THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

After the Trawl: Memory and Afterlife in the Wake of Hull's Distant-Water Trawl Fishery from 1976

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Abstract

From the late nineteenth century the city of Hull became synonymous with trawling. For almost a century its distant-water fishery developed as a strongly place-centered industry, concentrated in the western port district of Hessle Road. Here, amid a diverse urban economy, the requirements and customs of trawling created a distinctive social geography and local culture. In 1976, a perfect storm of rising oil prices, declining fish stocks and changes in global policy forced Hull's fishery into rapid decline. In the years that followed, new practices enabled a smaller fishery to survive. Yet while fish merchants and processors continued their trade, the distant-water fleet was scrapped, sold or redeployed. This thesis engages oral history framed by documentary research, to examine the lived experience of Hull's fishery in a decade of contraction and decline. The research is located in, and contributes to, the overlapping fields of fisheries history, cultural geography and cultural curatorship. In synthesising time, place and memory, the thesis constructs a holistic narrative of interweaving stories and converging themes that reveal the intricacies of this human interaction with the marine environment. It moves between land and sea, juxtaposing global and local factors. For Hull's fishery, international politics and globalised fishing brought change directly to its door, while new seafaring operations altered the rhythms of life ashore. As Hull's surviving fishery reconfigured itself for global markets, it left old practices and associations in its wake and the repercussions were felt in the physical spaces and cultural networks of the fishing community. The thesis examines disruption and adaptation in a maritime industry, drawing upon geographical theories of 'place' to explore a changing relationship with the sea. It further considers how fishing is remembered and represented in Hull, as the former fishing communities seek the 'right place' for a trawling past in the future city.

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Abbreviations

ABP	Associated British Ports
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
BFF	British Fishing Federation
BUT	British United Trawlers
CFP	Common Fisheries Policy
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FN	Fishing News
FNI	Fishing News International
HFTOC	Humber Freezer Trawler Owners Company
HFVOA	Hull Fishing Vessel Owners Association
HC	Hamling Collection
HCA	Hull City Archives
NAFHA	North Atlantic Fisheries History Association
NEAFC	North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission
SFIA	Sea Fish Industry Authority
TAC	Total Allowable Catch
WF	World Fishing
WFA	White Fish Authority

Glossary of Fishing and Nautical Terms

General:

Term	Definition
Bobber	A Hull term for the dockworkers that unloaded fish from trawlers (known as lumpers in Grimsby).
Barrow Boy	A youth employed to move fish around the quayside, often a first step towards gaining employment on the dock or at sea.
Bullnose	A rounded area of dockland at the entrance to Hull's Fish Dock, south of the lock gates and facing the River Humber.
Demersal Fish	Fish living predominantly at or near the bottom of a body of water, such as cod.
Dutch Auction	A means of auction (used at Hull's Fish Market) where the auctioneer starts with a high price, which drops until a participant is willing to accept the offer.
Flag of Convenience	The practise of registering a merchant ship in a country different from that of the ship's owners and flying the flag of the country of registration.
Frozen at Sea (FAS)	Fish frozen aboard a trawler soon after being caught.
Green Hand	Nautical slang for an inexperienced crew member.
Gunboat	A lightly armed naval vessel used by the Icelandic Coastguard.
Handlining	A form of inshore fishing that uses baited hooks attached to lines towed by small boats.
Jigging	A form of handlining that uses an unbaited lure or 'jig' which creates a vibration in the water.
Kit	A local term for the dockside containers that held wet fish whilst being sold at auction.
Klondyking	A term used for the system whereby fish is transferred at sea from the catching vessel to a larger factory ship for processing.
Pelagic Fish	Fish that live in open water, away from the seabed or shore, such as mackerel.

Poundage	A local term for the money raised from the sale of the catch, paid to the trawling crew as a percentage share to supplement their basic wage.
Quota	An allocation of a share of fish stock that may be caught by a nation, company or vessel, introduced in an attempt to manage overfishing.
Runner	The term used in the British trawl industry for the man employed by trawling companies with responsibility for recruiting and managing crews.
Smoke House	A building for smoking fish. In Hull these were generally brick built with a steeply pitched roof and distinctive row of tall, slim chimneys.
Stand	A workspace with a small office above, located to the rear of the fish market sheds and occupied by fish merchants.
Swallow the Anchor	Nautical slang meaning to give up going to sea.
Transhipment	In maritime terms, the off-loading of a cargo from one ship, to be loaded onto another without the cargo leaving the port. In modern parlance, klondyking may be referred to as transhipment at sea.
Trawlers:	
Factory Ship	A large vessel with facilities for processing and freezing fish whilst still at sea.
Fishing Smack	A sail-rigged fishing vessel.
Freezer Trawler	Usually a stern trawler, with facilities to freeze fish at sea. Cleaning, sorting or gutting may take place before freezing, but full processing tends to be reserved for factory ships. Aboard a freezer vessel (non-factory), fish is most typically frozen into blocks and the fish defrosted and processed ashore.
Japanese Squid Jigger	A specialist vessel using lights to attract squid and 'jigging' thousands of hooks from separate winches. Factory vessels process the squid on board in large quantities.
Mothership	A vessel that provides support and services to a fleet at sea. In fishing terms, it may also be a large factory or transport vessel (reefer) that receives fish from smaller

	vessels via the systems of klondyking or transhipment at sea.
Sidewinder or Side Trawler	The dominant trawler of the North Atlantic distant-water industry until the late 1960s, gradually replaced with the stern trawler. Hull sidewinders were wet fish trawlers, with the trawl set over the side and the winch set forward. Fish were gutted on the open deck and stored below.
Stern Trawler	A major advance from the side trawler, with the trawl released and hauled from the rear, via a ramp on larger vessels. Fish is generally handled and stored below deck. Stern trawlers can be wet fish, freezer or factory vessels.
Purse Seiner (Seine Netter)	A vessel rigged for pelagic fishing where a weighted net is released to encircle a fish shoal and drawn in like a purse string. On larger vessels fish may be pumped aboard into a brine-filled tank for freezing.
Trawls:	
Bottom/Demersal Trawl	A cone shaped net towed across the bottom of the seabed. Fish are channelled into the point of the cone, known as the cod end. The Hull industry traditionally favoured the otter trawl, where the net is held open by two large metal otter boards or 'trawl doors'.
Mid Water/Pelagic Trawl	A cone shaped net with cod end, designed, rigged and weighted to fish mid-water. Generally larger than a bottom trawl, it can catch fish close to the surface or at great depth. The mid water trawl is designed for pelagic fishing, but can also target demersal species.
Purse Seine Net	A large wall of netting, with floats on the surface and a lead line threaded around the bottom. The net encircles shoal and the lead line is pulled to 'purse' the net and entrap the fish.

Glossary of Local Terms

An’t	Have not
Aren’t	Am not (used with first person singular)
Cos	Because
Din’t	Did not
‘em	Them
Gonna	Going to
In’t	Is not
Kid	A man, usually a younger man – or can mean child
Me	My (i.e. me dad)
Mebbe	Maybe
Nowt	Nothing
o’	Of (i.e. a cup o’ tea).
Owt	Anything
Sez	Says/said
Summat	Something
The	The can be omitted (i.e. I’m going to shops, going to park)
‘uns	Ones (i.e. little ’uns (children))
Went	Went can mean said (i.e. He went, ‘I’m going home’)
Wi’	With
Won’t	With a short ‘o’ this means ‘was not’, with a long ‘o’ it means will not
Wun’t	Would not
Y’	You

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines a time and a place that people remember. The time was the 1970s and 1980s, a decade that witnessed the contraction of many established industrial pillars of the British economy, with far-reaching social and geographical consequences. Since the Second World War, Britain had experienced sustained economic growth. The initial post-war reconstruction boom was followed by a quarter century of full employment and rising standards of living. During this period the British economy was one of the most stable in the OCED.[1] In the 1960s, however, these favourable conditions in Britain were beginning to weaken due to global competition, balance of payments crises, wage inflation and a general decline in profits. These factors were compounded in the following decade by supply-side shocks, including the soaring oil prices of 1973-74 and 1978-79.[2] In scholarly discourse, as well as in popular memory, the 1970s and 1980s have been defined as economically troubled.[3]

The place is Kingston-upon-Hull (henceforth Hull), a city at the confluence of the rivers Humber and Hull towards the North Sea coast of England. Here, from the middle ages, maritime activities, notably seaborne trade, shipping and shipbuilding contributed to a mixed maritime economy. By the mid nineteenth century a new industry was adding to the maritime diversity. Trawling from Hull began with the discovery of fish-rich waters in the North Sea off the mouth of the River Humber, yet by the end of the nineteenth century, pressure on these stocks, coupled with the arrival of new technology, had propelled Hull trawlers towards fishing grounds in the North Atlantic and Arctic seas. Hull's distant-water trawl fishery thus grew from its interaction with and dependency upon productive marine environments that lay off the shores of other nations. In Hull itself trawling forged local dependencies that became concentrated in the shoreside district of Hessle Road. Here, adjacent to St Andrew's Fish Dock, an economy and geography, a culture and a community all evolved in response to the relentless demands of fishing. In the 1970s and 1980s, the fragility of these interactions became apparent, as rising oil costs, declining fish stocks and change in international policy combined to create a perfect storm that forced Hull's distant-water trawl industry into turmoil. From 1976, following a series of disputes known as the Cod Wars, Hull trawlers and trawlermen were denied access to their habitual waters and their industry contracted swiftly and terminally.

It is this time and this place that many in Hull choose to remember. The trawling narrative remains alive within the memories of those whose lives were linked to the

[1] H. Pemberton, 'The Transformation of the Economy' in P. Addison and H. Jones (eds.), *The Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p.185.
[2] R. Coopey and N. Woodward, 'The British Economy in the 1970s: An Overview' in R. Coopey and N. Woodward (eds.), *Britain in the 1970s: The Troubled Economy* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp.4-6.
[3] Ibid., p. 1.

industry. Local publications, oral histories, murals and theatre have all captured the heyday of fishing. Few, however, have examined the years of its demise or the cultural legacies left in its wake. For the first time, therefore, my thesis aims to compile a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of Hull and its fishery in the wake of the Cod Wars, engaging oral history narratives to consider the interaction of human society and the marine environment. Taking the perspective of lived experience, the three main research objectives are:

1. How did Hull's distant-water fishery react to the changes of 1976: what drove the response and what was the experience of those whose livelihoods were linked to trawling?
2. How did the response alter the previously close relationship between Hull and its fishery and how was this experienced?
3. How has fishing been remembered as cultural heritage and what is the 'right place' for the fishing past in the contemporary and future city?

Research Approach and Contribution

The research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) as a Collaborative Doctoral Award. The project is in partnership with Hull Maritime Museum and aims to deliver impact by making the outcomes available for future museum development and by depositing research interviews in a permanent public archive. The work is interdisciplinary and multi-themed, seeking to integrate the disciplines of history, cultural geography and cultural curatorship. The objectives and contribution of the research can thus be considered under the themes of time, place and memory.

1: Time

My research contributes to the history of distant-water trawling from Hull. Studies of Britain's sea fisheries constitute a small fraction of the historical maritime literature, making it an under-studied aspect of maritime history. Moreover, accounts of Hull's deep-sea fishery generally conclude with brief reference to the impact of the Cod Wars. However, whilst the fishery faced rapid contraction, it did not end in 1976. The afterlife of the industry is thus a gap in knowledge that my research seeks to address. In one sense, the emphasis on Hull renders it a local history. Yet Hull's position amongst the world's pioneers of distant-water fishing gives the work national and international significance, with first-hand local narratives revealing how global events and policies were experienced by those who lived with the consequences.

Although focusing on the post-1976 period, the thesis embraces a broader timeframe. Taking the working rhythms of the 1950s and 1960s as a baseline, my primary

research embraces the emerging influence of the freezer fleet in the late 1960s, the challenges and the responses at sea and on shore during the 1970s and 1980s and the struggles surrounding fishing heritage in the twenty-first century. The main body of my research, however, is directed to the years between 1975-1985, where decline and adjustment were most concentrated. By 1985, as my study reveals, Hull's fishery had changed substantially in character and was poised to face a new and final phase of its history.

2: Place

The theme of place-based relationships runs throughout the research. In a maritime context it reveals the connectivity between sea and land. Whilst sea fisheries never constituted a major component of the English economy, in the geographically specific communities where fishing is practised, its influence is substantial. Fishing in Hull was strongly place-centered, with localized business structures and close ties between industry, dockside and trawling community. Whilst my research shows that after 1976 a fishery did survive, in local popular memory a more absolute decline is often conveyed. In this thesis, I propose a reason for this contradiction, for as the fish catching and handling sectors adapted to new circumstances, they turned increasingly towards the global arena. As ships, operations and men diverged from the city, they left in their wake severed bonds, which, I suggest, were felt most keenly by those literally and metaphorically left behind.

3: Remembering Time and Place

By drawing upon memory to explore this divorce between a maritime industry and its social, economic and cultural landscape, my research makes several contributions. The study offers an understanding of the port-city, by presenting it as an affective cultural affiliation. By focusing upon the close bonds between Hull and its fishing industry, I draw upon recollected accounts and geographical theories of place to express the port-city relationship as one based upon collective activity, embodied practice and sensory encounters. My research then considers the lived experience and consequences when those connections are eroded. Moving from memory to remembrance, within Hull, the trawling past is subject to an ongoing, complex and dissonant process of negotiation, which this study seeks to unravel. My thesis contributes to the idea of the past as a continuum and considers the struggles over heritage as an integral part of trawling history. It then draws upon the case study of Hull's fishing heritage to critique and develop theoretical perspectives on the past as a resource in conflict.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is organised according to the research questions. Chapters two and three outline the intellectual framework that supports the thesis, including a review of relevant literature, theory and methodology. Chapter four draws upon secondary sources to provide historical context, examining local, national and global aspects of North Atlantic fishing from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1970s. My own research outcomes form the basis of chapters five to nine. In chapter five I combine my research findings with existing secondary sources to create a portrait of Hull trawling in the 1950s and 1960s, defined by the operation of its side trawling fleet. I then proceed to draw upon my interviews and archival research to expose the often-overlooked cultural changes that were emerging with the new technologies of the freezer trawler.

My findings and analysis of the fishery in the wake of the Cod Wars is covered in two chapters. Chapter six emphasises the decline and contraction in the immediate years after 1976. Combining my archival research and oral history interviews, I explore attitudes and expectations during the final Cod War and events and experiences in the aftermath. Chapter seven adopts a more optimistic tone, assessing the new opportunities pursued by firms and men in the first decade after the trawl and ending with an analysis of the new lives that emerged. Although this structure separates the search for new prospects from narratives of decline, in practise the two occurred concurrently.

Chapters eight and nine bring theoretical perspectives to the understanding of Hull's trawling history. In chapter eight I draw upon memory and theories of lived place to consider the port-city relationship. I explore the changing associations within Hull's close knit fishing landscapes, concluding that the disruption of strong affiliations has spurred a desire for remembrance. In chapter nine I draw upon and contribute to theories of cultural memory and representation, showing how the collective experience and rapid loss of trawling forged a grassroots heritage campaign that continues to evoke the trawling past in the unfolding of the present. The thesis closes by opening a discussion about the 'right place' for trawling memory in the city of the future.

Chapter 2: Intellectual Context and Literature Review

The thesis adopts an interdisciplinary perspective. Moran defines interdisciplinarity as 'any form of dialogue or interaction between two or more disciplines'.[1] To be effective, the relationship should not be one of mere proximity, where discrete modes of thinking sit side by side, but one of integration, where a combined approach is in some way transformative.[2] In this thesis interdisciplinarity is applied as a practical means to write a single history by assimilating multiple approaches. The research constructs a maritime history by combining archival analysis with the 'inside' perspective of the research interview. It engages oral history to create narratives of place, whilst drawing upon geographical theories to explain historical place-based relationships. It presents heritage as an integral component of a maritime history, drawing upon first person accounts alongside theories of place-memory and authorized curatorship to unravel the complexities of cultural legacy.

Foster asserts that to be interdisciplinary it is first necessary to understand the disciplines: to be conversant with the historicity of their discourses before attempting to bring them together.[3] Failure to do so, he suggests, will produce work that is non-disciplinary and eclectic.[4] Moran recognises the 'intellectual limits' of interdisciplinarity; the risk that a single scholar working across multiple theoretical frameworks may suffer from gaps in knowledge.[5] Nevertheless, if 'a certain messiness' is accepted, he argues that interdisciplinary working can produce 'interesting intellectual developments' and 'disrupt the sometimes deceptive smoothness' of the established approach.[6]

This chapter sets out the empirical and theoretical perspectives that have shaped the research. It builds an academic framework that supports the study and forms a platform upon which the thesis makes its contribution. The framework is interdisciplinary, with its inherent risks and 'messiness' and this is reflected in the discussion. The body of work reviewed may at times appear disparate. It is cohered through its role in influencing the writing of a multi-faceted history of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery. Before merging approaches, the diverse literature and theory is first examined and understood within the disciplinary frameworks of history, geography and curatorship. Once again they are considered as time, place and memory.

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[1] J. Moran, *Interdisciplinarity* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.16.
[2] Ibid.
[3] H. Foster 'Trauma Studies and the Interdisciplinary: An Overview', as cited in Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, p.183.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, p.184
[6] Ibid.

1: Time

Fisheries History: An Under-Researched Sub-Discipline

The sparse historiography of England's sea fisheries does not adequately reflect the contribution made by fishing in the lives of English people. Although catching and consuming fish has never underpinned the national economy, employed a significant percentage of the population or provided the staple national diet, Starkey, Reid and Ashcroft nevertheless assert that the processes and products of the fisheries 'have permeated the economic, social, cultural and political fabric of England and Wales since the early medieval times'.[7] Thompson, Wailey and Lummis dispel the myth of fishing as a unifying way of life.[8] They emphasise the diversity of practice and culture, highlighting the marked differences between coastal and industrial fisheries and contrast their fluctuating fortunes. As Starkey et al. observe, fishing communities can be isolated and dependent on the sea or be part of diverse urban, or touristic economies. They can be rooted or migrant. Produce is for elite or mass markets. Political drivers, in time and place, are localised or international in scope.[9] And in terms of culture and practice, Thompson et al. suggest that 'the exact balance of attitudes is shaped within the context of each local economy and social structure'.[10]

British sea fisheries have never been widely studied by historians, which Robinson and Starkey attribute to two main factors.[11] Firstly, resonant with the observations of Thompson et al., they outline the varied spatial, technological and temporal practices of sea fishing that make it difficult to explore the many facets of its history in a comprehensive manner. Secondly, they see the diverse and scattered nature of primary sources and the fragmented nature of associated literature as a barrier to research. Robinson notes the small number specialising in fishing history, plus a lack of awareness of its significance amongst the wider community of academic historians.[12] As Mitchel asserts 'one could look at general histories of England in the nineteenth century and never guess that Great Britain was the most important fishing nation in the world'.[13] The position of the British fishery is not unique. The first publication of the North Atlantic Fisheries History Association (NAFHA) in 1996 notes a similar disinterest amongst

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[7] D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.7.

[8] P. Thompson, T. Wailey and T. Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp.3-7.

[9] Starkey et al., *Commercial Sea Fisheries*, p.7.

[10] Thompson et al., *Living the Fishing*, p.5.

[11] R. Robinson and D. J. Starkey, 'The Sea Fisheries of the British Isles 1376-1976: A Preliminary Survey' in P. Holm, D. J. Starkey and J. Thor (eds.), *The North Atlantic Fisheries 1100-1976: National Perspectives on a Common Resource,* Studia Atlantica: 1 (Esbjerg: NAFAH, 1996), p.121.

[12] R. Robinson, 'Hook, Line and Sinker: Fishing History – Where Have We Been, Where Are We Now and Where Are We Going?', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 97:1 (2011), pp.168-169.

[13] A. Mitchell, quote in Robinson and Starkey, 'Sea Fisheries of the British Isles', p.139.

European historians. Contributors from Iceland, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark similarly lament the limited historical fisheries research within their respective countries.[14]

Writing in 2012, Heidbrink observed the number of publications labelled as fisheries history that have emerged since 2000.[15] He attributes much of the increased productivity to interdisciplinary initiatives with natural science, where historical data has been employed in the scientific analysis of past fish stocks. Whilst acknowledging the importance of such work, he asserts the need to retain a humanities-based approach. Heidbrink's comments indicate that achieving a balance between economic, human and environmental matters is as important to fishing history, as it is to the industry itself. There remains substantial scope therefore, for new academic contributions to temper economic, political and scientific approaches with historically based cultural understandings.

English Distant-Water Fisheries and the Fishery of Hull

> We have produced a machine for catching fish such as never existed before.[16]

As Starkey and Robinson have suggested, compiling a historiography of English distant-water fisheries is a varied business. The limited secondary sources are dispersed not only within works of historical research, but also amongst the fields of politics, science, economics, marine policy, social research and literature. Not all fishing is trawling and not all trawling is in distant-waters. Therefore, in addition, historical context for the distant-water sector must be 'picked out' from more general fishing research. For the port of Hull, however, there is a significant research advantage. British distant-water trawling ports were few in number and after the Second World War, Hull operated an almost entirely distant-water fleet. As Britain's leading port in this sector, at a time when Britain itself was a world leading distant-water fishing nation, Hull features prominently in national and international, as well as local analyses. The slight body of fisheries literature can thus prove surprisingly rich.

The first comprehensive account of Britain's fishing industry was produced in 1874 by E.W. Holdsworth.[17] Drawing upon his experience as Secretary to the 1863 Royal Commission, Holdsworth offered a contemporary description, with historical dimension,

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[14] P. Holm, D. J. Starkey and J. Thor (eds.), *The North Atlantic Fisheries 1100-1976: National Perspectives on a Common Resource,* Studia Atlantica: 1 (Esbjerg: NAFHA, 1996), p.6. p.13, p.105, p.170, p.177.
[15] I. Heidbrink, 'Fisheries History: Some Unsolicited Comments on a Historical (Sub-)Discipline', in I. Heidbrink and M. McCarthy (eds.), *Fisheries Management in a Historical Perspective,* Studia Atlantica: 14 (Hull: NAFHA, 2013).
[16] G. Alward, *The Development of the British Fisheries during the Nineteenth Century: A Lecture* (Grimsby: Grimsby News, 1911), p.12.
[17] E. Holdsworth, *Deep-Sea Fishing and Fishing Boats* (London: Edward Stanford, 1874).

of the fishing stations that he systematically visited as part of his investigations. Both the Commission and Holdworth's work were spurred by the growing anxiety surrounding declining fish stocks. This early fishing account is therefore the product of the social, economic and environmental concerns that prevail in the writing and the practice of the industry over the century to follow.

Between the 1920s and 1970s a number of publications relating to historical and contemporary aspects of fishing were produced, with many aimed at the 'interested lay reader'.[18] Anson's accounts draw upon his observation of fishing practices and communities in Britain whilst ministering with the Apostleship of the Sea.[19] A number of narrative and autobiographical accounts relate specifically to the practices of distant-water trawling from Hull. Most are the work of interested observers: third parties voyaging aboard a trawler, relaying their impression to a general audience with a sub-text of adventure, incredulity and 'otherness'.[20] One notable exception is the autobiographical work of Piper, who, amidst a varied career, served as deckhand in the Hull trawl industry and who combines literary skill with detailed technical knowledge and a cultural understanding conveyed from the 'inside'.[21] Although literary in nature, with careful deconstruction, such works complement historical research, offering illustrative, experiential and cultural insight, directly observed and refracted through the attitudes of the day.

An important sociological contribution comes from G.W. Horobin's 1955 community study that looked specifically at the interrelationship between community and occupation in the Hull fishery.[22] Whilst industrial sociologists had previously researched mining and steel, fishing, as a marginal national industry, was virtually unexplored.[23] Starting with this blank canvass, Horobin's analysis was the first academic work to explore the operation and culture of distant-water trawling and to define the close knit and spatially contingent interdependency between dock and district. Occurring in the midst of planning for housing clearances in Hull's fishing district, Horobin's study assessed the implications of spatial reorganisation and dispersal of the local population.[24] For this thesis, Horobin's observations form a vital springboard from which to consider the community experience of change.

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[18] Robinson, 'Hook, Line and Sinker', p.168.

[19] For example, P. Anson, *Fishermen and Fishing Ways* (Wakefield: AP Publishing, 1975), republished from Harrap and Co., 1932.

[20] For example, J. Willis, *The Last Adventurers* (London: Hurst and Blacket, 1937); H. Popham, *Cape of Storms* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957).

[21] S. Piper, *The North Ships: The Life of a Trawlerman* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974).

[22] G.W. Horobin, 'Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 8 (1957).

[23] Ibid., p.343 & p.354.

[24] Ibid., pp.351-354

An essential source for the study of the history, experience and culture of trawling in the late 1950s also comes from sociology. First published in 1962, Tunstall's *The Fishermen* offers a detailed contemporary account of the life of Hull's distant-water fishermen, based upon extensive interviews and participant observation that included three trips to sea.[25] Dicks cites *The Fishermen* alongside Dennis et al.'s *Coal is our Life*, as part of a genre of 1950s and early 1960s studies that documented, asserted and celebrated working class community in the face of perceived changes to the social order.[26] Both studies represent industries where work and community were closely entwined and hence they fall between the two sociological genres of work and community studies. But Tunstall's work introduces the added duality of a community based at sea and on shore, further cementing the link between work and community in this 'extreme occupation'.

Tunstall's work follows the genre of the traditional community study, concentrating upon the themes of work, leisure, family, kinship, politics and religion. In sociological terms, this traditional approach is often criticised as being descriptive and lacking in comparative theorisation.[27] However, for the historian, a descriptive and un-theorised study potentially offers a source less constrained by theoretical trends and more open to re-analysis. Although Tunstall's work is not highly theorised, he does offer interpretations of the motives or social forces behind practice, attitudes and culture. On occasion, for example in his discussions on education, recruitment, inferiority and status, his analysis reveals the bias of an upper middle class researcher observing a working-class occupation; a juxtaposition openly acknowledged by Tunstall himself.[28] Tunstall's work may be described as 'perceptive and unsentimental',[29] yet at times his apparent distance from his subject occludes the cultural richness conveyed in other 'inside' accounts, such as Piper's. Robinson, who himself grew up within the Hull trawling community, contrasts Tunstall's 'unremittingly bleak' depiction with his own personal recollection of a more vibrant and colourful community.[30]

The Fishermen took a critical stance towards the management and operation of the industry. Yet whilst *The Fishermen* maintained a measured tone, Tunstall's subsequent 1968 Fabian Society publication was an open attack.[31] The pamphlet condemned the

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[25] J. Tunstall, *The Fishermen: The Sociology of an Extreme Occupation*, 2nd ed. (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1969).
[26] B. Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p.90; N. Dennis, L. Fernando, M. Henriques and C. Slaughter, *Coal is our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956).
[27] G. Crow, 'Community Studies: Fifty Years of Theorization', *Sociological Research Online*, 7:3 (2002).
[28] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.280-282.
[29] Robinson, 'Hook, Line and Sinker', p.171.
[30] Ibid.
[31] J. Tunstall, *Fish: An Antiquated Industry*, Fabian Tract 360 (London: Fabian Society, 1968).

distant-water fishery as Britain's 'most antiquated industry': its labour relations, marketing, organisational and technological innovation, and government fishing policy all met scathing criticism. Although some reproaches were justified, Reid's reassessment of the accusations has deemed others to be simplistic and contestable.[32] Reid calls for a more nuanced analysis against a wider North Atlantic context. He adopts a less condemnatory stance, examining many of the issues within a framework of political instability, market change and rational economic responses and adjustments.[33] Nevertheless, the force of Tunstall's critique still resonates within contemporary and historical debate, serving as a platform for agreement or dispute. Despite controversies, Tunstall's work makes a highly significant contribution to the historical study of Britain's distant-water fishery, particularly that of Hull. It offers a detailed and wide-ranging account of the practices, relationships, traditions and experience of fishermen and their shoreside community in the late 1950s and 1960s. *The Fishermen* is crucial to this thesis. Just as Turner drew upon *'Coal is our Life'* to revisit the mining community of Featherstone in the midst of disruption,[34] in this study *The Fishermen* presents a baseline from which change can be measured and analysed.

The rapid decline of the British distant-water industry from 1975 is accompanied by a brief hiatus in the associated literature. After 1975 a corpus of industry, governmental and local authority reports addressed the uncertain economic situation.[35] In terms of secondary literature, the 1980s saw a discernible increase in popular publications that explore the distant-water sector from a historical perspective. With reference to Hull, the period marks a transition from writing about an active industry to discussing a past phenomenon. Authors such as Gill, Thompson and Ulyatt document stories, photographs, ships, places, traditions and practices in the wake of rapid and unprecedented change.[36] Such works are often commemorative as well as historical, fulfilling an important social need in the face of communal sense of loss.

Alongside these local publications, oral histories also contribute to the post Cod War interest. In 1977, Edwards and Marshall reviewed Tunstall's notions of continuity

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[32] C. Reid, 'Britain's Most Antiquated Industry: Mr Tunstall and the Fishing Industry' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 22:2 (2010).
[33] Ibid.
[34] R. Turner, *Coal Was Our Life* (Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University Press, 2000).
[35] For this thesis these are considered to be primary rather than literary sources.
[36] For example, A. Gill, *Hessle Road: A Photographer's View of Hull's Trawling Days* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1987); M. Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Trawling Fleet, 1946-86* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1987); M. Thompson, *Fish Dock: The Story of St. Andrew's Dock Hull* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1989); M. Ulyatt, *Trawlermen of Hull: The Rise and Decline of the World's Greatest Fishing Port* (Lancaster: Dalesman, 1985).

within the industry by using interviews to explore the interwar trawling experience.[37] Of greater significance to this study is Creed's 1985 oral history of trawling life, which culminated in the play *The Northern Trawl*.[38] In the 1990s, Lazenby and Lazenby added the missing female perspective with *Deep Sea Voices.*[39] Mitchell and Tate have published extensive extracts of interviews undertaken in Britain's distant-water ports[40] and Gill continues to present oral histories in a popular DVD series exploring the Hull industry.[41] Most recently and bringing in the wider fishery, is Triplow's oral history of the Humber food (fish) processing sector.[42] Oral histories of the deep-sea fishery are therefore abundant and accessible. Yet whilst they offer historical narrative, they are not analytical in approach. Most importantly, these oral histories, as with most local history publications, end with the final Cod War, the years after forming a brief epilogue: a last chapter to the story and the industry alike. In very recent years, fishing narratives have been supplemented by autobiography and reminiscence written by former trawlermen, who are now advanced in years. Of these, the autobiographical accounts by former skipper Danny Platten and my interviewee Jim Williams are significant, because in a notable departure from earlier local histories, they venture beyond the Cod Wars and narrate their personal experiences in the aftermath of distant-water trawling.[43]

Academic works emerging from the 1980s include Thompson et al.'s *Living the Fishing*, which draws upon oral testament to present a historical portrait of Britain's diverse fisheries.[44] Thompson et al. adopt a Marxist approach to their subject and Holm has suggested that alongside the work of Tunstall, this has lead to a pessimistic depiction of capitalist models of fishing, which is sometimes set against an idealised or optimistic view of traditional self-ownership models.[45] Researchers need to be mindful of the extent to which such 'value laden' accounts have influenced subsequent understandings of the industry. Published in 1996, Robinson's *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Industry* has become a principal source for the chronological historical study of British

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[37] P.J. Edwards and J. Marshall, 'Sources of Conflict and Community in the Trawling Industries of Hull and Grimsby between the Wars', *Oral History*, 5:1 (1977).
[38] R. Creed and J. Hawkins, *The Northern Trawl* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1986).
[39] C. Lazenby and J. Lazenby, *Deep Sea Voices: Reflections of Women in our Fishing Communities* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999).
[40] A. Mitchell and A. Tate, *Fishermen: The Rise and Fall of Deep Water Trawling* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1997).
[41] For example, A. Gill, *Arctic Trawlermen* (Hull: Dovedale Studios, 2000); *Three-Day Millionaires* (2001); *Hull Fish Dock* (2002) [DVD].
[42] N. Triplow, *Pattie Slappers: Stories from the Golden Age of Hull's Food Processing Industry* (Immingham: Community Heritage Publishing, 2013).
[43] D. Platten, *From the Arctic to Angola: The Adventures of a Hull Skipper* (Hull: Riverhead, 2010); *J. Williams, Swinging the Lamp: Nautical Memories of a Lifetime at Sea* (Hull: Riverhead, 2013).
[44] Thompson et al., *Living the Fishing.*
[45] P. Holm, 'The Modernisation of Fishing: The Scandinavian and the British Model' in R. Fischer, H. Hamre, P. Holm and J. Bruijn (eds.), *The North Sea: Twelve Essays on Social History of Maritime Labour* (Stavanger: Stavanger Maritime Museum, 1992).

trawling.[46] Robinson himself was raised in a Hull trawling family, yet combines this inside perspective with a historian's neutrality. His work offers a comprehensive overview of the post-war circumstances that led to the rapid decline of the industry in the 1970s, it gives a clear account of economic, technological, resource, political and international influences, whilst not excluding the human context. Like other histories, *Trawling* draws to a close with the Cod Wars. However, in an epilogue, it considers the aftermath, introducing some of the adaptive practices that are the focus of this thesis.

Alongside Robinson's broad account are publications that address specific aspects of trawling in the late twentieth century. Work by Thor and Johannesson, combined with the autobiographical perspective of Gilchrist, examine the political circumstances of the Cod Wars,[47] The 1983 Common Fisheries Policy is addressed by Wise and Shackleton, whilst its successors continue to be discussed in marine policy journals.[48] Of broader thematic and temporal scope is *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300,* edited by Starkey et al.[49] Published in 2000, this work coordinates the analysis of England's diverse fisheries, drawing together social, economic, political and cultural perspectives from the middle ages to the twentieth century. Moreover, it examines issues that extend beyond the typical 1976 watershed. A parallel contribution has emerged from the North Atlantic Fisheries History Association (NAFHA), which aims to facilitate a collective, international understanding of the North Atlantic fisheries; something previously pursued from a national perspective. Papers on diverse matters have been published in the NAFHA series *Studia Atlantica*, which offers a major contribution to fisheries history research in the Northern seas. Although socio-cultural matters remain underrepresented, these volumes do include some research that extends beyond 1976 and in 2012, volume two of *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries* brings the discussion firmly into the early twenty-first century.[50] This comprehensive collection is the first to take such a modern perspective and is a key contribution to the small body of literature that relates directly to the thesis.

As this slender historiography reveals, there is significant scope to contribute to the historical understanding of English distant-water trawling in the wake of Cod Wars. By

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[46] R. Robinson, *Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996).

[47] J. Thor, *British Trawlers and Iceland, 1919-1976* (Goteborg: University of Goteborg, 1995); G. Johannesson, *Troubled Waters: Cod War, Fishing Disputes and Britain's Fight for the Freedom of the High Seas,* Studia Atlantica: 11 (Hull: NAFHA, 2007); A. Gilchrist, *Cod Wars and How to Lose Them* (Edinburgh: Q Press, 1978).

[48] M. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Community* (London: Methuen, 1984); M. Shackleton, *The Politics of Fishing in Britain and France* (Aldershot: Gower, 1986).

[49] Starkey et al., *Commercial Sea Fisheries*.

[50] D. J. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries Vol. 2: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012).

studying Hull, this thesis advances a narrative and analysis of disruption and adaptation in a major fishery that is locally, nationally and internationally relevant. A cultural approach also means that the thesis contributes new insights to academic fisheries research. Assessing where research may go in the future, Robinson suggests engagement with 'actual fishermen… bringing them into the dialogue'.[51] He goes on to highlight the heritage dimension and a role for museums and interested individuals in bringing together academic and non-academic perspectives to enrich the study.[52] By drawing upon memories of a trawling community, by working with Hull Maritime Museum and by considering how distant-water trawling in Hull has been, and may in future be remembered, my research brings precisely such a public facing aspect to the historiography of fishing.

2: Place

'Being in the World'

The significance of place is a thread that weaves through the thesis. Chapter eight explores the changing landscapes of Hull's fishery, engaging memory to articulate the fishing district as a network of meaningful lived spaces. Geographers studying the connection between people and their environments have noted the significance of everyday engagements, social contact and the habitual movement of bodies in constituting place relationships. From the 1960s, early human geographers such as Relph, Tuan and Seamon shifted the notion of place from one of physical entity to a concept deeply rooted in the human experience. Drawing upon phenomenological theories of consciousness, Relph suggests that 'all consciousness is not merely consciousness of something, but of something in its place.'[53] To be conscious then, to be human, we must also be 'in place'. Place determines our experience, whilst our experience simultaneously determines our concept of place.

