap] British cloth?

CP [end of overlap] use just Icelandic cloth. I mean but sometimes it was difficult to get, so we, the Icelandic cloth we used to use mainly for stock.

CD Right ok.

CP When we were making stock. I've seen were the ... that's a nice English cloth. [CP workbook 1967 13/9-15/9] Erm I wonder were the Beatles stuff was?

CD That's interesting.

CP Yeah. No sleeves.

CD Yep, no sleeved, what would you call it then a waistcoat? With a wide collar and it's got your flap fronted trousers with –

CP [overlap] There's a pocket inside there, inside the ... [Possibly CP Workbook 1965 book 2 pp.58-59]

CD [end of overlap] Yeah with a hidden pocket.

CP Yeah. Another one of those.

CD Yeah.

CP There's a velvet collar. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.118-119]

50:00

CP Oh not much more. Eh we are back to wide trousers again.

CD Yep.

CP Just trousers there.

CD That's almost like a Norfolk jacket isn't it [CP laughs]. That's really fancy. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.118-119]

CP Oh dear.

CD So it's got a very pointy collar, it's got pointy front section –

CP [overlap] buttoned down.

CD Buttoned down but going into a band, that goes over a belt, that then go into pointy flap pockets.

CP Yeah.

CD Very reminiscent of a Norfolk jacket, but very styled.

CP The trousers.

CD Yeah, so we're seeing flared trousers with vents. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.126-127]

CP Yes.

CD And buttons, now as far as your notes state, is this the same, is there just a gap or is there another fabric there [discussing the back vent].

CP Yeah, behind it.

CD Yeah. Gosh we've got one where it's got the vent with the button to the knee.

CP Yeah [laughs].

CD And the wide waistbands, oh my goodness. I wonder what year we are in? Oh look this is the suit that you were describing the erm one sleeve one colour the other sleeve –

CP [overlap] Every piece different.

CD [end of overlap] another colour, yeah. Wow. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.110-111] And this has got vents as well with the ...

CP Yeah. This leg was black and this was grey.

CD Yeah with the alternate colour in the vent, that's amazing.

CP And he's from North Iceland Sudureyri, Sudureyri, wow, so he's obviously a fisherman.

CD [laughs]

CP I became quite famous here for a short while because I made three suits for Bobby Fischer when he came for the World Chess Championship.

CD Right.

CP I got my picture in Life magazine with him [CP laughs]. [Promotion - editorial Karnabær 1973]

CD Fab [laughs].

CP He was a pain in the arse [CD laughs].

CD A different style of drawing there.

CP Yeah. That's his own cloth he brought, he brought his own cloth.

CD Right, ok.

CP But of course I didn't speak any Icelandic at this time.

CD How did you manage then?

CP By drawing pictures.

CD Ok.

CP Mainly.

CD Gosh, so your reputation then must have been good for somebody to have taken that risk, of you understanding exactly what they wanted. I think that's very brave [laughs]

CP But as I say I really enjoyed it, I really did.

CD I've not seen a year yet, for this book, a year.

CP Yeah, they'd be Christmas suits. Of course, we did a lot of business before Christmas. But I was very busy all year.

CD Yeah. And it was just a very normal thing for men in Iceland to do was to wear suits.

CP Oh everybody wore suits all the time.

CD Yeah.

CP As I say they were all the same.

CD Yeah.

CP Three buttons, black almost, white nylon shirt and a black tie [laughs].

CD Yeah, very boring.

CP Very boring.

CD Until you came along.

CP I made that for my daughter, when she was a baby.

CD Oooo [CP laughs].

CP It's a velvet pink with lace on.

CD That's a nice collar. Peter Pan collar.

CP Arrgh we are getting a little more square now. Fashionable.

55:00

CP My old folks badge [CD laughs]. That's just the waist.

CD Yeah that's a short jacket.

CP That's a band because of course they are all the same,

CD Ah ah. Yeah.

CP I made one were the jacket had no lapels, but the waistcoat had a lapel which you pulled out over the jacket [laughs].

CD Right. What a carry on.

CP Yeah.

CD A shawl there.

CP That was a dinner suit isn't it?

CD Yeah.

CP Own cloth again, look.

CD Yeah. So although we might be seeing –

CP [overlap] Vestmannæyjar [referring to Westman Islands, possibly where person has come from for the suit]

CD [overlap] jetted pockets.

CP [overlap] Keflavik.

CD [overlap] we are not seeing Erm half-moon shapes.

CP [end of overlap] Yeah.

CD They seem to be straight. We are seeing some err, half belts.

CP I've gone off the air again [struggling with his hearing aid]. It's awful really, embarrassing.

CD Some collarless, jackets or waistcoats.

CP That's the band again, it was D---dur? which means sailor actually, the name of the band. [CP work book 1965 book 2 pp.50-51]

CD Yeah.

CP Velvet collars there, obviously.

CD Yeah.

CP There's another band, I know their names of course.

CD Yeah. And then when you've got no pictures that's a clue as well isn't it.

CP Yeah.

CD To show that, it's the picture that's at the top and x-many band members.

CP Yeah.

CD Are having the same.

CP There's a Beatle jacket anyway.

CD Yeah. A collarless Beatles jacket. [CP work book 1965 book 1 p.35]

CP Yeah. I made more than one I know that [laughs]. But err they were all pretty much the same of course.

CD Yeah. And this book has no date.

CP That's the restaurant.

CD Ah the emblem, the logo.

CP Yeah.

CD Monogram. Yeah.

CP I haven't looked at these for a long time.

CD They are a fantastic source of information. Band, yeah. That one's got no date I don't think. Oh 65 so that's the earliest of the books then.

CP Yeah.

CD So that's the earliest.

CP 65 as well.

CD 65 as well, so we've got them two dated, oh 67 and then we've got that one that I think is 68, that one. I think it's just that one we are unsure of the date. So can I photograph some of the pages in them?

CP Pardon.

CD Could I photograph some of the pages?

CP Yeah, if you want.

CD Are you sure?

CP You can do what you want.

CD Well I'd like to use them in some of my research, to be able to show that you know in 65 there is no waistband –

CP [overlap] Yeah if it's not too much trouble for you love.
 CD [end of overlap] No.
 CP As I say you can take all day if you want.
 CD Thank you.
 CP I might find something else while you're doing that.
 CD Okey doke.
 CP You sure you don't want a coffee or a tea.
 CD I'm ok I've got some water, thank you.
 CP Water, water water everywhere, not any drop to drink [singing and CD laughs].
 1:00:00 [Silence from 1:00:00 until 1:40:00 as CD takes photos and CP is looking to find other things of interest].
 CP That's Gudrun's first husband in an advertising suit that I made [CP laughs].
 CD With his different cloths, nice.
 CP Yeah. Gulli Bergmann.
 [Silence again from 1:00:55 until 1:01:04].
 CP That's an old one of me with a short collar.
 CD Oh that's quite a wide shawl collar [CP laughs]. Isn't it? It's going over the flaps of your breast pockets as well.
 CP Yes I was fingertip drape.
 CD Fingertip drape.
 CP Midnight blue or something. That's me and Bobby Fischer. He got in the way of the picture actually.
 [CD laughs very loud].
 [Silence from 1:01:58 until 1:02:30].
 CP Colin the teddy boy.
 CD Oh, that's proper teddy boy isn't it [CP laughs]. Proper teddy boy.
 CP Do you mind if I ask how old are you?
 CD I'm 43.
 CP Oh you won't remember all, what was before teddy boys then?
 CD What was before teddy boys. Before teddy boys.
 CP Remember I'm talking about Leeds I don't know about anywhere else.
 CD In Leeds erm, I'm not sure what was before?
 CP They were called Bop boys, beat bop.
 CD Oh ok.
 CP And it was a finger length jacket, with a button one down here and big waistband and narrow trousers at the bottom from the coloured people.
 CD Yep so a bit like the zoot suit?
 CP Bit like a zoot suit.
 CD Ok.
 CP Yeah. Because beat bop was before rock 'n' roll.
 CD Yeah.
 CP And err after teddy boys, what came?
 CD After the teddy boys erm it was your Italian suit.
 CP Spaghetti look -
 CD [overlap] Yeah. So which I assume it's what the mods took on board -
 CP [overlap] Very short jackets and three buttons.
 CD [end of overlap] Yeah the high notched collar, yeah.
 CP Yeah, the spaghetti look we called it.
 CD The spaghetti look. That's interesting now I can put that into it. I can state that, you know, it was either known as the Italian look or the spaghetti look.
 CP Yeah.
 CD Oh that's a nice picture. Is that you in the middle. That's a gorgeous suit [CP laughs]. [This is a picture of CP with a band, that band are all wearing the same style of suit whilst CP is much more elaborate but restrained in design] Is that, so you've got a cummerbund on.

CP Yeah.
CD You've got ...
CP It's a dinner suit. Actually I had that made in Jackson's in Leeds.
CD Did ya?
CP Yeah.
CD Erm it looks like it's got a shank button, one button, a shawl collar. Is that ribbon it's edged with?
CP Mmm.
CD The collar, ribbon?
CP No it's just silk.
CD Just a silk.
CP Silk edging.
CD Yeah, it's gorgeous. Can you remember what colour that was?
CP Err, petrol blue.
CD How nice. My dad used to go to Jacksons for his suits but the Hull branch I assume.
CP Yeah.
1:05:00
CD Yeah but it got taken over by Burtons at some point. So I'm never sure when people are talking about Jackson's they're talking about when it was independent of Burtons or when it was –
CP [overlap] It was independent then.
CD [end of overlap] Yeah, yeah.
CP Jacksons the tailor.
CD Yeah.
CP Yeah.
CD I use to wear my dad's old trench coat, erm that he'd had made at Jackson's.
CP I was wearing the Italian spaghetti look there but you can't see the jacket.
CD Yeah, yeah. That's a nice picture.
CP I don't know who she is [CD laughs] but I met her in Leeds Mecca [CP laughs].
CD As long as you had a good night [CD laughs].
CP Well, it looks like it yeah.
CD It does.
[Silence 1:05:51 until 1:06:16].
CP That's a good one. I was advertising for our stock, this was for Karnabær. Look at the widths of the lapels [CP laughs].
CD Is that the 70s?
CP Yeah, must be.
CD Must be. Your erm two needle as well [CD laughs].
[Silence from 1:06:37 until 1:07:15].
CD Oh that's a great shot, turn it, oh that's great that.
CP I'll get off my horse now.
CD No, no don't. This is really interesting, this is what I need, somebody who really understood what they were doing and why their work was exciting.
CP Yeah. Well as I say since 15 I've been very interested in fashion.
CD Yeah.
CP And I've always been a bit artistic.
CD Yeah.
CP I've had a few exhibitions here actually.
CD Yeah.
CP Sold quite a lot.
CD Ah ha. And what sort of things were you doing in the exhibition? What sort of work?
CP Erm. Mostly Icelandic landscapes.
CD Watercolour? Painting?
CP Yeah.
CD Yeah.
CP My first fashion picture, the coronation of the Queen's dad. [showing CD a photo of CP when small]

CD Oooo, who's made that outfit?
 CP My mam made that.
 CD That's really sweet, that pocket the union jack and your erm, your different coloured trousers, that's a great shot.
 CP Yeah, 1937 [laughs].
 [Silence from 1:08:50 until 1:09:13].
 CP That was the same suit, yeah.
 CD That's gorgeous. [Showing photos of CP's youth in a band]
 CP They were wearing winklepickers.
 CD Yeah [CP laughs], that's really nice. And you stand out from the rest of the band.
 CP Yeah.
 CD Wearing dark colours.
 CP Yeah, but my wife decided it is either music or the family and I took the wrong choice [CP laughs].
 There's some drawings of mine if you're interested, I don't know?
 CD Yeah.
 CP I called this one *Self-portrait*. [showing CD CP's surreal paintings].
 CD That's really good.
 1:10:00
 CP *First Date*.
 CD Ooo, is that a bad,
 CP *Pain*, it's called Pain.
 CD Yeah I can feel that.
 CP *Maryann May*, Jesus's mum. That's Egypt of course. And that's *Fallen* I think and that's my little dog.
 CD Very erm surreal.
 CP Pardon.
 CD Very surreal.
 CP Surrealist yeah. I prefer the landscape, Icelandic landscapes.
 [Silence from 1:10:32 until 1:10:52].
 CP Right, oh something else that might be of interest. I don't know we might find something.

 [Silence from 1:10:58 until 1:11:24].
 CP Gudrun was talking about some old stuff.
 CD Yeah newspaper cuttings.
 [Silence from 1:11:30 until 1:13:14. The recording is quiet as CD photographs the workbook and CP looks at newspaper cuttings].
 CP Those trousers you can't see his shoes [CD laughs]. That's advertising for Karnabær.
 CD Yep. [Selection of CP's illustrations: CP illustration for Bonaparte [Karnabær] 1976; CP illustration for Karnabær 1971 a; CP illustration for Karnabær; CP illustration for Karnabær 1971; CP illustration for Karnabær 1971 b; CP illustration for Karnabær 1972; CP illustration for Karnabær 1972 a; CP illustration for Karnabær 1976; CP illustrations for Karnabær 1971 and 1972; CP illustrations for Karnabær 1971 and 1972 a]. And was that while you were working ...
 CP Pardon?
 CD This was when you were working there?
 CP Yeah.
 CD Yeah.
 CP These are in this magazine to advertise our clothes.
 CD Yeah. Fab. I imagine that's the 70s?
 CP Yeah. Biggest pair of jeans ever made in Iceland, that's me of course. [Promotional material showing very large pair of jeans].
 CD Oh my goodness.
 CP Our name was *Bandido*, jeans. I'm trying to find the one where it says about Iceland being stuck.
 [Silence from 1:14:08 until 1:15:00].
 1:15:00

CP The English tailor Colin Porter has smartened up the Icelandic men for many years by making suits for them [CD laughs] and to help them to choose something. That's in the Morgunbladid. Actually that's not that long ago, 2007.

CD Ok.
[Silence from 1:15:25 until 1:14:42].

CP I'm trying to find the one, I think it's about the beginning of what Gudrun was talking about. Aaargh this might be, can't remember where ... This is 19... they don't put the year on a newspaper. That's odd.

CD That's really funny.

CP Isn't it.

CD Yeah, yeah.

CP 1973.

CD Ah.

CP That's the company Karnabær, this is the staff, just the staff that were in town, the shop staff.
[Promotion - editorial Karnabær 1973]

CD Big company then.

CP Pardon?

CD Is it a big company?

CP It was just in every village in Iceland, they had a shop.

CD Right.

CP It just took Iceland by storm. For four years it was the only fashion shops in Iceland. And then everybody else decided, hey there is something going on here. And then there was every corner, was a fashion shop. Like now there is souvenir shops.

CD Yes, or coffee shops.

CP Same thing happened they were everywhere.

CD Yeah. [CD muttering, photograph that and the year]. Amazing.

CP That's Gulli that's her husband, or was. That was the shop, the main shop in Reykjavík.

CD/CP With a car inside.

CD Oh look at that, using one of those blades.

CP Yeah.

CD Without any protection. Oooooo. [CP laughs].

CP Oh there was always something going on, there was a communist paper here as well. They use to write negative things about, especially when we were selling the army fashion, you know. They said we were selling blood stained jackets from Vietnam and all kinds of shit [CP laughs]. They really tried to put us down.

CD So you did OTP.

CP But the kids loved it.

CD Yeah, so you did OTP as well as MTM?

CP Oh this was mainly err, OTP, the business was mainly OTP fashion wear.

CD Yeah.

CP Yeah.

CD So at this point had you stopped doing tailoring, then MTM?

CP No, no I was still doing tailoring. I did all the stock, I did the designs and the patterns for everything that was in the shop.

CD Right.

CP Until we couldn't make enough and then we started importing as well.

CD I see.

CP From erm, Fox Brothers of London.

CD Right.

CP But err as I told you I started at another company here, Ultima, an old fashion company.

CD Yeah.

CP And I read in this Sir magazine about Carnaby Street just starting so I said to my boss, then boss. I said, 'Look this is something we've to get into, this is going to be in.' And he was an old man and he said, 'Ah ha, I'll give it three months, no way.' So I then went to Gulli and told Gulli. The day after,

him and his friends went to Carnaby Street and got agencies for John Stevens, Mary Quant, everybody. He sold them all.

CD Yeah.

CP Got it, and that was the beginning. But he was only going to be a wholesaler. And when the stuff came back to Iceland we were going to sell it in our shop (Ultima) and another company was going to sell it. And we saw the crap that is was [this is in terms of cloth and make].

1:20:00

CP I mean I was looking at it as a tailor and it was rubbish absolute rubbish.

CD Yeah.

CP The cloth, I said, 'I can't sell this Gulli, no way.' And the other guy said the same, they had a shop. So Gulli's stuck with it. And he said, 'Well I'll just do a big sale, open a something and get rid of it.' And it went for four years, we couldn't sell enough.

CD Yeah.

CP It made him millions.

CD Yeah. So were you couldn't sell it in the established quality shops.

CP No.

CD You had to create -

CP [overlap] Just for teenagers.

CD [overlap] a store for the teenagers who -

CP [overlap] Gulli created, not me.

CD [end of overlap] Yeah.

CP And then later he said, and he came to me and I was still at this old place [Ultima], he said, 'Colin I can't get enough of this stuff. Can we make it here?' Well, I said, 'I suppose so why not.' So I started a factory, a factory err, two people, two ladies I stole from where I was working, machinists [CD laughs]. And we started and that was it and we ended up with 60, sewing.

CD Wow.

CP And then we went too big of course, like Icelanders. We were producing more jeans than we could sell in a day.

CD Right.

CP And we just kind of ... But I was there 24 years.

CD Right ok. So it was successful for 24 years.

CP The brand in the 90s.

CD Right, so it was successful for 24 years.

CP Oh it was unbelievable.

CD Yeah.

CP They use to open the shop in the morning, let the people in, lock the doors, serve them, let them out, and ...

CD Let the next lot in.

CP It was just unbelievable.

CD Wow, I just can't imagine.

CP And they sold everything.

CD Yeah.

CP Gulli's wife, ex wife before Gudrun. She came in one night, she's, 'Where's my coat? I can't find it.' It'd sold [CD laughs]. It sold everything [both laugh].

CD Whatever was there, went [CD laughs].

CP It was unbelievable.

CD It sounds like it was.

CP It was an adventure. As I said, then they opened in Keflavik, opened in Westman Islands, in Akureyri, [name of another place], everywhere.

CD Wow.

CP And the, then of course like Icelanders do they went overboard and started importing record players and video, not video, no videos, sound things you know and err they went into this err car rental and I don't know. Too much. Anyway.

CD Ok. So they diversified and they didn't stick with what they were known for.

CP But it took, at least 20 years they had really good. I left in 1990.
[Silence from 1:22:48 until 1:23:09].

CP Do you remember the old median line?

CD No.

CP No, it doesn't matter. [CP laughs] it's just fun. It was err a photo of nurses in Iceland through the ages, you know and they asked me to design one for 2000 and something, it's on the end [both laugh]. I was often in the paper, I was quite popular [CD laughs]. There, I'm making a suit for an Icelandic err actor for one of the plays in the national theatre.

CD Oh yeah.

CP I used to draw the adverts for the company. It's my designs and stuff.

CD These are great.

CP Sorry.

CD And Colin, you've even dated them for this moment.

CP 76.

CD 76.

CP And this is for the confirmation, big deal here you know. Actually that's my daughter and that's Gulli's son [CD laughs]. That's when we meet for the confirmation.

CD Yeah, when's that the 80s?

CP 81.

1:25:00

CD Yeah, you see I'm good at this.

CP You're very good aren't you [CD laughs].

CD It was the leather tie, that the girls, in the picture the girls –

CP [overlap] yeah probably.

CD [overlap] yeah they've got leather ties on –

CP [overlap] probably, yes it was –

CD [end of overlap] it's the leather ties that's what made me think it was the 80s.

CP Yeah. Part of the factory I'm working there.

CD There she is again with her fingers too close to that blade.

CP She was a fabulous old lady, she was about 80 and she would work like a horse, she was unbelievable. Really good lady.

CD Yeah.

CP Well they all were actually.

CD So the company.

CP Actually we, Karnabær we bought out the company I was working for.

CD Right.

CP Before I went to Karnabær. They bought them out and that is their ...

CD Yeah, that's the factory.

CP And the factories, well the shop is now Bonus on Laugavegur.

CD Right, oh not the same then.

CP [From 1:26:21 until 1:27:09, muttering as looking through clippings].

CD So who trained you, to draw?

CP Pardon?

CD Did you go to art school?

CP I did yes, but just I think just night school it was. I think I got a bit of talent from my dad.

CD What did your dad do?

CP He was a monumental sculptor.

CD Oh ok.

CP Yeah, and gravestones.

CD Yeah.

CP Trousers. [From 1:27:36 until 1:28:07, muttering as looking through clippings]. It's got a date on.

CD Yeah 71 and this one is 72. [CP illustrations for Karnabær 1971 and 1972]. Yeah.

CP I used to do all the adverts for the shop there. That's a bit different, it's creased so I'll hold [helping as CD takes photos].

CD Ok.
CP 1972.
CD Right, let me take the date because it's not on the, oh it's there I've just spotted it.
CP That was velvet cord that one. [CP illustration for Karnabær].
CD Velvet cord, nice.
CP This is an advert for the sale. [CP promotional illustration for Karnabær] It says, 'Something for everybody, Karnabær' [CP laughs].
CD Very risky with the women [Showing CD another cartoon style advert].
CP Well, this is Iceland you know [CD laughs]. Actually I didn't, I designed these but we bought a small factory that was making just leather. And this was a lot of leather stuff.

1:30:00

CP Some of these, ladies.
CD A variety of trousers.
CP Yeah, that is 70...
CD 71 and 72.
CP Yeah, I was the fashion editor for this paper.
CD Wow.
CP I was just talking about fashion there. It only came out twice the paper. Just going to have a smoke.
CD Ok.
CP I don't smoke indoors.
CD That's a good habit to have.