From this perspective, some assert that 'lived space' lies at the heart of feelings of belonging and place attachment. Tuan defines this 'affective bond between people and place' as 'topophilia'.[54] To Relph, the deepest feelings of 'insideness' occur when place is sub-consciously encountered from the interior, rather than observed from the 'outside'.[55] 'Insideness' lies at the heart of a profound relationship with surroundings. Relph's 'authentic sense of place' means 'belonging to *your* place both as an individual and as a

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[51] Robinson, Hook, 'Line and Sinker', p.174.
[52] Ibid., p.177.
[53] E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), p.42.
[54] Y. Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press), p.93.
[55] Relph, *Place,* p.55.

member of a community and to know this without reflecting upon it'.[56] Quoting Cox, Relph reports the trauma that can arise from breaking these bonds:

> Cox suggest that there are many people 'who never fully recover' from the loss of 'continuity of relationships with places' that results from urban renewal projects: and the not infrequent dramatic attempts by residents and homeowners to resist developers, even though they may have been offered better physical accommodation elsewhere, are indicative of these deep relationships with place.[57]

Some geographers emphasise the significance of collective movement and engagement in creating innate 'insider' knowledge. Lefebvre's 'lived-space' or Soja's 'thirdspace' is place that is practiced and lived as opposed to 'conceived' (material) or 'perceived' (representational).[58] To phenomenologists such intimate, subjective and everyday engagements make up the 'lifeworld' of a group or individual. Seamon employs the term 'place ballet' to refer to the repetitious movement around space.[59] Using ethnographic observation, he shows how daily routines becomes embedded in the sub-conscious to create a strong, insider's sense of place'.[60] Furthermore, Pred suggests that through such ongoing encounters, places are never completed, but always in the state of 'becoming' as new interactions occur.[61] Place, therefore, is not fixed but fluid, subject to fluctuating practice, meaning and emotions. It can be re-negotiated in the face of change.

Humanistic geography offered new ways to conceptualise communities and their places. However, phenomenological renderings of place were criticised by some for overlooking the economic, political and cultural constraint upon human agency and for ignoring the differentiated lived spaces of class, race or gender.[62] From the 1980s, these humanistic concerns were reinvigorated by the cultural turn in geography, which emphasised the study of place or landscapes as representations or texts, which convey cultural or political messages. Representational place is socially produced and with careful decoding, can reveal multiple layers of cultural meaning and political manipulation.[63] Yet as some became dissatisfied with representation as the primary means to analyse place, attention turned once again to experience.

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[56] Ibid., p.65
[57] Ibid.
[58] T. Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 38.
[59] D. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp.54-59.
[60] Ibid.
[61] A. Pred. 'Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 74:2 (1984), pp.279-280.
[62] A. Nayak and A. Jeffrey, *Geographical Thought: An Introduction to Ideas in Human Geography* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011), pp.65-69.
[63] Ibid., p.113.

In the late 1990s Thrift launched non-representational theory to challenge the increasingly dominant notion of landscapes as fixed and legible.[64] Representational approaches were criticised as limiting the world through one interpretation, crushing vitality and possibility under theories that 'enslave every social event to the workings of the system underneath'.[65] Non-representational theory aims to revive such 'dead geographies', by studying the world from the position of being within it.[66] Like phenomenological approaches, it focuses upon active engagement with the ordinary, ongoing, unconscious, routine-yet-unpredictable practices of everyday life. In simple terms, non-representational theory emphasises the roles of practice and performance, which are punctuated by affect; the push of the world upon the body, the pre-conscious experience of sensation, sound, smell. Non-representational theory highlights the immediacy of lived encounters; it focuses upon life in the moment, in a perpetual state of becoming.

Like phenomenological geography, non-representation theory has been criticised for its inclination to omit distinctions of gender, class or race. As a new and often contentious theory its position within geography is under negotiation. Yet whilst questioning its tenet, there is growing interest in how non-representational theory may work alongside rather than replace studies of cultural representation.[67] This approach is important to chapter nine, which considers the emotional struggles over place-memory. Here, Lorimer's preferred term more-than-representational theory is significant, for it suggests not the abandonment of representation, but the promise of something beyond.[68]

Introducing the Taskscape

The centrality of embodied lived experience in the creation of place is also encompassed within Ingold's concept of the taskscape.[69] In 1993, social anthropologist Ingold conceived the taskscape as a means of understanding place as the located ensemble of collective tasks, sensations, sounds and encounters performed in the process of communal living. The taskscape is a network of what Ingold refers to as the activities of dwelling: the everyday tasks that we undertake in our everyday lives. For Ingold, activities are ongoing

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[64] N. Thrift, 'Steps to an Ecology of Place' in J. Allen and D. Massey (eds.) *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
[65] M. Rose, 'Landscapes and Labyrinths', Geoforum, 33 (2002), p.460.
[66] N. Thrift, 'Dead Geographies – and How to Make them Live', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 18 (2000).
[67] For example, T. Cresswell, 'Review Essay, Non Representational Theory and Me: Notes of an Interested Sceptic', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30 (2012), pp.99-100.
[68] H. Lorimer, 'Cultural Geography: The Busyness of Being "More-than-Representational"', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29:94, (2005).
[69] T. Ingold, 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology,* 25:2 (1993).

and temporal. Temporality is presented as the passage of time as experienced within the event and, as social time spent in communal activity.[70]

To become a taskscape action must be collective and take place as part of a shared and ongoing 'lifeworld':

> It is to the entire ensemble of tasks, in their mutual interlocking, that I refer by the concept of *taskscape*. Just as the landscape is an array of related features, so – by analogy - the taskscape is an array of related activities.[71]

Importantly, Ingold firmly relates these everyday temporal processes to the simultaneous creation of physical landscape. The taskscape and the landscape arise together 'within the same current of activity', just as a man's gait and his footprint arise in the movement of his walking.[72] The taskscape thus offers a theoretical perspective on how the situated movement, process and connectivity of ongoing everyday life can, over time, physically mould the landscape and imbue it with collective meaning. In doing so, it provides the framework for exploring Hull's changing fishing landscapes as 'Trawlertown' in chapter eight.

Ingold presents the taskscape as continually unfolding, with the landscape never reaching completion, so long as people are actively and collectively engaged within it.[73] However, even when activity ends, a legacy remains. Activity is physically expressed within surroundings and the landscape can thus be regarded and retained as a 'collapsed act'.[74] Ingold writes 'thanks to their solidity, features of the landscape remain available for inspection long after the movement that gave rise to them has ceased'.[75] This is relevant to chapter nine, which explores how the relicts of Hull's fishing taskscape and the emotional ties of those who were part of it, have become entwined in the pursuit of a cultural heritage.

Conceptualising the Port-City District

Drawing upon theories of lived space, this thesis explores the port-city as a cultural entity. In maritime studies the relationship between sea and shore has been examined in various ways. Jackson remains a key authority on the historical and physical development of British ports and Hull features prominently in his 1983 study of docklands from the fifteenth to the late twentieth century.[76] In 1983 Jackson observed the surprising lack of

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[70] Ibid., pp.159-160.
[71] Ibid. p.158
[72] Ibid, p.162.
[73] Ibid.
[74] G. Mead, 'The Process of Mind in Nature' (1977[1938]) quoted in ibid.
[75] Ingold, 'Temporality of the Landscape', p.162.
[76] G. Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports* (Tadworth, Surrey: World's Work, 1983).

writing on British ports, despite the importance of trade to the British economy.[77] Whilst progress has been made in the ensuing 30 years, not least Mah's recent work on port legacies and identities including the Port of Liverpool,[78] port history, like fisheries, remains a niche field of historical study.

A port is more than its docklands. Jackson's study focuses upon the dockside, with little reference to wider port and city relationships. Historians, geographers and sociologists alike have often maintained a narrow focus on the 'immediate connections between land and water'.[79] Palmer observes an 'inclination to look out to sea rather than inland, or to allow the dock wall to define the limits of investigation'.[80] Symonds notes a similar trend amongst industrial archaeologists, who focus upon the factory, overlooking wider physical connections, social meanings and lived experience.[81] Symonds advocates moving beyond the analysis of individual sites, to consider the spatial and social networks that they generate.[82] Westerdahl offers a framework to explore such networks in a maritime context, with his designation of the maritime cultural landscape.[83] The term was conceived to unify maritime archaeology at sea with its related components on land and is inclusive of sea routes, inland waterways, shipwrecks, land remains, harbour walls and settlements; the varied physical expressions of a seafaring taskscape. As an archaeologist, Westerdahl's cultural topography is primarily material, but he draws attention to the cognitive; the mapping of surroundings in the human mind, which he refers to as 'man in landscape, landscape in man'.[84]

Historians have conceptualised port-city relationships based upon multiple social, economic and spatial linkages. Palmer has revealed associations that relate to transhipment, labour, mercantile services and processing industries.[85] These economic relationships were detectable spatially, making the port-city a recognisable physical entity.[86] At the same time, the port-city responded to the distinct social needs of seafaring, enabling those engaged at sea or in a maritime occupation on land to reside in a neighbourhood that understood and shared their experience.[87] The idea of a defined

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[77] Ingold, 'Temporality of the Landscape', p.162.
[78] A. Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identities, Waterfront Work and Radicalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[79] S. Palmer, 'Ports' in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), p.133.
[80] Ibid.
[81] J. Symonds, 'Dirty Old Town? Industrial Archaeology and the Urban Historic Environment', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 17:1 (2005).
[82] Ibid., pp60-61.
[83] C. Westerdahl, 'The Maritime Cultural Landscape', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology,* 21:1 (1992).
[84] Ibid. p.5. (exclusive language noted).
[85] Palmer, 'Ports', p.138-139
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid., pp.148-150.

maritime quarter responding to the needs of the seafarer ashore is encapsulated in Hugill's *Sailortown*.[88] In Hugill's generic sailortown, the transient needs of fluid crews were met in a dockside district of pubs, brothels, pawn shops, marine stores, tattoo parlours, boarding houses, music halls and tailors that lent on 'advance notes'.[89] For Hugill, it was 'a world in, but not of, that of the landsman'.[90] Hugill's work is a popular and, at times, nostalgic depiction of the port-city district. Nevertheless, the idea of sailortown has been adapted by Daunton, examining Cardiff's port district in the nineteenth century, by Hilling, considering Cardiff in decline and by Palmer, examining the varied character of port-city relationships.[91] More recently, Moon's research into the sailortown of nineteenth-century Portsmouth has revealed a more settled relationship between those at sea and on land.[92] Although a century apart, this finds resonance with Hull's late twentieth-century fishing district, for like Hull's trawlermen, many seafarers in Moon's study were not transient strangers, but married and integrated into a supportive community through occupational, familial and local ties. Moon has identified a network of residential 'sailorhoods', in which, she suggests, a seafaring culture produced distinct attitudes and practice.[93] Although spatially defined and demographically different, Moon's 'sailorhood' is not the homogenous 'other space' of Hugill's *Sailortown*. It is instead entwined with other urban communities and districts that co-existed within Portsmouth.[94]

Moon's work is situated within a growing cultural approach to port studies that has seen topics diverse as cinema going and the supernatural examined as indicators and mediators of the bond between land and sea.[95] In an era subsequent to the decline and remodelling of many waterfront districts, memory too has been deployed as a means to express the cultural dynamic of the port-city. Balderstone, Milne and Mulhearn have mapped out memories of the changing culture, society and spaces of Liverpool's waterfront since the 1950s,[96] whilst Mah examines memory and ruination amidst the slow

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[88] S. Hugill, *Sailortown,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).
[89] Ibid., pp.74-87.
[90] Ibid., p. xviii.
[91] M. Daunton (1979) 'Jack Ashore: Seamen in Cardiff before 1914', *Welsh History Review*, 9, 176-203; D. Hilling, 'Socio-economic Change in the Maritime Quarter: The Demise of Sailortown' in D. Pinder and S. Hussain (eds.) *Revitalising the Waterfront* (London: Belhaven Press, 1988); Palmer, 'Ports'.
[92] L. Moon, Port Towns and Urban Cultures, http://www.porttowns.ac.uk/enumerating-sailortown-in-portsmouth-c-1850-1900 (Accessed 1 October 2013).
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] R. James, 'Cinema-going in a Port Town 1914-1951: Film Booking Patterns at the Queens Cinema', *Urban History*, 40:2 (2013); K. Bell, 'Port-city Afterlives: The Cultural Function of Ghosts in Nineteenth-century Portsmouth', unpublished paper presented at Port City Lives Conference, Liverpool University, 29-30 June 2012.
[96] A. Mah, 'Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle upon Tyne', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34:2 (2010).

decline of Tyneside's Walker shipbuilding community.[97] This thesis builds upon such cultural approaches, engaging memory to articulate the port-city as a network of meaningful lived spaces and emotional affiliations.

The reconfiguration of the port-city district explored by Balderstone et al. and Mah derives from fundamental change within British maritime industries. Jamieson notes a growing crisis in shipping, shipbuilding, fishing and ports from as early as 1958 and from 1973 Britain's relative performance in the maritime sector was declining rapidly.[98] Furthermore, from the 1960s, radical changes were happening in the major ports with the advancement of containerisation and roll-on-roll-off transport. As new container terminals were developed, sometimes far from their long-established city bases, the traditional port neighbourhood came to an end, leaving redundant waterfronts in need of regeneration.[99] Hull's central docks faced this problem, as commercial cargo relocated east of the city. In the west, Hull's Fish Dock enjoyed a more localised transfer, but the crises in fishing during the 1970s meant that ultimately it came to share the experience of other port-city districts. Palmer concludes 'In this late twentieth-century world of maritime transport, the connection between city and port was to be finally severed, only to be rediscovered, or reinvented, as an aspect of urban heritage'.[100] Such sea change in Hull's fishing landscapes is explored in chapters eight and nine, for here, as in other British docklands, when regeneration finally arrived, it neglected the attachments of the old port community.

The Place of Ruins

In Britain, the temporal gap between decline and rebirth in dockland neighbourhoods left spaces of decay. Waterfronts shared the fate of other industrial landscapes, as geographies of manufacturing and transportation gave way to the topographies of a service-based economy. In this thesis the ruins of Hull's Fish Dock stand as a central and emotional motif within the relict landscapes of fishing. In the past decade, post-industrial and post-maritime ruins have attracted increasing academic interest. DeSilvey and Edensor review this 'contemporary *Ruinenlust*', considering the 'slow' ruin resulting from social and economic transformation as a presence able to de-stabilise the notion of linear

[97] L. Balderstone, G.J. Milne and R. Mulhearn, 'Memory and Place on the Liverpool Waterfront in the Mid-Twentieth Century', *Urban History*, 41:3 (2014).
[98] A. Jamieson, 'An Inevitable Decline? Britain's Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries since 1930' in D. J. Starkey and A. Jamieson (eds.) *Exploiting the Sea: Aspects of Britain's Maritime Economy Since 1870* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1998), pp.79-80.
[99] Palmer, 'Ports', p. 150.
[100] Ibid.

progress, to act as a counter-site to dominant ideologies or to evoke memory and nostalgia.[101]

Edensor has conceptualised the industrial ruin as the disordering of space; a place of unregulated movement, free expression and jumbled materiality and an antithesis to the controlled realm of the commodified city.[102] Referencing Ingold's taskscape, Edensor assumes a non-representational stance, identifying the daily embodied and sensual routines that are spatially embedded within the workplace, as the generators of continuity and stability. Yet stability is vulnerable to the 'dynamism of global capitalism', which can render routines obsolete, 'thereby shattering the taskscape and the space it produces'.[103] In the ensuing dereliction old hierarchies become redundant. Edensor observes how new human and non-human agents claim control, straying beyond delineated boundaries, being disruptive, playful or just curious, sensually attuned to an alternative aesthetic and the rawness of abandonment.[104]

In a notable departure from Edensor's earlier work, however, DeSilvey and Edensor caution against an overly celebratory approach to decay, acknowledging the negative possibilities and loss often inherent within derelict sites.[105] Meier captures such loss in his interviews with former metalworkers in Bavaria.[106] He detects a strong emotional connection between his respondents and their former workplace, where, he argues, working class identities were forged through continual collective encounters. His interviewees compare the workplace to a 'second family'. Yet familial analogy is disrupted by the empty factory and the realisation that the individual is merely part of a production process.[107] Workers express personal loss when revisiting the abandoned workspace, which Meier likens to a grieving process. One narrator Karl describes his encounter with the derelict factory as 'like looking at the dead' and something that 'makes my heart ache'.[108] However, dead spaces still live within the realms of memory and Karl is able to reanimate the scene with located recollections of blast furnace and roller mill.

In researching the relationship between industrial heritage and public perceptions, Hilary Orange has theorised a process by which defunct sites of British industry have

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[101] C. DeSilvey and T. Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins', *Progress in Human Geography*, 37:4 (2012), pp.466-470.
[102] T. Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).
[103] Ibid., pp.65-66.
[104] Edensor, *Industrial Ruins,* pp.87-93; T. Edensor, 'The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 23 (2005), p.838.
[105] DeSilvey and Edensor, 'Reckoning with Ruins', p.475.
[106] L. Meier, 'Encounters with Haunted Industrial Workplaces and Emotions of Loss: Class-Related Senses of Place with the Memories of Metalworkers', *Cultural Geographies,* 20:4 (2012).
[107] Ibid., p.474.
[108] Ibid., p.475.

progressed to become 'icons of an innovative industrial past'.[109] Orange identifies a progression, beginning with the neglect of abandoned sites as reminders of economic failure. This metaphorical 'burial' is a transitory period, in which the public come to terms with the connotations of industrial decline.[110] It is followed by acceptance and the growing temporal perspective allows historical and 'triumphal' narratives to be constructed. With the lapse of time, immediate loss passes into memory and industrial ruins shrug off their subtext of failure to re-emerge as symbols of pride.[111]

Orange's analysis of changing perceptions relates to a general *public* consciousness. It omits the distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives. Dicks, focusing upon the complex negotiations behind the creation of the Rhondda Heritage Park, shows how it was the familiar that assumed heritage value for members of the Rhondda mining community. Rejecting an 'arty farty… cobble stones and gas lamp' vision for the park, former mineworker Ivor wanted instead to save the everyday reminders of the colliery yard.[112] His passion for preservation was reserved for, 'all the paraphernalia that we were used to', relicts rendered meaningful by prolonged experience of working in a welsh mine.[113]

In a maritime context, the link between experience, memory, dereliction and loss is highlighted by Balderstone et al. and Mah.[114] Both studies portray post-maritime landscapes and communities in transition. In Liverpool, residents mix nostalgia and loss with a 'hard-headed' acceptance of change and an appreciation of re-development as a rebirth for the old waterfront.[115] In Walker, the strongest expressions of sadness, loss and disappointment at the decline of the shipyards come from those most directly connected with the industry.[116] Yet with shipbuilding still in the final throes of decline, the value of industrial ruins as sites of memory is eclipsed by the perceived threats of forthcoming regeneration to the remaining community cohesion.[117]

3: Remembering Time and Place

Introducing Memory and Heritage

Memory features centrally within this thesis. It is the method chosen to research historical perspective and narrative (discussed in chapter three); it is the means to explore changing place relationships; and ultimately it is the route to understanding connections

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[109] H. Orange, 'Industrial Archaeology: Its Place Within the Academic Discipline, the Public Realm and the Heritage Industry', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, XXX:2 (2008), p.83.
[110] Ibid., p.93
[111] Ibid., p.83.
[112] Dicks, *Heritage, Place,* p.156.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Balderstone et al., 'Memory and Place'; Mah, 'Memory, Uncertainty'.
[115] Balderstone et al., 'Memory and Place', p.493.
[116] Mah, 'Memory, Uncertainty', p.10.
[117] Ibid., p.15.

to the past in the form of heritage. Since the 1980s, the level of interest in memory has increased and crossed multiple academic boundaries.[118] Jones projects memory as central to 'life-going-on',[119] the means by which individuals and societies make sense of their position within time and place. Abrams writes:

> The significance of memory cannot be understated. Memory is key to our identity; without our memory we have no social existence. We depend on our memory in order to conduct our daily lives.[120]

Writers across disciplines distinguish between memory types.[121] Samuel and Crang and Travlou contrast involuntary memory (mneme) with the deliberate act of recollection (anamnesis).[122] Autobiographical memory, refracted through our complex sense of self, is also distinguished from collective memory, derived from Halbwach's classic theory of how we remember within social groups.[123] Uniting most disciplines is the concept that memory relates as much to the present as is does to the past. The remembered past is not a stable entity, fixed and awaiting recall.[124] Memory is partial, contingent and fluid. It responds to the fluctuating needs of the present and is therefore subject to reconstruction.[125] In this understanding, the act of forgetting, whether 'by cognitive mishap or active willing' becomes significant and omission may speak as loudly as reminiscence.[126]

In its selective, shifting, yet continuous engagement with the past in the present, memory resembles heritage. Within the academic literature, Smith has observed that the link between heritage and memory, although recognised, 'has often simply been nodded at rather that given close critical attention'.[127] Writers avoid overt distinction between the terms, slipping seamlessly from one to the other or referencing one *or* the other, but in similar terms. This makes better sense when considered in the light of Smith's assertion that all heritage is intangible. Like memory, heritage is not an object or something to possess, but an active and ongoing process of assigning meaning to the past for the

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[118] L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.57; H.L.Roediger and J.V. Wertsch, 'Creating a New Discipline of Memory Studies', *Memory Studies*, 1:1 (2008), p.12.
[119] O. Jones, 'Geography, Memory and Non-Representational Geographies', *Geography Compass*, 5:12 (2011), p.877.
[120] L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.82.
[121] E. Tulving, 'Are There 256 Different Kinds of Memory?' in J.S. Naire (ed.), *The Foundations of Remembering: Essays in Honor of Henry L. Roediger, III* (New York, Psychology Press, 2007); Roediger and Wertsch, 'Creating a New Discipline', pp.10-12.
[122] R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Vol I* (London: Verso, 1994), p.vii; M. Crang and P. Travlou, 'The City and Topologies of Memory', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 19 (2001), p.170.
[123] M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[124] G. Hoskins, 'On Arrival: Memory and Temporality at Ellis Island, New York', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30 (2012), pp.1013-1014.
[125] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* p.58.
[126] S. Legg, 'Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation and Nostalgia in Les Lieux de Memoire, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23 (2005), p.481.
[127] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.58.

purpose of the present. When viewed from this perspective, heritage becomes interwoven with memory, emotion, cultural knowledge and experience.[128] The vocabularies become inseparable.

Understanding Memory and Place

Since the 1980s human and cultural geographers have contributed widely to the burgeoning interest and literature on memory. Geographers consider memory as inherently spatial. It is difficult, if not impossible, to detach the recall of occasions, people, objects, even sensations, from the space of their occurrence. To remember then, is to remember 'in place' and this makes memory a geographical concern. In the following sections, geographies of memory are divided between those stemming organically from the everyday practices of living and those produced by deliberate acts of recall within social, political and cultural constructs of place. It is an imperfect distinction, but one that reveals the diverse presence of the past within the spaces of the present.

Place-Memory and Everyday Practice

Memories can accumulate in the spaces around us. Although memory, like heritage, can be understood as an intangible force, it is one that finds physical expression. Smith writes,

> … sense of memory becomes particularly powerful when it 'takes root' in the concrete, which must work to give this sense of memory further emotive power through the tangibility of its representation[129]

In solid spaces memory can seem palpable. Cresswell draws upon Casey's term 'place-memory' to depict remembering that is 'not abandoned to the vagaries of mental processes and is instead inscribed in the landscape – as public memory'.[130] Houses, streets and public buildings evoke personal memories or convey social or collective pasts. They hold an affective power, for as Creswell writes, 'it is one thing to read about the past in the book or see it displayed in a painting – it is quite another to enter the realm of history-in-place.'[131]

For some, the blending of memory and place stems from the practices, gestures and movements of everyday life. De Certeau argues that the past lies not in the tamed bricks and mortar of the restoration project, but in the 'wordless histories of walking, dress, housing or cooking…' and in the diverse expressions and narratives that 'turn the city into an immense memory where many poetics proliferate'.[132] Atkinson has noted a growing awareness of the mundane and everyday amongst geographers, who now depict

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[128] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* p.56.
[129] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.60.
[130] T. Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p.85.
[131] Ibid., p.86.
[132] M. De Certeau, *The Practices of Everyday Life. Vol 2: Living and Cooking* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp.141-142.

memory as bursting beyond the museum and functioning in diverse, multiple and shifting terrains.[133] Moran too, drawing upon the work of Henri Lefebre and others, connects historicity not to the big events, but to *le quotidien*, the oft-ignored pedestrian and everyday practices, objects and places where the past endures to co-exists with the present.[134]

The association of memory with practice and the everyday resonates with phenomenological and more-than-representational theories of place. Jones presents memory as integral to the process of becoming. People, he says, live in familiar environments and their existence within them is not merely performative, embodied and spatial, but 'temporal and memorial'.[135] Memory is essential to the on-going creation of place, for 'we do not just "live in the moment" but in a progressing compendium of interacting lived moments' that we retain and carry forward.[136] Jones concludes:

> Our spatial relationships of the moment are shaped by previous experiences. Memory… is then a fundamental aspect of becoming, intimately entwined with space, affect, emotion, imagination and identity.[137]

If lived encounters can bind us to place, then through personal or collective memory, past bonds can be transported into the spaces of the present. Place thus becomes a continuum, where the past is on hand to be called into action. Yet the continuum of place is not a linear one. Hoskins writes that physical place, like memory, does not adhere to 'commonsense temporality'.[138] In the jumbled timescape of the city, traces of the past mingle with the modern urban fabric, producing what Crang and Travlou describe as 'cracks in the surface of the present where time can be otherwise'.[139] De Certeau considers the bizarre landscapes of place-memory in terms of a present absence:

> Here, there used to be a bakery. That's where old lady Dupuis used to live. It is striking here that the places people live in are like the presences of diverse absences. What can be seen designates what is no longer there.[140]

The blurring of the then and now and the fleeting glimpse of the past in the present has caused some to depict place-memory in terms of a haunting.[141] To De Certeau, no place

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[133] D. Atkinson, 'The Heritage of Mundane Places' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.387.
[134] J. Moran, 'History, Memory and the Everyday', *Rethinking History*, 8:1 (2004).
[135] Jones, 'Geography, Memory', p.879.
[136] Ibid., p.880.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Hoskins, 'On Arrival', p.1011.
[139] Crang and Travlou, 'City and Topologies', p175.
[140] M. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (California: University of California Press, 1984), p.108.
[141] De Certeau, *Everyday Life*, p.108, De Certeau; *Everyday Life: Living and Cooking,* pp.133-143; Edensor, 'Ghosts of Industrial Ruins'; T. Edensor, 'Mundane Hauntings: Commuting through the Phantasmagoric Working-Class Spaces of Manchester, England', *Cultural Geographies*, 15 (2008); D.

can be free from such spectral infiltration. 'Haunted places', he concludes, 'are the only ones people can live in'.[142] Like a ghost, place-memory is fluid: unfixed in time, space or meaning. The unstoppable flow of everyday life is not conducive to consistent remembering and those who study memory and place may find their subject unpredictable. With the shifts of time, the spaces of memory may be embraced then abandoned or reviled then cherished. They are constantly reinvested with meaning or they are simply ignored.

Acts of Remembrance and Forgetting

The memory depicted above is involuntary memory; that which flows and entwines with place unbidden and perhaps unregistered. There are, however, other manifestations that derive from more structured calls to remember. Nora's concept of '*les lieux de memoire'* or 'site of memory', is an engagement with the past that arises from the deliberate will to remember and which is focused upon specific contexts; buildings, memorials, artefacts, even festivals and oral histories; anywhere memory is publically invited to accumulate.[143] Memory here is an intentional act, a deliberate endeavour to anchor the past against what Nora refers to as 'the acceleration of history'.[144]

The deliberate act of recall can push memory onto a political stage. Academic writers consider certain depictions of the past as the manipulation of memory by elite or civic authorities, with the purpose of achieving power, stability, status or economic success.[145] Such a view conceptualises heritage, like place, as a socially constructed representation or text, embedded within a structure of power relationships. The idea that spatial memory can be manipulated underpins the discussion in chapter nine and academic perspectives on this matter are examined here under the three broad categories of commemoration, commodification and institutional expert knowledge.

To some, statues, memorials, plaques, plazas, buildings and the rituals that occur there create 'sanctified places of memory'.[146] Till draws attention to the symbolic erection, in 1989, of a monument to Serbian victory on the historical battlefield of Kossovo Polje, located within a predominantly Albanian Muslim province, to show how memorialisation

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Trigg, 'The Place of Trauma: Memory, Hauntings and the Temporality of Ruins', *Memory Studies*, 2:1 (2009).

[142] DeCerteau, *Everyday Living*, p.108.

[143] P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989).

[144] Ibid., p.7.

[145] For example; Hoskins, 'On Arrival'; Smith; *Uses of Heritage*; S. McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp.43-47; K. Till, 'Places of Memory' in J. Agnew, K. Mitchell K and G. Toal (eds.) *A Companion to Political Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

[146] Till, 'Places of Memory', pp.289-290, Edensor, 'Ghosts of Industrial Ruins', p.830

can be ruthlessly political.[147] Yet even in seemingly benign situations, commemoration gives privilege to one figure, one community or one set of ideals over the other. Atkinson has shown how in Hull, the erection of a statue commemorating Mormon transnational migration through the port gave prominence to one little known maritime history, at a time when the local campaign to remember distant-water trawling was struggling to gain civic acknowledgement.[148] Landzelius argues that some memories must endure a spatial absence and the nonexistence of physical reminders can permit those in official positions to 'forget to remember'.[149] Commemoration is always partial and in practice it holds the power to command attention or consign to oblivion. In the emotive terrain of heritage, it offers fertile ground for dispute.

Memory is also manipulated when pressed into the service of regeneration and development agendas. The heritage quarter, tourist event and place-promotion strategy make up Graham's 'external city', where selective extracts of the past are engaged to attract the attention of the outsider.[150] This commodification of heritage was attacked in the 1980s by writers such as Wright and Hewison, who derided the commercialised nostalgia of the 'heritage industry' as 'bogus history' that discouraged progress.[151] More recently, writers such as Samuel have reassessed aspects of commodification in more nuanced terms, placing them within a growing process of democratisation.[152] Yet the commercial use of the past can still raise controversy and result in powerful memory dichotomies. Lazenby and Starkey and Atkinson et al. have analysed the conflict between place marketers and community in the narrative of Hull's trawl fishery.[153] As the industry went into decline, official marketing strategies marginalised the memory of fishing in favour of local histories deemed more economically attractive. As discussed in chapter nine, the result was a sense of disinheritance amongst Hull's displaced fishing community.

Finally, official acts of remembrance occur with the depiction of the past by the heritage curator or museum expert. Wolferstan observes that such official representations are often critiqued and defined by scholars as 'a nationalist project,

[147] Till, 'Places of Memory', p.289.
[148] D. Atkinson, 'Heritage' in D. Atkinson, P. Sibley and N. Washbourne (eds.) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts (*London: I.B Tauris & Co Ltd., 2005), p.143-144.
[149] R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987); P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985).
[150] Graham, 2002, p.1009
[151] Wright and Hewison,
[152] Samuel, Theatres of Memory.
[153] C. Lazenby and D.J. Starkey, 'Altered Images: Representing the Trawling in the Late Twentieth Century', in D.J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000); D. Atkinson, S. Cooke and D. Spooner, 'Tales from the Riverbank: Place-Marketing and Maritime Heritages', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 8:1 (2002).

dictated by elites who rate iconic and age value above all other aspects'.[154] Work by Jackson, for example, shows how the restrictive criteria for buildings to be listed in the UK favours the architecturally and nationally significant at the expense of the locally celebrated.[155] Smith brings together multiple elite perspectives within her concept of the authorised heritage discourse or AHD. Smith's AHD is a professional discourse, which places the past in the hands of the experts to be passively consumed by the public. It promotes the concept of inheritance, stewardship and expert care, thus disengaging heritage from the active, cultural and emotional work of negotiating meanings from the past for individuals and communities. The AHD often gives privilege to singular narratives of nation (although it can occur at other scales), promoting the values and experience of elite social classes and obscuring other forms of identity. With its focus on materiality and passive engagement it promotes a 'glass case' mentality, an inert and one-way process of instruction.[156]

Although a useful theoretical language to examine the deployment of memory at formal sites of heritage, as Wolferstan go on to show, even within the institutional ranks of The European Council, Culture and Landscape Division, it does not converse with all curatorial approaches.[157] Smith herself recognises that there is a growing body of heritage professionals who express a desire to engage with local communities and their multiple pasts.[158] Movements such as 'history from below' and the new museology, alongside the novel interactions of the heritage industry have steadily advanced a process of democratisation. In this new order, curatorial relationships have been revised, narratives have been challenged and alternative expressions of memory have risen 'from below'.

Democratisation, Dissonance and Heritage from Below

The democratisation of heritage is the subject of Samuel's *Theatres of Memory*.[159] This landmark composition celebrates the eruption of 'unofficial knowledge' in the face of perceived academic and professional elitism. Samuel salutes popular heritage, considering everything from collecting vintage clothing to school-yard re-enactments, as active and valid ways to connect with the past. He links the spread of democratisation to the growth of grassroots movements from the 1960s, amplified in the 1970s by the 'separation anxieties' created by 'the run-down of regional economies *[and]* by threats to

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[154] S. Wolferstan, 'An Ethnography of a 'Humble Expert': Experiencing Faro' in J. Schofield (ed.), *Who Needs Experts: Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.43.
[155] S. Jackson, 'Contesting the Expert at the Former Bradford Odeon, West Yorkshire' in J. Schofield (ed.), *Who Needs Experts: Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
[156] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, pp.29-31.
[157] Wolferstan, 'Humble Expert'.
[158] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.35.
[159] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*.

the living environment which put the taken-for-granted at risk'.[160] The outcome, he says, was a new version of the national past; one consisting of 'little platoons' rather than the 'great society', sprung from 'a thousand hands' and 'inconceivably more democratic than earlier ones, offering more points of access to 'ordinary people', and a wider form of belonging'.[161]

Through the process of democratisation, the past has been gradually pulled from the grip of the expert. The acceptance that everyone is entitled to engage actively with the heritage of their choice is becoming increasingly recognised within governmental conventions and conservation principles.[162] Putting these principles into practice, however, can be problematic. The emergence of multiple voices claiming diverse pasts, gives credence to an understanding of heritage as an essentially dissonant process. Tunbridge and Ashworth have presented the past as a resource in conflict.[163] The past, they say, is called upon to serve political, economic and cultural functions. Where such plural aims draw upon a single resource, the result can be dispute. Diversity of race, religion or class adds further disparity, leading Tunbridge and Ashworth to construe heritage as intrinsically dissonant.[164] Smith goes further, seeing dissonance as the very essence of heritage, the defining characteristic of the unending process of assigning meaning to past.[165] In the negotiation, some are excluded, causing Tunbridge and Ashworth to question, at a monument or exhibit, 'who is disinherited here and what are the consequences of such disposition?'[166]

Democratisation and dissonance are key components in Robertson's concept of heritage from below. Robertson introduced the terminology to dislodge the dominant academic emphasis on the processes of heritage that are played out on a national stage, in relation to national identities. Heritage from below originates from within a community. It is constructed for, from and by local people, with only minimal professional intervention, and relates to the mechanisms of *local* memory and identity that are pertinent to this thesis.[167] Robertson draws upon Gramsci's notion of ideological hegemony to present

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[160] Ibid., pp. 145-150.
[161] Ibid., p.158, p.18 and p.160.
[162] J. Schofield, 'Heritage Expertise and the Everyday: Citizens and Authority in the Twenty-first Century' in J. Schofield (ed.), *Who Needs Experts: Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.5.
[163] J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996).
[164] Ibid., p.21.
[165] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.82.
[166] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p xi.
[167] I. Robertson, 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.143.

heritage from below as a counter-hegemonic process.[168] He does this in two ways. Firstly, heritage from below can be understood as an alternative vernacular discourse: the attempts by communities to define and engage with their own pasts.[169] These are Samuel's 'little platoons',[170] or Dick's 'memorialism',[171] born of enthusiasm, curiosity or belonging and exemplified in Skinner's village heritage project where villagers followed 'the lives of ordinary people who lived in our houses and worked in our community'.[172] Such expressions from below gently subvert the dominant discourse, not in titanic clashes, but with the suggestion of other possibilities.