Appendix D Example of a summarised transcript

Interview Summary

PROJECT NAME: PhD: King of the deck	INTERVIEW ID:
INTERVIEWEE	INTERVIEWER
NAME: Claire Day	NAME: Dennis Rimmer
CONTACT: University of Hull Blaydes House 1 High Street HULL HU1 1HA 07957 451318	CONTACT:
OTHER NAMES KNOWN BY:	
INTERVIEW DATE: 03-05-19	INTERVIEW LENGTH: 1:25:31
RECORDING MEDIUM: <u> digital audio </u> <u> </u> digital video	
DELIVERY MEDIUM: <u> sound file </u> <u> sound card </u> <u> CD </u> <u>DVD</u>	
TECHNICAL NOTES: (make/model of recorder, format recorded, microphone notes) • iPhone voice memo, format = .m4a, no use of microphone	
INTERVIEW NOTES: (physical environment, interviewee's mood, people or animals in the room, interruptions)	
DATE LEGAL RELEASE AGREEMENT SIGNED: _____.	
PROPER NAMES AND KEYWORDS (personal and place names with proper spelling, dates and keywords)	

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW CONTENT:

- DR's favourite tailors was *Jackson's*, he like their suits, the tailors. He acknowledges that there was *Clothing House* and *Waistell's* on Hessle Road, but he was loyal to Jackson's who were situated in town.
- DR only had one suit from Clothing House and he wasn't happy with it. He paid more for his suits at Jackson's than at Clothing House but he felt that they were better quality.
- DR explains that he always wore similar suits in terms of style – the Spanish waistband, a fourth fish room pocket (in this interview DR calls it a forward not pocket), DR never carried a wallet, pleat in the back and sometimes a belt, sometimes turn back cuff with a couple of buttons on. He kept to the same style throughout the duration of DR wearing the suits. DR explains that he never wore bell bottoms and that he always wore the straight leg, even though his father did, DR never wore 28" bottoms.
- DR thinks that the bell bottom trousers comes from the navy, as their personnel always wore them.
- DR explains that he used to get inspired by what other trawlermen were wearing. 'You'd sometimes see someone in a suit and think, ooo I like that.' You would go and explain what you'd seen to your tailor, explain what you want, he'd maybe do

- a little sketch.' DR feels that 'so you'd work together with him on it,' to achieve the desired end results.
- DR explains that depending on the material would influence cost of the suit, and sometimes this would be expensive in relation to his earnings.
- DR explains that his suits would potentially be worn for a couple of trips before they went to the drycleaners. However he explains that his sister would off her own back take his suits to be cleaned. DR explains that you may have got yourself a bit drunk and fallen over, or a pint knocked over you, and the suit would need to be cleaned before worn again.
- Zerny's was the cleaners used for DR's suits to be cleaned at.
- DR never pawned one of his suits, but he has heard that stories that they were pawned. He believed it happened more in his father's time than in his time. He then explains the story of the old man going away and the wife would take the suit to the pawn shop and then they'd be looking at the Russell listings, which was placed in many shop windows on Hessle Road. There was a daily listing and you could find what time your husband's ship was due in, and then the wife would be rushing to get the suit out of the pawn shop. DR explains that maybe some of them only had one suit, explaining that they couldn't afford it in them days. The most suits DR had at any one time was 5 suits.
- DR explains that your older suit would be worn to go away to sea in, fishermen always went away in a suit.
- DR felt obliged to wear the suit, as it was a type of uniform. DR explains that people knew you were a fishermen by the style of the suit. 'So you stood out amongst the crowd.' 'Oh he's a fishermen I can tell by his suit.'

CD [5:15] Did you feel obliged to wear the suit?

DR Yeah, I think it was like err a uniform to us you know what I mean, it was like part and parcel. I mean, people use to like to say 'oh he's a fisherman.' By the style of your suit and everything so you stood out among the crowd sort of thing.

CD Yeah

DR 'Oh he's a fisherman I can tell by his suit.' [5:37]

- When preparing to come back from the fishing grounds, DR explains that you'd clean the ship from top to bottom, inside and out. DR explains that you'd have day men, you'd have your watch keepers, you use to work together and everybody use to get a shower or a bath, spruced up, maybe put the suit on when you got the anchor up if you'd anchored at Killingholme awaiting the tide. You'd put your suit on between an half an hour to an hour before you reached St Andrews Dock. All your gear would be packed in your nice clean birth. You'd come alongside you'd do the business with the ropes, you were tied up on the market to unload the fish. Then you'd chuck your bag ashore, climb off and then get in a taxi and come home. And that's why you used on old suit as you were still preparing the ship and so it had the potential to get dirty and scuffed.
- DR explains that he's known those who'd hung their suits in a locker, and it was touching the side of the locker, and with the ship rolling it would be rubbing the suit, and DR has known for suits after three weeks of rubbing to be frayed or have a hole in them where the contact has been made. Thus another reason to wear an old suit. DR explains that he used to wrap something around the shoulders of his suits to protect them. [shows the importance in terms of remaining smart and cost.]
- When DR was single, he might have popped and had a couple of pints before returning home. Once he was married DR would go straight home, kit back down,

suit off, put some relaxing gear on, and re-acquaint himself with his wife. When DR's children came on the scene (he has two daughters), he explains that as soon as you put the kit bag down, they knew that in that bag was chocolates, DR explains that you always brought chocolate home for your kids, and they'd dive right in it, DR explains that, 'that was a great feeling.' He'd discuss things including about the trip with Sue his wife. Next morning, he'd get a bath, spruced up, new suit on, shirt, tie, go down dock in a taxi to settle. Then you'd go back and pick the wife up and then go to town, have a few beers, go for a meal and then back home. On the night, change into another suit, and they'd go out to wherever the entertainment was. The day after settling day, you'd do your own thing, maybe meet up with a few of your mates in the pub, have a pint and a yarn with them. Then you'd go back home, take the wife out again on the night and then you were ready to go back. DR explains that the best part about it was coming home.

- DR explains that sometimes you'd be in a pub and a friend would say that they were having a 'do' and invite you around. So you'd go around to somebodies house. DR explains that when they were in Edinburgh St, they use to have 'do's' at their home. They'd get a carry out from the pub and hit somebodies house and have a music session, dancing, beers amongst themselves. DR explains that this would be some of the crew but also states that some crew members you only saw when settling or when you went back [illustrates the close knit comradery both on and offshore.], it was dependent where they lived. If near to DR he states that you would see them in the pub, whilst others lived Beverley, Cottingham, Orchard Park, Bransholme so you perhaps did not see those crew members.
- Before DR was married, he explains that his routine at home before marriage was different. He'd be, 'out with the lads, chasing the lasses.' He explains that the ladies could always pick you out due to your suit, 'they always knew that you had money'. Sue DR's wife explains that, 'Me and my best pal, saw them two, him [referring to DR] and Frank, Frank's dead now, in Hessle Square. And we'd come out of Branby and she went, 'They're over there look.' And I'm going back, we were only 17, and she went, 'I like the one with auburn hair.' And I went, 'Oh no I like the one with the light grey suit.' It was a bluey light-grey wasn't it? [DR agrees] And she went, 'oh they are going to the Hessle taxi 's,' because they were at that side then. She went, 'I bet they are going the Ferry Boat, let's us go to Ferry Boat.' So we followed them and we met them there. We met on the same night, we got engaged the same year, did me and my mate did him and his mate, and we got married the same year.' [Sue had clocked DR because of his suits, and could also recall what Frank was wearing, 'a real nice dark brown one', DR remembers it too, so it shows that the suits visually are remembered, possible due to how different they were].
- DR discusses his wedding suit, that it had four pockets (front) and it didn't have a pleat in the back but it did have a fixed belt. Sue states that it was a very nice suit.
- DR acknowledges that if he'd have known how important the suits would become he'd have kept his suits. DR explains that with the new centre that has opened (Hull Fishing Heritage Centre) objects are being donated that DR would never have thought to have been donated. As an example, two oilskin frockcoats, sou'wester and the old ducksuits that they used to wear, settling sheets, a fisherman's discharge book.
- DR recalls that he never had is fisherman's discharge book as it was explained to him that it didn't belong to him.
- CD talks about the fact that they will have to learn how to document and archive all the information that they are getting, and DR explains that they are in process

of doing that. They have a ledger book which explains who donated it, who loaned it, what it is, names, dates, everything.

- DR explains that there is a suit in there, he doesn't know where it came from, it's grey. DR explains that it wasn't his 'cup of tea, as a fisherman's suit.' He questions if it is a replica.
- DR states that a man who worked at Southwell's the tailors came into the *Hull Fishing Heritage Centre* and DR explained to him that he only ever bought one suit from there and it was crap. CD explains that either RW or KM (Waistell's salesmen) had explained that Southwell's didn't do the made-to-measure suits it was more off-the-peg with alterations.
- DR explains standing in the ship owners yard when either going to pick up your settlings or trying to get a ship, you'd be stood talking to people in the yard. He explains that tailors would come and measure you up in the yard if you wanted a suit. [I am unsure if DR is talking about Southwell's or any of the tailors.] DR explains that he never had it done but knows that others did.
- DR whilst fishing visited Grimsby, North Shields, Aberdeen, all for repairs. But he also sailed out of North Shields, when he was in the Ranger boats, three in one ship and one in another. North Shields is the only other port besides Hull that DR has sailed from. He has landed in Grimsby, that's where your suit comes into it as you'd go ashore in your suit. 'I have landed in Grimsby, you know which your suit comes into it because you go ashore in it. Aberdeen, break down, gone ashore there in my suit, been and had a haircut there.' [Evidences wearing in other places and could be influencing.] DR explains that he lived in North Shields for 12 months. Iceland, DR never went for a drink in Iceland, as he felt that there was a lot friction between the two countries. Although later in the interviews he acknowledges that lots of crews did go ashore. [Perhaps this became evident later, with the younger fishermen due to timeframes and changes of limits and prior to that it was different.] He never put a suit on in Iceland, so he just went ashore in his work gear and his boots. This was Ísafjörður, Norðfjörður, DR never visited Reykjavík. 'Norway, yeah, I have worn a suit a couple of times, but mostly just used to go ashore in your fishing gear'. DR recalls there being no pubs, and that it was all cafes, and that you had to buy food (sandwich) before you would be served a beer. DR recalls a pub opening up in Tromsø and that they got thrown out due to being loud. DR explains that he like Tromsø. Honningsvåg in Norway. Halifax, Nova Scotia, he wasn't old enough to drink or be in a pub whilst there as the age limit was 21, but he did get into the pub as the crew lied for him. The crew explained that DR was a sparehand and you could only go sparehand at the age of 21, therefore he was allowed into the pub, when actually he was a deckie learner was younger than 21. They frequented the same pub whilst there as they were there for three weeks, as the winch had broken down. This was the *Lord Nelson* which was built by Rickmers Werft, Bremerhaven, Germany 1961, so they had to wait for German engineers to arrive to fix the issue as no-one local could establish the issue. The ship was diesel/electric. He explains that sometimes they would venture out in their suits and other times not. DR recalls going in to the Faroes, once, DR can't remember where.
- Explains entered ports for repairs or to put a man ashore.
- DR explains that when they went into Halifax, Nova Scotia, he explains that it was like a shanty town, it was derelict and there was hardly any buildings there. The only building that DR remembers standing out was Woolworths. DR explains that all he wanted to see was a Canadian mounted policeman on a horse, he only saw them in a car and he was really disappointed by this. DR states that he's seen a

documentary about Halifax Nova Scotia and how much it has developed since he visited it since he went when he was 17. It was barren land with housing dotted here and there and thinks that there was only 4 shops in the town.