Elsewhere, however, heritage from below may be the cause or tool of active social change. Robertson presents this second counter-hegemonic expression as one that is underexplored.[173] It is present in Jackson's exploration of the local contestation of plans to demolish the Bradford Odeon, and in the dissonant distribution of material highlighting Bristol's slavery connections during the 1996 Festival of the Sea, as discussed by Atkinson.[174] Within this thesis, it underpins the rise of fishing heritage group STAND in the face of perceived civic acts of disinheritance.

Heritage from below as social action returns us to the intricacies of dissonance. Heritage dissonance is most commonly presented as occurring between powerful elites who assert partial pasts for political gain, and those dominated groups who challenge them. Yet the scope extends far wider. At grassroots level, Crooke shows how the museum formed by the Bloody Sunday Trust to tell the community version of the 1969 civic rights clashes, is determinedly singular, admitting no other viewpoint than that of the Free Derry community.[175] Within communities, Dicks has shown that the heritage value of local spaces is contested, with the source of pride for one, existing as the site of loss or the backward looking eyesore for another.[176] At the most local scale, Robertson explores dissonance on the Hebridean island of Lewis. Here a project to mark the sites of local land protests with memorial cairns was instigated from within the island community. Yet it ran into strong internal disputes between settlements, resulting in breakaway groups and the erection of alternative monuments. This study of the production of local heritage from

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[168] Ibid., pp.146-147.
[169] I. Robertson (ed.), *Heritage from Below* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp.p7-8.
[170] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p.158.
[171] Dicks, *Heritage, Place*, p.149.
[172] E. Skinner, 'Intimate Knowledge: Defining Heritage from the Inside' in I. Robertson (ed.), *Heritage from Below* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p.111.
[173] Robertson, *Heritage from Below*, p.8.
[174] Jackson, 'Contesting the Expert'; Atkinson, 'Mundane Places', pp.384-385.
[175] E. Crooke, 'An Exploration of the Connections among Museums, Community and Heritage' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp.421-422.
[176] Dicks, *Heritage, Place*, pp.160-169.

within the local community, reveals contestation to be part of that process. Robertson concludes:

> … even at these very localised levels, such can be the ineffectual nature of heritage as a medium of communication that heritage from below may be incapable either of wholly circumventing the boundaries created by identity-making and maintaining, or of avoiding the dissonance written into any heritage landscape.[177]

The implications are significant and seldom addressed within the heritage literature. With its inherent dissonance and struggles for control, heritage from below shares characteristics with that imposed from above. Once memory leaves the realms of the everyday and seeks representation in the cultural arena, it must stake its claim robustly. In the twenty-first century, Thomas has noted the diminishing authority of the expert. He sees the future heritage professional as facilitator and guide for those wishing to explore their own pasts.[178] Yet the emotional and contested terrain of democratised heritage should be entered with care. Crooke suggests that in the community museum, by producing an exhibit, communities take control of their own narratives and attempt to manage how others see them. Just as with elite or civic representations, this is not a value free process, but one that is selective.[179] The representation draws an audience into the community message disseminating it further.[180] In this sense, community representations, democratised and 'from below', become endowed with a certain power, and this raises issues and consequences for those whose role it may be to mediate public discourse.

Summary

The perspectives reviewed in this chapter shape the narrative set out in the following thesis. The sources have been examined within the disciplinary boundaries of history, cultural geography and curatorship, or time, place and memory. Proceeding from a sparse historiography of Britain's fisheries, the chapter has explored understandings of place from the position of 'being in the world' and examined expressions of the relationship between port and city. The port-city in decline has been examined alongside emerging work on post-industrial ruins. Theories of memory, place and heritage have been discussed in terms of involuntary recall of the everyday and structured acts of authorised memory. Heritage has been presented as a multiple and essentially dissonant discourse. This diverse body of work may at times have seemed disparate. In the chapters to come,

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[177] Robertson, 'Class, Social Protest', p.145.
[178] R. Thomas, 'Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-first Century' in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. Jameson Jnr. and J Schofield (eds.), *The Heritage Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.144-145.
[179] E. Crooke, 'The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16:1-2 (2010), pp.27-28.
[180] Ibid., p.28.

however, the literature will provide a context and a baseline from which to highlight change; it will offer a language to explore Hull's fishing landscapes and will bring theoretical structure to the complexities of remembering. Coherence will therefore be found in its collective contribution to the writing of a multi-faceted history of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery.

Chapter 3: Oral History Theory and Method

Memory is the mainstay of this thesis. In chapter two memory is introduced as a subject of academic study. In this chapter, it is examined as a research method. Oral testament offers a means to engage with working class histories that are largely invisible in documentary sources. Of equal importance, however, is the ability of the method to explore personal and collective insights, attitudes and experiences of the past. The study offers 'insider' perspectives that are difficult to access outside the intimacy of the oral history interview. Yet memory as a method is not easy to unravel. This chapter considers the intricacies of memory, perception and truth and the complexities of engaging these as a historical resource. It includes my personal reflection on using oral history methods and my approach to writing history from human experience.

On the Record: Documentary Sources

Although the thesis is built around memory, documentary sources nevertheless play a central role. Chapter two has revealed the limited historiography of English distant-water fishing, particularly for the era after the Cod Wars. At times this lack of context has proved problematic, as the events and perspectives conveyed by respondents could not be considered within a framework of established understanding. It has therefore been necessary to draw upon archival research to build a robust scaffold to situate the perspectives of my narrators. The archival sources used in the thesis reveal the fishing industry in economic, business and sometimes, political terms. The collections have been selected for their ability to highlight what was happening in the industry and how it was understood, discussed and represented by industry management and opinion leaders in the 1970s and 1980s. These sources fill the gap in the secondary literature and are used to provide a contemporary economic, political and business context for the memories and lived experiences of my respondents.

The documentary sources that have been used fall into the two main categories of management papers and trade journals. The managerial papers form part of the Hamling Collection, which is held by Hull City Archives and consists of the records of Hull trawling firm Thomas Hamling and Co., which operated between 1883 and 1983. Amidst its many files, the Hamling Collection contains the minutes, agendas and related papers of several local and national fishing industry associations. The minutes and papers used in the thesis are from the period between 1975 and early 1983 and relate to the following organisations: the British Fishing Federation (BFF) (replacing the British Trawlers' Association in 1976), a national organisation formed in 1918 to promote the interests of all aspects of the fishing industry; the Hull Fishing Vessel Owners Association (HFVOA), incorporated under the Companies Act in 1892 to represent owner's interests and to

provide a range of common services; and the Hull Freezer Trawlers Owners Company (HFTOC), formed in 1979 prior to the liquidation of HFVOA and taking over some of that organisation's functions.[1] Several sundry documents, leaflets and papers (outside the collections listed above) have also been viewed in the Hamling Archive, including technical leaflets and reports. Alongside the Hamling Collection, reference has also been made to a small archive of Hull City Council papers held by Hull History Centre, relating to the re-development of Hessle Road from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Fishing industry journals have been critical in constructing the narrative of this thesis. Their reports of significant events, dates and developments during the post-Cod War decade have helped me to piece together and understand the context of the personal narratives relayed in oral history interviews. Industry journals have revealed contemporary interests and opinions from within the fishing trade, along with the tensions between the various sectors of the diverse British industry and the 'bigger picture' of international fishing. Trade journals consulted were: *Fishing News* (*FN*), 1975-1982, *Fishing News International* (*FNI*), 1976-1977 and *World Fishing* (*WF*), 1976 to 1994. The popular press, including the archives of the local *Hull Daily Mail,* have not been systematically scrutinised. The archival research was intended to provide an economic, political and business framework to support narratives of lived experience. The local viewpoint enshrined in Hull newspapers is instead represented by my respondents, whose memories and perspective are the focus of this thesis.

New statistical data have not been compiled as part of the research and the statistics in this study are reproduced from industry reports and secondary sources. The archival material that has been used here is, like oral testimony, essentially qualitative and subjective in nature. In his defence of oral history, Thompson has highlighted how documentary sources are vulnerable to human inconsistencies.[2] Reports, diaries, letters are all channelled through the consciousness of the author and situated within the ideology and culture of time, place and social group. They cannot be seen as objective. In this research, the worldview and the concerns and interests of trawler owners, discernible in the minutes of management meetings, must be considered against the broader political landscape of fishing and the lived experience of the trawlerman. Just as in oral history, language, style, inclusions and omissions can all convey meaning. In the minutes of the British Fishing Federation, for example, careful phrasing and terse language often betrays political frustration and internal division. The reportage of trade journals must similarly be scrutinised for editorial bias, journalistic rhetoric or indeed, factual error.

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[1] HCA (HC) Archive Refs: C/DBTH/20/69-82 (BFF), C/DBTH/15/38-44 (HFVOA) and C/DBTH/15/114-115 (HFTOC).
[2] Thompson, *Voice of the Past*, pp.118-122.

Documentary sources served a specific purpose in the time and place that they were produced. They are therefore rarely 'innocent', but, like oral narrative, present a subjective and cultural route into the past.

History from Human Experience

Oral history is a method of historical research that draws upon memory, narrative and culture. Gaining momentum after the Second World War, oral history challenged a historical profession that, from the nineteenth century, had become wedded to the supposed objectivity of the documentary source. In Britain from the 1950s, it became the preferred method of the 'history from below' movement, which sought to uncover the perspective and experience of ordinary people: workers, women and others less visible in the documented past.[3] Although the method met with controversy, it sustained a gradual growth and by the 1990s, it had been used to embrace black, ethnic minority, gay, lesbian and transgender histories.[4] Shifting the focus from the political and administrative to the experiential, oral history allowed official and unofficial accounts to be juxtaposed, recreating what Thompson describes as 'the original multiplicity of standpoints'.[5]

Faced with criticism that memory was subjective and unreliable as an historical source, oral historians initially attempted to address positivist concerns of bias, verification, representative sampling and faithful transcription.[6] Yet from the late 1970s oral historians were asserting an alternative outlook, which embraced the subjectivity, fluidity and susceptibility of memory as a personal and cultural route into the past. Passerini's 1979 article,[7] examining the influence of cultural and ideological context on how memory is recalled and narrated, is widely quoted as a methodological turning point, heralding the focus on memory 'as the object, not merely the method of oral history.'[8] By considering oral history as 'an expression and representation of culture',[9] the subjectivity, previously derided by critics as a fundamental weakness, became oral history's strength. Abrams cites this change as the beginning of the shift that ultimately placed oral testament within the realm of cultural history.[10] The original commitment to 'history from below' remains important to many practitioners.[11] However, since the 1980s the parameters of

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[3] R. Perks and A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), p.2.
[4] Institute of Historical Research, Making History, G. Smith, The Making of Oral History, Section 1. http://history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history.html. (Accessed 9 March 2015).
[5] P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.6.
[6] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.5.; Perks and Thomson, *Oral History Reader*, p.3.
[7] L. Passerini, 'Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', *History Workshop*, 8:1 (1979).
[8] M. Frisch, quote in the introduction to Perks and Thomson, *Oral History Reader*, p.3.
[9] Passerini, 'Work, Ideology', p.84.
[10] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.7.
[11] Smith, Th*e Making of Oral History*, Section 2.2. Accessed 9 March 2012.

oral history theory have grown to embrace the construction of identity, narrative analysis, performance, inter-subjectivity and advocacy, borrowing extensively from methodological developments in many disciplines. Through such interactions, oral history has progressed to become 'a sophisticated theoretical discipline in its own right'.[12]

A fundamental criticism of oral history has been directed at its inability to access an objective truth. For many traditional historians, the objective analysis of stable documentary sources offered the only true route into the past and oral sources were seen as unreliable and inconstant. Respondents could forget, be deliberately or unconsciously untruthful, relay things that did not happen or assimilate things that they had overheard. Their narrative may be shaped by their own self-image and distorted by what they wished to portray or conceal. Oral historians responded to such criticism by reconsidering what actually constitutes *the truth.* 'Reality' writes Thompson, 'is complex and multi-sided' and Terkel has stated that he does not search for 'some abstraction such as *the* truth, because it does not exist'.[13] Instead he looks for the truth as it appears to the narrator. Today, oral history practitioners openly acknowledge the subjectivity of their method. The inability of humans to deliver an objective, value free account of their lives is now at the very core of the reading of oral history. With careful interpretation, this has come to be seen as its strength.

Portelli describes oral history as having a 'different credibility'.[14] To Portelli an oral account can reveal not only what was done, but also what narrators 'wanted to do, what they believed they were doing and what they now think they did'.[15] It reveals the motive and emotion behind the act. Inevitably, it also conveys the narrator's analysis of past events from the perspective of the present. Early critics viewed this as a distortion of the past. Yet Portelli has shown a more nuanced process at work, with his respondents able to recall their past attitudes and distinguish them from their current viewpoint.[16] This was evident in my interview with Jill, who frequently made a distinction between her current analysis of the past and the way that she had viewed things when younger and from 'inside' the event. Perspectives then are fluid and may change with the time and circumstances in which they are re-told. This does not make them false, but rather it places them within an ongoing personal engagement with the past.

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[12] Abrams, O*ral History Theory*, p.8.
[13] S. Terkel and T. Parker. 'Interviewing the Interviewer' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.125.
[14] A. Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.37.
[15] Ibid., p.36.
[16] Ibid., p.38.

The fluid contribution offered by oral history is better appreciated when researchers seek less for fact and more for meaning.[17] Portelli writes, 'memory is not a passive depository of facts but an active process of creation of meaning'.[18] Meaning can be conveyed by what is remembered and what is forgotten, and more subtly, in what is revealed and what is omitted. Anderson and Jack advocate careful listening to the significance of the narrative.[19] Discrepancy, disbelief or a sense of irrelevance must sometimes be suspended to allow a different truth to emerge. My interview with Michael highlights the benefits of this attitude. Michael narrated his experience through prolific and entertaining stories. Whilst many were immediately relevant to my research, several initially seemed marginal. Yet by considering *why* Michael had chosen these particular narratives within the interview, I was able to realise that through his stories of the Cod War, Michael was revealing the trawlerman's means of defending his livelihood at sea and that through his humorous stories of working on passenger boats on the Falkland Islands, he was illustrating how much his life had changed since his days as a trawler skipper. The choice, tone or structure of the narrative can thus communicate as much as content. Careful listening and attention to meaning is the key to unlock a deeper understanding of the storied past.

Abrams suggests that 'when a respondent tells a story about an event or experience, he or she is directly or indirectly telling us something about his or herself'.[20] A life history interview can be seen as a way of making sense of a personal past from the perspective of the present. James observed that his narrator Dona Maria was telling her past 'in a selective way that would both legitimise it to me and make sense of it to herself'.[21] This is an active process that occurs within the interview itself. To feel comfortable and 'a good person' within the social world we must construct a life story that is coherent, acceptable and can be constantly revised in the light of changing circumstance.[22] Within my research, some narrators conveyed a sense of composure, as if this past had been told before, perhaps to family, friends or structured by the internal thought process. Yet many other narratives seemed to have been produced *within* the interview, processed in the moment, through memory, sense of self and in raw response to the questions and dynamic of the conversation. In all cases, however, personal factors will

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[17] Ibid., p.36.
[18] Ibid., p.37.
[19] K. Anderson and D. Jack, 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).
[20] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.33.
[21] D. James, *Dona Maria's Story: Life History, Memory and Political Identity* (London: Duke University Press, 2000), p.123.
[22] C. Linde, quoted in ibid. p.38.

have influenced how and what was narrated and it is important to consider this during analysis.

James places this present-centred engagement with the past on a continuum that leads into the future. Dona Maria is aware that when her factory is pulled down there will be no record, other than her testament, of the struggles embodied there. Remembering in oral history interviews can thus assume the 'moral and psychic priority' of bearing witness to the past as a means of handing it on.[23] This makes oral history a form of heritage and a conduit for assigning meaning to the past.[24] When interviewing members of Hull's trawling community shortly after the industry's collapse, playwright Rupert Creed noted the passion with which people spoke about fishing and reported his own impression that his interviewees needed their story to be told.[25] That sense of legacy remained strong within my own interviews, with several respondents directly or indirectly revealing their desire to keep memory alive. For some this was overtly declared as a personal commitment and on at least three occasions the responsibility to remember was shared and passed on to me as the researcher. The importance of legacy leads to the notion of authenticity. James observes a pact at the heart of the oral history interview. Narrators may not always be factually accurate, but they must commit to *authenticity* - to recounting a personal truth that is based on 'fidelity to meaning'.[26] Authenticity matters because through oral history testament the past is invested with significance and value that is handed to the future.

Some place oral history within a narrative genre, referring to their respondents as narrators.[27] In simple terms, Abrams defines narrative as 'a means of communication, the way people use language to communicate experience, knowledge and emotions'.[28] Details such as tempo and style can express as much as content. Crucially, this process of creating narrative from memory extends beyond the individual. Memory stories are socially constructed and exchanged, and told in accordance with cultural and ideological conventions.[29] The circulation of memories in narrative form has been associated with the binding of identity and cultural belonging. Discourse also plays a role. Discourse can be seen as the circulation of ideas, perspectives or ways of thinking, disseminated through the media or everyday conversation, but also through the memory-based stories that we tell.[30] Smith describes discourse as a 'social action' and says that the ways in which things

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[23] James, *Dona Maria's Story*, p.153.
[24] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.56.
[25] Interview with Rupert Creed. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 16 April 2014. Transcript Ref: AT/013/RC.
[26] James, Do*na Maria's Story*, p.136.
[27] Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', p.35; James, *Dona Maria's Story*, pp.157-160.
[28] Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* p.109.
[29] Abrams, Oral History Theory, p.109; James, *Dona Maria's Story,* pp.124-125.
[30] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.110.

are talked about have important material consequences, resulting in the formation of particular practices.[31] Both narrative and discourse demand the circulation of stories and ideas. The significance of this for oral historians is that received communal narratives and discourses are already embedded within the memories of their sources. Simultaneously, the circulation of oral histories are themselves making a contribution to the public consciousness. This passing of memory from the private to the public and back again is sometimes referred to as the cultural circuit and stands at the heart of collective remembering.

In his classic theory on collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs asserts that human memory works *only* within a collective context.[32] Remembering takes place within social groups such as family or community and we remember through dialogue with such groups. Individual memory does exist, but, according to Halbwachs, it is entirely framed by social context. Individual recollection becomes merged with group memory and as a result memories that do not conform to the collective are doomed to fade.[33] The collective framework for memory is discussed within oral history literature. James illustrates how the story publically performed by his narrator was a version of the past 'arrived at through negotiation and concession with other alternative narratives within this community',[34] whilst Summerfield and Thomson both explore the difficulties of reconciling or expressing memories that sit outside the dominant collective discourse.[35] Samuel and Thompson have revealed the personal and social mythology that exists within oral history accounts and that perpetuate cultural ideals and villains, such as the brutal teacher, the loving father, the strong worker.[36] In my research into Hull's trawling community, the strong woman featured prominently within female narratives. Running a household with men at sea required fortitude and the stoic female is a cultural ideal detectable in other seafaring communities.[37] Drawing upon Smith's view that discourse influences practice, it can be suggested that the communal exchange of the idea of the strong woman had a role in moulding conduct essential to the support of an extreme seafaring occupation. It confirms the importance of recognising discourse within oral

[31] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, pp.14-15.
[32] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.
[33] Ibid., pp.172-173.
[34] James, *Dona Maria's Story*, p.128.
[35] P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews.' *Cultural and Social History* 1:1 (2004); A. Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 244-54.
[36] R. Samuel and P. Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.1-12.
[37] For example, H. Hagmark-Cooper, To be a Sailor's Wife (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp.8-10.

history narrative, for it is a means of identifying the cultural factors that have influenced behaviour in the past.

Not everyone fully accepts the tenets of collective memory theory. To Fentress and Wickham, the diminishing of personal agency can leave 'a concept of collective consciousness curiously disconnected from the actual thought processes of any particular person'.[38] Green prefers to re-focus on 'the dynamic relationship between inherited culture and the individual mind',[39] highlighting the capacity for individuals to critique and contest the dominant memory discourse with their own histories. Nevertheless, the creation of history from oral sources *relies* upon collectivity. Oral historians piece together a collective picture from individual accounts, whilst the social ingestion, exchange and representation of the past has influence on each individual narrative. This is the crux of oral history; that society can be examined through a singular testament and history can be written through collective narratives of individual human experience.

Between the Two of Us: Inter-subjectivity in the Interview and Beyond

Oral historians today recognise their own subjective standpoint, alongside that of their respondents. The researcher's subjectivity extends beyond the interview, beginning with the research selection[40] and extending to the analysis, interpretation and write up.[41] From the late 1980s, Yow observes a greater reflexivity in oral history, with oral historians tackling their own cultural position, feelings and motivations within the research process.[42] To this end, my own reflexive statement is included in Appendix 1. A reflexive approach seeks to embrace not only personal subjectivity, but also the juxtaposition or inter-subjectivity of the differing perspectives of interviewer and interviewee. Inter-subjectivity makes oral history a joint and active construct. Narratives depend upon the time and place of recall and the relationship within the interview. Factors such as the age, gender, class or life experience of the participants influence the outcome.[43] Within my diverse interviews, the interaction between researcher and respondent has varied. Individual personality has been influential, but other factors, such as age, have had effect on a more general level. There was typically a single generation between me and my interviewees, placing me within the age group of their adult children. This seemed

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[38] Fentress and Wickham, quoted in Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.96.
[39] A. Green, 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory": Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral History*, 32:2 (2004), p.41.
[40] R. Collingwood, quoted in V. Yow, 'Do I Like them Too Much?: Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice-Versa' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.57.
[41] N. Mauther and A. Doucer, 'Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Date Analysis', *Sociology*, 37:3 (2003).
[42] Yow, 'Do I Like them Too Much?', p.62.
[43] Ibid., pp.64-65.

pertinent in some interviews, where the desire to pass on memory was communicated to me as it might be to a son or daughter.

Gender was also a factor.[44] Daley presents oral history narratives as 'aural performances of gender' and emphasises how gendered ideology and experience mould the tone and content of interviews.[45] This was apparent within my own research, augmented at times by the differing male and female domains that define a seafaring community. In her study of a small New Zealand township up to the 1930s, Daley detects greater confidence and bravado amongst male narrators and a female deference to this 'voice of authority'.[46] This, however, was not evident in my own interviews, perhaps reflecting a later generation or again, the untypical gender roles in seafaring.[47] In my experience, confidence and authority within narratives related more to personality than gender. Professional status was also significant, with those experienced in analysing and communicating from managerial positions narrating in the most fluent, structured, and sometimes pre-considered manner. However, here again there is a gendered aspect, for in this highly masculine industry, and in the context of the 1970s and 1980s, the industry leaders were male.

In my research, the male-female dynamic between interviewer and interviewee did not feel problematic or restrictive. I nevertheless recognise that my female status may have led to adjustment of narrative style and content in subtle ways. For example, in male interviews, I detected, on occasion, a 'polite' moderation of forceful language and content, with occasional apologies offered even for mild oaths; something that perhaps reflected my gender and the generation of my interviewees. In interviews with women I detected a slightly increased sense of intimacy and collaboration. My own experience as wife, homemaker and mother formed a sphere of connectivity with the women's domestic narratives, even though our stories were very different. This highlights the multiple identities that we carry and factors such as age and life stage, as well as gender, all interact within the interview. A different narrative may have emerged, for example, had I been a much younger, single and childfree interviewer.

From the 1970s, feminist researchers have been concerned by a perceived power imbalance between researcher and subject. The fact that the researcher arrives with questions and a recorder can be seen to imply legitimacy and power.[48] Influenced by

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[44] Anderson and Jack, 'Learning to Listen'.
[45] C. Daley, '"He would Know, But I Just Have a Feeling": Gender and Oral History', *Women's History Review*, 7:3 (1998), p.355.
[46] Ibid., pp.347-348.
[47] However, Lane also did not detect Daley's distinction within her own oral history research into women's domestic lives in Hull between the 1920s and 1960s. M. Lane, *Women and Domestic Life in Hull, 1920s to the 1960s*, University of Hull, Unpublished PhD Thesis, November 2011.
[48] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.163.

feminist theory, many oral historians have sought to 'give voice' to their subject and inject egalitarianism, reciprocity and authenticity into the interview process.[49] Yet achieving equality or empowerment within an interview has proved problematic, particularly where the social class, life experience or political ideology of the participants may be at odds. Many now accept that the interview relationship may always be an unequal one.[50] Instead, the egalitarian ideal has evolved into the notion that the oral historian may advocate on behalf of the 'voiceless', rather than offer them direct empowerment through the interview.[51]

Within my interviews, my position as a middle class academic researcher will have brought a degree of formality and control to the exchange. Without further enquiry, it is impossible to know how those interviewed felt about the process. Some respondents were uncertain about the usefulness of their knowledge. Several apologised for their digressions or 'ramblings', to which I replied that 'ramblings' were often 'the best bits'. In general, however, interviewees seemed confident and comfortable in their narration and my role did not feel overwhelmingly dominant. I was respectful of my 'guest' status within the community and gave acknowledgement to my respondents' first-hand expertise in the 'lifeworld' that I was researching. Most interviews were conversational and gave at least the impression of a balanced encounter. My personal connection to the fringes of this community may have been of benefit. I did not always reveal that association, but would do so if asked or if appropriate to the conversation. This was helpful, for as Valentine suggests, a shared identity can facilitate interview rapport, creating an environment of empathy and understanding.[52] In my experience, shared identity, along with individual personality, attitude and the outlook of both researcher and respondent has shaped the interview as much as methodological or theoretical approach. This supports James' suggestion that theorists should not overemphasise the exploited position of the respondent. Whilst the power relationship of the interview must not be ignored, neither should the researcher underestimate 'the power of the interviewee to negotiate the conditions under which the communication takes place'.[53]

Whilst researchers may strive for equal balance in the interview, in the subsequent transcription, analysis and interpretation the historian is omnipresent.[54] In the final

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[49] K. Blee, 'Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.323.
[50] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p166; Blee, 'Evidence, Empathy', p.323.
[51] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, pp.163-174.
[52] G. Valentine, 'Tell me About…: Using Interviews as a Research Methodology' in R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds.), *Methods in Human Geography; A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, 2nd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p.113.
[53] James, *Dona Maria's Story*, p.139.
[54] James, *Dona Maria's Story*, p.155; Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.165. Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', p.40.

outcome the respondent speaks through the voice of the researcher and this is fraught with potential tension. Abrams suggests that few oral historians feel entirely at ease with the academic manipulation of their narrators' words and I recognise this discomfort.[55] The oral history method relies upon mutual respect, trust and the passing on of personal life details. It must be handled with care. From an ethical perspective, in this thesis I do not take the role of dissector or critic. Instead, in the spirit of co-construction, I aim to reveal and explore the 'original multiplicity of standpoints', which according to Thompson, is the special contribution of the oral history method.[56] The thesis is not a political, business or economic history, although it does involve all these things. It is history drawn from human experience, jointly assembled from enquiry, interaction, subjectivity and memory. Though co-constructed, it is ultimately filtered through the understanding of the researcher, who takes both control and responsibility for the final representation.

Underneath it all: Research Philosophy

> I was a phenomenologist without being aware of it.[57]

Beyond the theoretical perspectives outlined above, two fundamental principles can be said to have governed my research approach. Firstly, in simple terms, my attitude has been influenced by the concept of phenomenology, which seeks to understand the structures of consciousness, examining things as they appear in our experience or the ways in which we experience things. It is studied through the first person, alongside conditions such as cultural context and social practices that enable a particular experience.[58] It also makes a distinction between an individual's 'natural attitude', stemming from the lived, everyday 'giveness' of his world and a 'phenomenological attitude', which occurs when the individual reflects upon his experience, as within a life history interview.[59] Kirby observes that many oral historians employ theories that are phenomenological in nature, yet the term is rarely used and few confess to an explicit phenomenological approach.[60] However, oral historians could address the issue of the subjectivity of their source by reference to phenomenological principles. Phenomenology is *based* on the assumption that we cannot view the world objectively. It gives primacy to

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[55] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.165.
[56] Thompson, *Voice of the Past*, p.6.
[57] K. Kirby, 'Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History', *The Oral History Review*, 35:1 (2008), p.22.
[58] http://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/phenomenology/ [Accessed 25/10/12].
[59] L. Watson, 'Understanding a Life History as a Subjective Document: Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives', *Ethos*, 4:1 (1976), p.99.
[60] Kirby, Phenomenology, p.23.

the way that things and events are felt and perceived.[61] Combined with such thinking, oral history becomes the history of the phenomenological world.

Several academic fields have adopted the concept of consciousness as a means to explore truth, knowledge and awareness. Geographical phenomenology, for example, has influenced understandings of place explored within this thesis. In social science, phenomenological principles have been formed into a research methodology that validates the 'centrality of the human individual within data collection and analysis'.[62] Phenomenological researchers attempt to study the world through the eyes of others. They learn to suspend or 'bracket' their natural attitudes, to better understand their own position and to become receptive to responses that go beyond their own agendas and understandings.[63] This way of thinking has inspired my study and a phenomenological influence is openly acknowledged.

The second principle underpinning my work is a commitment to public history, which I define as history that 'addresses and grows out of' the life experience of ordinary people and/or which encourages and enables the public to engage with the past.[64] My motivation is the research collaboration with Hull Museums, my public AHRC funding and my longstanding commitment to the democratisation of the past rooted in my twenty years experience as a heritage practitioner. As a facet of recent history, distant-water trawling still resonates within the memory of the city, remaining relevant and alive for many Hull people. I see it as my role to capture remembered accounts, but also to help construct a legacy. From the outset, my work has been undertaken with the intention of returning something back to the fishing community. It has been agreed that the research interviews will be deposited in Hull City Archives. This intention has been explained to all respondents, with virtually all consenting and collaborating. It is important to acknowledge that the decision to create a publically available archive will have influenced the narrative, with respondents possibly sensing a wider and future audience for their commentary.[65] Regarding the position of the researcher, Yow draws attention to unconscious advocacy, where the researcher's empathy with or desire not to offend the community being studied influences the research outcome.[66] It is something that she feels, should be considered and declared when producing oral histories. From my own

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[61] Ibid.
[62] M. Bloor and F. Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts* (London: Sage, 2006), pp.128-131.
[63] Ibid., p.30.
[64] History Association, What is Public History?, http://www.history.org.uk/resources/public_resource_2774_75.html. (Accessed 12 March, 2015).
[65] A very small number of interviewees have asked to remain anonymous and their interview will not be archived.
[66] V. Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (California: Sage, 1994), pp.103-104.

perspective, in writing the thesis I was aware that the trawling community, including my respondents, had become an imagined audience. This, alongside my empathy expressed in Appendix 1 will undoubtedly have influenced the writing of this history.

Going into Practice

Ethics

The practical phase of my research began after obtaining ethics approval from the University of Hull, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Ethics Committee on 5 November 2012. Under the ethics procedure, interviewees were sent an introductory letter, a project leaflet, my contact details and a permission form to complete after the interview. The permission form allowed respondents to specify potential future uses of the interview by selecting from a range of options, from museum exhibits to public broadcasts. It included the option to remain anonymous and for the interview to be omitted from deposition in the city archives. Where practical, transcripts have been returned to interviewees with the opportunity for them to offer feedback, corrections, or to revise their original permissions. Interviewees have also been offered a copy of their interview or a digital version of the thesis upon completion of the research.

Interview Sample

I conducted a total of 41 interviews with 43 individuals.[67] Most were undertaken on a one-to-one basis, two were with couples and three involved a small group with one main respondent. Interviewees were recruited widely, which avoided the pitfalls of working only with cohered groups where narratives may have been regularly exchanged. Valentine speaks of 'gatekeepers': individuals or organisations that link the researcher with potential interviewees.[68] In this respect I am indebted to staff at Hull Museums, the Hull Fishermen's Mission, the Maritime Historical Studies Centre and to Alan Hopper (who introduced me to his former colleagues in the industry). I also met interviewees via three community groups: the Boulevard pensioner's coffee morning run by the Hessle Road Network, the Edinburgh Street Community Centre and the Butterflies dementia support group based in Garden Village, East Hull. Further interviewees were recruited through family, friends and neighbours and several through a small advertisement placed in Hull Maritime Museum

To study the fishery in its broadest sense, interviewees were recruited from a range of positions and ranks within the industry and community. As a result, whilst the sample has sufficient spread, the numbers representing each aspect of the fishery are

[67] Interviews taking place in the public environment of pub, shop or community center have occasionally involved brief secondary contributors who have not been included in this main figure.
[68] Valentine, 'Tell me About', pp.116-117.

limited. This is offset to a degree by the multiple experiences and identities held by some narrators. Appendix 2 presents the relationships between respondents and the fishery. The intricate associations are not easily captured in tabular form. Relationships were direct (through first-hand experience) and indirect (through the experience of a close relative). Experience could fall simultaneously into several categories. Margaret, for example, was concurrently the daughter of a fish dock bobber, sister of a fisherman, a long-term Hessle Road resident, one time fish processor and barmaid in a Hessle Road trawlermen's pub. She could thus narrate from multiple perspectives. Others shifted from role to role throughout the research period. Bob, a trawler skipper and 'Hessle Roader', moved from Arctic fishing, to 'mackerelling', to working for Icelandics, before eventually settling into the oil rig standby sector. Bob too could reveal a range of experiences within a single interview.

Through such multiple functions and identities, respondents may be grouped and re-grouped, giving the sample greater depth and offering perspectives beyond the singular. In numerical terms, the sample consists of 35 male and 8 female narrators, reflecting the dominant masculine character of the industry. In terms of age, 3 narrators were born before 1930, 1 (interviewed regarding heritage) after 1970 and 7 omitted to provide a date of birth. The majority were born between 1931-1940 (12) and 1941-1950 (15), placing them in the midst of their working lives when crisis hit the fishery. Significantly, 5 were born between 1951 and 1960, making them the last generation to engage with a large-scale trawl industry in Hull. The various sectors of the pre-1976 industry are represented as follows: 5 narrators worked in trawling or fisheries management; 15 were trawlermen; 5 worked in the fish trades (sales and processing); 7 in ancillary trades. In addition, 6 narrators were interviewed as the female relatives of trawlermen (wife, sister, daughter); 3 entirely on the basis of their long-time residency on Hessle Road; 1 as a benefits officer; and 5 on the basis of trawling heritage only. Amongst my narrators, 22 had lived on Hessle Road at some point in their lives (16 male, 6 female).[69] Of the 15 trawlermen interviewed, 11 were one-time Hessle Roaders (amongst the 6 female relatives of trawlermen, the figure was 4), giving credence to the notion of a fishing neighbourhood. 7 narrators had first hand experience of housing clearance, meaning that they or a close relative had been relocated due to demolitions occurring within the study period. The diverse and multiple experiences of my interviewees complement the themes of the research. Whilst in quantitative terms, their overlapping identities do not produce easy categories or totals, from a qualitative perspective, the

[69] This figure gains significance when it is considered that the sample includes members of management who are more likely to live away from the area and a number of heritage professionals unconnected with the district.

sample offers an encounter with the past from a broad and carefully considered collective phenomenological viewpoint.

Interviewing

Interview-based research is a complex methodology, with multiple factors to be considered. The location of the interview is believed to influence the outcome.[70] To Valentine, talking to people in their own home creates a more relaxed conversation and helps the researcher understand the interviewee in their own environment.[71] Yet some respondents may not feel comfortable inviting a stranger into their home and it may pose potential risk to the interviewer. I offered my respondents the choice of an interview at home or at the University's Maritime Historical Studies Centre. Preference was roughly equal. A small number took place in community or other public venues. One important body of interviews occurred in a local pub, where a large group of ex-fishermen were known to meet regularly. These interviews were interesting, for whilst the personalities and former 'roles' present were diverse (ranging from deckhand to skipper) the group revealed a particular shared outlook, possibly negotiated during their regular pub discussions.

My research has pursued single-issue testimony, which focuses upon specific aspects of the narrator's life, rather than their whole life story.[72] I adopted a semi-structured approach to questioning. The semi-structured interview is 'partly interviewer-led, partly informant-led'.[73] It is conversational and informal, encouraging a free response whilst guiding the narrative along routes that are helpful to the research.[74] Care was taken to avoid factors that could influence the narrative. Research questions were designed to be open, non-leading and discursive and my own intervention was non-committal and kept to a minimum. Interview schedules targeted different life experiences (for example, fishermen, fish merchants, ancillary trades), but also recognised the tendency for identities to overlap. However, all schedules followed the same general sequence of exploring industry, community and place before 1976; views and feelings during the Cod Wars; change in industry, community and place after 1976 (including personal experience) and attitudes to remembrance and heritage. The semi-structured approach gave narrators freedom to introduce topics not covered by the schedule and the final question directly invited them to do so.

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[70] R. Longhurst 'Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups' in N. Clifford, S. French and G. Valentine, *Key Methods in Geography*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2010), p.109.
[71] Valentine, 'Tell me About', p.118.
[72] H. Slim, P. Thompson, O. Bennett and N. Cross, 'Ways of Listening' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.146.
[73] H. Arksey and P. Knight, *Interviewing for Social Scientists* (London: Sage, 1999), p.8.
[74] Longhurst, 'Semi-Structured Interviews', p.105.

Interviews ranged from twenty minutes to over two hours. Most were between sixty and ninety minutes. Shorter interviews were snatched in busy environments, where a discursive rapport was difficult. They were nevertheless informative. By analysing outcomes as the research progressed, gaps or matters for further investigation could be built into later interview schedules. Rupert Creed, interviewing members of the trawling community in the 1980s, detected a cohesive worldview amongst his informants.[75] I also sensed this in my research. This does not imply that all trades and tiers of the industry were undifferentiated, but rather that the portrait was generally unhampered by wildly conflicting narratives. Although further investigation served to fine-tune my understanding, by the midpoint of my research, I could discern recognisable themes and patterns that altered little through the rest of the interviewing process. The consistency of these patterns helped me to recognise the point at which the interview process could be deemed sufficient.

Transcription, Analysis and Interpretation

The act and means of transcribing and publishing from oral sources presents a longstanding and much debated quandary.[76] Theorists reflect upon the loss of vitality between original recording and the written transcript and upon the distortion of meaning that can occur with the omission or re-arranging of the spoken word. They struggle with issues such as dialect or punctuation and question if false starts and 'ums' and 'erms' are significant or superfluous. Yet alongside declarations that oral histories should not be seen but heard, it is accepted that for research purposes a transcript is a useful tool.[77] The transcript provides a visual and manageable means to work with extensive aural collections and in the debate surrounding rationale and technique, Good takes the pragmatic view 'that we must learn to live with the fact that transcription of the spoken word is more of an art than an exact science'.[78] To Good, the imperfect solution to the perils of writing sound is to make the process as transparent as possible, declaring the level of mediation that has taken place.[79]

The majority of my interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. A small number (relating to heritage issues alone) were summarised with partial transcription. Transcription has been verbatim, including false starts, significant pauses, laughter etc. I have used nonstandard punctuation and grammar, devised to capture the stop-start

[75] AT/013/RC

[76] R. Samuel, 'Perils of the Transcript', *Oral History*, 1:2 (1972); Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', pp.33-35; Yow, *Recording Oral History*, pp.227-236; F. Good, 'Voice, Ear and Text: Words, Meaning and Transcription' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

[77] Yow, *Recording Oral History,* p.227.

[78] Good, 'Voice, Ear, Text', p.365.

[79] Ibid., p.369.

nature of speaking. Following Yow's guidance, 'crutch' words, such as 'y' know', along with 'erms' etc. have generally been retained, particularly where deemed to convey mood or meaning, but have been reduced where excessive and deemed to be habitual.[80] For use in the thesis, further mediation of the transcript has taken place, with habitual rather than significant 'erms' removed and some false starts eliminated.[81] Words added by the researcher to aid clarity are contained in square brackets. Word order has always been retained, but large omissions are indicated by … .

During the transcription process the Hull accent became significant as the 'voice' in which the narratives had been conveyed to me. It felt inconceivable that this 'voice' should not be captured within the thesis. In his interviews with Rotherham steel workers, Charlesworth reproduces in detail the speech style and pronunciation of his respondents, something that Nayak and Jeffrey associate with a phenomenological perspective.[82] Yet an absolute verbatim approach nevertheless remains an interpretation. Furthermore, full transcript of accents can alienate the reader with laborious text. In this thesis, I have avoided interpretations such as vowel sounds, whilst seeking to capture dialect with the retention of local words and speech pattern, for example: 'nowt', 'sez', 'mebbe', 'dun't', 'y' know', 'cup o' tea', etc. This is a 'light touch' approach, intended to respectfully capture the 'Hull voice'.

Each transcript was worked through in detail to produce a thorough analysis, including field notes and impressions of the interview. Following Yow's guidance, my analysis looked for themes, symbols, imagery and rhetorical devices.[83] After detailed inspection of the first five transcripts, a collective analysis took place, which grouped together ideas, experiences, and themes into a master document of emerging patterns. Analysis of subsequent transcripts fed into existing themes and introduced new ones, as appropriate. By continually feeding interview outcomes into the master document, I was able to 'map out' collective perceptions and experiences and this became the backbone of my thesis. The exception to this approach was the analysis of heritage issues for chapter nine. This chapter presented a slight departure from the preceding narrative and relevant material was assessed as a single exercise, grouping data into themes using multiple diagrams or 'mind maps'.

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[80] Yow, *Recording Oral History*, pp.230-231.
[81] A small number of interviewees expressed or hinted at discomfort with the 'erms' in the returned transcript.
[82] S. Charlesworth, *A Phenomenology of Working Class Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); A. Nayak and A. Jeffrey, *Geographical Thought: An Introduction to Ideas in Human Geography* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011), pp58-59.
[83] Yow, *Recording Oral History*, p.223.

Summary

This chapter has explored the advantages and hurdles integral to the writing of history from narratives of human experience. It has examined the origins of oral history and the theoretical developments that have taken this method from a contested enclave to an established sub-discipline of historical research. The chapter has examined the pitfalls and difficulties inherent in the telling of a subjective past. It has also outlined my personal research philosophy and practical approach. These theoretical and applied perspectives underpin the reading of the past presented in the thesis. This history is not *the history* of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery after 1976, it is *a history*, compiled from the collective perceptions of connected individuals, framed by documentary research and channelled through the understanding of the historian. For those who were 'living the fishing' in this time and this place, it offers a narrative of their past that can be recognised or contested.

Chapter 4: Historical Context

In the 700-year history of the port and city of Hull, the chapter of its fishing industry is relatively short. From inception in the 1840s, to crisis and decline in the mid 1970s, the period spans less than one hundred and fifty years. Within that time the city had become a pioneer of distant-water trawling in the North Atlantic. On the eve of the disruption that is explored in my research, Hull stood amongst the leading distant-water fishing ports of the world. In 1972, a fleet of 100 capacious wet fish and freezer trawlers brought thousands of tons of fish to the city, for sale, processing and distribution.[1] Yet just ten years later international influences had reduced the fishery to a fraction of its former capacity. This chapter draws upon secondary sources to provide a context for the metamorphosis experienced in that decade, reviewing the development of the industry from its nineteenth century origins to the turbulent politics of fishing in the 1970s.

A Chronology of Growth

Hull's sustained involvement with fishing began from the 1820s, when Devon fishermen, spurred by low fish prices, made seasonal visits up the eastern coast and into Yorkshire waters.[2] It led to the opening up of the rich 'Silver Pits' fishing grounds east of the Humber mouth, and from the mid 1840s southern smack owners made Hull their temporary base as they took advantage of new prospects.[3] By the 1850s the incomers began to settle permanently; amongst them Richard Hamling, Robert Hellyer and Thomas Boyd, surnames that were to become synonymous with Hull trawling.[4]

Essential to the expansion of Hull's fishing industry was the railway. In 1840, the Hull and Selby Railway eased access between Hull and the industrial centres of the North of England. As the rail network expanded, the mass markets of London and the Midlands became accessible to the Humber ports.[5] Low-cost transportation linked the coastal supply of fish with the inland need for cheap protein as fuel for the poor working-class populations of the rapidly expanding industrial centres. From the mid-nineteenth century, the growing popularity of fried fish further stimulated demand, and by the turn of the twentieth century fish and chips were well established in the national diet.[6] In Hull, the

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[1] HCA (HC/HFVOA) Ref: C/DBTH/15/129. Preliminary Feasibility Study of Proposed Re-location of Hull Fishing Fleet. G. Maunsell and Partners, June 1972, p.3.
[2] Robinson, Trawling, pp.18-20.
[3] Ibid., p.37.
[4] R. Robinson, 'The Line and Trawl Fisheries in the Age of Sail' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.78.
[5] Robinson, *Trawling,* pp.26-28.
[6] J. Walton, *Fish & Chips and the British Working Class, 1870-1940* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

growing market for large quantities of cheap fish and chips stimulated a swift 'demand-driven transformation'.[7] By 1863, Hull had 270 sail fishing smacks. By 1880 this had increased to 420.[8] From the 1870s vessels fished further from the British coast under a 'boxing fleet' system, where a collective of vessels remained at sea for extensive periods, with a fast cutter running ashore daily with boxes of fresh fish.

From the 1880s the arrival of the steam trawler cemented Hull's future as a distant-water fishing port. The transition from sail to steam was a business response to evidence of declining fish stocks in the North Sea.[9] The triple expansion engine in 1884, accompanied by manufactured ice from 1891, gave vessels the range and capacity to venture to distant, less exploited grounds. The steam trawler needed capital investment beyond the reach of most smack owners, and the way forward lay in the limited liability company that mobilised capital from outside the industry.[10] The engineering and financial demands of steam trawling ensured its concentration at larger ports, such as Hull, where capital investment, technological dependency and an established trawling ethos combined to produce a fishery that was henceforth 'quintessentially industrial' in character.[11]

By 1903 Hull's entire fleet was steam powered.[12] Although a North Sea steam boxing fleet operated until 1936, larger vessels increasingly fished singly in distant waters, beginning with Faroe and Iceland, then the Barents Sea and followed later by Spitsbergen and Bear Island.[13] Map 1 shows the nautical miles travelled by Hull's distant-water vessels. Before the First World War trawlers had, on occasion, voyaged as far as Greenland and the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.[14] Iceland, however, remained a favourite ground and as early as 1903, eighty Hull trawlers were fishing in Icelandic waters, establishing the 21-day trip that defined the operation and culture of the Hull industry for the next 60 years.[15] The first three decades of the twentieth century further secured the interdependency between Hull, cod and the fish and chip trade. Fish taken by Hull trawlers at Iceland was coarser than that of the North Sea, but used readily by fish friers who had little need for premium cuts. As fried fish retailers grew through the 1920s and 1930s, Hull became established as the 'friers' port', dominating the market for the

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[7] Robinson, 'Line and Trawl Fisheries', p.80.
[8] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.18.
[9] R. Mumby-Croft and M. Barnard, 'An Antiquated Relationship? Trawler Owners and Trawlermen, 1880-1980' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p120.
[10] R. Robinson, 'Steam Power and Distant-Water Trawling' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.210.
[11] Robinson, 'Steam Power', pp.209-210.
[12] M. Thompson, *A Tribute to Hull's Fishing Industry* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1996).
[13] Robinson, 'Steam Power', pp.211-212.
[14] Ibid., p.211.
[15] Ibid.

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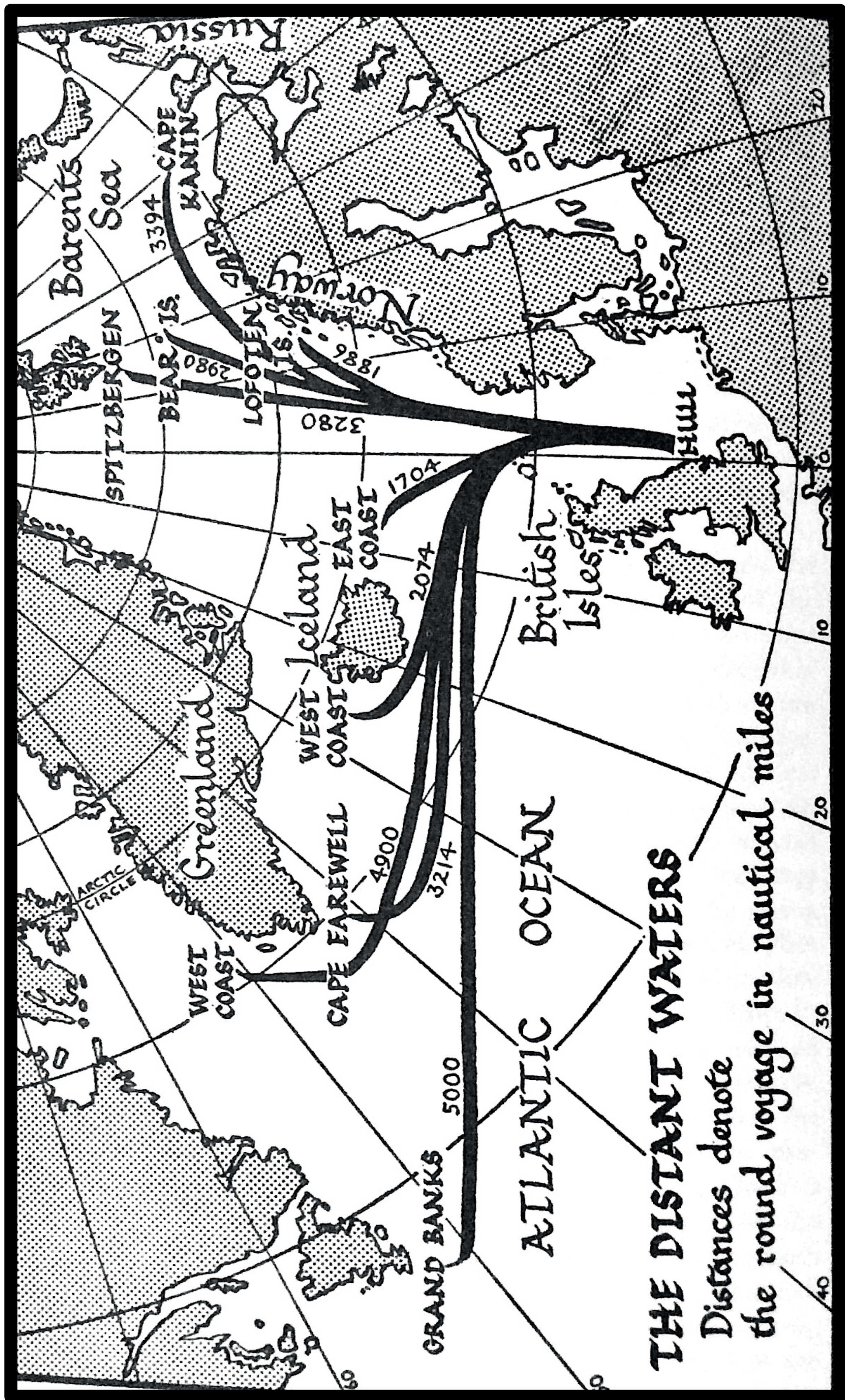

Map 1. Distant waters visited by Hull's fishing fleets in the twentieth century.[16]

[16] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.16.

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supply of lower quality white fish, mainly cod.[17] Throughout the interwar years Hull's fishery continued to prosper. From 1936, Hull became an almost exclusively distant-water fishery, landing 45 per cent of England's white fish in 1938.[18] Yet as Britain headed towards the disruption of the Second World War, the catch from rich Arctic grounds was leading to oversupply and from 1933, for the first time, regulation and restriction ensued.[19]

Setting up Home: A Shoreside Evolution

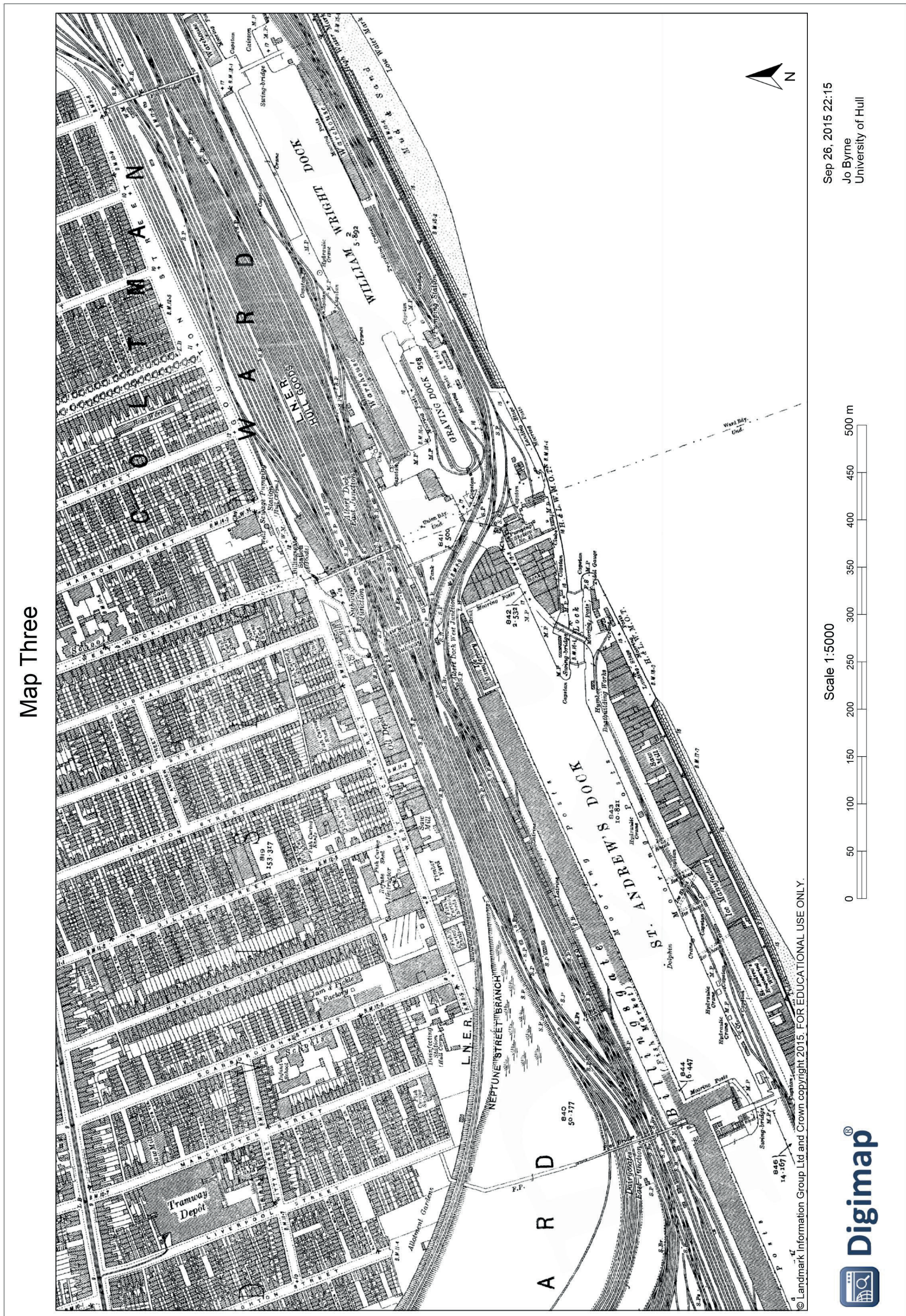
From the mid-nineteenth century, as Hull's new seafaring sector grew, so too did the networks, trades and facilities that comprised the wider fishery. Trawling summoned a sizable population of workers and families with close ties to the diverse elements of the trade. Naturally, these sought to make their home close to the comings and goings of the fleet. In 1883, the fishing fleet moved to their permanent home in St Andrew's Dock, located to the west of the city, parallel with the Humber bank (Map 2). The Fish Dock was extended in 1897 and in these early years, began to acquire an operational structure that changed little up to its final days.[20] Map 4 (views 1 and 2) date from 1951 and reveal the enduring character of the dock that was first established sixty years prior. Fish were landed into open-fronted sheds on its northern side. Known as the wet side, this also served as the fish market, where fish was weighed into containers known as kits and sold in the open air using the method of the Dutch auction. From 1899, cod was also dried and salted at the 'cod farm', situated west of the wet fish market.[21] At the western end of the dock was the slipway for trawler surveys and repairs and behind the market sheds ran the entanglement of tracks that enabled the North Eastern Railway to transport fish from the quay.

To the south was the dry side, home to engineering and repair sheds, equipment stores and the offices of the trawler owners and other related companies. Offices, stores and cafes were further concentrated around the eastern limit of the dock, in the area of the lock pit. In 1890 the Hull Fish Meal and Oil Company built its factory to process fish offal, followed in 1891 by the Hull Ice Company plant.[22] Along this 'dry side', ice was taken on board, crews were signed on for trips and ships were serviced, fuelled and supplied ready to return to sea. By the 1930s the Hull Fishing Vessel Owners Association (HFVOA) had established their collective ownership of many of these dockside facilities. Tunstall observes that trawler owners co-operated 'to their mutual advantage in owning the ice

[17] Walton, *Fish & Chips*, pp.44-45; Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.211.
[18] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.213.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Thompson, *Fish Dock,* pp.13-14.
[21] Ibid., p.15.
[22] Ibid., p.14.

Map 2. 1893. Kingston upon Hull, Hessle Road and St Andrew's Fish Dock.[23]
The map shows the study area in the nineteenth century, relative to the rest of the city. St Andrew's Fish Dock and the streets of Hessle Road lie to the west, parallel with the River Humber. The city's central docks form a ring around the Old Town and to the east lie the commercial port and adjacent neighbourhoods.

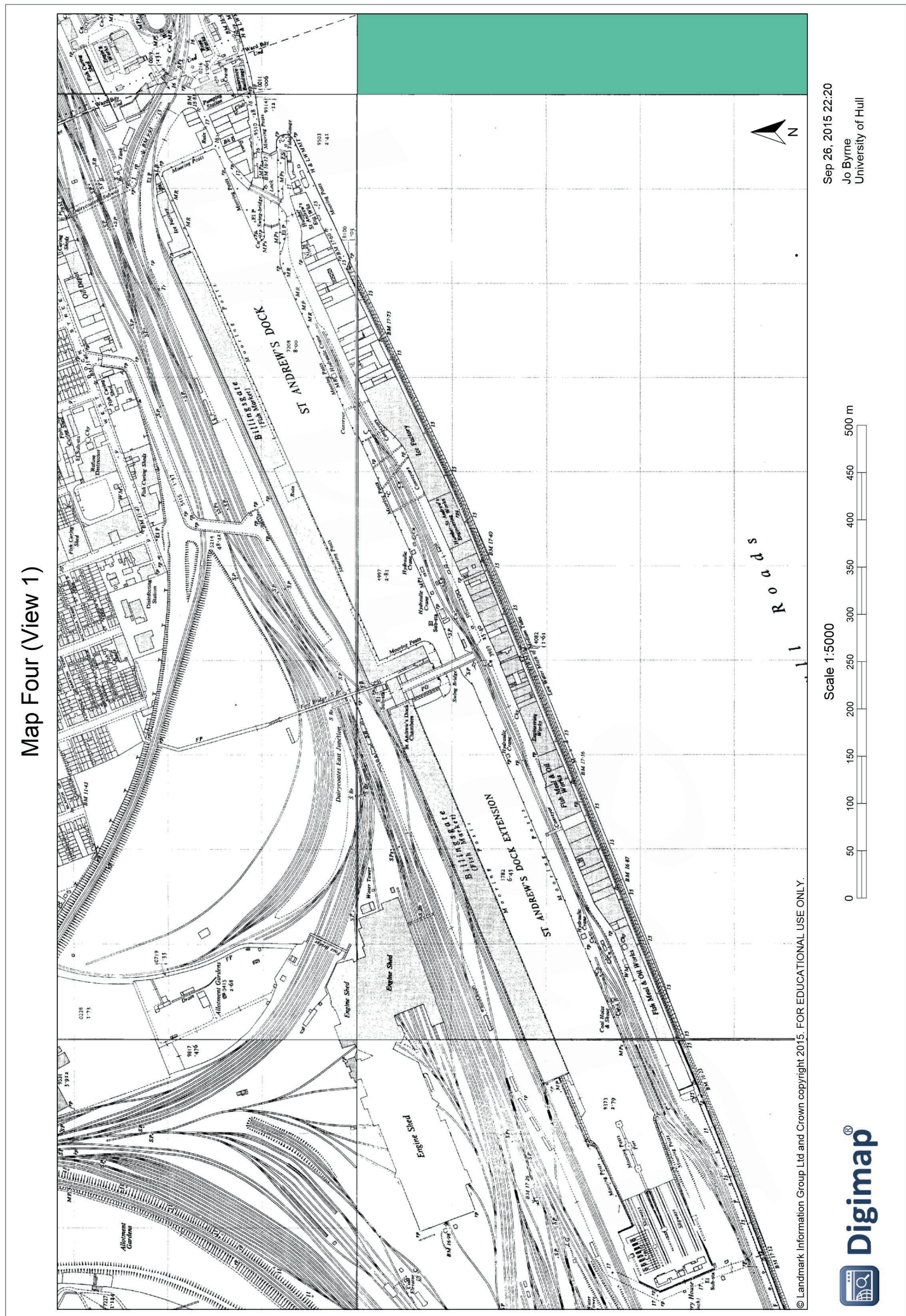
[23] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:10560 (1st Revision). Ordnance Survey County Series, EDINA Historic Digimap Service, 1893. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].



Map 3. 1928. Hessle Road and St Andrew's Fish Dock. [24]

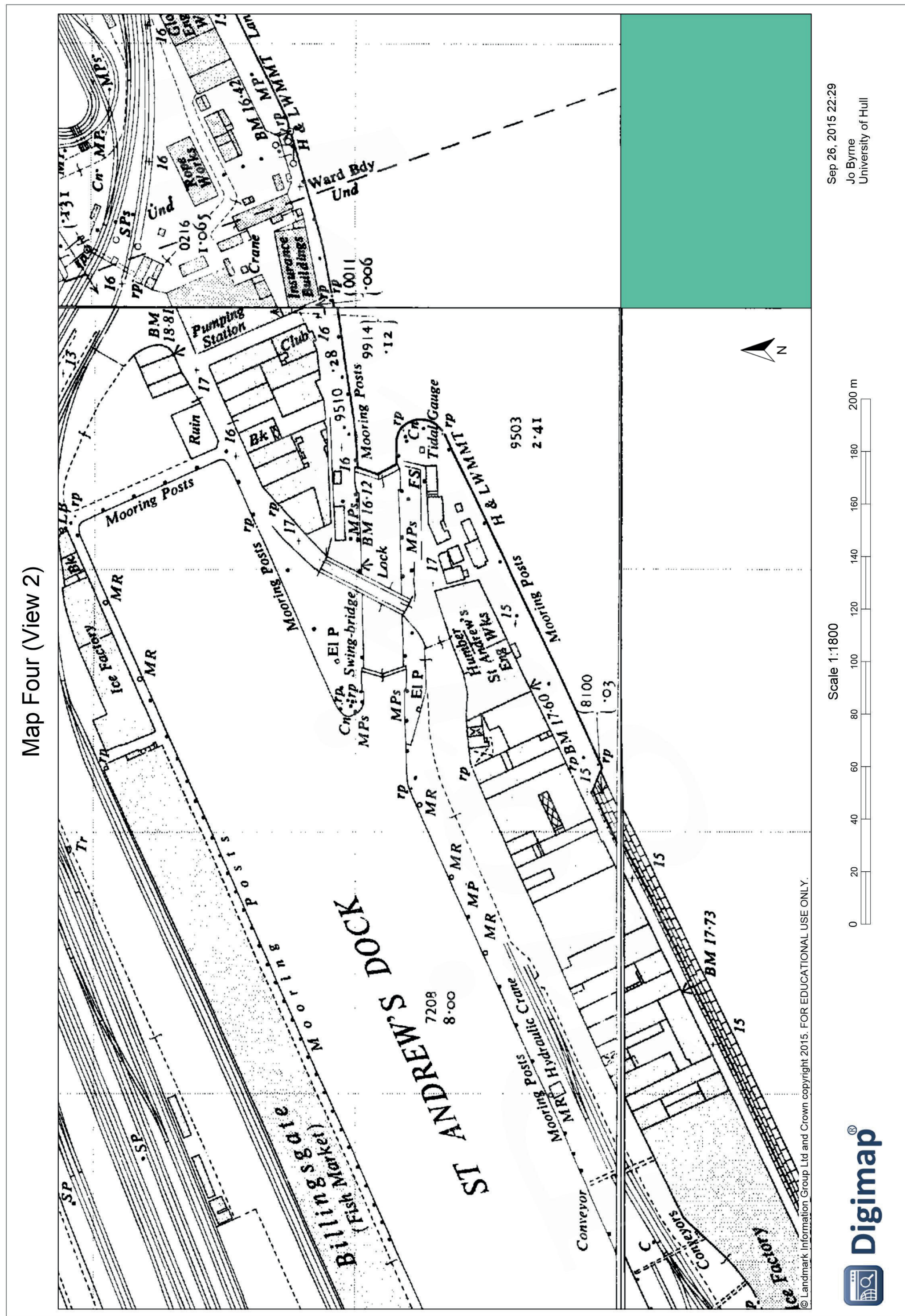
The map is a close up of the fishing district. In proximity to the Fish Dock are the densely packed courts and terraces that were home to fishermen, dockworkers and fish processors.

[24] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:2500 (2nd Revision). Ordnance Survey County Series, EDINA Historic Digimap Service, 1928. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].



Map 4 (i). View 1. 1951. St Andrew's Fish Dock.[25]

[25] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:2500. National Grid Tile TA0727, EDINA Historical Digimap Service, 1951. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].



Map 4 (ii). View 2. 1951. Close up of the Lockpit Area, St Andrew's Fish Dock.[26]
The close up gives detail of the entrance to St Andrew's Dock. The fish market (Billingsgate) is to the north, the larger ice factory to the south and around the lock gates are clustered offices, stores and works. The distinctive Lord Line building, which currently survives at the eastern end of the dock, was opened in 1949 and is shown here as a dotted outline.

[26] Ibid.

factories, fish meal plant and other important subsidiary services'.[27] The concentration of facilities, as well as vessels, into the hands of the HFVOA ensured that the trawler owners had significant interest in the success of Hull's Fish Dock. This common sense approach established trawling in Hull as an intensely local industry and instilled a strong disincentive to operate away from home. It remained an enduring and successful association until the troubled decade of the 1970s.

Beyond the tracks of the North Eastern Railway, a different expansion kept pace with the burgeoning docklands. North of the Fish Dock, the linear urban district of Hessle Road sprang up in response to increasing maritime trade and to trawling in particular. The semi-rural suburbs of the mid-nineteenth century were soon overtaken by an onslaught of working class housing: homes for trawlermen and ancillary workers. Map 3, from 1928, illustrates the density of life crammed into the courts and terraces of Hull's now established fishing district. Around the axle of Hessle Road an abundance of pubs, clubs, cinemas, shops and services provided for the fishing community. In the streets to the south, where industry spilled from the dock, residents lived hand in hand with fish houses and processing premises.[28]

There is an element of carnival in descriptions of Hull's fishing district, even in these formative years. The Hull Critic in 1883 records Hessle Road as,

> that vast, populous and growing locality… On Saturday nights especially, when the moving mass of people may be described as like unto a fair in numbers, such persons as desire to progress quickly had better avoid the main thoroughfare.[29]

Robinson deducts that the main thoroughfare 'seemed to almost take on the appearance of a western gold-rush town, teeming with life and light'.[30] It was a far cry from the older fishing communities of the Yorkshire coast, sharing much instead with the industrial working classes of the mill or the mine. Yet as Robinson points out, it was different. Although seemingly an industrial community, at its heart there remained the sea and the uncertainty of the hunt.[31] The result was an enduring sense of 'otherness', detectable in the writing of Gillett and MacMahon, who observe:

> With the isolation of their homes at one end of the town, and with the very special conditions under which those connected with the trade worked, for a whole century the fishing community was almost completely severed socially and geographically from the rest of Hull.[32]

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[27] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.36.
[28] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.129.
[29] The Hull Critic, 9 June 1883, quoted in E. Gillett and K. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1980), p.309.
[30] Robinson, *Trawling,* p.129.
[31] Ibid., pp.130-130.
[32] Gillett and MacMahon, *History of Hull*, p.309

After the War: A Transitory Golden Age

In 1939 Britain had entered the Second World War as her fisheries grappled with problems of over-production. In the immediate aftermath, distant-water trawling enjoyed a transient boom. The war years had given fishing grounds chance to recover from over-exploitation and post-war rationing and price controls ensured a ready demand for fish.[33] By 1949, as the near and middle water sector grappled with low fish prices, the end of food shortages and aging vessels, the efficient distant-water sector forged ahead.[34] For the trawling trade in the North Atlantic, the years to around 1960 can be seen as a 'golden age'.[35] British distant-water landings in 1951 were 11% higher than in 1938.[36] This increase, along with rising imports, was contributing to depressed fish prices, but the catch ensured that the distant-water fleets continued in profit.[37] As a result, they were excluded from the government subsidies for modernisation that were offered to near and middle water vessel owners via the newly formed White Fish Authority.[38] Instead, the distant-water fleet modernised without government assistance. In Hull, concentration of ownership into 15 to 20 large trawling firms helped to secure resources for new vessels and new technologies.[39] From 1946, coal fired trawlers gave way to oil and from the mid-1950s diesel and diesel electric began to take over from steam.[40] Modern electronics such as radar and echo sounders added to the efficiencies of large vessels and powerful engines.[41] As new technology was embraced, older technologies were phased out and this process meant that at any point in time, the Hull distant-water fleet had within its service technologies in varying states of advancement. New vessels brought risk and cost and the pace of change was measured.

By 1956-57, in terms of modernisation and landings, the distant water industry was at its post-war pinnacle.[42] From such a climax, performance began to fluctuate, with a pattern that was generally downward. In 1964, landings fell to the lowest since 1935 and the newly modernised near and middle water fleets made up the shortfall, supported by increasing imports.[43] Overfishing in the North-East Atlantic was beginning to take its toll,

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[33] Robinson, *Trawling,* p.186.
[34] Ibid., pp.187-188.
[35] N. Ashcroft, 'The Diminishing Commons: Politics, War and Territorial Waters in the Twentieth Century' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.224.
[36] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.188.
[37] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p213.
[38] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.189.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.214.
[41] Thor, *British Trawlers,* p.114.
[42] Thor, *British Trawlers*, p.144; Robinson, *Trawling*, p.212.
[43] Robinson, *Trawling,* p.212.

resulting in falling yields from a diminishing fish stock.[44] The fluctuating performance of the catching sector was accompanied by early signs of problems in the fish trades. The distant-water industry was founded on demand for inexpensive food, but in the affluent post-war years consumer interest in fish declined. Whilst total supplies of all fish types remained near pre-war levels, the growth in population meant consumption per capita had dropped.[45] Consumers chose to re-direct their increased spending power to meat, poultry and other foodstuffs. The fish and chip shop prevailed, but in numbers gradually declining from its inter-war heyday.[46] Frozen fish was yet to be accepted as a quality product and despite marketing campaigns by the British Trawler Federation and the White Fish Authority and the gradual growth of processed fish-based convenience foods, the overall trend in fish consumption was downwards.[47]

By the late 1950s poor catches, low prices and disputes over territorial waters were making distant water trawling increasingly unprofitable.[48] In 1960, a Government Inquiry was launched into all aspects of Britain's fishing industry. Amongst the recommendations of the resulting Fleck Committee Report was the extension of Government subsidies to the deep-sea sector, targeted to reinstate the viability of the industry.[49] Bolstered by financial assistance, the British owners moved towards a technology that had the capacity to revolutionise the scale, intensity and geography of distant water fishing.

The Advent of the Freezer

British deep sea trawling had long been bound by the challenge of bringing a perishable produce back to a home market. In Hull, the typical 21-day trip of the side trawler reflected the time needed to sail to distant grounds and return with the catch still deemed as fresh. Skippers habitually focused on Iceland, Norway, Spitsbergen, Bear Island and the Barents Sea. Voyages to Greenland had revealed the limits of traditional vessels, with the long journey reducing fishing opportunity and extreme weather increasing the already considerable risk.[50] Robinson observes how major enterprise in British trawling typically arose in response to changes in market conditions or yield.[51] In Hull from the 1880s, pressure on North Sea fish stocks had stimulated the move to steam, enabling longer

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[44] Ibid., p.214.
[45] Ibid., p.213.
[46] Fried fish shops in Britain reduced from 20-30,000 in 1933 to 17,126 in 1950 and 12,000 in 1975. C. Reid, 'From Trawler to Table: The Fish Trades since the Late-Nineteenth Century' in the Twentieth Century' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.161.
[47] Ibid., pp.162-163.
[48] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.219.
[49] Ibid., pp.219-220.
[50] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.51-52; Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.214.
[51] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.216.

journeys to more distant grounds. In the 1960s, with greater fishing effort producing lower catches for a contracting market, the industry turned again to new technology: this time to the freezer trawler and its promise of efficiency and reward.