- DR states that when in other ports there were other UK fishermen and that they did mingle, with some friendly banter, 'especially with the Grimmy's' (Grimsby). DR explains that you had the Scotsman, Fleetwood kids, Grimsby. Sometimes DR would meet up with foreign fishermen too. DR explains that when he was in Halifax, Nova Scotia, he recalls a big dory man come in, on the big schooners. He explains that they were hard men, DR met this big dory man in the pub and he took them back to schooner and he let them on board, it was Portuguese. 'oh God, you'd never seen nowt like it in your life, I always remember it, it was a big long table, wood with big long wooden benches and all they had to eat (with) was a knife, and the bread they used to pull the bread off but wine. She was loaded with wine [voice of amazement], and we went back to our ship and we've got kettle and we've got buckets, everything and they just topped us up with wine.' DR can't remember which port they were from but that they were big men, with massive hands, 'like dinner plates'. DR explains that they used to fish in little boats with lines. DR explains that the Portuguese dorymen, they used to fish the grand banks. DR explains that a film called Captains Courageous about a boy who falls overboard from a liner and is picked up by a smaller boat, and the film shows live footage of the dorymen in action.
- DR was a barrow boy on the fish market before he went to sea, and he was on about £4 per week. DR recalls that when he went sparehand he recalls his money going up to £13 a week and then the poundage on top of this. DR explains that he used to leave Sue, £2 on top, which means being advanced £2 which would come out of DR settling money, so she'd get £15 a week. DR explains that Sue got all the wages. (DR got married when he was 23 so can work this backwards as I know when he started fishing).
- Before DR was married his wage remained at the offices of the trawler company until DR came home from sea and his collected it, alongside his settling. When DR got married, Sue collected the wage every Friday from the ships offices. This is where the term *fish dock races* came from, all the women going down the dock with the prams, the pram race. When DR was in North Shields, DR used to send his wages home to his mother, as he was going to be away for three months and his mum used to bank it for DR.
- A backhander as described by DR explains that if you were out of a ship you would go down the dock to see your mate once they had settled, they'd slip you some money. This varied depending on what they had made that trip, this could range between 10 bob and a £1, which DR explains was a lot of cash then. These people were known as ovals. DR explains that you'd look at the Russell list and, 'eh, so and so's home tomorrow, ooo good we've got an oval.' DR goes on to explain that it was 'swings and roundabouts' and if they were out of a ship you would do the same for them. The Russell list was placed in most of the shops on Hessle Road, such as Fletchers. That's how the wives knew when the men were returning as, 'they would look at this list and say it had today's date, Friday 3rd May, *Kingston Peridot* or whatever ... do they'd know when you were landing and they use to have what amount of fish you had an all. So it might say 1500 kit, so they knew.' CD suggests that the women were then able to tell if the men were likely to have made a good trip or not.
- DR states the he's never given a backhander to a runner. He explains the trick with a matchbox with money inside and you'd slide it to the runner. 'Is there out doing Bob.' 'No.' Then the box would be slid across and then the runner would

state, 'Come back tomorrow.' DR recognises it went on but was confident enough in his abilities to not need to pay to go to work, but he knows a lot did.

- Best catch was in *Kingston Jade*, 3,000 kit and made £127,000. DR can't remember what his settling was but it was over £100.
- Worst trip was in the *Loch Melfort*, came home and hick picked up 10s-1d. [shows the difference between a good and a bad trip] DR explains that some settled in debt. At the time DR was single so he had his wages to fall back on. Bond bill, store bill, it all had to be paid. The trawler owners gave no lenience on that, they took it, 'they didn't care whether you settled in debt or not.' [The system of pay has created a spiral of dependency, with the men needing to pay off the owners which offers a continual workforce, as the men were allegedly casual labourers, therefore were not restricted to work for a particular company but with the need to pay off debts (bond, stores, money on top) it supported a mutual form of loyalty.] If the ship settled in debt it was not seen as the owners problem, if you landed in debt it meant you owed the company money. 'Bloody hell, I still owe them £5.' Therefore you had to go back and pay the debt off. They were known to take it out of the wages, not caring whether the wife went short to not. This was especially if you moved to another company as the wage was paid a week in back pay.
- The worst weather DR experienced was when the three ships got lost in January 1968, he was in the *Brutus*. He was in all the bad weather, freezing and icing up, 'we were chopping ice 24 hours to keep the ship afloat. You'd started forehead, work your way aft and have to go back forehead again by the time you'd got aft.'
- Good weather was frequent, DR explains you'd have bad weather, scrawly weather, you were alert but knew nothing bad would come at you, maybe get spray. Fine weather DR explains that he'd only had an apron on whilst in the pounds gutting [assume this means it was warm]. 'Lovely sunshine and a deck load of fish.'
- DR discusses the various pressures of the job, one being when not having a full crew, recalling when having to put 2 men ashore injured so short-handed. The ship was on fish and the skipper said he would work and do 18 hours all hands as the watches could not be split as there was not enough men. So they'd worked 18 on and 6 off. After 36 hours the men were still working. So the men walked off the deck and refused to shoot and turned in. DR explains the skipper threatened to sack them but they knew he'd done wrong as the human body can only take so much.
- DR explains that whether good or bad weather the deck was a dangerous place, especially with the machinery, winches, warps and that you had to be alert and look out for one another. DR explains that you'd keep a 'weather eye out, so, you're watching the job basically with one eye but you're looking outboard to make sure there is no seas, waves coming at you, you know what I mean? Because if you get a big un you got to get out of the way otherwise you've gone.' [said so matter of fact.] 'And everybody is doing that.' DR explains your keeping your eye on everything including each other, making sure no-one is in danger, e.g. foot caught in something.
- DR explains that both version of how the men paid for their gear are known to have occurred – themselves and partial payment from the company. You had to buy all your gear, bedding, mattress but then as things moved on (with time) and better rules and regulations came into force DR things that the men were allocated one set per year and that you had to be with the company for a percentage of time and that this happened later on in DR's career. He explains that you'd be given a chit which you would take into stores and it would be tallied up and you'd be informed when you had used your yearly quota for gear. DR cannot remember how much it was.
- DR never really considered going elsewhere than ship stores for his gear.

- DR explains that you'd get your taxi and the first port of call would be stores, whilst bond was open you'd get your tobacco or cigs whatever you wanted, your books and whatever gear was required. DR explains he'd send a dozen nappies home if the wife was pregnant [so although it's been explained that the price was inflated, the men were able to get it on tick so able to buy prior to paying.]
- The biggest part of DR's career was in sidewinders. DR was in the *Southella* (a really old sidewinder) when she went for scrap, Ray Coles was also in her. DR explains that there were only two coal sidewinders left when he was fishing, DR never went in a coal burner. He started off in oil burners and then the ships progressed to diesel, diesel/electric then they got even more modern and the stern freezers came along. DR did the stern freezers, one trip the *Lord Nelson*, three trips in *Ranger Ajax*, two trips in the *Ranger Appollo*, and one trip in the *Ranger Briseis* and he did his last trip in the *Pick* out of Hull (stern freezers). Se he did seven trips in stern freezers.
- DR explains that the *Lord Nelson* was part freezer and part fresh. On *Lord Nelson* you would freeze your catch first and then finish off catching fresh and then bring it home.
- Three types of accommodation experienced. The sidewinders, the crew slept forehead so the watch keeper would have to put all his gear on if it was bad weather and come forehead and get the next watch. During the watches also had to make sure that the coal fire was always alight and stoke it up. And you'd call people out for their meals. 'So, can you imagine right it's blowing a gale and you've got to put all your wet gear on run all the way aft. Take your gear off have your meal, put all your gear back on and then run back forehead again.' That was the foc's'cle ships. As the ships became more advanced all the accommodation was put aft. So it was compact. Some ships had a six-man birth although you were aft. Or 2-man birth. But as the ships got more advanced it became single man births, especially in the diesel ships. But the freezers had more space and were more comfortable. You could tell the difference between being in a freezer by comparison to sidewinders. The comfort was better, everything required was there, there was no venturing onto the deck. But the issue with the stern freezers was the time away. DR on the freezers would be away for approximately two months on the *Lord Nelson* (including three weeks in Halifax Nova Scotia, but they hit the fish so it was ok). The *Ranger* boats were filleters, so could catch more fish. [what is the state of play with the wages in the stern/freezers?] So, would be away for 3 months. DR explains that even when accommodation went aft, you were able to move about freely rather than having to put your wet gear on.
- When DR's ship came in for its annual refit, you could wait or sign on to another ship.
- DR describes walkabout and that if the ships owners, in reality it was the runners felt that you'd been a 'bad boy' you'd have to go walkabout. DR describes his dad, a skipper getting a walkabout for 12 months. He had a chance to go in other ships for other firms but DR explains that they were bad minded trawler owners. They explained that they hadn't finished with his services yet, so he couldn't get his tickets back [and possibly service books]. So he couldn't take his tickets to other companies. So he had to go walkabout until they released his tickets. He did go with another company then. He'd been in Kingston then Hellyers then BUT. DR explains that the runners could block you going to sea by telling you there was no availability but then someone had gone in after you and been signed onto a ship.
- The two runners who DR dealt with were Bob Northlard/Northard and Harry Keele. DR explains that if you didn't do what the runners wanted they would manipulate the system. [1:01:18] 'If he [Bob the runner] said to me "do us a favour? Will you go in so and so ship?" And going back to what I said earlier, a minute ago, you'd say, 'Well no Bob because I'm waiting to go in so and so with so and so skipper, he's already asked me.' "But I want you to do this trip for me here,

do it?" If you don't then, you'd find out you're not going. "Oh he's already got his crew." You know what I mean? Then you'd find out later on that he hadn't and this is how they was, because you wouldn't do them a favour they, they'd do things like that to you.' ... 'Unless you'd do the old matchbox come in, I always refused to that, I'd never do that.' [1:02:00]

[1:02:12]

DR Christmas Crackers, yeah I can yeah, I've had a few of them. Funny enough it was that ship I was in, eh the *Brutus*, and we was down there in all that weather. The worst weather I've been in. Err we sailed on January the first, and we got these two kids, never been to sea before in their lives. Right? Sparehands! Now you see we had to go to school [nautical college], to get our deck tickets, you know what I mean? But these kids, just, this is what they used to do you see [trawler owners], to get a ship away [interrupted by the phone]. [1:02:52]

The mate had been speaking to the galley boy Bonzo Roberts (the oldest galley boy out of Hull), he said to the mate that, 'I'll be alright this trip I've got my mates with us.' Thought he was referring to the Xmas crackers but it was DR. So there was some confusion as to DR's status at first of being a fully-fledged deckhand.