Small-scale experimentation with freezing fish is known from Denmark, Germany, the USA and from Britain in the early decades of the twentieth century.[52] However, it was not until the 1950s that sustained progress towards the modern factory freezer trawler commenced. In 1954 the British company Salvesen redirected their experience of factory whaling ships to the fishing industry and the development of the stern freezer factory trawler.[53] By adapting the stern ramp of the whaler, stern trawlers were able to bring the catch aboard whilst steaming head to wind, eliminating the danger and effort of bringing the catch over the side.[54] Adopting the factory template, men could process fish below decks, shielded from the Arctic weather. Freezing at sea allowed vessels to sail further from the home port and to stay away longer, typically spending eight to ten weeks at sea. The stern factory freezer was bigger, carried larger crews and had a greater capacity for catching and processing fish. Without doubt this new breed of ship became 'the most advanced fishing vessel of the twentieth century'.[55] Its arrival brought a 'second industrial revolution' in the fisheries[56] and the potential for the biggest change in the practice and culture of the British distant-water industry since the adoption of steam.

In 1954 Salvesen led the way with the launch of their first stern factory freezer, the *Fairtry*. Yet in Hull, the industry did not immediately embrace the new technology. In the latter stages of Hull's post-war fleet modernisation, the *Fairtry* had been an expensive and experimental prototype and the industry had adhered to the side trawler. But in the early 1960s, with growing pressure on profit margins and with government assistance, the circumstances warranted change. In 1961, Hull's first stern fishing trawler arrived in port. The *Lord Nelson*, built in Bremerhaven for Associated Fisheries, was a hybrid vessel, landing a catch partly fresh and partly frozen at sea.[57] In 1962, Hull's first whole-fish stern freezer trawler, the *Junella*, entered service for the trawler company Marr.[58] The evolution was completed in 1967, with the introduction of Hull's first factory freezer trawler *Coriolanus*, able to land fish processed and frozen at sea.[59] By 1969, Britain possessed 33

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[52] I. Heidbrink, 'From Sail to Factory Freezer: Patterns of Technological Change' in D. J. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012), pp.62-63; Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.214.
[53] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.215.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Heidbrink, Sail to Factory, p.65.
[56] I. Heidbrink, 'A Second Industrial Revolution in the Distant-Water Fisheries? Factory-Freezer Trawlers in the 1950s and 1960s', *International Journal of Maritime History*, XXIII:1 (2011).
[57] Robinson, 'Steam Power', 221.
[58] Thompson, A Tribute, p.13.
[59] Ibid., p.14.

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freezer trawlers,[60] 22 of which operated from Hull. The 22 freezers represented 20 per cent of Hull's total fleet of 93 trawlers.[61] The rest continued to land wet fish. By the 1970s, improvements in sonar enabled fishermen to locate and identify fish stocks, overriding dependency on experience and good fortune.[62] The pelagic or mid-water trawl, introduced from the early 70s and adopted by distant-water fleets, was a further break with the past. Combined with sonar technology, the mid-water trawl enabled fish to be taken from parts of the ocean previously shielded from fishing activity.[63] Primarily devised for pelagic species such as mackerel, the mid-water trawl could also capture species, such as cod, haddock or blue whiting. In the unpredictable circumstances of the late 1970s, the pelagic trawl offered the flexibility to diversify and move between new and interchanging forms of fishing.

By the end of 1973 the Hull freezer fleet stood at 36 vessels.[64] Hull was rapidly emerging as Britain's leading distant-water freezer port, with a growing need for shoreside facilities to accommodate new methods of landing and storing frozen fish. Traditional 'freshers' continued to land alongside freezer vessels, but no distant-water wet fish trawlers were built after the mid 1960s.[65] For Hull, the freezer was perceived to be the future,[66] yet whilst Hull owners had delayed the embrace of the freezer trawler until prompted by economic circumstances, other nations had been less reticent. In the early post-war decades, eastern European countries had begun to build up their own fishing industries. By the 1960s Russia, Poland and East Germany had acquired significant distant-water fishing fleets, where the factory freezer featured prominently.[67] Britain was losing ground to newly emerging competition.[68] More significantly, the technology of the freezer factory trawler, combined with the increasing efforts of new fishing nations, was causing alarm. To Heidbrink, 'The crux of the matter was the threat posed by the highly efficient catching vessels of the European fishing nations to local fisheries, particularly those of new sovereign nations like Iceland'.[69] As alarm turned into action, for distant-water trawling ports like Hull, the North Atlantic bonanza was poised to come to an end.

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[60] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.215.
[61] Thompson, *A Tribute*, p.14
[62] Heidbrink, 'Sail to Factory', pp.64-65.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Thompson, *Fish Dock*, p.37
[65] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.215.
[66] HCA Ref: C/DBTH/59/21. The UK Fishing Fleet in the Mid-Seventies. White Fish Authority, Fishery Economic Research Unit, August 1969.
[67] Robinson, *Trawling,* pp.218-219.
[68] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.215.
[69] Heidbrink, 'Sail to Factory', p.69.

Against the Current: The Cod Wars

The problem of overfishing was not new to the later twentieth century. Since the intensification of trawling a century earlier, policy makers, scientists and fishing communities had been caught in a seemingly irresolvable dispute regarding the bounty of the sea.[70] The discourse drew social, economic and environmental voices, each seeking to secure and serve their position. Over previous decades the voices had been audible at varying volumes and heeded to differing degrees. But in the post-war North Atlantic, the environmental tone was increasingly persistent, until, coupled with a changing language of territorial waters, it could no longer be ignored.

The link between intensive fishing effort, technological efficiency and the push to extend fishing limits is well established by historians and contemporaries.[71] Between 1945 and 1977, the drive to protect and control lucrative fish stocks would result in the breakdown of long-accepted wisdoms regarding the freedom of the seas and the collapse of the long-established fisheries rooted in that premise. Since 1901, British distant-water fishing interests had been anchored on the certainty that a nation's territorial waters were defined by a limit set three miles from the shore. This was a widely accepted convention and although not universal, to British minds it constituted international law.[72] After the Second World War, the assurance of old orders was beginning to change. In 1945, the Truman Proclamations claimed US American control of the natural resources on the continental shelf off the US coastline, along with the right to establish conservation zones for coastal fisheries. By 1948 this had been echoed by Latin American countries, who claimed jurisdiction over their own 200-mile coastal zones.[73] The ripples were soon reaching British shores. Since 1936, Britain had contested the legality of a Danish proposal to claim a four-mile coastal territory. The move was significant, for it changed the premise upon which territorial waters were calculated. Rather than following the usual line of the low watermark, the Danes proposed limits drawn from straight baselines stretching from various coastal features, standing some distance from the shore. The new system drew large tracts of coastline and fish-rich bays into territorial waters. In 1951,

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[70] A. Burton and J. Ramster, 'Government, Science and the Fisheries in the Twentieth Century' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000); J. Hubbard, 'Changing Regimes: Governments, Scientists and Fishermen and the Construction of Fishing Policies in the North Atlantic, 1850-2010', in D. J. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012); R. Robinson, 'The North Sea Littoral and the British Isles' in D. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012).

[71] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, pp.52-56; Thor, *British Trawlers*; Robinson, *Trawling*, pp.224-231; Heidbrink, 'Sail to Factory', p.69.

[72] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.224.

[73] Ashcroft, 'Diminishing Commons', pp.224-255.

Denmark won an international court ruling that this approach did not breach international law. It was a turning point for the long-term prospects of British trawling interests, for as Robinson observes, Iceland had been viewing the Danish outcome 'with far more than academic interest'.[74]

In 1948, Iceland had passed a 'Fundamental Conservation Law', adopting the principle, although not yet the practice, of the right to regulate fisheries within the area of the continental shelf.[75] In 1952, with Icelandic waters under increasing pressure from foreign fishing fleets, Iceland seized the opportunity to follow the Danes in declaring a four-mile limit drawn from baselines. Britain protested at what she perceived as a unilateral violation of the freedom of the high seas. In Hull and Grimsby, the British Trawler Federation imposed a ban on Icelandic landings.[76] Iceland responded by establishing new overseas markets, including significant trade with the Russians.[77] The move upset NATO members, keen to retain Iceland's cooperation and its strategic location in Cold War military logistics.[78] The stalemate was not broken until 1956, when Britain responded to negotiations by accepting the new limit *de facto*, whilst maintaining the challenge to its legal validity.[79]

Thor suggests that to many Icelanders, the four-mile limit was a first step on a journey towards 'reclaiming what they considered to be the country's former rights'.[80] In 1958, the first UN Conference on the Law of the Sea failed to reach a definitive conclusion on the growing issue of territorial limits. In the face of indecision and spurred by falling catches, Iceland took action by unilaterally declaring a twelve-mile limit operational from 1st September 1958.[81] As other nations withdrew from Icelandic waters, Britain again protested. Whilst diplomatic negotiations faltered, the British trawler fleet continued to fish in the disputed waters, protected from the Icelandic coastguard by the Royal Navy. The first Cod War was underway. This initial seaborne conflict was a war of harassment, rammings and collisions between gunboats and trawlers. The fleet fished in 'boxes' where they could be safeguarded. The Royal Navy was prohibited from ferrying sick or injured fishermen ashore: this had to be done by the trawlers, who then risked arrest.[82] In 1960, the second UN Conference of the Law of the Sea again failed to reach a conclusion. However, it was clear that the twelve-mile limit could no longer be regarded as contrary to

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[74] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.226.
[75] Ashcroft, 'Diminishing Commons', p.225.
[76] Robinson, Trawling, p.229.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, p.63.
[79] Ashcroft, 'Diminishing Commons', p.225; Robinson, *Trawling*, p.229.
[80] Thor, *British Trawlers,* p.170.
[81] Ibid., p.171.
[82] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, pp.95-96.

international law.[83] In March 1961, Britain conceded to Iceland's twelve-mile limit. Where Iceland led, Norway, Denmark and Faroe followed and by 1964 38 countries had introduced similar restrictions.[84]

Ashcroft writes 'the commons were drawing in' and the process was far from over.[85] By the early 1970s, international voices were increasingly speaking in terms of 200-mile limits. In July 1971, the new left wing Icelandic government declared the intent to push fishing limits to fifty miles, effective from 1 September 1972.[86] Britain once again protested, this time actively supported by West Germany. British and German vessels continued to fish in Icelandic waters in what was to become the second Cod War. The second Cod War took a similar path to the first, although incidents became more violent and high risk. The Icelandic introduction of the trawl wire cutter, designed to sever the wires attached to a working trawl net, proved effective, costly and potentially dangerous.[87] Royal Navy intervention was largely ineffective. Back on land, in September 1973, Iceland's threat to break off diplomatic relations with Britain brought both sides to the table.[88] In November, a compromise agreement allowed British trawlers restricted access within the fifty-mile limit for a two-year period. One month later, the third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea demonstrated widespread international support for the 200-mile limit. Even before the two-year agreement with Britain had expired, Iceland, arguing that cod stocks were in a critical decline, extended its fishing limits to 200-miles, with force from October 1975.[89]

Under the standing agreement, this did not apply to the British fleet until November.[90] However, British and German trawlers continued to fish in the disputed waters beyond this deadline, in defiance of Icelandic claims to jurisdiction. This third Cod War deployed the same tactics as the prior two, but with even more vigour. As before, the conflict at sea achieved nothing. In February 1976, following a series of unsuccessful talks, Iceland broke off diplomatic relations with Britain.[91] Increasingly isolated and in conflict with a fellow NATO nation, Britain drew upon her NATO allies to help resume negotiations.[92] In June 1976, the Oslo Agreement allowed twenty four out of ninety-three distant water trawlers into Icelandic waters at any one time.[93] The agreement ran for just

[83] Ashcroft, 'Diminishing Commons', p.226.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Thor, *British Trawlers*, p.200.
[87] Ibid., pp.204-208.
[88] Robinson, *Trawling*, pp.239-240.
[89] Thor, *British Trawlers*, p.218.
[90] Robinson, *Trawling*, p.241.
[91] Ibid., p.242.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., pp.242-243.

six months. When it expired on 1 December 1976 British trawlers left Icelandic waters for good.

Authors and scholars have reflected upon the motives and outcomes of events surrounding the Cod Wars. NATO and the strategic significance of the US airbase at Keflavik is widely recognised as a fundamental influence. Johannesson suggests that Iceland's key position in Cold War politics was valuable not only to NATO, but also to Scandinavian countries, who benefitted from the US presence, without having to host them on home soil.[94] NATO would not risk losing an important tactical partnership over fishing rights and knowing this, Gilchrist believes that Iceland played upon the 'fear of going to the Russians' with aplomb.[95] Gilchrist has further suggested that Iceland's self-portrayal as a nation devoid of resources other than fish was a misrepresentation, albeit brilliantly exploited.[96] Fish, nevertheless, was central to Iceland's economy and the principle means of earning foreign currency.[97] During the Second World War, Iceland, along with the Faroese, had built up significant capital reserves by supplying fish to overseas markets, including Britain. In the post-war years profit was ploughed into developing and expanding their own fishing industries.[98] For Iceland, the post-war years brought the promise of fish-based wealth, but the spectre of overfishing threatened to take this away, first with the demise of herring, then with warnings of cod depletion.[99] Conservation may have been at the heart of Iceland's drive to control its waters, but this lay parallel with economic anxiety and self-interest. Writing in 1969, J S Griffiths offers this insight:

> Poverty the Icelanders understood and had endured… But to obtain undreamed-of wealth in less than a decade and then to see the threat of its abrupt withdrawal as other fishing fleets returned to the seas round the coasts of their country – this was more than the Icelanders could be expected to bear calmly and purely rationally.[100]

The push for limits can thus be seen as the struggle for control by a small, newly independent nation and developing economy. Once set upon this path the Icelandic approach was intransigent, determined and sustained. Forging just ahead of international

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[94] G. Johannesson, *Sympathy and Self-Interest: Norway and the Anglo-Icelandic Cod Wars* (Oslo: Institutt for Forvarsstudier, 2005), p.143 & p.46.
[95] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, p.72.
[96] Ibid., pp.57-58.
[97] Robinson, Trawling, p.226.
[98] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, p.42; G. Johannesson, 'Life is Salt Fish: The Fisheries of the Mid-Atlantic Islands in the Twentieth Century' in D. J. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012), p.282.
[99] Thor, *British Trawlers*, p.232-235.
[100] J. Griffiths, *Modern Iceland*, London, 1969, quoted in Gilchrist, *Cod Wars,* P.108.

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opinion, Iceland became the stronger nation; the 'icebreaker' who cleared the way for others.[101]

Johannesson sees economic anxiety and self-interest as common to all parties.[102] For the British, however, the Cod Wars have been cast amongst pivotal events marking a shift in Britain's position as a world power. In a post-war and increasingly post-colonial era, Britain's prestige as a naval and maritime power had undoubtedly decreased.[103] The Cod Wars proved besides, that in a 'war without shooting' superior naval force was to little avail.[104] Having suffered defeat over the four and twelve-mile limit extension and in the face of a clear shift in international opinion and practice, it is difficult to see why Britain continued to pursue defiance over negotiation. It has been argued that once committed to their vision, the Icelanders were not easy to bargain with.[105] Yet perhaps the key factor was that the British believed that they were right. Britain's position was argued throughout on what were perceived to be points of law, historical precedence and an adherence to the notion of the high seas.[106] Britain was swimming against the tide. Gilchrist observes that early in the conflict the tone of emphasis had shifted from law towards ideas of equity.[107] Britain's legalistic tenor was out of tune with international harmony.

Johannesson has suggested that cultural factors may have played a role, with those in power in Britain struggling to find the 'extraordinary psychological effort to agree that suddenly the old naval power should acquiesce in adverse decisions on maritime affairs, taken in tiny places like Reykjavik or Torshavn'.[108] The British distant-water trawl industry had often been at the forefront of technology and practice. It was built upon the concept of the freedom of the seas and used the lucrative coastlines of other nations in a way that Heidbrink describes as 'more or less colonial'.[109] The psychological leap required to negotiate a new order was substantial. The later Cod Wars are viewed by some as a 'holding operation'; a tactic to delay 'rushing to the gallows' in the hope of a reprieve.[110] Change was inevitable, but not yet. By the time that certainty was acknowledged, it was too late.

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[101] Johannesson, *Troubled Waters*, p.297.
[102] Johannesson, *Sympathy*, p.140.
[103] Johannesson, *Troubled Waters,* pp.293-94.
[104] Ashcroft, 'Diminishing Commons', p.226.
[105] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, Johannesson, *Troubled Waters*, p.297.
[106] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, p.60 & p.109.
[107] Ibid., p.60.
[108] Johannesson, *Troubled Waters,* p.300.
[109] I. Heidbrink, 'The Oceans as the Common Property of Mankind from Early Modern Period to Today', *History Compass,* 6:2 (2008), p.669.
[110] Gilchrist, *Cod Wars*, p.110; Johannesson, *Troubled Waters*, p.303.

The Common Market: A European Fishery

Whilst locked into conflict with Iceland, Britain and its fishing industry was simultaneously fighting on another front. In 1970, Britain began negotiations to join the European Economic Community (EEC), along with Ireland, Denmark and Norway. In anticipation of welcoming four established fishing nations with extensive rich coastlines, the existing Six EEC member states had finalised the terms of a new Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). The policy embraced all aspects of fishing from industry structure to market organisation.[111] At its core lay the contentious principle of equality of access for all Community vessels within the waters of all member states.[112] The introduction of the new policy on the very day that membership negotiations began had angered the applicant states, who considered it 'a sharp practice on the part of the Six, guaranteeing them access to the fish-rich waters, without being obliged to take the interests of the coastal states concerned into account'. [113]

It was a requirement that the applicants joining the EEC accepted existing Community policy and this now included the new CFP.[114] Nevertheless, it became clear that for the fishing policy to be acceptable to an expanded Community, some modification would be required. The difficulties in reconciling the CFP with national expectations led to Norway's rejection of membership 1972. For Britain, however, the Heath government were determined that the fisheries problem should not stand in the way of entry into Europe.[115] Following the negotiation of some concessions, the CFP was accepted. The most notable compromise was a deferral until December 1982 of the right to 'fish up to the beaches' of member states. In the interim, it was agreed that six-mile limits could be retained, which in special circumstances could be extended to twelve-miles, providing historic rights were acknowledged. With 95 per cent of its coastline qualifying for a twelve-mile zone, the British Government claimed a victory. Others, however, were concerned by the temporary nature of the concession.[116] The agreement was an uneasy truce and it was not long before it ran into difficulty.

Britain became a member of the EEC on 1 January 1973. At this time the nation's distant-water fishery was still embroiled in the discord of the second Icelandic Cod War. Symes observes that the formulation of the European CFP in the early 1970s was 'taking place in a context where national sovereignty over fisheries applied only to the narrowly

[111] Wise, *Common Fisheries,* p.107.
[112] Shackleton, *Politics of Fishing*, p.98.
[113] Wise, *Common Fisheries,* p.108; Shackleton, *Politics of Fishing,* pp.97-99. Shackleton (p.97) suggests that the policy was agreed the day before negotiations.
[114] Wise, *Common Fisheries,* p.108.
[115] Robinson, *Trawling,* pp.236-237
[116] Ibid.,p.237.

defined territorial waters'.[117] Just a few years later this was to change, as Icelandic victory in the third Cod War forced the challenges and opportunities of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) onto the European agenda. Symes continues

> The rapid contagious spread of EEZs within the North Atlantic during the mid-70s precipitated the concept of a common fisheries policy into an unfamiliar political framework. It is not unreasonable to argue that, save for the political turmoil in the 1970s and the protectionist philosophy of the Common Market, the EC might never have embarked on such an ambitious project as the CFP. Member states would certainly have been much less willing to cede their sovereign rights over well-established 200-mile limits.[118]

By the mid-1970s, the fear that the spread of 200-mile limits would divert Community and non-Community fishing effort into EEC waters brought a pressing need for the CFP to be revised.[119] Difficult negotiations lay ahead and in the face of Community division, the Hague Resolution of 1976 was drawn up as a guideline for the future development of the policy. The Resolution confirmed the Community's authority over third country agreements, both for non-Community members fishing within Community waters and for Community members fishing in third county waters.[120] Most significant amongst the Hague Resolution proposals was the agreement that member states would 'in concert extend the limits of their national fishing zones to 200 miles'.[121] The result would be a 'community pond' subject to the jurisdiction of each member state, but remaining bound by the agreements of the CFP, including the principle of equal access. The zones were established by member states simultaneously on 1 January 1977, but still to be resolved was the contentious issue of how such a pond should be shared and managed.

For Britain, the EEC's move towards the 200-mile limit presented a predicament. Until late in 1976 Britain continued to challenge the Icelandic stance through the third and final Cod War. At the same time, discussions were progressing on a collective EEC 200-mile zone that would include British waters. Shackleton argues that the consensus on a European limit reached at The Hague in October 1976 marked the end of Britain's ability to challenge Iceland's territorial rights.[122] With seeming duplicity, when British trawlers left the disputed Icelandic waters on 1 December 1976, it was only one month later that Britain itself established a 200-mile exclusion zone. The zone brought little consolation to the British distant-water industry, who had swallowed the bitterest pill. Whilst losing the right to fish in the waters of other nations, under the terms of the CFP, they were forced to

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[117] D. Symes, '*The European Community's Common Fisheries Policy*', Ocean & Coastal Management, 35:2-3 (1997), p.139.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Wise, *Common Fisheries*, p.150.
[120] Ibid., p.158.
[121] Ibid., quoted from The Hague Resolutions cited p.157.
[122] Shackleton, *Politics of Fishing,* p.106.

share the newly established British coastal territory with the EEC fishing fleet. If Britain felt 'doubly penalised', it was not without good cause.[123] Wise highlights the sum of Britain's potential fishing losses from this dual blow. With the loss of foreign grounds, deep-sea ports like Hull and Grimsby faced a catch reduction of 300,000 tonnes.[124] Without the obligations of the CFP, the rich fish stocks within Britain's 200-mile limit could offset losses. Yet instead, Britain was to contribute an estimated 60 per cent of its fish resources to a European community pond. Traditionally, British fishing in the waters of other member states totalled less than 0.3 per cent.[125] Of all Community nations, Britain clearly had much to lose in the negotiation of the CFP revisions.

From this back-foot position Britain had much to gain from the rigorous pursuit of a satisfactory outcome. The original CFP had elided the need for conservation based decision making, but the pressures apparent by the mid-1970s meant that the revised policy would be based around Total Allowable Catch (TAC) for the maintenance of sustainable as well as profitable seas. The identification of the TAC, its conversion and distribution as national quotas, access to territorial waters and issues of enforcement became the cornerstones of negotiation.[126] Driven by the influential lobby of the British Fishing Federation, Britain campaigned robustly for a best-case scenario. Petitions demanded, at differing times, variously sized national exclusive or 'dominant preference' zones to protect regions with a particular dependency on fishing; demands for higher quotas that reflected Britain's rich contribution to the common pond; compensations for losses in third country waters and the securing of conservation measures.[127] Time and again British desires clashed with those of other members and with the principles of the CFP. The revision of the CFP was proving impossibly complex and Britain's persistent objections were contributing to the delay of a much-needed outcome.

A stalemate in 1977 and a British rejection of new proposals in 1978 further prolonged the agonising process. However, with the election of new Conservative British government in 1979 came a new degree of flexibility and a step-by-step approach to the CFP.[128] The early years of the 1980s saw incremental progress that began with an agreement on conservation measures, moved towards a structural policy, measures to deal with excess capacity and support for new fishing opportunities and culminated in an outcome on the thorny issues of access and quotas.[129] With the deadline for the expiry of the existing CFP looming, the stalemate had finally been broken. The revised CFP was

[123] Ibid.
[124] Wise, *Common Fisheries*, pp.146-148.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., pp.162-63.
[127] Ibid., pp.162-203.
[128] Ibid., pp.204.
[129] Ibid. p.204-43.

adopted in January 1983. British gains included 37.3 per cent of the available fish stocks in European waters and a twelve-mile national exclusion limit, subject to certain historic rights.[130] Inevitably, the outcome was a compromise, arguably giving cause for neither celebration nor despair. However, the policy had been almost seven years in the making. In Britain, and for Hull in particular, those years spanned a critical period of disruption in its distant-water fishing industry. The protracted wrangling over the terms of the CFP revision, often instigated by Britain herself, created governmental and administrative uncertainty that hampered operational attempts to repurpose the former distant-water fleets. By the time the CFP was available to direct and managed transition, for many in Hull it was simply too late.

Summary

The expansion of limits and entry into the EEC presented a critical turning point in the fortunes of Hull's distant water trawl fishery. For almost a century the Hull industry had enjoyed steady progress. From the 1960s, early signs of difficulty were met with government support and the beginnings of a new and advanced fleet. As the industry entered the 1970s, despite evidence of overfishing and the wider problems of the national economy, the outlook was generally optimistic. Yet as the decade progressed and economic strains deepened, the industry struggled against growing impediments. On top of these came the Cod Wars and the uncertainty and restrictions of a European fishery. By the mid-1970s, adverse conditions had combined to produce the perfect storm and a decade that had begun with confidence had descended first into turbulence and then into crisis.

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[130] Shackleton, *Politics of Fishing,* p.113.

Chapter 5: Working Lives and Trawling Culture: A Portrait up to 1976

Living the Trawling

As economics, technology and politics forged a new fishing order, those dependent upon the bounty of the sea for a living faced an era of disruption. For Hull's fishery the 1970s became the 'troubled decade' where gradual transformation gave way to adversity. For those whose fortunes were tied to trawling, the impact was felt in the patterns, places and prospects of their lives. This chapter offers a portrait of a community about to face a metamorphosis. By combining existing sources, archival material and my oral history interviews, the chapter introduces the normalised practice and culture of trawling in the 1950s and 1960s. It then goes on to expose the influence of the freezer trawler upon established rhythms, prior to the critical turning point of 1976.

The 21-Day Trip

> Three weeks at sea, three days at home.[1]

In the years prior to the 1970s, distant-water fishing in Hull reflected patterns of existence that had persisted for decades. Describing life at sea in 1960 Tunstall observed:

> The absolute and unchanging quality which pervades group-life on a trawler is made all the more marked by the fact that with minor variations, it is the same as old fishermen remember. This gives the fisherman a certain feeling that whatsoever exits in the life on a trawler is somehow permanent and ordained.[2]

Researching the industry in the interwar years, Edwards and Marshall set out to challenge the simplicity of this assumption, but their accounts of severe industrial relationships, long working hours and tight knit community offer little to dispel Tunstall's case for continuity.[3]

In Hull, the practices of trawling at sea and on shore had grown up around the 21-day trip. 21-days was the voyage limit of the 'sidewinder' trawler; the time needed to steam to the North-East Atlantic, fish for around ten days and return with the catch still fresh enough for market. This rhythm emerged from the early days of distant-water trawling. It is recorded in the interwar diaries of Hull skipper William Oliver, was observed by Tunstall in the late 1950s and remained the norm for those working the substantial fleet of side trawlers operating into the 1970s.[4]

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[1] Interview with Victor and Pauline Wheeldon. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 31 August 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/029/030/V&PW.

[2] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.133-34.

[3] Edwards and Marshall, 'Conflict and Community'.

[4] University of Hull, Blaydes House, 'The Diaries of William Oliver, 1917-1939'. Personal Communication, David J. Starkey.

The longstanding dominance of the 21-day trip permeated not only life at sea, but also that of dockside and district. The profit demands of trawling dictated that ships spent minimal time in port. In the early 1950s trawlers were in dock only 48 to 60 hours. By the late 1960s, the turnaround time of the sidewinder fleet had increased only marginally to 60 to 72 hours.[5] Life for the fisherman at home was compressed into three days and assumed a frenzied and celebratory nature. Vessels always returned to Hull and the regular, yet frenetic comings and goings forged a distinct culture and tradition within the portside community. When Alan H. moved to Hull in the 1960s to work with the White Fish Authority, he was struck by the contrast between trawling and his experience of the Merchant Navy. He says:

> … it was a tough life and it required a certain lifestyle and character to do it. … the families had to accept that the man of the household would be away for three weeks and life had to carry on when he was not there. And when he came home, life would change for about three days and then maybe peace would reign for another three weeks until he came back again. So it was a lifestyle that I think a lot of other communities could not adapt to. It was something you lived with, grew up with and accepted.[6]

Fitting home life into three days required fortitude and energy. Skipper Victor explains that '… life at home was hectic. You had to try to put in a lot of stuff within that three days…'.[7] Michael P., also a trawler skipper, outlines a typical spell at home in the late 1960s:

> Well in three days you had to cheer the family up, and the little 'uns and like spoil them for a bit cos they don't see their father for three weeks… you'd take your wife shopping up town and spoil her for a couple of hours and sit in shops fed up. And then the kids'd come home from school and you'd've bought them some presents or you'd take them up town… and the next day you relaxed a little bit and then the day after that you was away to sea again. Which is really depressing if you're sailing at 2 o'clock in the morning…[8]

Socialising and leisure was an important part of time ashore. Local memory is rife with tales of epic celebration, drinking and spending, as trawlermen, short on time and flush with trip-money, earned themselves the reputation of the 'three-day millionaires'.[9] But the notion of the 'drunken trawlerman' must be framed within the context of the 21-day trip. Trawler skipper Jim explains:

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[5] Robinson, *Trawling,* p.191.
[6] Interview with Alan Hopper. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 29 November 2012. Transcript Ref: AT/005/AH.
[7] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[8] Interview with Michael Paterson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 21 November 2012. Transcript Ref: AH/004/MP, p.2.
[9] A. Gill, *Three-Day Millionaires: Trawlermen Home Between Trips* (Hull: Dovedale Studios, 2001) (DVD). The term refers to a tendency, reported in this oral history video, for many trawlermen to spend earnings freely and generously during the short time between trips.

> …if you ask anyone ashore – stop in house, don't go out, sleep, work 18 hours a day, do it for three weeks and at the end of the three weeks, if the boss says, there you are, there's y' three weeks money, but you're back on Tuesday… what you gonna do with it (laughs)?[10]

Whilst heavy drinking caused problems within some households,[11] for many, time ashore was for family and socialising with wives and friends. Socialising took place in many parts of the city and beyond, but activity inevitably focused on Hessle Road as the heart of the fishing community. Here the daily landing of ships and crews gave the district a continual and collective buzz.

The Industrial Culture of an Extreme Occupation

The impetus for intense and jubilant shoretime is better understood when viewed against the experience of life at sea. Arctic fishing was demanding and dangerous. It was a physical job, employing heavy gear on a moving deck, in freezing and hostile seas and the risk of accident was high. Hazards were compounded by operational practices and culture that pervaded the side trawler fleet. The traditional sidewinder crew was 20. As figure 1 demonstrates, whilst fishing men worked on an open deck, usually for ten days and on a rota of eighteen hours work to six hours sleep. Both Tunstall and Piper illustrate the effects of tiredness, referring to the sluggish and repetitive conversation that would accompany exhaustion.[12] Tunstall suggests that the dampening cycles of fatigue focused attention on immediate respite, not long-term improvement and had a role in maintaining fatalistic and short-term views amongst trawler crews.[13] Of greater concern was the contribution of fatigue to the poor safety record of the side trawler. As Piper observes 'worn-out men are prone to blunder' and error could lead to tragedy.[14]

Fishermen in Hull and other distant-water ports were engaged on a casual basis, with employer or employee able to terminate engagement at the end of a trip without prior notice. Payment was made via a basic wage, supplemented by a share of the profit known as 'poundage'. Skippers and mates were paid largely on a net percentage of the

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[10] Interview with Jim Williams. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 9 November 2012. Transcript Ref: AT/001/JW(I).
[11] For example, see Lazenby and Lazenby, Deep Sea Voices, p.28 & p.45.
[12] Piper, *North Ships*, p.100.
[13] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.131.
[14] Piper, *North Ships*, p.87.

Figure 1. Trawlermen gutting fish on an open deck.[15]

[15] Photographer Unknown, *Trawlermen Gutting on Deck*. Date Unknown [Photograph]. Hull Museums, Hull.

sale of the catch. Pensions for fishermen were not introduced until 1961. Working hours could be exceptionally long and whilst poundage brought the potential of high earnings, Tunstall suggests that in the late 1950s the hourly rate was 'probably lower than that of almost all adult male workers in Britain'.[16] Payment was calculated on the sale value of the fish and as this fluctuated, incomes could boom or bust. Behind the uncertainty and risk, however, lay the chance of a lucrative catch. Both Horobin and Tunstall assert that it was the call of the cash, not the sea that lured many young men into trawling.[17] To Tunstall this was particularly true for boys whose lack of academic tendencies made it difficult to achieve better-waged jobs ashore.[18] With trawling, if the long hours and risks were accepted, there was the chance of substantial poundage. Big money brought status and could inject excitement and anticipation into the hardships. Small fortunes could be made and the hunt was on.

The casual structure and dependency on poundage placed industry management in a powerful role and fishermen in a position of non-negotiation. The history of capital and labour relations in trawling is weighted in favour of management and remained so into the 1970s, a time when labour interests in other industries were defended by powerful unions.[19] In his Fabian publication Tunstall defined the capital-labour relationship as one based on 'mutual suspicion, and bitterness'.[20] Historians Mumby-Croft and Barnard have described the attitude of the trawler owner to their workforce as 'intransigent'.[21] Peter M. recalls his own impressions as he joined the White Fish Authority,

> … I'd been in the Merchant Navy and frankly when I came to Hull in 1965 I actually thought that the clock had been turned back to about 1880 in terms of industrial relations and things like that. It was brutal… whether it was Grimsby or Hull, there was a very strict pyramid structure and the gap between the top and the bottom was enormous…[22]

With no job security or protection, men committing indiscretion in the eyes of the management could be sent 'walkabout', putting them out of a ship for a period of time. Heavy pressure rested on the skipper and a good fish-catching record could count for little should fortunes turn for the worse. In such an environment it was tempting to take risks. Within this structure, however, it is acknowledged that 'there were good trawler owners and there were not so good trawler owners': companies that showed concern for

[16] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.69.
[17] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', pp.350-351; Tunstall, *Fishermen,* p.109.
[18] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.101-102.
[19] See Mumby-Croft and Barnard, 'Antiquated Relationship?', p.120.
[20] Tunstall, *Fish*, p.11.
[21] Mumby-Croft and Barnard, 'Antiquated Relationship?', p.122.
[22] Interview with Peter Mathews. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 30 April 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/017/PM.

employees and those that did not.[23] Peter too concedes that 'some owners were better than others…'[24] and oral history testament often reveals the varying dockside reputations held by Hull trawling companies.

Tunstall attributes the persistence of vulnerable working conditions to a fatalistic tradition amongst trawlermen and weak unionism.[25] As trade unionists trawlermen were problematic. At sea for long periods, they were a fragmented group, difficult to contact, motivate and organise. Mumby-Croft and Barnard detect an 'anti-collectivist ethos' amongst fishermen and Tunstall observed how unions could find themselves at ideological odds with their workforce.[26] Within larger bodies, such as the Transport and General Workers Union, trawling was a marginal and little-comprehended sector.[27] It was the trawler engineers, backed by a longstanding engineering tradition, who formed the backbone of fishing unionism. But here tensions between those 'down below' and the 'deckmen' disrupted any sense of unity.[28] Tunstall observes that in Hull, strike action was generally unofficial and reactive to short-term issues, rather than targeted to long-term improvements.[29] He writes 'what happens on trawlers can only be altered ashore' and that required organisation, commitment, tact and forward planning; attributes that were not prevalent in trawling culture.[30]

Despite harsh and hazardous conditions, research testimonies reveal that many trawlermen gained satisfaction from their extreme occupation. Certainly, it was not for all,[31] but many who embraced such extremes remained firmly bound to the trawling life. Although distanced by time, Victor reflects positively upon his career with the sidewinder fleet:

> I think if you speak to most people of my age group and ask them if they would go back fishing, I think ninety per cent would say – if it was like it was when we were fishing – yes.[32]

The attraction was not limited to the big money. Poundage had its lure, but the work itself also held an appeal and the strong work ethic of trawlermen is both self-reported and

[23] AT/019/RW
[24] AT/017/PM
[25] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.172-174, see also chapter eleven.
[26] Mumby-Croft, 'Antiquated Relationship?'p.126; Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.248-251.
[27] Mumby-Croft and Barnard, 'Antiquated Relationship?', pp.124-125.
[28] Tunstall, Fishermen, pp.247-248.
[29] Tunstall, *The Fishermen*: p.250. Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.250.
[30] Ibid., p.134.
[31] Within my sample of seafarers, two report on their decision not to take up the trawling life. One suffered from sea-sickness and chose to work in the fishing industry ashore. The other alternated between the merchant navy and fishing, eventually choosing to come ashore to a bakery job, which he much preferred.
[32] AT/029/030V&PW.

widely noted by others. Bill, a trawling deckhand, appreciated the variety of tasks that were part of a typical trip:

> Fishing, you used to get it aboard, gut it, put it in the washer… down the fish room, put it away. There was all different things… every day there was a different thing happened. You never know what you was gonna do or what come up next.[33]

Trawler mate Doug describes his enjoyment of repetitious hard work and the pleasure of calm after rough seas:

> Well I think it's the life in general - fresh air, and you've got that business of bad weather, the ship rolling and then… when it fines away *[and]* the ship's steady, that in itself is an enjoyment, cos you're no longer being thrown about… especially if the sun's out and its not too cold and you're in your shirt sleeves… *[you feel]* oh it's good to be alive. It's generally the way of life and the job itself. Its repetitive… people who like gardening, going out to dig the allotment over – they'll get pleasure out of that – and it's the same with fishing.[34]

Jim remembers the satisfaction of the home trip:

> … you're steaming home, it might be fine weather, moonlight night – lovely – you're stood at the bridge window, everything's right, you got a trip below, lot of compensations.[35]

Sometimes evident is a masculine pride in meeting the demands of a rigorous job. This can be conveyed with a hint of 'otherness': a distinction between trawlermen and other seafarers and with the Royal Navy in particular. Trawler Engineer Dave B illustrates this with a story of carrying naval personnel aboard a trawler during the Cod Wars:

> … I said, 'ave you ever sailed on one of these ships then? Oh no, we're real sailors us, we can sail anything. So I said, well you're in for a ride of your life then, because you won't know anything like this (laughing)… Anyhow, next watch I came up to have a cup o' tea and there was all three of 'em laid out in the mess deck. Sick as a dog (laughing). They asked me - how d' you survive this? I just said – it's quite normal for us, y' know.[36]

A sense of difference, along with the shared rigours of a total occupation resulted in a strong and enduring sense of camaraderie:

Victor:	It's the camaraderie of the people that you worked with. You worked hard with them, you played hard. You trusted them and there was just something different about their whole attitude to life, that you didn't find anywhere else.
Jo (Interviewer):	You didn't find that in other seafaring jobs?

33 Interview with Bill Davis. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 July 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/028/BD.
34 Personal communication (family interview, 2014).
35 AT/001/JW (I).
36 Interview with Dave Barnes. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 29 October 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/040/DB.

Victor: There were similarities obviously, because you all went to sea. But the ethos was… there was a difference.[37]

Mumby-Croft and Barnard recognise a 'special industrial culture' within distant-water trawling that can be traced to its late-nineteenth century origins.[38] In the 1960s that culture remained a complex and paradoxical brew. It included an absolute and non-negotiable management framework, but with a profit share system that meant everyone down to the trainee 'deckie learner' was invested in the pursuit of the big catch. It evoked the liberty of the hunter, yet was tethered by the principles of industry. It was characterised by common bonds, a sense of otherness and often a shared satisfaction in the job. But there were occupational tensions: fractured and negligent unions who did not understand their men and individualist and fatalistic men, hard to organise and disinterested in unions. Trawling was a 'culture of the moment'[39] forged by a hazardous and excessive environment, yet it commanded a workforce committed to a way of life. For a socialist and 'outsider' like Tunstall, the trawling industry presented the epitome of archaic practice and exploited labour. Yet amidst capital-labour tensions it is possible to detect in the workforce a cultural acceptance, even a complicity in the status quo. Reflecting on the industrial culture of this extreme occupation, Mumby-Croft and Barnard conclude that whilst this 'invented world' may have appeared archaic from without, from within 'it had a coherent internal logic of its own'.[40]

A Place Centred Industry

Fishermen see themselves in a curious way as working in Hull.[41]

Prior to 1976, the distant-water fishery in Hull consisted of an entirely localised structure. Vessels, along with fish-landing and processing facilities, were Hull owned and Hull based. Trawlers sailed from Hull and returned to Hull with their catch. Added to this was a sea-going workforce, where 92% of men lived within 4 miles of the Fish Dock.[42] Men sailed predominantly with others from Hull and Tunstall observed a strong affiliation to the city.[43] These factors gave Hull status as the home port of Britain's largest distant-water fleet. Within Hull, the fishery became synonymous with the neighbourhood adjoining the Fish Dock; a notion perpetuated today in terms of social memory and fishing heritage. Fishing in Hull was place centred and its place was Hessle Road.

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[37] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[38] Mumby-Croft and Barnard, 'Antiquated Relationship?', pp.125-126.
[39] Ibid., p.126.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Tunstall, *Fishermen,* p.171.
[42] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p.345.
[43] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.171.

Gill and Sargeant's popular exploration of Hull's fishing district entitled *Village within a City*, captures the idea of a community that is both socially and geographically distinctive.[44] Yet whilst the popular notion of Hessle Road as a world apart and a world of fishermen is well documented, it has been subject to challenge. Tunstall, using Horobin's 1955 figures, has asserted that only ten per cent of the district's adult male population were fishermen.[45] Walton too draws upon these figures to demonstrate the beginnings of dispersal, showing one quarter of fishermen living more than 2 miles from the Fish Dock.[46] Nevertheless, in 1955 two-thirds of fishermen did remain within a 1.5 radius of the dock and although a diverse urban environment ensured that the population of Hessle Road were not all fishermen, a significant population of fishermen did live in this area. Horobin himself offers a more broadly defined relationship, in line with Walton's observation of a fishing community based upon 'commitment to an industry, not necessarily entailing actually going to sea, but being part of that network of shared interests and concerns that surrounded the fishing'.[47] By this definition dockworkers, fish processors, suppliers, retailers and publicans all became part of the fishing community. To Horobin, Hessle Road was a district where everything was '"geared" to the rhythm of fishing' and in this sense Tunstall concedes that 'the fish-dock as a whole is easily the main employer of the district's men'.[48]

Tunstall recognised that on Hessle Road 'fishermen are recruited from its people'.[49] However, he contests the notion of 'fishing families' and the idea that trawling was a family tradition. Horobin and Tunstall both observe trawlermen actively discouraging their sons from entering a trawling life.[50] Horobin, however, detects a crucial connection with place that is not fully appreciated by Tunstall. Establishing the strong link between industry and district, Horobin defines fishing as a *neighbourhood* tradition.[51] He demonstrates that many fishermen were indigenous to the fishing district when they first entered the industry and once at sea, remained bound to the area that supported their unique way of living.[52] Like a mining community and its pit, there was a predisposing link between living on Hessle Road and working in the fishery, diffused only slightly by the wider urban context. Fishing became a 'family tradition' *because* of the neighbourhood.

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[44] A. Gill and G.Sargeant, *Village within a City: Hessle Road Fishing Community of Hull* (Hull: University Press, 1985).
[45] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.85.
[46] J. Walton, 'Fishing Communities, 1850-1950', in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.131.
[47] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', Walton, 'Fishing Communities', p.128.
[48] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p. 348.; Tunstall, *Fishermen,* p.131.
[49] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.94.
[50] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p.350; Tunstall, Fishermen, p.105.
[51] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', pp.349-350.
[52] Ibid.

Here young men lived in close proximity to other fishermen and, witnessing their apparent wealth and virility, chose to follow them to sea.[53] In the sense of being handed from father to son, fishing in Hull may not have been a true family tradition, but the bonds of place ensured that it ran in families.

Fear, Strength and Getting On With It: Women's Experience of an Extreme Occupation

> Three weeks at sea, three days at home.[54]

On land, the culture and practices of the side trawler fleet also moulded the lives of the women of the fishing industry. The rhythms of the 21-day trip brought its own patterns of living on the home front. Husbands, fathers, brothers, sons were absent for long periods. When they were home it was in short and celebratory bursts. With men at sea, it fell to the women of the fishing community to provide consistency and hold families together. Left on their own wives managed the household and paid the bills, whilst mothers raised children as virtual single parents.[55] At a time when female independence was less established, those with men at sea relied upon the help of family or joined together to provide essential networks for support and friendship.[56] Jill, wife of trawler skipper John and mother of four, outlines some of the difficulties:

> … it was very hard because, you din't have a man there… you couldn't just pop to the shop or say, oh I'll leave the kids with you, or on a night, when they came home, you couldn't sort of go out the door or anything, you couldn't leave your children.[57]

For Jill, the support of her family was a lifeline. 'I had a good mam and dad' she says, 'and spent a lot o' time with my mam and dad, when my husband was away'.[58]

As well as providing support, friendships with other fishermen's wives provided company in what could otherwise be a lonely way of living. Jill recalls taking the children to the seaside with one such friendship group. Pauline, wife of Victor, also remembers friendships with other fishermen's wives who shared her circumstances:

> We'd ring each other up and say, when's your husband home? What's he made? When's he docking? But we made a special effort when it was summer… We'd all meet up at East Park… we'd all meet up and all our husbands was away. We all put to and made picnic baskets and that sort o' thing.[59]

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[53] Ibid.,
[54] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[55] For example, see Lazenby and Lazenby, *Deep Sea Voices*.
[56] Gill, *Hessle Road*, pp.49-50; Lazenby and Starkey, 'Altered Images', p.171. Lazenby and Starkey refer to trawling ports in term of 'matrilocality'.
[57] Interview with Jill Long. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 10 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/033/JL.
[58] Ibid.
[59] AT/029/030/V&PW.

In addition to the difficulties of managing home and family alone, women lived with the constant nag of worry. Trawling was dangerous and men died. Whilst male interviewees rarely alluded to fear, female interviewees with a trawlerman as husband, father or brother, reported fear as a feature in their lives. Such anxiety was not unfounded. Within the small group of fishermen's wives interviewed for this research, Jill had lost her first husband and Pauline her brother-in-law (Victor's brother) in trawling accidents. Jill talks about her feelings upon becoming a fisherman's wife again after her second marriage:

> I married John and I knew that he went to sea, but in the back of my mind, I always had the doubts, that this does happen to you. It dun't only happen to others and I was always quite afraid of it really.[60]

It was not necessary to experience loss at first hand to feel its affect. Loss was a well-known spectre that haunted the close knit streets of Hessle Road. Lily, whose father was a chief trawler engineer, became aware of the dangers from the early age of seven. She recalls, '…we used to worry. That was the main thing… especially if something happened, y' know, to other ships, you thought, oh no, is it his turn next?'[61] There was no option but to relegate fear to the back of the mind. Lily explains 'you just coped and you just sort of got on with it really'.[62] Pauline adds 'it was just part of your life. You sort of accepted… well not accept, but hoped it never happened'.[63] Christine, married to trawler deckhand Paul, returns to the importance of female networks in dealing with worry, saying:

> …if there was ever a problem where some of them was worried about their husbands or their boyfriends at sea, we used to get a group and meet in town. And we all used to talk about it.[64]

After the challenges of three weeks alone came the excitement of the homecoming. For the women as much as the men, this was a time for celebration. Pauline describes the anticipation:

> you looked after the kids for three weeks… and when they was due home, there was just that feeling of, oh God, he's coming home and you'd get the house clean. Kids couldn't go in the front room and sit down. You'd get yourself ready.[65]

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[60] AT/033/JL
[61] Interview with Lily Waltham. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 10 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/032/LW.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Interview with Victor and Pauline Wheeldon. Ref: AT/029/030/V&PW, p.35.
[64] Interview with Christine Wilkinson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 24 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/038/CW.
[65] AT/029/033/V&PW.

As the social and familial practices amongst trawlermen ashore varied, so too did the experiences of the wives. Barbara, wife of a trawler deckhand remembers:

> Sometimes it was good and most of the times it wasn't… because they'd be out with their mates, having a booze with their mates, like they do. And b' the time they come home, it was nearly time to go away again. [66]

Lily, however, remembers her father spending most of his time at home with the family, taking them out and giving them treats. Jill, Pauline and Christine recollect their husbands' return as a time of companionship, celebration and sociability. Christine recall's, 'Oh, it was good. Very good. Yeah, we was always out (laughing)'.[67] Jill reports that a night out with other trawlermen and their wives was a regular and enjoyable part of the shore time experience:

> … because you was in like this community… on the settling day, when you all go out, you'd go for a drink, you'd mebbe go for a meal with 'em all… There'd be sometimes twelve of the crew and their wives.[68]

But on the punishing cycle of the 21-day trip, time with husbands, fathers and brothers was brief. Three days later, it was back to sea. Barbara poignantly remembers how her husband would watch over their sleeping children, as he waited to leave. He would 'sit for hours, just staring at the little ones in their cots, y' know, til the taxi come'.[69] Jill recalls the difficulty of departure day:

> I could never handle the going away. I used to go in silent mode and really, when I think about it, I used to get quite upset about it. But as the years went on, I learnt to handle it better. [70]

The rigours of the 21-day trip placed heavy demands upon the women at home, as it did upon the men at sea. Memories of trawling often embrace the figure of the strong woman. Female strength within the trawling community was communicated overtly and implicitly within several interviews and can be discerned in narratives of other seafaring communities.[71] Smith and Abrams both refer to the power of communal discourse in moulding expected behaviour, as well as formulating accepted memory.[72] Via the mechanism of the cultural circuit, I argue that the discourse and performance of female strength played a crucial role within Hull's fishing district. It maintained and supported behaviours essential to the function and survival of this extreme seafaring community. Jill

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[66] Interview with Barbara Smith. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 19 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/036/BS.
[67] AT/038/CW.
[68] AT/033/JL.
[69] AT/036/ES.
[70] AT/033/JL.
[71] For example, Hagmark-Cooper, *Sailor's Wife*, pp.8-10.
[72] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, pp.14-16; Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* pp.56-57 and pp.68-69.

asserts that such a life was not for all.[73] But for the trawling community to succeed, its women must be robust and the notion of the strong woman was perpetuated and enabled via a well-established intricacy of matriarchal connections and shared discourse.

A Tragic Turning Point

Early in 1968 Hull received news that three of its distant-water trawlers had sunk within the space of just five weeks. The loss of the *St Romanus* (11 January, 20 men lost), the *Kingston Peridot* (26/27 January, 20 men lost) and the *Ross Cleveland* (5 February, 18 men lost), became an important catalyst for the British distant-water trawling industry. In March 1968, a Committee of Inquiry, headed by Admiral Sir Deric Holland-Martin began an investigation into the safety of deep-sea trawlers and their crews.[74] The accompanying assessment of the mortality rates of British fishermen by Professor Schilling et al., demonstrated that between 1959 and 1963 the risk of death from accidents at work for fishermen was seventeen times greater than that of all men in England and Wales. Between the ages of 15 and 44 the risk rose to more than twenty times greater.[75]

The Holland-Martin inquiry considered the broadest spectrum of factors impacting upon the safety of a trawler. Alongside technical matters of equipment and vessel design, the practices and culture of the industry were opened to scrutiny. The ensuing report identified that a cocktail of long working hours, short time ashore, fatigue, contract insecurity and a competitive environment, conspired with the more obvious risks of seafaring to foster an atmosphere where loss and injury were accepted as a peril of the job. In particular, the report lamented that the industry as a whole (with certain 'marked exceptions') had failed to establish a satisfactory working relationship between workforce and management.[76] In presenting its findings, the Inquiry acknowledged the role of vessel improvements in increasing safety, but added:

> There are limits, however, to what can be done in terms of the design of ships and equipment to make the working environment on a trawler intrinsically safer. The problem is fundamentally one of changing human attitudes at every level of the industry, and of instilling greater awareness of the importance of safety in crews, skippers and senior management alike. Fatalistic attitudes towards accidents are a particular problem. Many fishermen regard the present accident rate as a more or less inevitable consequence of their occupation.[77]

[73] AT/033/JL
[74] D. Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety: Final Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Trawler Safety,* (London: Committee of Inquiry into Trawler Safety, 1969).
[75] Ibid., p.118-121.
[76] Ibid., p.100.
[77] Ibid., p.iv.

The Inquiry was accompanied by the high profile protests of woman from within the fishing community. In the past, women had been expected to endure the consequences of an industry that determined their lives, without influence over its practices.[78] After the triple trawler disaster of 1968 this was tolerated no longer. Although controversial within some sectors of the fishing community, like it or not trawlermen had acquired a vehement proxy ashore. The findings of the Holland-Martin Inquiry, along with the media attention following the disaster and the women's vocal campaign for safety, shone an external spotlight, bringing this little understood sector of seafaring into the light of public consciousness. With it came a drive for change, arriving just as British distant-water trawling approached the end of its North Atlantic reign.

Adapting to New Rhythms

In the wake of the Holland-Martin report new practices slowly altered the operation of the deep-sea industry. April 1970 saw the launch of a 'mothership' or Trawler Support Vessel to support the fleet at sea. *MV Miranda* was managed and manned by the Hull shipping firm Ellerman Wilson Line, with a Master appointed by H.M. Coastguard. The vessel was positioned between Greenland and Iceland through the hazardous winter months and after the Cod Wars followed the fleet to other grounds before being decommissioned as the deep-sea fleets declined.[79] *Miranda* carried a meteorologist, a doctor, electronic and radio officers, engineers and an ex-skipper fishing advisor. Their role was to monitor the circumstances of the distant-water fleet and to provide advice and direct assistance in the event of a problem.[80]

Deckhand Thomas feels that the Hull trawlermen's strike over pay and conditions, which took place in 1970, further served to raise awareness of working conditions and stimulate change. In the early years of the 1970s he discerned a small shift in attitudes:

> … attitudes did change, had to change, you know what I mean, by the trawler owners and by ourselves obviously… not in a drastic way, just at a steady pace, they did change and they did change a lot.[81]

Whilst the activity and investigation following the triple trawler disaster were important stimulants in revising Hull's trawling culture, it would be wrong to assert that these were the only factors. The Holland-Martin report had observed that the more progressive trawler owners had begun introducing improvements even before the

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[78] R. Creed, *Turning the Tide: The 1968 Trawler Tragedy and the Wives' Campaign for Safety* (Hull: Back Door Press, 1998), p.18.

[79] http://nigelhadley.org.uk/page3.html. (Accessed on 17 May 2014). Nigel Hadley served as radio officer on Miranda between 1974 and 1980.

[80] http://nigelhadley.org.uk/page2.html. [Accessed on 17 May 2014].

[81] Interview with Thomas Nielson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 23 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/037/TN.

circumstances that led to the Inquiry.[82] For example, some firms in the distant-water sector had, or were considering introducing one or two-year employment contracts for skippers and mates. The report commended the efforts of Hull owners in introducing a fishermen's registration scheme, experimenting with training ships for new recruits and attempting to set safety standards via the Hull Steam Trawlers Mutual Insurance and Protecting Company, albeit for the purpose of reducing insurance premiums.[83] Yet there was already a transforming factor that was greater than these industry driven or government imposed initiatives and that was the emerging dominance of the stern freezer trawler.

Between 1962 and the final Cod War of 1976, Hull's stern and freezer trawling fleet had grown rapidly. Hull was fast becoming Britain's premier freezer port. A feasibility study undertaken in June 1972 to inform the proposed re-location of the Hull fishery to the William Wright and Albert Dock, outlines the composition of the Hull fleet. As figure 2 illustrates, it records an industry in transition: 66 wet fish trawlers, 24 freezer trawlers, 1 part freezer, 1 factory ship and 8 seine netters.[84] The report predicts that by 1987 wet fish trawlers would be reduced to merely 10. It goes on to estimate that by 1974 a further 11 freezers would have joined the fleet and by 1987 the Hull freezer fleet would stand at 60.[85] These optimistic figures place the stern freezer trawler at the forefront of Hull's fishing future. Freezer trawlers brought a new way of operating. They were safer, with a lower death and accident rate than the sidewinder.[86] The working and living space was more comfortable. They generated new systems of landing, selling and distribution, which helped to make trawlermen's wages more predictable and stable. There was also significant difference in the amount of time spent at sea. Without the imperative to preserve wet fish for market, the freezer trawler could travel further afield and remain at sea to maximise the catch, generally between 8 and 10 weeks. Longer sea-time was compensated by longer time ashore and freezer trawlermen typically enjoyed one day at home for every week they spent away.

Trawling – Your Future is a recruitment film produced in by the Port of Hull Fishing Industry and the Hull Nautical College.[87] It offers a window onto the changing fleet

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[82] Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety,* p.97.
[83] Ibid., p.81, p.85, p.93.
[84] HCA (HC/HFVOA) Ref: C/DBTH/15/129. Preliminary Feasibility Study of Proposed Re-location of Hull Fishing Fleet. G. Maunsell and Partners, June 1972, p.3.
[85] Ibid., p.6.
[86] Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety*, p.14.
[87] British Film Institute, Ref: C-64335 'Trawling: Your Future' (Antony Barrier Productions,1976) [Documentary Film]. Viewed on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-TgC40|1xjU (Part 1 of 2). http://www.youtube/watch?v=ogd9SRtSkd8 (Part 2 of 2). (Accessed 17 May 2014, since removed). The BFI dates the film to 1976, but an online commentator suggested 1974. The footage is filmed on a fully operational St Andrew's Dock, which was closed to trawlers in November 1975.

Figure 2. Past and Future: Hull sidewinders (picture above) and stern trawler (picture below) sit side by side in St Andrew's Dock, circa 1970. In the bottom picture the bow of the large modern vessel towers over the stern of the older side trawler.[88]

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[88] Turner, J. G., *Side Trawlers and Stern Trawler in St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* Date Unknown [Photograph]. Available online: https://www.flickr.com/photos/johngreyturner/393014228/in/album-72157600149404968/ [Accessed 26 September 2015].

and reforming distant-water practices in the post Holland-Martin era. Shot during the last operational days of St Andrew's Dock, the film's narrative firmly consigns the sidewinder trawler to the past. The promoted fleet is one of stern and freezer trawlers, the vessels of the future, and the lives of the new recruits embarking upon a trawling career reveal significant departures from the past. Training is rigorous and structured around classroom based learning, simulation and supervised sea-time. 'They're organised now down the dock', explains one commentator 'the recruitment and training office, they're a special body to look after these young lads'. With longer time at sea, continues the commentary, comes a greater need to relax and get away from the job. Work is depicted as balanced, with time to enjoy an onboard cinema or play darts on the mess deck. Cabins are single or double. A washing machine suggests the comfort of domestic routines amidst the trawling schedule.

One major divergence from tradition lay not in the form and practices of the modernising fleet, but in the young men being recruited into it. Until the 1970s, every skipper had started his career on the deck. Trawling did not include an officer class and part of its traditional appeal must be attributed to the fact that with hard work and aptitude a young man with little formal education could start as a galley boy and make it to the top. With the technologies of the freezer fleet – the bigger ships, sophisticated electronics and the complexities of freezing at sea - came a more scientific approach to fishing. To lead this advanced fleet, the Holland Martin report had recommended that the industry recruit 'able young men with higher educational qualifications than are usual at present'.[89] Importantly, this should be without prejudice to the 'chance of promotion amongst able deckhands'.[90] In accordance, *Trawling – Your Future* announces that alongside progression from the deck, there is now 'another way to the top'. The Hull Fishing Vessel Owners Association Cadetship Scheme, named Project 70s, introduced a staged selection process for this new breed of entrant. Upon completion, it would see recruits assigned to a freezer trawler for further instruction. The trawler cadet was intended to supplement, not replace the existing ship's complement, yet it was recognised that with the right onboard supervision, cadets could 'quickly become a valued and useful assistant to any skipper or trawler officers in the despatch of his own duties and responsibilities'.[91]

Alongside the cadetship scheme there emerged new geographies of recruitment. In the localised industry of the 21-day trip, the majority of fishermen had come from the Hull area and from Hessle Road in particular. Former Fish Dock barrow boy and trawler

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[89] Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety*, p.7.
[90] Ibid., p.98.
[91] HCA (HC/HFVOA) Ref: C/DBTH/15/123. Hull Fishing Vessel Owner's Association Cadetship Scheme c.1970. Project 70s, 21 September 1970.

pipe-fitter Bill A. recalls the role of West Dock Avenue School, located on a street leading to the Fish Dock, in recruiting boys for the industry:

> I mean Fish Dock… I went to West Dock Avenue school and there was a connection, because some of the people who'd been to West Dock Avenue School, sort of got to be people who run these certain places, *[and they]* said if there's a vacancy and any of the lads from West Dock Avenue want's a job, just send them on… And that's how I got my first job, as easy as that.[92]

Yet in *Trawling – Your Future* accents can be heard from much further afield than West Dock Avenue: they are Geordie, Scottish and from the Midlands. 'Nowadays', explains the commentary, 'almost as many entrants come from inland as from the Port of Hull'. Former trawler mate Doug taught in the Fishery Department of the Hull Nautical College throughout the 1970s. He remembers a different type of recruit coming through the doors:

> … I think it was the class of kid *[local term for young man]* coming in. Whereas before most of them were sons of fishermen, or nephews of fishermen… whose family were tied up with the industry already. They seemed to be on the decrease, so it seemed to be a different class that were coming in. Some of them probably didn't *[have]* a clue what trawling was like. Whereas the relations of fishermen would know from the stories they'd heard. But these *[were what]* I would call green hands to a certain extent… they were unaware of what they were letting themselves in for (laughing). You had to be a certain class of person to stick to trawling.[93]

The new practices of the freezer fleet; the longer time ashore, the career structure and new means of selling frozen fish offered greater stability, bringing trawling more in line with other seafaring sectors. For freezer trawlermen, there were fewer reasons to live by the Fish Dock. In the past trawler mates had returned to oversee the sale of wet fish at auction and crew had returned to the dock to collect post-sale poundage. Just three days ashore had brought an incentive to reduce travel time and reside within the concentrated spaces of Hessle Road.[94] But new rhythms were easing the grip of old dependencies. For the first time in decades, life aboard a trawler was no longer the same as the old fishermen remembered. New seagoing practices were remoulding the traditions upon which the fishing district and community had been forged.

[92] Interview with Bill Allan. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 15 March 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/011/BA.
[93] Interview with Doug Driffill. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 14 November 2012. Ref: AT/003/DD.
[94] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', pp.347-348.

The Freezer Generation

Ten weeks at sea, ten days at home.

Peter M., a professional with the White Fish Authority, remembers the impact of freezing at sea as 'a big change to the mentality of people and the way that they work'.[95] This he believed applied to trawler owners as well as to trawlermen. In research interviews, it is clear that the new practices of the freezer fleet called for significant adjustment. The new rhythms did not suit everyone. In a complex interrelationship, the freezer trawler, entwined with the prospect of fishing limits, caused some, like Doug and Victor, to question their future in the industry. Doug left trawling as early at the mid 1960s, saying:

> …the stern trawlers were coming out, which meant being at sea for two or three months, which really didn't appeal to me. I was a three-week man and *[liked to]* get home periodically (laughing), blow the cobwebs away.[96]

Jim, concerned by expanding restrictions, left fishing in the early 1970s without ever having sailed on a freezer trawler. Being away for up to twelve weeks, he says, 'wasn't my cup o' tea at all…'.[97] Others echo his sentiment. In the difficult years immediately after the final Cod War, deckhand John K. hung on until the Hull sidewinder fleet had virtually demised. He then chose to relocate to Lowestoft rather than seek employment on a freezer. He explains, 'I didn't want to go away for three months'.[98]

Yet many did make the transition to the freezer fleet. For some, like deckhand Bill D., the shift was only made when the sidewinder fleet was scrapped. He says:

Bill:	I had to go in a freezer, I went in a freezer. And I hated it.
Jo (Researcher):	You hated it. Why did you hate it?
Bill:	You was away too long. You were away 14, 15 weeks. That won't for me… I went 25, 26 days, that was it… you knew you was gonna get 'ome.[99]

Bill continued to sail in freezer vessels for four years. But his testimony shows that for some, the freezers remained unpopular, not just in thought, but in practice. Others however, describe the freezers in a positive light. Skipper Bob enjoyed the better conditions on the stern freezers:

> …in the 1970s the vessels started to get a little bit better and course the stern trawlers was introduced into the industry then, which was a lot better living for everybody and course… as the ships got better, the way of life got better and easier. Not so dangerous and everything. Better food.[100]

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[95] AT/017/PM.
[96] AT/003/DD.
[97] AT/001/JW(I).
[98] Interview with John Kerrison. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 July 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/027/JK.
[99] AT/028/BD.
[100] Interview with Bob Johnson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 July 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/026/BJ.

Skippers Ken and Laurie, along with deckhands Thomas and Kevin also made the transition without expressing personal concern. Thomas and Kevin are amongst the younger respondents. They entered the industry in the late 1960s and early 1970s respectively and both worked happily between sidewinder and freezer. Kevin acknowledged the pressure that longer sea-time might have placed upon men with families. However, speaking of himself, he says, 'but I was only a young kid, so it didn't bother me where I went'.[101]

Thomas captures the experience of working on a freezer. It was, he says, 'massively different'. He describes a changed relationship with the sea:

> On a sidewinder, they were only small ships… basically, the sea's there and you're there. Whereas on a freezer, you don't see the sea… they're a lot bigger ship, you're a lot higher… the only time you really see the sea is when it comes up the ramp.[102]

For Thomas, the hands-on nature of the work did not change. It still felt like fishing, but with the comfort of working in the shelter of a factory: 'it can be as rough as hell' he says 'and you won't know anything about it'.[103]

As freezers altered life at sea, they also changed lives ashore. For the wives of freezer trawlermen, longer time at sea meant coping alone for longer spells. Margaret's brother Harold worked on freezer trawlers. She remarks:

> It was hard for his wife and the children. They never saw him… I don't think it was any life for a wife, whose husband went to sea and went for six weeks. You can't put them six weeks back into your life.[104]

For families accustomed to the 21-day trip, the 8, 10, 12 weeks of a freezer voyage could seem an eternity. However, with one day off for every week at sea, men could be home for a week or more and this brought its own advantages. Jill, whose husband John moved into freezer trawlers, remembers the benefits:

> … in the freezers you had a little bit more time to do things... he would still come home and you would still have that settling day and you would still go out and we'd always take the children the next day for a meal. But then we had time together. We could plan holidays, we could go away a week…[105]

Prior to the final Cod War, few reported that the impact of the freezer fleet could be felt in the rhythms of Hessle Road itself. There was the appearance of the cold stores

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[101] Interview with Kevin Long. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 2 August 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/031/KL.
[102] AT/37/TN.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Interview with Margaret Green. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 25 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/039/MG.
[105] AT/033/JL.

needed to hold frozen fish.[106] There was perhaps a slight rein on the celebration and free spending, as the 'three-day millionaires' spent longer at sea and stayed ashore for a week.[107] As discussed in chapter eight, from the early 1960s Hessle Road was entering an era of adjustment unconnected with fishing and this may have rendered other change invisible. Furthermore, in the mid 1970s, the sidewinder fleet was of sufficient size to perpetuate established customs. The continued expansion of the freezer fleet would undoubtedly have remoulded the fishing district of the future. In 1976, however, new rhythms at sea were yet to fully dominate ashore.

Summary

As Hull's fishing community entered the 1960s it adhered to traditions that had endured for decades. By the dawn of the 1970s, however, the emergence of the stern freezer was bringing the biggest adjustments to trawling practice and culture since the embrace of steam almost a century earlier. Research narratives reveal the beginnings of a generational shift. Whilst some made the transition from sidewinder to freezer later in life and others chose to avoid them completely, a next generation of trawlermen was also emerging, for who the freezer trawler was home. Trawler engineer Dave B. represents such a breed. Entering the industry in 1968, his fishing career took place exclusively aboard freezers. In this respect, he is unique amongst my respondents. Dave enjoyed the freezers, which he says offered 'more of a normal life' than the sidewinder and when asked how he would like to commemorate the industry, it is a freezer trawler that he would place on public display.[108] But as Hull's freezer capacity was growing, a political storm was gathering that would have devastating consequences for its cutting edge fleet. In 1975, Hull trawlers sailed into a third and final Cod War. The fleet that faced exclusion from the high seas of the world was a hybrid of sidewinder and freezer vessel. It was a fleet of two personalities and two cultural rhythms. Janus faced, it still nodded to the past, as it reconfigured for the trawling of the future. But the upheaval of the final Cod War meant that for Hull, a trawling future was not to be.

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[106] AT/010/DL.

[107] This is suggested in my interview with Margaret. She says that with the short home-leave of the sidewinders 'they'd come home and spend'. However, with the freezers, she suggests 'There won't as much spending then… cos they was away longer'.

[108] AT/040/DB.

Chapter 6: After the Trawl: Working Through the Aftermath

Losing the Battle

> I mean they sent Naval vessels didn't they and things like that and [thought] we could force our will on another nation and I think the world had changed.
>
> Chris, Hull fish merchant.[1]

Losing the final Cod War in 1976 and the compromises brought by the emerging EEC Common Fisheries Policy heralded a sea change in the norms of the British distant-water fishery. Despite the international expansion of limits since 1945 and the long-running friction with Iceland, there is little evidence that the industry at any level had grasped the extent or pace with which their world would be transformed. Reflecting upon their outlooks in the 1970s, interviewees offered a spectrum of remembered attitudes and expectations as they entered a conflict that would change their lives forever. Their views are tinged by the composure of hindsight. However, just at Portelli observes in the narratives of his factory workers in Terni,[2] my own respondents are often able to distinguish between attitudes from the past and their present understanding.

The extent to which change was anticipated is complex. Amongst my respondents are trawlermen who quit the industry before the final Cod War, joining a body of early leavers, spurred on by the impact of territorial limits and a growing conviction that the future was far from rosy. Jim was 46 when he decided that his career was under threat. He explains, 'what with the Cod Wars, all that – extension of limits – I could see fading into the sunset'.[3] Jim came ashore in 1972 and after failing to settle into factory work, he returned to sea as coxswain for the Humber Pilots. Ken was skipper with the freezer fleet when he too predicted difficulties. He reflects, 'they didn't need the 200-mile limit for the Icelandic fishing to finish, a 50-mile limit would've quite happily taken all the fishing grounds...'.[4] In 1973 Ken took a cartographer's job ashore for the White Fish Authority. One of his first tasks was to draw the new territorial limits onto charts of Icelandic waters. In seeking new roles, both Jim and Ken were forced to sacrifice the significant earning potential of the trawler skipper, but their foresight gained them job security as the deep-sea industry plunged into uncertainty.

For countless others, the business of trawling continued as usual. Some respondents acknowledged the need for conservation, holding a degree of empathy with the Icelandic stance. David L., fish merchant and onetime chairman of the Hull Fish Merchant's Protection Association, felt that the industry was wasteful. To David,

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[1] Interview with Christopher Gilchrist. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 6 February 2013. Transcription Ref: AT/006/CG.

[2] Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', p.38.

[3] AT/001(I).

[4] Interview with Ken Knox. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 2 May 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/018/KK.

overfishing was encouraged by the poundage payment system and he recalls the overzealous withdrawal of fish from sale, just to keep the market buoyant. That, he says, 'was a sheer waste of fish' and 'it wasn't the least bit surprising that *[the Icelanders]* decided that they were going to claim the waters back'.[5] Trawlermen were aware at first hand of the pressure on stocks. To Victor the limits, however unpalatable, did not seem unreasonable. Victor reflects, 'I think most sensible people realised that it was the only option, because, if it was a free for all, then fish stocks were just going to disappear'.[6] Without such measures, the heightened technology of fishing would undoubtedly take its toll. Deckhand Thomas draws the blunt conclusion, 'we was catching miles too much fish'.[7]

Yet all things considered, empathy with Iceland had to remain nominal. In practice, the men and women of the Hull fishery depended upon distant waters for their living. Alongside empathy, interviewees express contradictory views, sometimes within the same narrative. A sense of ownership over Arctic waters is one such paradox. Peter M., working for the White Fish Authority, felt that the industry saw the North-East Atlantic as 'our waters'.[8] Supporting this view, skippers Jim and Ron draw attention to the pioneering role taken by Humber men in developing the North Atlantic fishery.[9] Ken observes that Hull skippers had 'favourite grounds', ranging from Newfoundland to the Barents Sea, rendered familiar by relentless cycles of the 21-day trip.[10] If, as Tunstall suggests, fishermen did indeed see themselves as 'working in Hull',[11] then perhaps the distant-grounds themselves had come to be seen as an extension of the city. It was a fallacy created by recurrent voyages beginning and ending in the home port, repeated over decades. Such bonds were hard to sever and Ron recalls the difficulty of accepting the new order:

> We didn't think it was possible… that one country could suddenly declare that amount of seas within their limits… It was unbelievable that someone could just say well, this chunk of water is ours and nobody else is going to come into it.[12]

Extensive limits were a new phenomenon. Culturally, this required adjustment and rejection from well-known shores could feel like a resounding 'slap in the face'.[13]

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[5] Interview with David Latus. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 13 March 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/010/DL.
[6] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[7] AT/037/TN.
[8] AT/017/PM.
[9] AT/001/JW(I); Interview with Ron Wilkinson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 June 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/019/RW.
[10] AT/018/KK.
[11] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.171.
[12] AT/019/RW.
[13] Ibid.