[1:04:32]

DR We've got these two kids, but they are clueless, but they think they know everything. You know what I mean? And one kid said to me, 'I can't going out there.' Now don't forget the firm had kitted them out with all brand new gear, these lads. These two kids. And one of them said, 'I'm not going out there it's raining.' "What, you're joking or what? Get your wet gear on". We got him out like. The other kid wasn't too bad. But we iced up, we started to ice up. So then it's all hands then. The galley boy, you know everybody who wasn't like the skipper on the bridge, wireless operator, engineer down in the engine room. Even the cook and galley boy are out there chopping ice. [...] All hands are out, everybody is out because you've got to keep this ship afloat, because we were icing up that bad, that fast. And the mate said to me, "Where's these two kids?" 'I'll go and get them.' So, I went, so, "We're not going out in this." I said, 'Your life depends on it son.' You know what I mean? 'Get your arse on the deck now, the pair of you.' One of them got ready, he wasn't too bad like, he listened but the other kid was such a clever kid, he didn't do it. So he got ready and he went out on deck so I said, 'Come on.' So he went, "No I'm not coming." So I said, 'Come and get your gear on now.' I said, 'your life depends on it.' And he went, "No." So, I grabbed him by the neck and I dragged him out the mess deck into the alleyway. I said 'Get your fucking gear on now.' Anyway, he put his gear on and come out. But Christmas Crackers, didn't have a clue, makes your job a lot harder because you've got to look after them, they haven't got a clue what they are doing so you are watching them all the time. [1:06:35]

- The food on the ship was dependent on the cook, chicken, beef, fish everyday once fishing, soup everyday with their meal, fresh bread. DR explains a lot of the food was basic but a good cook did good meals with it. DR feels that he experienced more bad than good cooks. It would be a Sunday dinner type meal with soup. And sometimes get a desert. DR describes the onion duff, 'beautiful'. He explains that they are done in a basin and a type of suet/steam pudding. They use to mix it up and add diced onion to it and then put it in a steamer with muslin cloth over the top of the basin. A lot of cooks did jam duffs too and they got that with custard. Bacon and eggs running off but after that breakfast was fish once you got fishing. DR explains there was always a late of cold fish on the table, so if on the deck all the time, you could whip off and make a fish sandwich to take back out with you. A supper would be out for them, cheese, chopped onion, fish, bread, always something on the table. DR states that some cooks couldn't even ration food properly for a three week trip.

DR explains that there was a lot of Danes in Hull, mainly skippers and mates on the snibbies. DR stated they mingled and were easy to chat to. Can't recall how they dressed but feels that they didn't wear the trawlermen's suits, DR states that you could tell a Dane by comparison to an Englishman by their Scandinavian looks, and some looked rugged. DR remembers a Karl Eriksen. He had hand's like dinner plates, big guy and gave others the impression that you didn't want to tangle with him, but when you got talking to him he was such a nice guy. DR explains many of them married Hull women and settled. He thinks some Danes did fish on sidewinders but DR never sailed with any of them.

- DR never used anything but a washer.
- DR discusses his opinion in relation to the industry collapsing,

DR We all know it was political, it's definitely political and I think erm, I think the yanks had a base at Kevlavík, off Iceland. Which, they were actually, I mean the cold war was on, so they were actually overlooking at the Russians. And they could monitor all those ships that came out of Murmansk and that. And, not only that, at that time I think oil exploration was starting and I think they maybe thought there could be oil round here, and I think the, this is my opinion that the Icelandic's have said to the Yanks, 'You help us get rid of these Brits out of our waters otherwise you lot can pack up and go home.' Well they didn't want to do that because the cold war was on. So I think there was a lot of, it was political, definitely political. Looking back there was no way we was gonna win. No way. No way was we going to win that, no.

CD And how did it affect the area, the Hessle Road area?

DR Oh, it devastated it, it devastated it, I mean you talk about, you talk about the fisherman but when you talk about the fishermen and you talk the trawlers, you talk about the shore side of it, you know. Your marine fitters to maintain your engines, your painters, your, err your net suppliers, your stores suppliers, you know it goes on and on and on. Then you go across the other side your fish filleters, everything you know it's such, your factories, such a big impact on employment it just destroyed, it just destroyed the city, completely. Fishing had gone the city had gone, because no way could a kid leave school and walk in to any job, because they'd all gone. Where you could in them days when I was a kid, you could leave school if you wanted, walk into a job in the morning and not like it, walk out and walk in to another place in the afternoon. There was that much work and it all came off fishing, you know what I mean.

CD Yeah.

DR There was that many employees, even your office staff, you know things like that. Your tugmen, you name it, it's all there, you know. And that's what's this city lost through losing to, through losing the industry. Bit like coal mining I suppose, when they shut the mines, all them people that lost their homes and everything. You know it's terrible it really is. It was a big blow to the city, definitely a big blow. It just seemed to collapse overnight didn't it? You know what I mean that was it, places were shutting down, it was terrible.

- DR lived on Hessle Road (Eastmen Street) until he was 8, then he moved to Graham Avenue and lived there from 8 to 14. He went to Francis Askew school. When he was 14 he moved up to Hessle. He states that the best years of his life were living on Graham Avenue. The majority of the people were all off Hessle Road. He recalls the house having an inside bath, although a small room it had hot and cold running water also, and how great that was to have, 'wow, we thought we'd moved to a mansion.'. He explains that the house that he'd been in had a tin bath on the nail in the yard and an outside toilet. And DR in excitement explains that he had his own bedroom, whereas when on Hessle Road he'd had to share with his four sisters. He explains it was only a little box bedroom but it was his little domain. 'We were over the moon, well the lasses weren't happy because

they had to share a bedroom, it was only a three-bedroomed house. But I'd got my own then, you know.' And they had a garden front and back 'with a brick wall and a wrought iron gate', when on Hessle Road DR had just had a back yard and a little front garden.

- When DR got married he moved back to Hessle Road and bought a house on Edinburgh street, 3 bedroomed, bigger than the house on Eastmen Street. It had a big back garden. He explains that the garden was separate to the house and almost backed on to Half Way pub. The house had a big long walk in hallway, living room had been knocked into one with what would have been the dining room/back living room, kitchen and a bathroom had been created in the kitchen but the toilet was still outside. Lived there for potentially about 5-6 years [this is calculated to DR stating his eldest daughter was 5 when they moved] before moving to North Hull, DR didn't like it and managed to get an exchange back to West Hull. DR then got a house on Burcott [unsure spelling is correct] on the south side, then got a three bedroomed in Saltash Road and from there moved to where they are now. It became too big for DR and his wife, and the girls had moved on.
- DR's father, his brother Frank, Tommy, George, Harry all went to sea as fishermen. DR's mothers brother went to sea, her sister's husbands, Uncle John, Uncle Eric, Uncle Gus, Uncle Dennis, cousin Tony his brother Neville and DR. His mother's cousins, Uncle Randle, his son Mike they both went to sea. Frank (DR's uncle on his dad's side, his three lads went to sea fishing. DR's brother in-law went to sea, and DR feels that he's probably forgotten someone as there are so many.

COMPLETED BY: Claire Day

DATE: 10-06-2019

Appendix E Initial interview questions – 1 (trawlermen, tailors or other)

Questions (trawlermen)

1. Name
2. What year did you start and finish deep sea trawling?
3. What position did you hold when you started and finished going to sea?
4. How old were you when you first went to sea? [was this pleasure trip or work]

Clothing

5. This look that the fishermen wore, can you describe it? [key features]
6. What period were you wearing this style? [50s, 60s, 70s]
7. Were your suits made to measure?
8. Were your shirts made to measure?
 - a. Was this normal rather than off the peg/already made up clothing?
9. Could you buy off the peg suits if you wanted to?
 - a. What was the standard of off the peg clothing for men?
10. What were other (non-fishermen) men wearing at this time? (Explain what was different)
11. I've seen some pictures of fishermen going to sea in their suits, why would you wear a suit to go to sea in?
12. Do you know what influenced the look? [period style, social structure, etc]
13. What do you think others thought of your look? [What message did the 'look' express to others?]
14. Did all the different ranks of the ship (skipper, deckie, mate) wear the 'look'?
15. How much did yours cost? [On an Alex Gill video an ex-trawlerman discusses the cost of his suit being £40.00 which was a lot of money]
16. How long would you wear the suit for before you stopped wearing it?
17. How many suits did you own at any one time?
18. Why was it so extravagant?

General

19. When running off (heading to fishing grounds) what did you do to pass the time?
20. What hobbies did you have?
21. What music were you listening to? [folk, jazz, rock and roll if need to prompt]
22. What type of books were you reading? [cowboy, romance, thrillers etc – think of more genres]
23. Alex Gill in one of his books talks about the men reading 'cowboy' books/magazines do you know what type? [titles, authors]
24. What type of films did you watch at the time? [cowboy, romance, thrillers etc – think of more genres]
25. How much were you paid? (Flat rate, settling money)
26. What other UK ports were deep sea trawling? [Grimsby, Lowestoft] [Can see if they had a similar look].

Questions (tailor)

1. Name
2. Which tailors did you work at?
3. When did you work at the tailors?
4. What was your position at tailors?
 - a. What did this position entail?
5. Who else would be involved in the making of a suit?
6. How long would it take to make a suit?
7. This look that the fishermen wore, can you describe it? [key features]
8. What were the distinguishing features of the look?
 - a. Jacket
 - i. Cut [single or double]
 - ii. Lapels (notched, peaked, shawl]
 - iii. Pockets [placement] [type – ½ moon, patch, flap]
 - iv. How many front buttons [2-3]
 - v. How many cuff buttons [3-4]
 - vi. Vents at back [none, single, double]
 - b. Trousers
 - i. Width
 - ii. Type of fastening [zip, button]
 - iii. Type of pockets
 - iv. Turn ups
 - v. Pleats below waistband [1,2,3]
 - vi. Pleats down front
9. What colours were being chosen?
10. What were the suits made from?
11. What types of woven fabrics were being used? [weave pattern, weight as examples]
12. What was the most expensive suit you made? [can you describe it]
13. What was the most extravagant suit you made? [can you describe it]
14. What period were the fishermen wearing this style? [50s, 60s, 70s]
15. Were their suits made to measure?
16. Were their shirts made to measure?
17. Could you buy off the peg suits if you wanted to?
 - a. Can you give a descriptor of an off the peg suit [style, fabric, price]
18. What were other men wearing at the time? (non-fishermen) (Explain the difference)
19. What did you think of the look?
20. What do you think was inspiring the look?
21. Was there any style changes during the various periods of time the look was being worn?
22. Why did the look stop?
23. Are you aware of others who wore this type of look?

Questions (other)

1. Name
2. What is your link to the Hull fishing industry?
3. Can you describe the way the fishermen dressed?
4. Can you recall the name of the tailors were your brother/husband/friend went?
5. What era was you brother/husband/friend wearing this 'look'?
6. Do you know what influenced the look?
[period, style, social structure, etc?]
7. Were you involved in designing the suit?
 - ☐ Did you accompany your brother/husband/friend when buying a suit?
8. Would men and women shop at the same place?
 - ☐ Where would men shop by comparison to women?
9. What did you think of the 'look'?
10. Would you consider the cost of the suits to be cheap, moderate or expensive in relation to his earnings?
11. Can you explain how the pawn shop worked?
12. Did you pawn a suit?
 - ☐ Why?
 - ☐ How did it work?
13. Can you explain your routine and lifestyle when they were home from sea?
[workday, weekend etc. where socialised?]
14. Can you explain your routine and lifestyle when they were away at sea?
 - ☐ Was this different when you had a family?
15. How was the basic wage and settling money distributed within the home?
16. Did you collect your husband's wages whilst he was at sea?

Appendix F Icelandic interview questions – 2

Iceland

Questions - initial

1. Name
2. Can you describe what Reykjavík was like in the 1950s/1960s/1970s
 - a. [Housing, Social life, dress, cars, food, music, films – Icelandic or English/US]
3. Were there any events which changed the way people dressed.
 - a. [Subculture, R n r music, Elvis/Beatles]
4. Was there any external influences infiltrating Icelandic society?
 - a. [Music, Dress, Shops]
5. What influence did the Americans from the airbase have on Reykjavík?
6. What did Icelanders wear by comparison to the Americans?
7. Do you know how many were based here at any one time? (Americans)
8. Was the airbase open to the public?
 - i. [If yes why would you go there?]
9. As a port town was there a lot of different people congregating here, especially with the fishing?
10. Do you recall any of the English fishermen spending time in the city?
11. How were they dressed?
12. How were other foreign fishermen dressed?
13. Do you remember any great stories or legends in relation to fashion, the suits and the fishermen?
14. Was there any form of trade occurring between the Icelanders and the fishermen?

Concluding

15. Is there any other person that you feel might like to get involved in the research?
16. Are there any areas of importance that I have not raised that you feel need to be covered?
17. Thank you for your support with this research.

Questions – CP tailor

1. When you arrived in Iceland in 1956, what was your style of dress at that moment in time?
 - a. Establish if was involved in a subculture
2. Did Alexandres sell other things, besides MTM suits?
 - a. Menswear, womenswear, childrenswear
3. Did you have any influence as to what would be in the store (OTP)?
4. How was the information sent to Alexandres in Leeds?
 - a. If post how long would the transaction take?
5. How long was you at Alexandres?
6. How did people choose the fabric for their suits?
 - a. Swatch books, bolts of cloth, etc.
7. When you moved from Keflavík to Reykjavík, who did you work for?
8. Who were Karnabær's competitors?
9. What was the process of creating a suit?
 - a. Due to not speaking Icelandic.
10. In your work books, are the measurements in cm?
11. How did you keep up to date with trends?
12. In your work books, some of the designs have a 'self-belt,' what does that mean?
13. There are number in the work book like PNT does that refer to the cloth?
14. From the work books it is obvious that some of the suits were extravagant, what types of colours would be used for the suits?

Appendix G Interview questions – 3 (trawlermen and tailors)

Trawlermen

1. Did you have a favourite tailors? Why?
2. Who was directing the style of your suit?
[yourself, the tailor, another trawlerman, pop star, film star]
3. Is there a suit that you can remember more than others?
[first suit, good night out, met your future wife etc?]
[Can you describe it?]
[Can you remember the price?]
[Can you remember when this was?]
4. Would you consider the cost of the suits to be cheap, moderate or expensive in relation to your earnings?
5. How many times would a suit be worn prior to cleaning?
6. Where did you take your suit to be cleaned?
7. Did you ever pawn a suit?
 - o Why?
 - o How did it work?
8. Did you feel obliged to wear the suit?
[Because of your occupation, your pals who were fishing etc.]
9. Did other men besides the trawlermen wear this suit? Why do you think this was?

Foreign Port

10. Can you describe a typical day when you were at work fishing?
11. When all the jobs were done, and you were heading home what did you do to prepare to land and leave the ship for time ashore?
 - o Capture getting washed scenario
12. Can you tell me your routine when onshore?
 - o Literally from the point of stepping off the ship what did you do?
[bagman and gear, taxi, settling, runners and signing on to a ship]
 - o Did this routine change when you were married?
 - o How many days holiday did you take a year?
[want to establish that it revolves around their livelihoods]
13. Which ports other than Hull can you recall visiting?
 - o What for? [repairs, fuel, what?]
 - o What routine when in foreign port?
14. On average how often did you visit other ports?
[every fourth trip as an example?]
15. Can you recall the first time that you entered a foreign port?
 - o Where was it?
 - o What was it like?
 - o Where you able to leave the ship?
 - o What did you do whilst there?
16. Can you give any other experiences when entering foreign ports?
17. Could you tell the difference between locals and other people in the ports?
18. Did you meet other fishermen?
 - o Where were they from?
 - o Did you mingle?
19. What did you do if given permission to see the foreign port?

20. How long would you stay for?

Relating to the job

21. When you started at sea at 15 what could you spend your earnings on?

- Could you buy alcohol? Off-licence or in a pub?

22. Can you remember what you were earning when you first went to sea?

23. Can you explain your earnings to me?

[basic wage, settling, who collected which part?]

24. Can you describe backhanders and ovals to me?

- Are they the same thing?

25. Can you recall your best catch? Can you recall your worst catch?

- Did you ever land in debt? If yes how did you manage financially?

26. How did you share your money (basic wage, catch etc?)

[Before marriage]

[After marriage]

27. What was the worst weather conditions that you sailed in?

28. What were the best weather conditions that you sailed in?

29. What was it like when a trawler iced up?

30. Can you explain the pressure of the job?

[lack of sleep, conditions onboard the ship]

31. What gear did you need for fishing?

- Who paid for this?

[bring in about the company paying for a % of it]

32. Could you buy your gear from anywhere else other than the company stores?

[if yes, why didn't you?]

33. What type of trawlers did you sail on during your career?

- Stern, sidewiders (coal/oil), freezers etc.

- What was the accommodation like?

34. What was the accommodation like on board a ship? Where was it?

[forward/stern, different types of ship, positive and negatives]

[Did this change with time and the introduction of new ships?]

35. What did you do when your ship was in for its annual refit?

[dole, find another ship, wait]

- how easy was it to find another ship?

36. How did you go about getting a ship?

37. Did you ever have to go walkabout? Why?

38. Can you explain the Christmas crackers?

39. What type of food did you eat on board the ship?

40. When on leave in Hull were there foreign fishermen here?

- What was their clothing like?

- Did you mingle?

41. What was fishing like before the washtub was invented?

42. What was it like after it was invented?

43. When the industry collapsed in 1976 with the last cod war, how did it impact on the industry?

Community related

44. What was the community like which you grew up in?

[Race, class differentiation, streets, neighbourhood]

45. Did you have family members who went to sea?

46. What was your home like before marriage?

- How many bedrooms? Did you share a bedroom? How many siblings?

Outdoor toilet?

47. What was your home like after marriage?

Tailors

1. Explain the shop to me? What did you sell (what was in it?)
 - i. [menswear, womenswear, children's wear]
2. If mainly menswear, who did the core shopping?
 - i. [the wife, mother, man]
 - ii. If women did shop at the tailors
3. How much of business was M2M/bespoke/OTP?
 - i. [How much of your business was the trawlermen's suits? %]
4. Apart from the trawlermen, who else visited the shop?
5. Who was your competition?
 - i. [Where were they based in Hull? Why did you think they were your competitors?]
6. Can you explain the relationship with the manufacturers of the cloth
 - i. [Where was the cloth coming from? Who chose the material you or the manufacturer?]
7. When the young men, 15 or say 16 came into the shop what was your influence on supporting them in creating a suit?
 - i. [Did you give them suggestions, direct them to what other trawlermen were wearing?]
8. As they got older or more use to visiting a tailors, how did your role change?
9. How did you stay up to date with new trends?
 - i. [Mags, (trade or other), Visits to London]
10. Why did the company cease to exist?

Concluding

11. Is there any other person that you feel might like to get involved in the research?
12. Are there any areas of importance that I have not raised that you feel need to be covered?
13. Thank you for your support with this research.



Information sheet: Suited and Booted Project

Artlink would like to invite you to take part in a research study. As part of ethical procedures this information sheet is to assist you in deciding whether you want to participate and what is involved. Please read the information below and ask any questions for clarification.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

The project aims to research the fashions of the Hessle Road trawlermen between 1950-1974, the reasons why the unique style was created, and how clothing identifies the people of Hull today. The researcher will interview trawlermen and family members. The findings will be used within education and community groups in Hull to develop a creative response to fashion ending with an exhibition. The work will be used for publications and a documentary film.

2. Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is being conducted by Claire Day, an academic in the field of fashion and textiles, whose family background is from the Hessle Road fishing community. The leading partner in the project is Artlink, a community based arts organisation in Hull. The project is funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund.

3. Why have I been asked to take part?

We aim to interview 30 people who can recall the suits of the trawlermen from the era. We hope that you can help with this request.

4. Do I have to take part?

It is not compulsory to take part. We feel that you are the type of individual who can help us find the information that we are looking for. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. Please note you can withdraw at any time by telling Artlink or the researcher.

5. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The benefits of taking part are that your knowledge and memory of the clothes and period of Hull's history will be used to inspire groups from primary schools, through to colleges and community groups. The long-term goal is for the collected information to be available to the public via the Carnegie Heritage Centre, Hull. We hope the interviews will give you the opportunity to relive some of your experiences. We also hope that you will find it rewarding to have your contributions recognised publicly, and that you have an opportunity to add your account to a historically significant period of Hull's history, your history to a collection of archival interviews.



Information sheet: PhD: The suit: A cultural display of deep-sea trawlermen when at leisure, 1950-1970 (working title)

I, Claire Day, would like to invite you to take part in my research as part of my PhD doctoral award. This information sheet is to assist you in deciding whether you want to participate and what is involved. Please read the information below and ask any questions for clarification.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

The project aims to research the suits of the UK deep-sea trawlermen and their onshore lifestyle between 1950-1976, including the reasons why this style was created. The findings will be used for obtaining a doctoral award. It is envisaged that future use of the information will be academic in terms of publications and presentations, educational, as well as used in public engagement.

2. Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is being conducted by myself, Claire Day, a specialist in the field of fashion and textile design, whose family background is from the Hessle Road, Hull fishing community. This is part of my PhD work at the University of Hull. I am part of a consortium called NECAH (North of England Consortium for Arts & Humanities), which represents six universities in the North-East of England whom support students at post-graduate level in the arts and humanities.

3. Why have I been asked to take part?

I believe your contribution would be valuable to my study as you have lived through the period and have first-hand experience of the suits of the trawlermen and their lifestyle.

4. Do I have to take part?

It is not compulsory to take part. I feel that you are the type of individual who can help me find the information that I am looking for. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. Please note you can withdraw at any time by contacting Claire Day, the researcher, who will remove your information as requested. My details are attached to the bottom of this sheet.

5. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

I hope the interviews will give you the opportunity to relive some of your experiences. I also hope that you will find it rewarding to have your contributions recognised, and that you have an opportunity to add your account to a historically significant period of deep-sea fishing, your history to a collection of archival interviews. The benefits of taking part are that your knowledge and memory of the suits and the lifestyle of this period of history relating of the deep-sea ports of the UK and the trawlermen will be captured for now and for the future. The long-term goal is for the collected information to be available to the public via an open access resource. Once the PhD is completed those involved will be invited to a presentation of the research.



Participant consent form: Trawlermen Suited and Booted Project

Please read the information carefully before completing.

Researcher seeking consent: **Claire Day** Organisation: **Artlink**

The completion of this form is necessary for our records to confirm that you give consent to being interviewed for this project. If you need further clarification about a question please do not hesitate to ask to the researcher. If you have other questions the researcher is happy to discuss these with you.

	Yes	No
I have been provided with a leaflet about this project and I have read and understood it.	☐	☐
I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I understand that the interview will be conducted in a location that is convenient for me and that it will take about an hour of my time.	☐	☐
I have been made aware that my involvement in the project is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw at any time.	☐	☐
I agree to my name being used with the audio recording, transcript and research findings.	☐	☐
I agree to photographs or objects that I have shown in the interview to be used in the research.	☐	☐
I understand that I can request to see transcripts of the interview at any time by contacting Artlink. I am also aware that I can contact Claire Day via Artlink should I have any questions or concerns about being a participant in this study.	☐	☐
I am willing to take part in the documentary film.	☐	☐
I agree to my photographs, objects and audio recordings being used in a documentary film.	☐	☐



UNIVERSITY
OF HULL



North of
England
Consortium
for Arts
& Humanities

FACE ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSENT FORM for INTERVIEW

I, ...of
.....