In the late 1950s, Tunstall remarked that fishermen viewed life on a trawler as permanent and ordained.[14] In the mid 1970s, it could be argued that within the fishing community there was a similar view of the life *of* the trawlers and of the industry itself. This is illustrated in the narrative of fish processor Ivy. Born and raised on Hessle Road, it seemed inconceivable to Ivy that trawling should come to an end. Speaking of the Cod Wars, she remarks:

> I did think we would *[win]* them… we was what you call a fishing village really, won't we… and we should a' won it, because it was our lifeline. I don't see why we did lose it. All the people that went out, lost their jobs, they worked really hard, there was a lot of lives lost and we should've really won. She later adds: We thought we'd have it forever, cos it was there won't it.[15]

Ivy's words reveal the taken for granted certainty of life in a long-established fishery. Politics aside, Ivy cuts to the crux of communal concerns, revealing a strong 'insiders' perception. This is our 'lifeworld' and our livelihood. We work hard. Men have died. From this perspective, it is easier to understand how the North-East Atlantic came to be 'our waters'.

It is likely that such sentiments, conscious or otherwise, impelled the men of the trawling fleet as they engaged in the Cod Wars. Tunstall observed how trawling practice and culture left trawlermen ill-equipped for protest and negotiation ashore.[16] In the Cod Wars, however, protest could take place in an arena that was understood. Whilst the trawler owners, via the British Fishing Federation, sought to influence political decision-making on land, trawlermen sought to influence outcomes at sea. Interviewees who fished through the Cod Wars tell hair-raising or humorous tales of evasive antics, costly arrests and near misses.[17] Yet amidst the daring, most concede that the risks taken on all sides were dangerous. Lily, secretary at the White Fish Authority on St Andrew's dock, remembers the Cod Wars as a tense time ashore, saying, 'It was dangerous for the men going out to sea, because they took chances… so that was worrying for families. It was worrying for people who worked with them...'.[18] Lily also conveys a sense of isolation, that feeling of 'otherness' that is often discernable within distant-water trawling. She says, '…it was a bit odd really, cos it wasn't like having a war as such, it was like just a certain group of people who were put in like a firing line'.[19]

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[14] Tunstall, *Fishermen,* pp.133-134.
[15] Interview with Ivy Gollagher. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 22 April 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/015/IG.
[16] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.133.134
[17] Not all active trawlermen were involved in the Cod Wars. For example, deckhands Kevin and Bill sailed with skippers who favoured the White Sea grounds and therefore by-passed the conflict.
[18] AT/032/LW.
[19] Ibid.

With livelihoods at stake, for many there seemed little choice but to stick it out at sea. Amongst my respondents, there are those who, like Ivy, thought that the Cod Wars might be won. Deckhand John K. says

> I don't think we ever dreamt of it declining like it did… with Iceland only being as small as it was and England being as big as it is and then our gun boats going down there, we thought we'd be ok, but it… we just wasn't.[20]

Ron also says 'we thought we were gonna win'.[21] But alongside such optimism there coexisted the awareness that this was a last stand. Many other interviewees did not envisage a victory. This was the last of three Cod Wars and in conversation with his mate Bill, even optimist John, conveys a sense of weariness and déjà vue.

> John: How many Cod Wars were there?
> Bill: Three.
> John: Well, to me I say one… They say three, but one. I say one continuous one… It never, ever calmed down. It was always on the go.[22]

For the distant-water industry leaders, employees and community alike, trust had to be put in the politicians. Those who reflected on this in my interviews felt unanimously let down. To engineer Dave B, who did not anticipate victory in another Cod War, it was a matter of hope over conviction. He says, 'we felt that our government was weak and they wouldn't put up a fight. And they didn't… We hoped, but we all felt that we would lose the battle'.[23]

Skipper Michael P., after recounting Cod War tales of evasion and his own arrest in Icelandic waters, expresses a deep sense of betrayal:

> *[Fishermen]* thought the government had let us down big time, y' know, really let us down… We honestly thought when we started… that's why we was fighting and ramming gun boats and telling 'em what to do… cos we honestly thought that if we got stuck in, the government would back us up and they never.[24]

Deep betrayal was also felt in the upper ranks of the industry. Tom Boyd was the third generation of Thomas Boyds to run the respected Hull trawling company Boyd Line. To Tom, a new world of limits was clearly inevitable, yet he hoped that the progress of restrictions could be delayed and that:

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[20] AT/027/JK.
[21] AT/019/RW.
[22] Group Interview with Fishermen in Ye Old Blue Bell Public House. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 28 June 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/23/BB.
[23] AT/040/DB.
[24] AT/004/MP.

> when *[limits]* were extended, our politicians would be on the ball sufficiently to negotiate continued fishing access for us. And of course, as history related, that was not to be…[25]

As a member of the British Fishing Federation, Tom was also engaged in the simultaneous battle for a favourable Common Fisheries Policy. The outcome was a double betrayal. Tom felt that Prime Minister Edward Heath was not willing to consider the importance of the British fishing industry. Hull, along with other trawling ports, was a safe labour seat and entry to the Common Market took political precedence. Tom reflects, 'It was just of no consequence to the government of the day that the industry should be sacrificed. And sacrificed it was'.[26]

Where change had been anticipated, most did not expect the pace and severity with which their livelihood would plunge into difficulty. Many felt that there had been little opportunity for gradual adaptation or a managed process of contraction. They had hoped that international governments would work together to lessen the blow. Deckhand Thomas explains:

> … we knew it was gonna come, but we didn't realise it was gonna come that fast… We thought maybe three or four years. But it just *(makes a breaking sound),* they steamrolled it, really steamrolled it. Fast as they could.[27]

Victor echoes the thoughts of other narrators when he says, 'Most of us thought that some agreement would be reached between our government and the Icelandic government, with regard to continuing to fish there'.[28] But under the terms of the interim CFP, negotiation with non-member states was no longer in the hands of the British government. In the years after the final Cod War, the repurposing of the British deep-sea industry presented a challenge and in the search for new horizons, there were hurdles to be faced.

Unpoised for the Future

After 1976, the evidence suggests that all sectors of the distant-water fishery were ill prepared for the challenges ahead. In the hope for a best-case outcome, less attention had been paid to worst case scenarios. The 1969, White Fish Authority report *The UK Fishing Fleet in the Mid-Seventies* predicts a decline in catch from all North Atlantic waters, resulting from growing international fishing effort and reducing fish stocks.[29] However, it makes little reference to Iceland and there is no evidence that the imminent and

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[25] Interview with Thomas Boyd. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 19 November 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/41/TB.
[26] Ibid., p.6.
[27] AT/037/TN.
[28] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[29] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/59/21. The UK Fishing Fleet in the Mid-Seventies. White Fish Authority, Fishery Economic Research Unit, August 1969, pp.3-4.

destructive potential of EEZs had been fully considered. The 1972 feasibility report for the move to the William Wright and Albert Dock similarly fails to accommodate any sense of threat.[30] Plans are for an enhanced, not reduced fleet of freezer trawlers and the £1.06 million cost of refurbishment further confirms that rapid contraction was far from expected.[31]

Horobin and Tunstall observed fatalism or an omission to look ahead as characteristic of trawlermen. It is an attribute that can be extended to the distant-water industry as a whole.[32] Mumby-Croft and Barnard suggest a short-termist or 'bonanza' mentality present from the earliest days of deep-sea trawling.[33] The established industry response to declining opportunities was to employ more efficient technology and/or find new grounds.[34] Self-regulation was untypical. Alan H., working for the White Fish Authority in the 1960s recalls an industry with a stubborn confidence in the enduring bounty of the sea:

> There was still the belief that the seas were bountiful. There was no particular concern about stock depletion or stock loss, although the scientists were giving the signals. But there was so much fish in the sea and it was so productive, that these signals from the scientific community were largely ignored.[35]

But the signals were out there and had been for decades. Alan feels that although the signs may have been ignored, the reality of overfishing was not invisible to the industry. The Cod Wars enforced a re-evaluation that had long been on the horizon. Alan reflects:

> I think really what happened at the end of the Cod Wars *[was]* that there was a rethink of what we were doing. We could no longer… go into the orchard and shake the apples down and just take away what we wanted. There was a limit to the number of orchards we could get apples from.[36]

In adapting to new circumstances, the strengths and structures that had served Hull's fishery in the past were poised to become weaknesses. Unlike Grimsby, with its mixed fleet of deep-sea, near and middle water vessels, Hull ships were almost entirely for distant-water. As Alan explains, 'all Hull's eggs were in the distant-water basket'[37] and in the shrinking seas of the 1970s, this restricted the opportunity to diversify, particularly

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[30] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/15/129. Hamling Collection. Preliminary Feasibility Study of Proposed Re-location of Hull Fishing Fleet. G. Maunsell and Partners, June 1972.
[31] W. Robb, D. Symes, G. Haughton, *An Analysis of the Hull Fish Industry in 1983*. Sea Fish Industry Authority, Industrial Development Unit and University of Hull, Department of Geography. Technical Report No. 220, August 1983, p.25.
[32] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p.347; Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.134 & pp.171-175.
[33] Mumby-Croft and Barnard, 'Antiquated Relationship?', pp.125-126.
[34] Robinson, 'Steam Power', p.216.
[35] AT/005/AH.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

within the smaller regional fisheries of the British coast. A key problem was the size of the ships. From the mid-1960s Hull had amassed a modern fleet of freezer trawlers, the largest of which could freeze between 40 to 60 tons of catch per day.[38] These were highly efficient hunting machines with a voracious appetite for fish. In the wake of 1976, with growing anxiety over conservation and increasing restrictions, the instinct of the wider fishing industry was to turn attention to the smaller vessel. Again, Alan H. reflects:

> … we had big ships that… had a demanding need for a lot of fish to make a return. And I think really, the returns were getting less and less and these ships, to a large extent, were probably becoming white elephants. A much more profitable ship would be smaller and the sort of thing that you see operating off our coasts now.[39]

Alan's reflection is supported by the contemporary view from within the industry. A 1979 *World Fishing* article confidently predicts the future elimination of the stern freezer trawler, just six years after those restructuring Hull's Fish Dock were foreseeing its expansion. The change of emphasis is ascribed to the appearance of fishing limits. The article asserts that whilst a small number of large vessels may continue to fish under reciprocal agreements overseas, the profitable future lay in the hands of a new breed of 'little ships', which would work efficiently in waters closer to home.[40]

In this context, Hull trawling firms not only faced the practical challenge of keeping large vessels profitable, they proceeded against a tide of industry opinion that rapidly defined its cutting edge fleet as oversized and anachronistic. In a conference paper delivered in October 1976, trawler owner Tom Boyd felt compelled to uphold Britain's continued need for distant-water vessels.[41] Tom outlines the 38 per cent tonnage (45 per cent value) contribution made by the distant-water fleet to the total 1975 UK demersal landings. Without the robust distant-water trawlers, he argues, the coastal fleet would struggle to deliver an adequate or consistent supply to the shore based fish processing industry. Vessels with capacity to range over the North Atlantic could stockpile and maintain supply, unaffected by weather conditions that would render 80ft boats incapacitated. Amidst the complex politics of fishing, Tom's petition was that the distant-water fleet be not so readily dismissed. The 'big boats' needed a champion,[42] in the face of a wider fishing industry, who perhaps fearing the arrival of displaced and fish-hungry juggernauts into coastal waters, professed the 'little ship' as the future.

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[38] Thompson, *Stern Trawling Fleet*.
[39] AT/005/AH
[40] *WF,* January 1979, p.3. Reciprocal agreements and joint fishing ventures are explained in more detail in chapter seven.
[41] *FNI*, December 1976.
[42] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/74. BFF. Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors held on 4th May 1978. An unnumbered agenda item contains papers relating to the Federation's adopted statement on the CFP. This includes a section entitled 'In Defence of the Big Boats'.

Hull's distant-water fleet was cod-dependent and its fishery built around the supply of cheap white fish to the mass market. Consumer demand for fish had steadily declined in the affluent post war years, but it had not reached the point of crisis.[43] By the 1970s, progress was being made with new cod-based frozen and convenience products and the fish and chip shop, although on a decrease, was still a British staple.[44] Just as British owners had not embraced the freezer trawler until circumstances demanded change, whilst a market for cod endured, the industry saw little reason to alter long established patterns of supply. From his position within the White Fish Authority in the late 1960s, Peter M. felt that the Hull industry resisted change. Peter was involved in an early experimental voyage to consider setting up a fishery in South Africa and was disappointed to find that the British industry were generally disinterested in the outcome. The reason, he feels, was that the fish was not cod.[45] Peter also detected a localised business culture that was closed to the possibility of operating away from Hull. He explains:

> I was left with the impression that the owners could not conceive that their vessels could not come back to Hull… The thought of leaving your vessels in South Africa, servicing them, maintaining them and doing all that type of stuff and shipping the product back to Britain, er *(small sigh)* didn't seem to prevail. It was, we've got to bring the fish back here to Hull…[46]

Alan J., accountant and director with the Marr Group of fishing companies, also felt that before the Cod Wars, the British industry had been inward looking. He reports:

> All we thought about was our own market… there were some species of fish which ships actually dumped because the market prices in the UK were so poor, where they could've gone to land in Germany... But nobody really looked at what the other markets within Europe wanted. We were too inward looking by far and we'd almost reached the point where it was too late when we started selling fish into these markets.[47]

Before the 1976 catalyst, new initiatives were being undertaken by more progressive fishing companies. In the waters of South-West England, Hull firms were dipping a toe into the developing mackerel fishery. Further afield, whilst the wider industry may have been indifferent to a South African fishery, in 1972, J Marr and Son - owners of *Kirkella,* the vessel in which Peter M. had embarked upon his experimental voyage - entered into a joint fishing venture with the Vesty Group in Cape Town.[48] A combination of unfortunate business and political circumstances led the venture to fail and such disappointments no

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[43] Reid, 'Trawler to Table', p.163.
[44] Ibid., pp.161-163.
[45] AT/017/PW.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Interview with Alan Johnson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 19 March 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/012/AJ.
[48] M. Thompson, *The Marr Story, The History of a Fishing Family* (Beverley: J Marr Ltd., 1995).

doubt tempered the desire to exchange time served practices for new. Trawling company Boyd Line had frequently been at the forefront of new technologies, including freezing at sea. However, Tom Boyd recalls his father's involvement with less productive experiments. He explains:

> …*[he]* did do quite a lot of experimental work, but it was all ahead of its time and it failed. So that helped convince him – if he needed convincing – that one should just put your hand to the plough or the mast or whatever it is and keep going and keep catching fish more efficiently.[49]

From this perspective, innovation was about timing. For Tom's father, good ideas at the wrong moment had served bad results. Boyd Line, like other trawling firms, therefore concentrated upon trusted supply and demand. Whilst Northern seas remained open and home markets demanded cod, the distant-water industry continued as before.

There was a further hurdle on the home front. The British fishing industry was fragmented. Indeed, it could be better described as a series of industries.[50] Scottish, English and Northern Irish interests did not always coincide. The same was true of deep-sea and inshore interests and the catcher and processing sectors. Even within the distant-water sector, tensions between local interests can be detected within the minutes of the British Fishing Federation. Tom Boyd suggests that generational differences between the older and the younger members of the trawling firms could bring further disparity. As a man who fought prominently for the industry throughout his life, Tom regrets what he sees as his failure during the 1970s to challenge some of the elder's assumptions on critical matters; in particular their belief that the government would offer the industry sufficient support to decommission surplus vessels. 'We should've really dug in and fought for the industry' he laments, 'the younger generation of us'.[51] But the older generation were the majority shareholders and many were family businesses, with family relationships to navigate. It would, says Tom, 'have caused the most awful rows'.[52]

In 1979, as the British distant-water sector campaigned for its place within the European CFP, outgoing Fisheries Minister John Silkin addressed the British fishery as a whole. The industry, he said, must understand 'that unless it remains united it will be utterly and completely destroyed'.[53] But the British fishing industry had little experience of cohesion and, as Alan J. concludes, it ultimately failed to meet the challenge:

> We were totally disorganised and we come off very, very badly. The Icelandic fishery was a major, major loss, but perhaps if we'd have been better organised when we went in the EEC, it might not have been quite as bad as it

[49] AT/041/TB.
[50] *FN,* May 25, 1979.
[51] AT/041/TB.
[52] Ibid.
[53] *FN*, 25 May, 1979.

> was. But we came across as a disorganised and fragmented industry and that's what did us in, in the end... When you can't agree amongst yourselves, what chance have you got with organised units like the French, the Germans.[54]

Old Grounds with New Quotas

As Britain entered the post Cod War era, the distant-water catching sector was forced to adapt to new ways of fishing. Traditional grounds were now re-defined by territorial limits and operated under a system of fishing quotas. Adjustment to these measures coincided with a period of unrelated commercial difficulties that augmented the adverse impact on the economics of trawling. Wage costs had been rising in line with other sectors of the national economy.[55] However, by far the biggest blow came from the oil crises of the 1970s. In 1973-1974 and again in 1978-1979 steep increases in the price of oil, resulting from global political instabilities, put severe strain upon the profit margins of industry worldwide. For deep-sea trawling firms, dependent upon oil for long voyages, as well as for the manufacture of trawling gear, these oil shocks sent costs soaring.[56] Coinciding with new fishing limits, it pushed the catching sector towards the brink of elimination. In 1972, the fuel bill for the whole UK fishing industry had stood at £8 million. By 1974 it had risen to 27.5 million and was threatening to go beyond £33 million in 1976.[57] In 1975 the British Trawler Federation announced '...the industry is bleeding to death. A collapse is imminent and few seem to be noticing or caring'.[58]

In popular memory the oil shock is often placed offstage to the central issue of fishing limits. Several respondents make passing reference to the crisis, but it is only fish merchant Chris who gives full credence to the role of rising fuel bills in the difficulties of the time. The older and inefficient oil burning trawlers, built at a time of affordable oil, were hit by the spiralling costs and began to disappear: 'Cod War or not', says Chris, 'you would have lost that part of the fleet anyway'.[59] This is often overlooked, perhaps lost in the turbulence of what followed, yet as Chris observes:

> I know for a fact *[the oil crisis]* stopped ships from going to sea – the older vessels that burnt the oil rather than the diesel engines... I remember them laying them up... [*people would]* say, they'd seen the Arctic so-and-so *[name of ship]* isn't going to sea any more... They were put in Albert Dock sort of out of

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[54] AT/012/AJ.

[55] Coopey and Woodward, 'British Economy', pp.4-5. Coopey and Woodward list the 1969 wage explosion as one of the factors influencing a worldwide downturn in business profitability in the 1970s. In the *Fishing News*, May 30, 1975, p.1, Associated Fisheries include wages on the list of rising costs that contributed to the organisation suffering half-year losses of £1.6 million in March 1975.

[56] Robinson, *Trawling,* p.244.

[57] *FNI*, March 1976, p.21. It is not clear in the news article if these figures refer to the entire UK fishing industry or to the UK trawling industry.

[58] *FN*, May 30, 1975, p.1.

[59] AT/006/CG.

> the way. I think that would have taken its toll, but nobody seems to mention it.[60]

Chris is describing the beginning of a fleet contraction that rapidly escalated after the final Cod War, but which had its origins in earlier economic circumstances. By January 1976 it cost £250,000 per year to send a trawler to sea and the industry was announcing a £5.9 million loss. Oil and inflation were indentified as the culprits.[61]

With hefty costs to meet, ships had to be filled with fish. The constraint of the 50-mile limit had posed a challenge, but after 1976 conditions became increasingly problematic. In 1977, Norway, Russia, the Faroe Islands and Newfoundland also extended their limits to 200 miles. Britain's membership of the Common Market meant that any rights to fish in third country water negotiated by the EEC must be shared between member states. In the decade that followed, only small quotas were secured for the traditional grounds of the North-East and North-West Atlantic.[62] The European 'community pond' was itself controlled by setting a Total Allowable Catch (TAC) that was shared between member states as fishing quotas. However, politicised disputes over the size of the pond and the distribution of its fish delayed the production of a clear operating framework. An annual TAC regulation was agreed in 1980, but it was not until 1983 that a consensus could be reached on how this should be distributed as national quotas.[63]

For British trawling companies the small size of quota allocations presented a problem. In 1983, when the revised CFP finally emerged, Britain had secured the largest percentage share of the total catch in EEC waters. However, the allocation of opportunities for the British distant-water fleet to fish in third country waters was relatively poor.[64] The authors of a Sea Fish Industry Authority (SFIA) report believed that the 1983 CFP allowances gave clear official indication that the deep-sea fleet was to be a mere 'token force' within the British fishing industry of the future'.[65] The quotas given for distant-waters seemed 'scarcely sufficient to warrant the journey unless combined with other quotas from nearby waters'[66] and the 1982 quota from Norway was barely enough to 'furnish each Hull freezer with at least two trips'.[67] To trawler owner Tom Boyd, with the entire North Atlantic subject to quotas, the displaced distant-water vessels had no

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[60] Ibid., p.13.
[61] *FN*, January 16, 1976, p.1.
[62] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.20.
[63] M. Leigh, *European Integration and the Common Fisheries Policy* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp.84-95.
[64] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.94.
[65] Ibid., p.94. The UK is allocated 37.3 percent of the catch in EC waters, but only 36.04 percent of the total catch allocation, including catch in third country waters.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p.20.

option but to return to UK waters and claim non-quota species. In an article in *Fishing News International* in December 1976, Tom asserted that:

> Lest one should imagine that they are, by their very size, unacceptable, it should be noted that large French, Polish, Russian and Bulgarian vessels frequent these same 'UK pond' grounds.[68]

For those used to working the open seas, the quota system was frustrating, bewildering and inconsistent. Most significantly, it made it arduous to fill big ships with a profitable catch. Tom Boyd recounts the difficulties faced by his own company in the shift towards new ways of fishing. In the years after the final Cod War, as vessels attempted to fish quotas of traditional species allocated from old grounds, opportunities were gradually eroded. Tom says, 'our quotas came down and down. And ultimately, we finished up with just under fifty per cent of Britain's distant-water quotas, which we could catch with one and a half ships'.[69]

The restricted and regulated pursuit of free-ranging shoals brought unforeseen new problems, as Tom explains:

> We tried to fish under quotas, but… because the movement of the fish isn't that easily predictable… to operate distant-water ships effectively, you need to be able to fish in the North-East Arctic…and the western Atlantic... So once you've *[lost]* that ability to be flexible and hunt the cod wherever you felt it was… it really was closing doors and making things extremely difficult.[70]

The age-old divergence between scientists and fishermen came into the equation. Tom declares that for many years scientists would not believe the distances that fish could migrate. Cod, he claims, could migrate from Newfoundland to the North-East Atlantic. The scientists took a lot of convincing, because they found it difficult to prove. 'But our skippers knew', says Tom 'because they'd followed it'.[71] However, limits now restricted where ships may follow, and pursuit of a quota could be frustrated by the migratory habits of different species.

It was not just fish that could prove inconsistent. Until 1983 the quota system operated on temporary agreements. Fishing companies could be given very late notice that quotas were used up.[72] Quotas could be revised. In 1978, trawlers were fishing on a 'makeshift' month-by-month Norwegian quota, which could be altered at any time,

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[68] *FNI*, December 1976, p.14.
[69] AT/041/TB, p.11.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] For example, in November 1976 notice is given to the British Fishing Federation that the North Sea white fish quotas will be used up before the end of the year and calls for an urgent meeting to manage the situation so that fishing does not stop. Source: HCA (HA) Ref: C/DBTH/20/71. BFF. Agenda Item 4 for Meeting of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee held on 4 November 1976.

pending a longer-term agreement between Norway and the EEC.[73] Furthermore, in an increasingly global arena, quotas were vulnerable to international disputes unrelated to the bounty of the sea. Tom recalls that negotiations with the Russians for a much-needed cod quota came to an end when the EEC expressed disapproval of Russia's behaviour in its eastern provinces. A political stance wiped out the chance of Russian fish 'in a twinkling of an eye.'[74]

Back in Hull, whatever impacted upon the trawling companies affected the fishermen who worked for them. In terms of trawling culture, skipper Peter C. remembers the arrival of quotas as the end of the freedom of command.[75] Peter loved the thrill of the hunt, sailing up to Labrador and Greenland, using his own judgement to decide where to fish. Skippers were responsible to the trawling company, but once at sea, they were to a large extent their own masters. Quotas took away that liberty and with it the buzz of leading the chase. Quotas meant going where you were told and taking only what you had been allocated. Now, laments Peter, it is the man behind the desk who is the skipper.[76]

For those still fishing, limits made it hard to make a living. Dave B. initially continued to work aboard those trawlers still pursuing white fish. But in the new order, it was not only the trawling firms for whom the economics of fishing no longer added up:

> … we did quite a bit of trying *[but]* you didn't catch enough fish sufficient to make it worth going… because you were reliant a lot on the poundage… And when that dropped to next to nothing, you was at sea and you was coming home making nothing basically. You come and settle up and you get about five pound. That's not good. You felt your life'd ended basically. You think, where do you go from here? Do you carry on going to sea? Or do we just go back ashore, y' know, call it a day?[77]

Fishing old grounds with new limits, it soon became clear that the traditional focus upon a small range of white fish species would no longer suffice. Distant–water companies needed to diversify and enter a new era of fishing for mixed species. The mid-water trawl offered the means to be flexible and Tom Boyd explains the changing dynamic:

> We did everything we could to keep the ships operating… we briefed every crew as to what was going on and they might go to the North-East Arctic one trip and then be going off herring fishing and going off mackerel fishing at the next trip.[78]

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[73] *FN*, March 24, 1978, p.1.
[74] AT/041/TB.
[75] Personal communication. Notes from an unrecorded discussion with former Skippers and White Fish Authority Professionals. Wheatsheaf Pub, Kirkella, 8 November 2012.
[76] Ibid.
[77] AT/040/DB.
[78] AT/041/TB.

Flexible fishing took place with the same ships that had once ploughed the seas for cod. Boyd Line converted freezer vessels for mid-water trawling and enjoyed some success in the North-East Arctic, until banned by the Norwegians due to concerns regarding fish stock conservation.[79] Other Hull companies also diversified and fishermen well-versed in the catching of cod, now had to turn their hand to new techniques. Skipper Bob recounts his own experience:

> … after the deep-sea fishing, bottom trawling, finished, I went into pelagic fishing for mackerel and herring… once the trawler owners realised that there wasn't gonna be any more - or very little – cod fishing, they had to turn to other types of fishing and obviously they had to convert the vessels from bottom trawling to mid-water fishing. And as they changed that, so we had to change. It was either change or you were out, type of thing. And you just had to adapt to whatever was put in front of you… there was no other way round it. It was either adapt or get out.[80]

There was no training for the adjustment. Skippers not accustomed to fishing in this way initially made mistakes. They found it difficult to keep the nets mid-water, sometimes creating extra deck work mending tears.[81] It was trial and error, but the fishermen proved to be versatile. As Bob makes clear, they had little choice.

The challenges facing the distant-water sector were vast. New types of fishing sometimes brought deep-sea ships into home waters, causing further rifts within an already fragmented industry. Diversification came late in the day and in the midst of a major global transition in the politics of fishing. In the struggle to adapt, there were successes and failures. Ultimately, the sea-going sector could not overcome the unfavourable circumstances that occurred in the void between the end of the final Cod War and the 1983 revision of the Common Fisheries Policy. Limits, quotas and uncertainty combined to force Britain's cutting edge distant-water fleet into a terminal decline. To Tom Boyd, the lack of governmental support and a political inclination towards a small boat fishery further disadvantaged the British deep-sea sector. In phrasing his narrative Tom portrays the British government's response not merely as a failure to assist, but as an active hindrance. He reflects, 'All the moves we took to keep the ships operating were regularly frustrated'.[82] He concludes, 'we had hurdle, after hurdle, after hurdle placed in our way'.[83]

In Hull, the rhythms of its distant-water white fish fleet stood at the heart of a long-established fishery. As the shocks of the 1970s sent that fleet into decline, the consequences rippled through the city. After 1976, as the search for new opportunities

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[79] Ibid.
[80] AT/026/BJ.
[81] Ibid.
[82] AT/041/TB.
[83] Ibid.

took ships away from Hull and brought foreign-caught fish to its dockside, the tight bonds between city and fishery began to part. This is explored in the next chapters. With the benefit of hindsight, the eventual contraction of Hull's distant water industry could be seen as predictable. With today's acceptance of the need for sustainable seas and the taken for granted logic of international limits, it is reasonable to view the North Atlantic bonanza as inevitably time limited. But from inside those lives remoulded by the closure of the open sea the perspective was different. The men and women of Hull's deep-sea community were rooted in the assumed certainty of fishing. After 1976, they were hit by a maelstrom of disruption that struck not only at their livelihoods, but at the essence of their way of living. The consequences of decline are explored in the remainder of this chapter.

Ships to Scrap and Ships for Sale

Narratives of the demise of Hull's fishing industry often involve a portrayal of the physical destruction of the trawler fleet. For an industry with ships at its core, the disappearance of vessels that had shaped the fishery is a powerful symbol of decline. In the adverse conditions of the 1970s Hull distant-water trawlers were laid-up, scrapped and sold. The absence of clear policy or aid to restructure forced a seafaring version of natural selection, eliminating the large and increasingly unprofitable deep-sea vessels and remoulding Britain's fleet for smaller scale fishing.

Tales of trawlers being laid up and scrapped are prominent amongst the memories of my respondents. After 1976, Ken remembers ships lingering in the dock:

> The owners were getting rid of trawlers very quickly by then… you could see ships tied up, *[at]* one end of the dock… you could see rows and rows of ships that were all tied up. Not going to sea. So, you know, if you needed a message - that was it.[84]

There followed a deeper decline, says Ken, with vessels towed away for scrap or otherwise disposed. Deckhand John R. was in his late teens at the time:

> …there was three or four ships abreast in the docks and I'd say to somebody, what's the matter with them? Oh they're going for scrap – and they'd be gone and there'd be a big hole in the dock… you could almost walk across the dock at one point *[across active berthed ships]*, but then it just got smaller and smaller and to me… everything seemed to happen overnight.[85]

The scrapping of trawlers in Hull often took place at Draper's Slipway, near Sammy's Point on the Humber Estuary, near the confluence with the River Hull. Between 1972 and 1981,

[84] AT/018/KK.

[85] Interview with John Ryan. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 13 September 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/034/JR.

Figure 3. Side trawlers being scrapped at Draper's Yard in 1978.[86]

30 Hull trawlers ended their life in Draper's yard (figure 3).[87] Michael P., sailing as mate in the growing absence of positions for skippers, witnessed the process:

> Each time I came home there was ships on the Draper's slip, on the river there, where they scrap all the trawlers. And each time you came home you'd see another trawler up there. It was really demoralising.[88]

A series of factors combined to gradually eliminate Hull's formidable fishing capacity. The scrapping of ships was not a new phenomenon, but something that had long been a feature of the Fish Dock, as trawling companies renewed and modernised their fleets. Thompson's inventory of Hull sidewinders working between 1946 and 1986 shows coal-fired ships being scrapped in the 1950s and 1960s with the advent of oil.[89] In the 1960s the older oil-fired ships were scrapped to make way for the growing fleet of stern and freezer trawlers. The average life of a sidewinder was around 20 years.[90] In the

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[86] Turner, J. G., Side *Trawlers Being Scrapped at Drapers Yard, Hull.* 1978 [Photograph]. Available online: https://www.flickr.com/photos/johngreyturner/3625755853 [Accessed 26 September 2015].
[87] Drapers Website, www.adraper.co.uk/about-us/heritage (Accessed 12 May 2014).
[88] AT/004/MP.
[89] M. Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet.*
[90] Thompson's inventory shows the lifespan of most sidewinder trawlers to be in the vicinity of 20 years, with some exceptions. In calculating the fleet of the 70s, the White Fish Authority assume that vessels over 20 years old in 1975 will be scrapped (*The UK Fishing Fleet in the mid-1970s*, p.2). In the calculations for the move to Albert Dock, the size of the future fleet is calculated by the

decade before the 1970s the sidewinder fleet had shrunk by a half, from 140 vessels in 1961 to 73 in 1971; the natural result of the move towards more modern trawlers.[91]

However, as the 1970s progressed, factors other than age and technology began to impact upon the usual cycle of removals. In the early 1970s, overfishing in the North-Atlantic put pressure on resources, limiting the catch. The 50-mile limit further reduced fishing opportunities and the added burden of the first oil crisis tipped the balance against the older elements of the fleet. As early as January 1975 the loss of a large slice of the Humber steamer fleet was being reported.[92] This was not yet cause for much concern, for the old steamers had been living on borrowed time. However, in the later part of the decade further oil problems, occurring in the wake of rejection from North Atlantic waters, posed additional challenges to profitability. By 1977, oil-bunkering prices had risen to further uneconomic levels and the Humber's last steam trawlers were scrapped.[93] In Hull, the sidewinder fleet shrank from 73 vessels in 1971, to 36 in 1976, to just five in 1981.[94]

In business terms the sidewinder fleet was the more expendable sacrifice. Prior to the threats of oil crises and limits, the Albert Dock feasibility report had envisaged only 10 wet fish trawlers in the Hull fleet by 1987.[95] The 1969 White Fish Authority fleet predictions had assumed the removal of the oil-fired sidewinders by 1975, with only the diesel and diesel-electric side trawlers continuing into the later decade.[96] Thompson's inventory shows that after 1976, it was these diesel-powered vessels that were being rapidly and perhaps unexpectedly sent to the scrapyard.[97] However, the majority of the retiring diesels were already over 20 years old. Arguably these more modern vessels could have been expected to remain in service beyond the 20-year average of their older counterparts. Nevertheless, the days of the sidewinder fleet had been numbered since the late 1960s. Limits, quotas and oil costs hastened rather that induced their departure.

In popular memory however, the story reads differently. For many, the scrapping of the sidewinder fleet has become a strong and emotive emblem of decline. Gill's photographic commentary on the Hessle Road fishing community during the late-1970s and early- 1980s, contains the sub-heading *Ash and Dust*. Gill writes:

HFVOA on the basis of the withdrawal of a wet fish trawler after 24 years service (*Preliminary Feasibility Study of Proposed Re-location of Hull Fishing Fleet,* p.6).

[91] See Appendix 4, Table 3, reproduced from Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet*, p.94.

[92] *FN*, January 28, 1975, p.3.

[93] *FN,* June 10, 1977, p.10.

[94] See Appendix 4, Table 3.

[95] HCA (HC/HFVOA) Ref :C/DBTH/15/129, p.6.

[96] HCA Ref: C/CBTH/59/21, pp.2-3.

[97] Thompson, *Hull's Side-Trawling Fleet.*

> This time of decay saw trawlers scrapped and houses smashed *[demolished].* During the dual decline, fire and force brought an end to Hull's era as the greatest fishing port.[98]

The flames are from the fires of Draper's yard as ships are dismantled and contents burned. It is a plaintive contemporary image of demise and over thirty years later, the scrapping of trawlers remains an emotive subject. Skipper Ron, remembers what he sees as the premature end of the sidewinder fleet:

> Oh, that was terrible… to see them, getting taken piece by piece… I mean a lot of them were still very good ships, y' know still had a lot of years of life in them. And I mean, some of them, the modern stern trawlers went off to other places and were bought by other people, but the majority of the side trawlers were scrapped… And it was a really, really sad sight to see.[99]

In *The North Ships*, Piper describes visiting a Hull trawler pulled up onto the Fish Dock slipway for repair. He is disturbed by the motionless form of the typically life-filled vessel, concluding, 'She was nothing to do with me until they put her back in the water'.[100] A similar sentiment perhaps underlies the memory of scrapping. Deckhand Thomas sets out his own feelings:

> It really did hurt, y' know what I mean, because I'd come up through the ranks on these ships. And to see 'em get, y' know… they should've lasted fifty, sixty years. Some of them was only ten year old and was getting made into razor blades and stuff like that. It was destroying. Soul destroying. Soul destroying.[101]

Like Piper, Thomas describes a troubling transition from the life-filled to the lifeless. Active ships that had shaped his life were reduced to the banality of razor blades and it was devastating. Trawlers, of course, had been scrapped before. But this time it was different. This time ships were not to be replaced. In a 1962 photograph of Hull's first freezer trawler *Junella* arriving for the first time at St Andrew's Dock, seventy men wait in anticipation around the lock pit.[102] In the past, the sadness of a fleet departure was tempered with the buzz of a new arrival. After 1976, this was no longer the case. In terms of popular memory, the scrapping of ships in the 1970s became a symbol of the end.