Hereby agree to be a participant in this study to be undertaken by Claire Day, and I understand that the purpose of the research is to collect oral history interviews to capture three sets of data:

1. A descriptor of the trawlermen's suits from the 1950s to the 1970s;
2. An understanding of the men's lifestyles whilst onshore;
3. Establishing a rationale for designing and wearing this type of suit.

I hereby declare that

1. the aims, methods, anticipated benefits and possible risks/hazards of the research study have been explained to me.
2. I voluntarily and freely give my consent to my participation in such research study.
3. I voluntarily and freely give my consent for my interviews, images and items of clothing to be used in such a research study.
4. I understand that results will be used for research purposes and may be reported in scientific and academic journals.
5. I understand that the research findings including the interviews will be preserved by depositing copies at an appropriate archive/repository and may be used by others in the future.
6. I understand that individual results will not be released to any person except at my request and on my authorisation.
7. I understand I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the research, in which event my participation in the research will immediately cease and any information obtained from me will not be used.

Signature: Date:

The contact details of the researcher are:

Claire Day

Telephone: 07957 451318

Email: C.L.Day@2016.hull.ac.uk

claireday4@gmail.com

The contact details of the secretary to the Faculty of Faculty of Arts Cultures and Education (FACE) Ethics Committee are:

Jo Hawksworth, Research Office, Faculty of Faculty of Arts Cultures and Education

(FACE), University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX. tel. 01482 466658. Email:

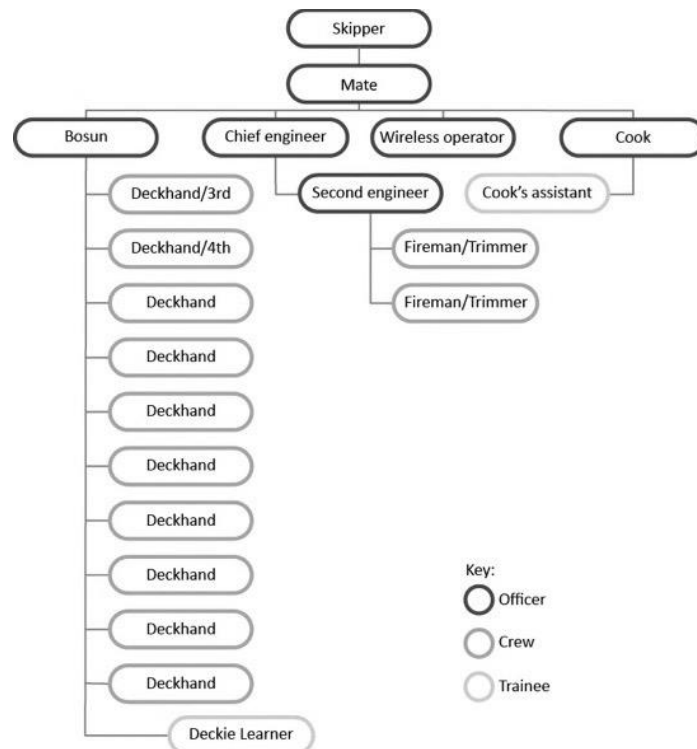
j.hawksworth@hull.ac.uk

Appendix J Trawler type and men plus unemployed fishing from Hull 1950-1970¹⁰⁰⁰

Year	steam	motor	steam over 140ft	motor over 140ft	motor over 140ft	motor over 140ft	motor over 140ft	steam 130-140ft	motor 130-140ft	steam 70-129.9ft	motor 70-129.9ft	motor 40-69.9ft	motor under 40ft	110-139.9ft	Total	#	Total	
1950	162	2													164			
	3240	40													3280	328	3608	
1951	166	1													167			
	3320	20													3340	334	3674	
1952	158	3													161			
	3160	60													3220	322	3542	
1953	156	5													161			
	3120	100													3220	322	3542	
1954	146	5													151			
	2920	100													3020	302	3322	
1955	143	4													147			
	2860	80													2940	294	3234	
1956	134	6													140			
	2680	120													2800	280	3080	
1957	132	7													139			
	2640	140													2780	278	3058	
1958	127	11													138			
	2540	220													2760	276	3036	
1959			122	15					1			1			139			
			2440	300					20			20			2780	278	3058	
1960			117	22					2			1			142			
			2340	440					40			20			2640	264	3124	
1961			117	25					1			1			144			
			2340	500					20			20			2680	268	3168	
				diesel	freezer/ factory	diesel electric	other							diesel				
1962			111	25			6						1	1	144			
			2220	500		210							20	20	2970	297	3267	
1963			89	27			6						1	2	125			
			1780	540		210							20	40	2590	259	2849	
1964			90	27			7						1	2	127			
			1800	540		245							20	40	2645	264	2909	
1965			81	35	6								1	1	124			
			1620	700	210								20	20	2570	257	2827	
1966			72	31	13									1	117			
			1440	620	455									20	2535	253	2788	
1967			59	30	15										104			
			1180	600	525										2305	230	2535	
1968			46	32	21							1			100			
			920	640	735							20			2315	231	2546	
1969			40	31	23							1			95			
			800	620	805							20			2245	224	2469	
1970			39	30	23		1					1			94			
			780	600	805	35						20			2240	224	2464	
1971			38	30	24		1					1			94			
			760	600	840	35						20			2255	225	2480	
1972			34	30	26		1					1			92			
			680	600	910	35						20			2245	224	2469	
1973			29	31	36		2					2			100			
			580	620	1260	35						40			2535	253	2788	
1974			22	30	36		2					1			93			
			440	600	1260	35						20			2395	239	2634	
1975			9	29	39		2					1			81			
			180	580	1365	35						20			2200	220	2420	
1976			26	34			2					1			64			
			520	1190		35						20			1785	178	1963	
1977			25	32			1					1			59			
			500	1120		35						20			1675	167	1842	
1978			14	34			1					1			50			
			280	1190		35						20			1525	152	1677	
1979			2	31			1								2	36		
			40	1085		35									40	1200	120	1320

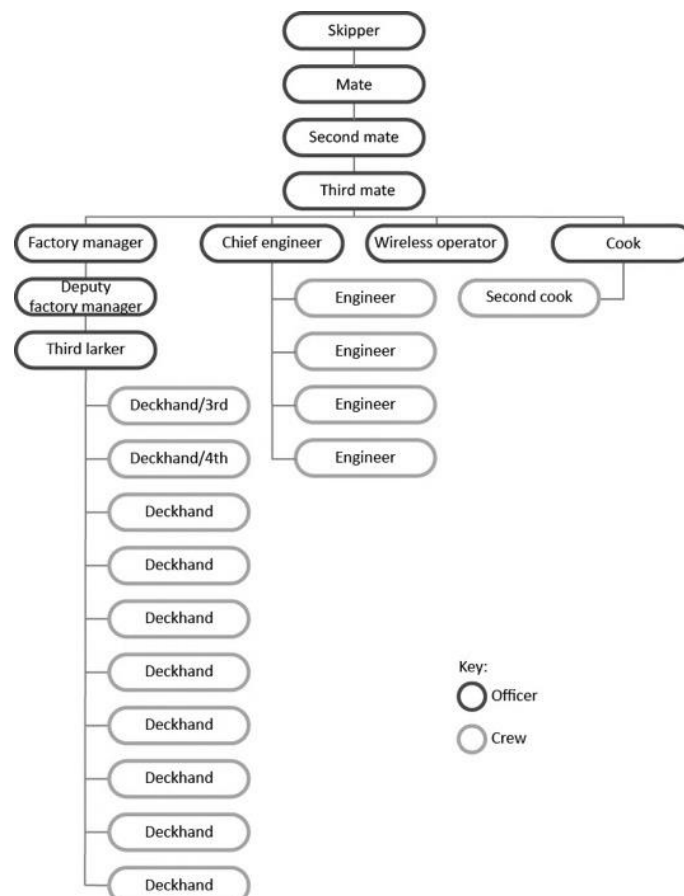
¹⁰⁰⁰ Statistical tables of fishing vessels – 1950 to 1979 listed in Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries., *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951 to 1955); Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food., *Sea Fisheries Statistical Tables* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956-1980).

Appendix K Hierarchy on board various trawlers

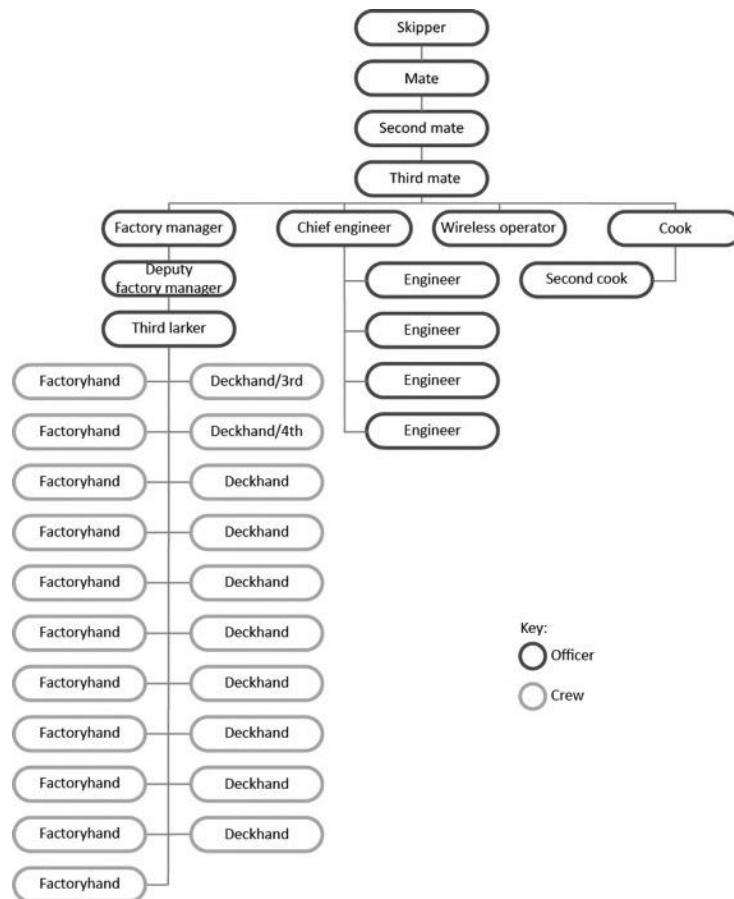


Hierarchy aboard a coal sidewinder trawler.

Source: Adapted from the interviews.



Hierarchy aboard a stern freezer trawler.
Source: Adapted from the interviews.



Hierarchy aboard a stern freezer/filleter trawler.
Source: Adapted from the interviews.

Appendix L List of western films viewed

No.	Year	Name	Director	Information on dress
1.	1915	Birth of a Nation	D.W. Griffith	No relevance to the suits. About the KKK and feels rather un PC now.
2.	1939	Stagecoach	John Ford	Early in the film as the riders enter the town cowboys are seen wearing wide chaps and jeans worn with turn ups 2:15. The stagecoach enters a Spanish Mexican town, the people who greet the stagecoach are wearing cummerbunds/sashes in contrasting colours to their clothing 38:34. The three baddies who confront John Wayne's character (The Ringo Kid), all have wide chaps, including the one's with the round buckle fastenings 1:28:35.
3.	1940	The Westerner	William Wyler	Nothing to suggest the clothing had any resemblance to what the trawlermen wore onshore. The style in the film was mainly checked shirts.
4.	1940	Wagon Train	Edward Killy	Nothing to suggest the clothing had any resemblance to what the trawlermen wore onshore.
5.	1942	The Spoilers	Ray Enright	Nothing in relation to the trawlermen, the collars on John Wayne's shirt were rather long and pointy. Possibly a bit Ted/Zoot. Marlene looked amazing, hair and her tantalising clothing.
6.	1943	The Outlaw	Howard Hughes	When Pat Garrett who has arrested Billy the Kid, Doc Holliday with the help of Rio (Jane Russell) are chased by Indians and have arrived 40 miles from their destination of Fort Somer; they arrive at a house whereby they are greeted by a man called Peblo who has an accent possibly a Mexican and is wearing a Spanish waistband (1:26:42)
7.	1948	Blood on the Moon	Robert Wise	Robert Mitchum's character wears chaps in the opening scene. Nothing more offered on the dress. Robert Mitchum in a very nice denim shirt which was short (like one of my vintage shirt patterns) and billowed out at the back due to a belt. Denim was a big feature in this film, esp. on Mitchum.
8.	1948	Fort Apache	John Ford	John Wayne's character whilst off duty is wearing possibly dress uniform of his regiment which includes a cummerbund 37:04. Nothing else about is dress has any resemblance to the trawlermen's.
9.	1949	Fighting Man of the Plains	Edwin L Marin	One of the main characters Johnny Tancred, wore a dark waistcoat with a three pockets, which were piped in a lighter colour. They were not half-moon.
10.	1949	Red River	Howard Hawks	Nothing reminiscent of the trawlermen's dress apart from in the first 5 minutes a couple of herders from Mexico, one of them wears a Spanish waistband. It's a minor incident in the film and I can't imagine that it holds any significance, and it only lasts about 3 minutes.
11.	1949	Tulsa	Stuart Heisler	Nothing to suggest the clothing had any resemblance or influence, however at 15:07 in the film the character called Pinky starts to sing old faithful which has become Hull FC's anthem. It has a country twang to it.
12.	1950	Broken Arrow	Delmer Daves	No relevance to the suits. The clothing worn was denim jeans and denim jacket on Stewart with bibbed shirts. The towns people wore the Mississippi look, long jackets, thin looped ties.
13.	1950	The Gunfighter	Henry King	None like the fishermen, good film though. Similar in moral as the mag. 7. i.e. Jimmy Ringo (Gregory Peck) wants to be reunited with his wife and boy and start a new life away from the bloodshed. But it doesn't happen.
14.	1950	The Wagonmaster	John Ford	No detail on clothing with regard to being similar to what the fishermen wore
15.	1952	Bend of the River (US) Where the River Bends (UK)	Anthony Mann	No relevance to the suits
16.	1952	High Noon	Fred Zinnemann	eff Bridges character wears a waistcoat with half-moon pockets without the sprat's head. In the scene in church the man next to Gary Cooper (W Kane's character) has piping to his jacket. I would say that both are tenuous links to the way that the trawlermen dressed.
17.	1953	Shane	George Stevens	No indication that the dress would influence the trawlerman.
18.	1955	The Man from Laramie	Anthony Mann	Large gun belt that has a feel of a Spanish waistband (Still p.10 A pictorial history of westerns) But nothing within the film to suggest that it would have influenced the dress of the trawlermen.

19.	1956	The Searchers	John Ford	No similarities with the trawlermen's dress and the characters in the film. The nearest is the Mexican's who lead Ethan and Martin (John Wayne and Jeffrey Hunter) to Scar, he and his men wear cummerbands, bright sashes as well as the usual dress of how Mexican's are portrayed, short jackets as an example. Apart from this one of the ranger's party has a pointed yoke back on his jacket but it has tassels.
20.	1957	The Restless Breed	Allan Dwan	No similarities in the clothing of the fishermen.
21.	1958	Man of the West	Anthony Mann	Very tight with characters, 8 main. Nothing of similarity to what the trawlermen wore. The baddies had waistcoats and shirts with no distinguishing features. Cooper had a tasselled waistcoat.
22.	1958	The Big Country	William Wyler	52:09 Heston enters party wearing a piped yoked backed and front jacket that's two-tone. Overall colour brown. His character is bad but changes throughout the film. 54:12 At the party another man appears with a similar jacket to Heston but with a back waist piece. Overall colour brown. 60:10 At same party a Mexican (possible a servant) leaving against a wall in shirt and trousers with a red Spanish waistband. screenshot. 35:36 Charlton Heston in chaps that are slightly wider than the ones in The Mag 7. screenshot 1:01:18 enemy wearing chaps, tight.
23.	1959	Rio Bravo	Howard Hawks	No indication that the dress would influence the trawlerman. However Dean Martin and Ricky Nelson (who was a singer as well as an actor) sang about three songs that were ballads and country in style. Overall the film was not that good.
24.	1960	The Magnificent Seven	John Sturges	Mexicans with sashes around the waist in shades of red and blue, screenshot at 2:43. The scene with the chaps, are not even wide screenshot 33:24. Showing narrow chaps on screenshot 1:13:04 and Steve McQueen at 1:51:21.
25.	1960	The Unforgiven	John Huston	No detail on clothing with regards to being similar to what the fishermen wore.
26.	1961	The Deadly Companions	Sam Peckinpah	No relation to what the trawlermen where wearing. All fringes and cowboy boots.
27.	1961	The Misfits	John Huston	Great film but no reference to the clothing.
28.	1962	Lonely are the Brave	David Miller	No clothing resembling the trawlermen's. A really good film, starts of comical in the sense Douglas's character gets himself imprisoned so that he can see his friend, but then he jail breaks and it becomes a chase. Right from the beginning there is a paradox between the new world and the old. Early scene Douglas on horseback against a back drop of cars ready for the wrecker. This continues into the chase scene with Douglas on horseback being pursued by cars and helicopters. Walter Mathau as Sherriff highlights this through a statement of I feel like I'm being left behind, but it's not him it's the cowboy who is.
29.	1962	The Man who Shot Liberty Valance	John Ford	John Wayne is wearing chaps with silver buckle along length (ties) (20:00). In the saloon scene a very minor character has a saddle back jacket on with a stitched 1/2 belt with one button at either side. It's very difficult to see as the check is so busy (28:00).
30.	1964	A Fistful of Dollars	Sergio Leone	Nothing in relation to the trawlermen, apart from one of the key badies (one of the three brothers) wears a shirt with frills.
31.	1965	For a few dollars more	Sergio Leone	Nothing like the trawlermen's a minor character (bady) wears a cummerband in black.
32.	1965	The Sons of Katie Elder	Henry Hathaway	Only one shirt which a young Dennis Hopper was wearing (he was the son of the baddy). It was a dark grey with Van Dyke yoke front and back with pintucks which had a feel of the folds in the back at the sides of the trawlermen's jackets. The pintucks were on the front and back. The front also had vertical pockets.
33.	1966	The good, the bad and the ugly	Sergio Leone	None like the fishermen apart from the uniform of the South confederate cavalry sergeant who had yellow gauntlett cuffs on a grey jacket.
34.	1968	Once Upon a Time in the West	Sergio Leone	No dress similar to the trawlermen.
35.	1969	The Wild Bunch	Sam Peckinpah	No detail on clothing with regard to being similar to what the fishermen wore.
36.	1970	A mule for sister Sara	Don Siegel	At 30 minute Eastwood and Sister Sara enter a Mexican Village and the men are wearing cummerbunds, in contrasting bright colours by comparison to their white shirts and tan coloured trousers and waistcoats.

Appendix M List of novels read

No.	Author	Year	Title	Information on dress
1.	Grey, Z.	1908	Last of the Plainsmen	Beautifully descriptive of the scenery but no mention of clothing.
2.	Grey, Z.	1910	The Heritage of the Desert	Beautifully descriptive of the scenery but no mention of clothing.
3.	Grey, Z.	1912	Riders of the Purple Sage	Beautifully descriptive of the scenery but no mention of clothing.
4.	Grey, Z.	1914	The Light of Western Stars	Don Carlos pressed forward. His whole figure filled Madeline's reluctant but fascinated eyes. He wore tight velveteen breeches, with a heavy fold down the outside seam, which was ornamented with silver buttons. Round his waist was a sash, and a belt with fringed holster, from which protruded a pearl-handled gun. A vest or waistcoat, richly embroidered, partly concealed a blouse of silk and wholly revealed a silken scarf round his neck (p.70). ¹ Don Carlos is a Mexican who works with the vaqueros on one of the ranches that has been bought by Madelaine the female leading character. He is rustling horses and ammunition across the border and will not leave the ranch once Madelaine has bought it. This is the descriptor of his clothing when they go to request him to leave the ranch. It's page 70 of the online book, chapter 10 Don Carlos Vequeros. 'These rebels and guerrillas--what lean, yellow, bearded wretches! They curiously watched Link as he went working over the car. No two were alike, and all were ragged. They had glittering eyes sunk deep in their heads. They wore huge sombreros of brown and black felt, of straw, of cloth. Every man wore a belt or sash into which was thrust some kind of weapon. Some wore boots, some shoes, some moccasins, some sandals, and many were barefooted (p. 189). ¹ Chapter 24. The Ride.
5.	Grey, Z.	1915	Lone Star Ranger	Beautifully descriptive of the scenery but no mention of clothing.
6.	L'Amour, L.	1952	Hondo	No information on dress.
7.	L'Amour, L.	1960	Flint	No information on dress.
8.	L'Amour, L.	1960	The Daybreakers	The first three were army ambulances surrounded by a dozen Mexicans in fringed buckskin suits and wide Mexican sombreros. The were another dozen riding around the three freight wagons following, and we'd never seen the like. Their jackets were short, only to the waist, and thier pants flared out at the bottom and fitted like a glove along the thighs. Their spurs had rowels like mill wheels on them, and they all had spanking-new rifles and pistols. They wore coloured silk sashes like some of those Texas cowhands wore, and they were all slicked out like some kind of a show (pp.20-21). ¹ 'That day I was wearing black broadcloth pants down over my boots, a style just then coming in, and I had a gray shirt with a black string tie and a blak, braided Spanish-style jacket and a black hat. My gun was on, and I was carrying a spare tucked into my waistband out of sight under my jacket (p.239). ¹
9.	L'Amour, L.	1961	Sackett	No information on dress.
10.	Edson, J.T.	1963	Gunsmoke Thunder	No information on dress.
11.	L'Amour, L.	1964	Mojave Crossing	Mention the vaqueros but with no information on their dress. 'On the streets the folks themselves were a sight to behold, and when it came to the Califonios themeselves, you never saw such a dressed-up lot of folks. Many wore short jackets of silk, figured calico, or beaded buckskin, white linen shirts open at the neck, black silk handkerchiefs knotted loosely around the neck, and pants of velveteen or broadcloth, or sometimes of beautifully tanned white buckskin, and nearly every one wore a silk sash, usually bright red. The serapes ranged from Indian blankets to fine broadcloth (pp.119-120). ¹
12.	L'Amour, L.	1969	Lonely Men	No information on dress.
13.	Edson, J.T.	1970	Back to the bloody border	No information on dress.