The scrapping of the old was followed by a more disquieting development. By the mid-1970s the economic circumstances were forcing the sale and conversion of Hull's advanced and modern stern freezer fleet. Thomas explains the implications. Firstly, he says, the ships that were scrapped were not being replaced, then:

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[98] Gill, *Hessle Road,* p.93.
[99] AT/019/RW.
[100] Piper, *North Ships*, p.26.
[101] AT/037/TN.
[102] Thompson, *The Marr Story*, p.43.

> …we started selling ships to different places and that's when you knew, we won't gonna come back. It was always on a decline and there was never gonna be an uphill any more… the slide was there and there was no stopping the slide.[103]

Since the Cod War negotiations in Oslo in spring 1976, the British distant-water fleet had struggled to make a profit from ever-decreasing fishing opportunities.[104] By 1977, a reduction in Norwegian quotas had forced the sale of the Hull-based Seafridge freezer fleet. They were sold to Norway.[105] Other transfers followed as Hull fishing companies quite literally struggled to keep afloat. Despite the difficulties of the 1970s, only one of the existing Hull distant-water owners withdrew their operation.[106] Henrikson and Co Ltd, founded in 1925, closed in 1973 with the disposal of their last two ships.[107] The remaining Hull companies persevered by engaging in a series of new ventures. Nevertheless, the sale of trawlers continued. Appendix 4, Table 1, shows the steady leakage of advanced and modern vessels.[108]

There were some gains. In 1978, British United Trawlers (BUT) transferred six of its freezers to Hull, leaving Grimsby without distant-water freezer vessels for the first time since 1964.[109] Yet the losses were significant. Earlier in 1978 the Boston Group fleet of ten seine netters, the only non deep-sea vessels in Hull, were sold to Consolidated Fisheries at Grimsby.[110] By March of the same year distant-water trawler owners were facing the decision to sacrifice their wet fish fleets to keep the freezers active.[111] August saw only two of Hull's remaining 23 sidewinders at sea; it was 'a new peace-time low for the Humber port'.[112] By 1982, Britain's deep-sea industry was sinking into deeper problems, with only the sale of assets, mainly vessels, holding back the debt.[113] In that year a total of 12 stern trawlers were re-deployed from the Hull fleet; the worst single year for such losses.[114] Amongst them were the *Arctic Galliard* and the *Arctic Buccaneer*. Owned by Boyd Line and launched as late as 1973, they were the largest trawlers in the British fleet, built with the highest freezing capacity of any ship in Europe at the time.[115]

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[103] AT/037/TN.
[104] *FN*, June 18, 1976, p.1.
[105] *FN,* June 10, 1977, p.3.
[106] Ibid., p.10.
[107] Thompson, Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet, p.39.
[108] M. Thompson, *Hull and Grimsby Stern Trawling Fleet 1961-1988* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1988), pp.128-129.
[109] *FN*, May 12, 1978, p.2.
[110] *FN*, February 10, 1978, p.1.
[111] *FN*, March 24, 1978, p.1.
[112] *FN*, August 18, 1978, p.2.
[113] *WF*, March 1982, p.48.
[114] Thompson, Stern Trawling Fleet, p.129.
[115] *FN*, March 26, 1982, p.1.

According to Tom Boyd, they had been built to take advantage of pelagic species in British waters.[116] Their loss was a blow and Tom explains the circumstances of the sale:

> …in addition to the pressure that we had from quotas, the banks were starting to get very frightened as to what was going to happen to the British fishing industry. And they withdrew support and there was a sort of wild scramble to get out, as one sees when banking fraternities feel they've got their money in the wrong area... So we were under huge pressure from the banks to reduce our overdrafts and reduce any borrowing we had. And we were forced to sell the two top UK trawlers – the *Arctic Buccaneer* and *Galliard*… They were, you know, the pride of the UK fleet and we were forced to sell those to New Zealand, which was pretty depressing really.[117]

The cull of the British fleet continued into the late 1980s. By then Hull was unrecognisable as a distant-water fishing port. Arguably, the distant water industry was condemned to a slow and convenient death, by policy delay and political stalling. Financial support for the decommissioning of vessels arrived in the wake of the 1983 CFP. It was to be financed by the coastal state, matched by the EEC. Yet it brought its own problems, for as Tom Boyd explains, to qualify, ships must demonstrate a number of days at sea and for quota strapped vessels, this could be difficult.[118] When aid was offered it was for ships not for crews. It aimed to remove too many boats chasing too few fish. It did not compensate those whose livelihoods were caught up in the sacrifice. Tom Boyd, reflecting from an owner's perspective, saw an astute political manoeuvre by the British Government:

> Britain tried to be clever and probably was clever, because of the 350 odd distant-water ships which Britain had operating when we joined the common market… less than 10 per cent received decommissioning grants. The government of the day continually moved the goal posts, so that ships which had qualified, didn't qualify. I suppose if you look at it in national expenditure terms, the industry was destroyed and removed without it costing the British tax payer very much at all.[119]

Laying Off and Staying On

For decades, the activity of Hull's fishing fleet had nourished a related economy and put food on the tables of households throughout the city. As the ships went into decline, the impact was felt by thousands who had grown to depend upon the constancy of trawling. Anticipating change, some had left the industry before the crisis escalated. Many more had remained, their reasons various. Amongst my respondents, fishermen Ron and Victor had just qualified as skippers and both hung on for a while in the hope that a settlement

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[116] Ibid.
[117] AT/041/TB.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

would be reached.[120] Domestic demands and the state of the wider employment market also had a bearing on decisions. Shore-based trawler radar engineer Philip explains:

Jo (Researcher):	*[Asking about the 1970s]* … did you ever think, should I stay in this business or should I be getting out?
Philip:	I did yes. Certainly I did. I thought that many a time. That's right.
Jo	What made you stay?
Philip:	I think possibly it was the fact that I had a mortgage and a youngish family and jobs at that time were becoming as they are now – pretty tight. And in my line of business there wasn't a lot of work in my particular field… I did think of moving on and trying something else, many a time. But I stuck with it and there you go and I was one of the last to go.[121]

It was a case of waiting and hoping. Some, like Victor and Ron, decided to leave during or soon after the final Cod War. Others remained in the dwindling pool of opportunity. The Fish Dock and fishing provided a way of life that was known and understood. Deckhand Thomas continued fishing until it was no longer feasible. In better economic times he had been offered the chance to work in merchant shipping or 'big-boating'. To his later regret, he returned to fishing, drawn by the chance to work with his mates. When fishing ended, he was forced to leave the sea for good. He joined the army – a complete career change. Thomas explains, 'there was nothing else to do… what else could I do?... that's all I knew was fishing'.[122]

The desire to continue in a familiar occupation and accustomed environment is something that unites trawlermen and trawler owners. In the 1970s, Hull trawling firms included family enterprises handed down or managed from one generation to the next. In the face of a disappearing industry, it was not just fishermen who knew nothing else. Trawler owner Andrew Marr explaining why he remained in fishing, says, 'fishing is what we did and my cousin and I relished the challenge'.[123] Tom Boyd explains his own incentive, saying, 'We had people who depended on us. I enjoyed the industry. Being an optimist, I hoped something could be salved, rather than this complete shambles.[124] On a more personal note, however, Tom closely echoes Thomas, reflecting, '… and you know, that's all I had done in my life, was manage fishing ships'.[125] The optimism of men like Tom and Andrew led to ventures that breathed a vestige of life into Hull's dying catching sector. Such efforts, however, could not forestall the massive contraction of the Hull

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[120] AT/019/RW; AT/029/030/V&PW.
[121] Interview with Philip Barrett. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 02 July 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/021/PB.
[122] AT/037/TN.
[123] Notes from an Interview with Andrew Marr. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 November 2012. Document Ref: AT/002/AM.
[124] AT/041/TB.
[125] Ibid.

fishery and the near extinction of the fleet. As the ships began to disappear, liquidation, closures and unemployment followed in their wake.

The full extent of employment within the Hull fishery is difficult to accurately determine. The industry engaged high levels of casual labour, making it difficult to distinguish between employment opportunities and actual numbers employed on a sporadic basis. For example, the number of registered fishermen generally exceeded the number of berths on the trawlers. The industry created a range of secondary, ancillary and supply opportunities and it is not always clear to what extent some of these roles have featured in official industry figures. Finally, the spread and influence of the wealth generated by employment in the fishery within the wider economy of the city (and Hessle Road in particular) is difficult to calculate. The figures in Appendix 3 are drawn together from various industry sources and provide a basic employment profile for the years between 1960 and 1993. The statistics for fishermen clearly reflect the impact of limits and quotas on the catching sector. Employment reduces steadily from 1960. The figures from 1973 likely reflect some of the earlier economic problems in the sector. However, from 1976, the total decelerates markedly. By 1983, the number of fishermen is reduced by 74 per cent from 1976 levels and by 1993, this has dropped to an 82 per cent reduction.

The figures for onshore employment are more open to interpretation. Results vary depending upon the information source, the means of calculation and most specifically, which trades and functions are included in the inventory. In Appendix 3, caution is required in drawing precise comparisons, yet some general trends are clear. The onshore figures for 1960 are certainly underestimated, giving an unrealistic rise in employment in combined onshore trades between 1960 and 1972/3.[126] However, what is notable is the downward trend in employment in the ancillary sector from 1972/3 and the same accelerated decline between 1976 and 1993 that is evident in seagoing jobs (58 per cent reduction by 1983, 73 per cent by 1993). Also apparent is the more moderate contraction in onshore fish handling employment, when compared with the plunging figures of the catching sector. By 1993 the reduction is a less extreme 36 per cent from 1976 figures, revealing the durability of the fish trades. As discussed later in this chapter, by engaging with new suppliers, the fish trades were able to adapt to the changing situation. For the catching sector and ancillary trades this was not the case and as the challenges continued to mount, fishermen were amongst those hit the hardest.

[126] The SFIA analysis figures for 1960 draw upon Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries figures which exclude categories such as transportation, cold stores, independent shipbuilders, repairs and fleet supplies, which appear in some later inventories.

Fishermen's Tales

The threat of unemployment had escalated from the early 1970s. In May 1975 the British Trawler Federation announced 1000 job loses since the beginning of the year; the result of 48 trawlers going out of service. This was in addition to the 40 trawlers taken out of service in 1974.[127] After 1976, job losses gathered pace in Hull as freezer trawlers joined the sidewinders in departing from the fleet. For fishermen working on casual contracts, their last days in the industry did not generally result from a formal issue of notice, but from dwindling opportunity to sign back onto a ship or from their own decision to actively seek a future elsewhere. Ron worked for Newington Trawlers, one of the smaller companies on Hull's Fish Dock. He recalls that late in 1976, the company introduced a system of working four 21-day trips followed by a trip ashore. It was a fair way of sharing the diminishing work, but it became problematic, as Ron explains:

> You couldn't be guaranteed that you would just have the one trip off. *[Newingtons]* only had about five ships and if you had about seven or eight, nine, ten mates… sometimes there was quite a while before it came round to your turn again… I think it was the fairness of the company that they were trying to give everybody a fair crack of the whip… which was fine in principle, but the fact that you were spending quite a time at home… at the end of the day, you've got to pay your mortgage, you've got to feed your family...[128]

Under these circumstances, in 1977 Ron decided to quit. Ron was not alone and several respondents convey the image of a trawlerman's exodus. To Ken, this started before the final Cod War:

> …there's quite a few fishermen that got good jobs, before the industry actually collapsed altogether, including me…. They possibly thought, shall I try and get a good job now that's available and a secure job, cos once fishing finishes, there's going to be a lot of people coming looking for these jobs.[129]

As the departures continued, Ron says that the industry imploded. 'People were leaving in the droves', he says, 'They had nowhere to go, they had no ships'.[130] For Thomas the signal to change career came when he saw the most experienced trawlermen abandoning the Fish Dock. He says, 'There was other people, far more experienced than I, who was leaving the industry. So what was I gonna do?... I knew we was flogging a dead horse…'.[131] Initially, Thomas says, the number of people leaving made it temporarily viable to get a ship. But as the ships were increasingly scrapped and sold, for Thomas, it confirmed the end.[132]

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[127] *FN*, May 30, 1975, p.1.
[128] AT/019/RW.
[129] AT/018/KK.
[130] AT/019/RW.
[131] AT/037/TN.
[132] Ibid.

Whilst some left of their own accord, compelled by the obvious lack of a fishing future, for others departure was thrust upon them, as trawling companies finally reached the end of the line. Deckhand Bill D. received a phone call ending his deployment to the Hull ships fishing for mackerel. 'They just rung me up', he says, 'and said that's it. Finished'.[133] Christine recalls how in the early 1980s, her husband Paul returned from a trip with the fishing company Thomas Hamling & Co to discover that it was to be his last with the firm:

Christine:	He was onboard a ship called the *St Jasper* and he came home and he went back down dock to sign on the ship and all the firm was closed up…. and that was a big worry, yeah. The firm'd just… it just closed up."
Jo (Researcher)	And there was no warning or notice given?
Christine:	No, nothing.[134]

Whilst those choosing to leave had the opportunity to plan their next move, those finding themselves suddenly out of work faced the dole and a search for new employment. Y *(anonymous)* worked for the Department of Health and Social Security in Hull during the 1970s and 1980s. He explains that before the crises in distant-water trawling, fishermen were not regular visitors to his office. The fishing community was inclined to look after itself and Y felt that for them, going to the dole office was a last resort.[135] Traditionally, trawlermen had adopted a system known as backhanding, where money would be loaned to a mate or relative in difficulty, with the unexpressed expectation that the favour would be returned if necessary.[136] With so many men leaving the industry or out of work, the usual systems of support were inadequate. After the Cod Wars, Y observed a marked increase in benefit claims from the fishing industry. Claimants were not just from Hessle Road, but from many areas of Hull, where people worked in fishing related jobs and the workload of benefits staff rocketed.[137] In the close knit world of fishing whole families could find themselves out of work. Y says:

> … it wasn't uncommon for a whole family of wage earners in a household to be thrown out of work at the same time… if dad's a trawlerman, if mother's working in a fish house and the eldest lad's a deckie learner and the eldest daughter's working in fish house, y' know, it doesn't take a great deal for a family who's been used to having quite a good standard of living to suddenly have nothing.[138]

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[133] AT/028/BD.
[134] AT/038/CW. Christine may be referring to the St Jason, whose crew came home to Hull for Christmas in 1982, never to return due to the closure of Thomas Hamling and Co. Source: Thompson, *Stern Trawling Fleet,* p.66.
[135] Interview with Y. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 28 May 2014. Transcript Ref: AT/042/Y.
[136] Backhanding is raised in the interview with Y. It is also described in detail in Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.148.
[137] AT/042/Y.
[138] Ibid.

For fishermen facing unemployment, there could be little financial cushioning to soften the blow. The need for benefits could be immediate, for the three-day millionaires were not inclined to save. Margaret, with a brother at sea and working herself in Hessle Road's Dee Street Club, could observe at first hand that many fishermen had not planned for a rainy day. 'They wouldn't have thought, oh, wow, I'll have to put summat in bank', she says, 'No, they never. They didn't'.[139] Y confirms that few trawling families making a new benefit claim would have sufficient savings for it to impact on their dues.[140]

The spectre of older redundant fishermen beached on the shores of Hessle Road is something remembered by my younger respondents. John R. recalls men sitting in pubs and reminiscing, '…because they had nothing to do. Especially the older ones who couldn't get work'.[141] Kevin also reflects:

> I was still a young kid, y' know, in me early twenties, so I could do other things. But there was a lot o' kids *[in this sense, a local term for man]* who had done fishing all their life and that was it. They was finished. A lot of men did the bench – on the bench outside Boulevard *[a Hessle Road street]* supping cider and wine, when their wives'd chucked 'em out, cos they couldn't cope with what was happening. I know a lot o' kids went like that.[142]

For those like Kevin, with years of work ahead of them, new opportunities could be pursued. In his article on changing fishing communities from 1970, Lazenby questions the dominant post Cod War image of redundancy, stagnation and state benefits.[143] Instead he highlights the mobility of fishermen and their ability to adapt. Whilst the impact of the crisis should not be minimised, the competence with which fishermen adjusted to new circumstances should not be underplayed. All my interviewees, from all sectors of the fishing industry, exhibited resourcefulness and tenacity in seeking new employment. The demands of trawling bred men who were willing and able to work hard. It was a characteristic shared by other physically demanding trades on the Fish Dock. Such a strong work ethic made former fishermen and Fish Dock workers attractive to new employers. This is illustrated in the narrative of John C. John was a trawlerman until 1958. He came ashore and worked as a Fish Dock bobber until made redundant in the aftermath of the 1976 Cod War. After two employment changes, John found what he calls 'the best job I had in my life' working in the Reckitt and Coleman factory pool.[144] He explains, 'I got sent from one department to another and being in the fishing industry, you used to work

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[139] AT/039/MG.
[140] AT/042/Y.
[141] AT/034/JR.
[142] AT/031/KL.
[143] C. Lazenby, 'Change and Adaptation in European Fishing Communities, 1970-1997', in P. Holm and D. J. Starkey (eds.) *Technological Change in the North Atlantic Fisheries*, Studia Atlantica: 3 (Esbjerg: NAFHA, 1999), p.195.
[144] Interview with John Crimlis. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 02 July 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/022/JC.

like hell. All the supervisors used to fight over me like, cos I did the work'.[145] Tunstall has suggested that fishermen generally considered shore jobs as soft and lazy compared with the rigours of fishing.[146] For John, working outside the industry was an eye opener and he was staggered by the procrastination, adherence to petty rules and the long breaks in the canteen that were practiced by some of his new colleagues. Asked if he felt that the work ethic of the Fish Dock was advantageous to men leaving the industry to seek employment elsewhere, he answers, yes, 'Without a doubt' he says, 'they was grafters. Really. I mean some of these young lads now, they'd die. Die with their legs up. They really would'.[147]

The work ethic also saw men go to great lengths and distances to seek a position. In the days after the Cod Wars, the existing networks of the Hull fishing community functioned as a surrogate job shop. Personal introductions or 'putting a word in' had always been important in the Fish Dock employment market.[148] For the majority of respondents, word of mouth continued as a central means of securing work in the new circumstances after 1976. In many narratives (and in particular those relating to sea going jobs) it was a neighbour, a relative, a mate in a pub, who gave the tip off of an opportunity. A new grapevine was emerging and this time, as chapter seven will show, it extended all over the world. Closer to home, Margaret tells a story of her brother Harold's futile dash to Fleetwood in the hope of getting a ship. He and two friends followed a tip off picked up in Rayner's, the Hessle Road fishermen's pub. Margaret narrates:

> And off he trotted, they went, the three of 'em. And they said no, we don't want no Yorkies *[Yorkshire men]* here. So they jumped in a taxi (laughing) - no money to pay the taxi driver - and when they got to Harold's house, Harold emptied the gas meter in ten pence pieces and paid the taxi driver in a sock.[149]

The story resonates with other tales of tenacious pursuits in the fight to keep working. Some gained jobs ashore, others at sea. Some stayed in fishing, whilst others transferred to new maritime sectors. In fact, all my respondents found work. Some faced several months of unemployment, before eventually finding a steady new career. Others relate a string of short term and sometimes unreliable positions. But they did all work, reinforcing the notion of adaptability, resilience, work ethic and perhaps a touch of fatalism. In many cases the new jobs could not match the financial rewards of trawling, but they offered a living. Deckhand John K. illustrates the attitude that kept men working, explaining, 'Well, I

[145] Ibid.
[146] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, pp.170-171.
[147] AT/022/JC, p.16.
[148] This is evident in many of the stories of how my respondents got started in the Hull fishery. David L. also emphasises the role of local networks in recommending new recruits for his fish merchant business, AT/010/DL.
[149] AT/039/MG.

always said, y' know, wherever I am, I've got two hands. I'll go and do any work'.[150] And Ken offers this insight, '...we were very versatile, fishermen, we could occupy almost any job and the training side… they'd find it very simple, y' know, cos they'd been through it all'.[151]

An Ancillary Story

Fishermen were just one fraction of the total workforce employed within the Hull fishery. Various ratios have been proposed for workers at sea to those ashore: the 1983 SFIA Report uses a multiplier of 1:6.[152] On land, an army of ancillary workers laboured to equip ships for sea and dispatch fish to the markets. Appendix 3 provides an estimate of the ancillary workforce, although the calculation is not exhaustive. Through the ancillary sector, Hull's fishing industry spread into the wider city economy, securing employment for thousands, from all walks of life and in all manner of trades. Ancillary jobs in the fishery fell into three categories. There were jobs that served the industry directly and exclusively: for example, the Fish Dock fish landers or bobbers, employees at the ice factory and fish meal plant, ships' husbands or 'runners', the clerks in the numerous Fish Dock offices and an array of trawler repairers, equippers and suppliers. Secondly, there were companies that served the Fish Dock on a partial basis. These were largely engineering, technical, repair or supply companies, for whom the Fish Dock was a major client, but which also served other maritime and shore based sectors. This included white-collar jobs, such as lawyers and accountants. Finally, there were the offshoot activities that flourished in response to the needs of dock and fleet: a myriad of little tasks, which may have evaded official statistics, but which nevertheless created jobs tied to the fortunes of the industry. There was the man who owned a small boat that ran into the Humber with trawlermen who had missed their ship's departure.[153] There was the man who collected and stored fishermen's belongings between trips. There were the taxi drivers. Many trawlermen could not drive. Home for only short periods, there was little opportunity for driving lessons. In some households, women became the drivers. But for many trawlermen, the taxi was their means of transport ashore. Narrators cite the taxi as a feature of the trawling economy. A single taxi might stay at the disposal of a fisherman ashore.[154] When Ron's father-in-law, also a fisherman, went to Beverley races, his taxi

[150] AT/027/JK.
[151] AT/018/KK.
[152] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.64.
[153] Personal Communication with X. Email dated 20 April 2013.
[154] Thompson, Fish Dock, pp.96.

driver came and stayed with him. '*[The driver would]* turn up at the house', says Ron, 'with his binoculars round his neck'.[155]

As the fleet went into decline, so too did the fortunes of this diverse and extensive ancillary economy. Just as in the catching sector, ancillary work began to reduce with the adverse conditions of the early 1970s. By February 1976, for example, the trawler repair firm Humber St Andrew's Engineering was announcing its closure with the loss of 276 jobs. The reason for its demise, even before the end of the final Cod War, was the sharp reduction of fishing vessels operating out of Hull.[156] As the crisis deepened, the scale and pace of the losses increased. For the Fish Dock landing gangs, known as bobbers, the difficulties after 1976 came on top of the gradual change and job reduction that was occurring with the transition to mechanised landing following the move in 1975 to William Wright and Albert Dock. But compounding these changes came the decline in landing requirements that accompanied the reduced fishing opportunities. Fewer ships, fewer landings, meant less need for landing gangs. Margaret's father was a Fish Dock bobber. He would send Margaret to check the board on West Dock Avenue that showed which gangs from the work pool were to be called out to the dock that night. As the fortunes of the industry declined, so did the work. Margaret remembers nights when there was nothing. She recalls, 'he used to say – oh, well, that's us not working tonight'.[157] The situation only got worse. John C., working as a bobber on William Wright and Albert Dock, was made redundant within a year of the introduction of the Icelandic 200-mile limit. He recalls, 'We just got made redundant in batches'.[158]

It was not only the bobbers whose jobs were under threat. Familiar companies on the Fish Dock were also beginning to close. Philip served as a shore based marine electronics engineer with the Hull branch of Decca Marine Radar from the late 1960s. He estimates that approximately seventy per cent of the company's work was on the Hull trawling fleet, the rest on commercial shipping. The Fish Dock was a big contract. Philip asserts that there was hardly a trawler in the fleet that did not have some Decca gear aboard.[159] From the mid 1970s, as the remaining sidewinders disappeared, Philip's company absorbed the knock on effect:

> … we brought off tonnes of equipment which had been scrapped off these ships. We had a depot full of all radars, which'd all been on a maintenance contract – autopilots, echo sounders, every piece of navigation equipment you

[155] AT/019/RW.
[156] *FN*, February 20, 1976.
[157] AT/039/MG.
[158] AT/022/JC.
[159] AT/021/PB.

> could think of… We lost tons and tons of work, y' know, manpower and there was redundancies left, right and centre in most marine radio companies.[160]

The downturn continued into the 1980s. Decca made redundancies, but Philip managed to stay. His work, however, increasingly took him away from the Fish Dock and into commercial shipping contracts. By the mid-1980s the company staff had reduced by half. Around him, he says joiners, fitters, boilermakers were made redundant from maintenance companies. The Hull branch of Decca closed in 1990. Philip was redeployed to Grimsby. The staff was down to three, with Philip as the supervising engineer, 'supervising meself', he says, 'cos everybody else had gone'.[161] By the mid-90s the Grimsby branch had also closed. In later years, gradual changes in science and technology would revise the way that maintenance contracts operated. But during Philip's time with Decca, the key contraction was the direct result of the collapse of the trawling fleet. Philip was the last to go, '*[I]* put the lights off and put the key through the door… yes, sad isn't it'.[162]

Within Philip's narrative the extent and complexity of the economic dependencies upon trawling are exposed. It was not only maintenance contracts that provided Philip's company with work. Philip also fitted Decca systems onto the brand new trawlers that rolled off the slipways of the Humber shipyards.[163] However, by the late 1970s the changing fortune of the distant-water industry was taking its toll on the shipbuilders too. In June 1977, *Fishing News* reported that in the Humber shipyards there was 'not a big trawler in sight'.[164] For yards already hit by the growth of large freezer trawlers built away from the local region, the uncertainty over the shape of Britain's future fishing industry reduced orders to a trickle.[165] Whilst some were able to make up for losses with orders from different maritime sectors, others could not manage the transition. The result was the disappearance of well-known local yards that had built the famous names of the Hull trawling fleet. With them, went the orders for companies such as Decca.

After the trawl, ancillary companies had to face the gap left by the departure of the distant-water ships. Alongside the likes of engineering and radar firms were shops, pubs and taxi firms, all of which relied upon fishing to support their trade. Some companies went under, whilst others managed to hang on and reconfigure, drawing upon contracts from other sectors. Focusing on the more direct economy, official figures seem to overlook how deeply rooted trawling had become within the commercial networks of the

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid..
[164] *FN*, June 10, 1977.
[165] Ibid.

city. By looking further afield, as the trawlers disappeared, the effects could be discerned some distance beyond the Fish Dock.

The Fish Trades: Less Cause for Concern.

The fate of Hull's fish trades after 1976 presents a departure from absolute tales of decline. Although part of the Hull fishery, the fish merchant and processing sector could be seen as an independent industry. The fish trades had developed as a secondary economy to the primary function of fishing. In Hull, they grew up and flourished in physical proximity to the Fish Dock, where a perishable commodity could be purchased, processed and dispatched in a timely fashion. Prior to 1976, the merchant and processing industry was experiencing change. Freezing at sea was altering fish landing, storage and sales practices. In parallel, fish was increasingly processed into packaged or frozen products for the retail market. The imperative for fish to be sold and prepared within the port of landing was beginning to decrease. Before the final Cod War, lingering traditions and practices maintained the impression that the fortunes of Hull's catching sector and its fish trades were intrinsically entwined. After 1976, this proved to be a fallacy. The fish trades suffered a contraction and at the heart of this was the removal of a regular supply landed by the Hull fleet. However, they were able to adapt and carry on, albeit on a smaller scale, due to their ability to source fish from other suppliers (discussed in chapter seven). In the long run, these changes made the Hull fish trades vulnerable to commercial, political and logistical decisions made at an international level. But in the years after 1976, as the catching sector spun into crisis, for the fish trades there was less cause for concern.

Appendix 3 highlights the relative stability of the fish trades.[166] Chris and David L. both worked as fish merchants in their respective family businesses throughout the transitional years of the 1970s and continue to do so today. Chris describes the Hull merchant businesses in 1950s as ninety per cent locally owned. But from the 1960s, there was a growing tendency for amalgamations, creating bigger businesses working across the major fishing ports.[167] David's business involved a small staff of filleters, who prepared and packaged fish for distribution, mainly to the fish and chip trade in Hull and other Yorkshire cities.[168] In the 1970s, the Hull market was still dominated by the deep-sea landings of Hull trawlers, with a mixture of wet fish and fish frozen at sea. There was also

[166] Employment figures in the Hull fish trades show remarkable consistency across the research period. Palfreman's 1993 analysis asserts that employment in processing and the number of small primary processing firms in the Yorkshire and Humber region declined significantly in the 20 years prior to 1993. This is only marginally evident in the Hull figures in Appendix 3, particularly in comparison with other fishing sectors. Palfreman attributes the decline in processing to production line automation and the concentration of activities to meet new hygiene regulations, rather than to a drop in the importance of the industry within the region, (p.20).
[167] AT/006/CG.
[168] AT/010/DL.

the North Sea market, where fish brought overland was sold in small numbers. Hessle Road fishmonger Billy purchased from this stock. He says, '…most of the merchants was hitting in the other market – bigger. We was looking for all the mixed fish and they had quite a bit at *[Bridlington]* them days'.[169] David recalls that in the early 1970s fish was also beginning to enter the Hull market from Scotland.[170] In later years, this development was to become essential to the survival of the fish trades. But before 1976, it was Arctic cod landed from Hull vessels that governed the Hull fishery.

In the years after the final Cod War, Hull's fish trades faced severe disruption to their supply. Bound by limits and quotas the Hull trawling fleet could no longer meet the demands of its own long-held markets. To survive, the fish trades turned to supplies from elsewhere. In the transition, there were inevitable casualties. Just as in other sectors of the fishery, David felt that many fish merchants had not taken steps to adapt their businesses in advance of fishing limits. The small size of many companies meant that they were not in a position to instigate change.[171] As the volume of fish landed in the port declined, there was a corresponding reduction in work for the merchants. David explains, 'a lot went down… There was a war of attrition and one by one they dropped out… if there was three warehouses full of merchants… year by year there got to be less and less. They couldn't cope'.[172] However, unlike elsewhere in the fishery, it was a contraction that happened at a slower pace. The opportunity to source from elsewhere meant that the fish merchants could successfully rescale and reorient their operations or bow out gradually. Chris reflects that for merchants, 'it was a worry, but it wasn't a crisis, like it was for the catching side…'.[173]

For smaller firms, the incentive and ability to survive often depended upon the willingness of the next generation to enter the business. David explains:

> The thing about a trade like that is that they're small family businesses and it's a question of whether or not the succeeding generations take it up. And if it's obviously becoming difficult, then the new generation doesn't take it up and so you get all the people retiring. I had a son that came in with me… 30 years ago now and he's continued. But I mean many of them, their families drifted away to do different things. It wasn't the *in* thing. There wasn't a big future in it.[174]

Both David and Chris observe a similar trend amongst their employees. As family run fish trades scaled down, lower employment was achieved via natural wastage, not redundancy. It was gradual not dramatic, as Chris explains:

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[169] Interview with Billy Glenton. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 24 April 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/016/BG.
[170] AT/010/DL, p.4.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] AT/006/CG.
[174] AT/010/DL.

> … there'd been very little recruitment into the industry, I would say since the 70s… I'm still in the industry and there are very few of us left. And they're all my age. There are few youngsters… whereas in the 60s there was every age, from teenagers to people in their 60s…[175]

As Hull's once extensive fish trades contracted, those that continued proved to be adaptable. Both Chris and David had concerns. David recalls that, 'in the darkness of the night, you sometimes wake up and think will we be able to go on'.[176] But both men were confident that their business had a future. Hull trawlers may have gone, but the fish trades could turn elsewhere. They could adapt and survive, because as Chris observes, 'there's always somebody, somewhere wanting to send fish'.[177]

As the number of smaller merchants and processors contracted, larger food companies dealing in frozen and oven ready products continued. Firms such as Birds Eye, Ross and Marr Frozen Foods kept high numbers engaged in their workforce. They too faced difficulties with supply, which at times brought the threat of closure.[178] Fish processor Ivy remembers that from the mid-1970s opportunities to work became less. She says, '…it was sort of like a hit and miss. You either was there because there was the fish or you had to have a week off because there wasn't any'.[179] In the weeks where there was no fish, Ivy would go potato picking to make up the shortfall in earnings. The idea of having two jobs was something that she says would not have happened in the more reliable days before the Cod Wars. Ivy reports that some factories did close and there were instances where work was so sporadic that some workers decided to find jobs elsewhere. However, like David and Chris, in the years after 1976 Ivy describes a contraction not a collapse. Factory work continued, there was just 'less of it'.[180] Fishmonger Billy is philosophical. The fish trades have a way of carrying on. 'They always seem to do' he says, 'in Hull… even now. There's not much of it left. No smoke house, no Fish Dock. Still a few firms doing a bit'.[181] In this sense the trade appears to mirror Billy's own experience. 'I've just rode it out' he says, 'gone through it and still hanging around'.[182]

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[175] AT/006/CG.
[176] AT/010/DL.
[177] AT/006/CG.
[178] A newsletter to staff at the Birds Eye factory in 1978 appeals for them to avoid strike action at a time when the factory is already facing problems outside their control, such as fish supplies. Source: Triplow, *Pattie Slappers*, p.78. Gerry Raines, former manager with Marr Frozen Foods also comments upon the difficulties of fish supply coming in to Hull in the 1980s. Source: Ibid., p.73. In 1979, Findus in Hull was threatened with closure due to supply difficulties. Colin Birch, Findus technical director, blamed a deterioration in the overall UK fishing situation resulting from the uncertainties surrounding the CFP. Source: *WF*, June 1979, p.95.
[179] AT/015/IG.
[180] Ibid.
[181] AT/016/BG.
[182] Ibid.

No Such Thing as a Job for Life.

In the 1970s, Hull suffered a jolt that did not stem from the troubled national economy, but from the changing politics of fishing. What began as a gradual transition towards the new rhythms of freezer trawling, accelerated into the unprecedented contraction and reorientation of the Hull fishery. Losing the Cod War, extensive fishing limits and the emergence of a European Common Fisheries Policy heralded a metamorphosis in distant-water trawling. In Hull, the outcome struck at certainties and dependencies that had endured for decades. The disruption sent shock waves into the social and economic structures of the entire city. As the fish trades clung on, the catching sector and its ancillaries plunged into crisis. Trawling company director Alan J. describes a general feeling of loss and anxiety that pervaded the city in the wake of this breakdown:

> … within the city there was a general feeling of *[the]* loss of the industry and I think it hit quite a few people… if you'd have asked people in the 60s, how long the fishing industry'd been there, they'd have said forever. And of course, it went steadily downhill and I think it hit a few people. I think a lot of people became more anxious about their own jobs. People would say – oh, you're all right - and they used to *[get the reply]*- oh, look what's happened on the Fish Dock.[183]

Alan suggests a legacy of insecurity:

> It certainly brought home to people that they had to be more realistic. The popular phrase when things were going down was, there isn't such a thing as a job for life anymore. Whereas a lot of people always thought, y' know, they got in these bigger companies and they were there for life. And they weren't.[184]

In the immediate aftermath of 1976, amidst uncertainty and the social and economic consequences of unemployment, came the need to find new lives and livelihoods. With little government support, Hull's deep-sea industry and community were forced to embark upon a multi-faceted quest to secure a future.

[183] AT/012/AJ.
[184] Ibid.

Chapter 7: New Horizons

The Search for Alternatives

> We've got the ships, we've got to try and do something with them.
>
> Alan J, speaking of the Marr company attitude.[1]

In seeking new futures, the companies, men and women of the former Hull trawl fishery demonstrated drive and tenacity. Prior to the final Cod War, new technologies had been embraced, but the focus of the industry had remained conservative and fixed upon traditional grounds, species and markets. The jolts of the 1970s drove this once coherent fishery towards new horizons. This chapter examines the new tacks taken by trawling companies, the fish trades and those whose livelihood had been tied to Hull's Fish Dock. Ventures met with success and failure. Common to them all was the loosening of the once close ties that for decades in Hull had bound together industry, community and district.

To mitigate contraction and losses, there was a pressing need for those tied to the deep-sea, white fish, Hull-centric trawl fishery to seek opportunity elsewhere. For those living the trawling in 1976, the industry had acquired an established sense of order, progression and permanence. Yet it had been only one hundred and forty years earlier that the Hull industry had been founded by chance, as market pressures in the south coast fisheries sent men north. Then, exploratory journeys had led to the discovery of the Silver Pits and to the subsequent expansion into the North Atlantic. In the mid-1970s, the descendants of those early entrepreneurs were amongst the leaders of the Hull trawling companies searching for new ventures. Once again, critical pressures demanded exploration and with it, the willingness to diversify into new fisheries, unfamiliar practices and other maritime sectors.

In the years immediately after the Cod Wars, Hull's trawling firms remained committed to the business of fishing. As group accountant for Marr in the 1970s, Alan J. faced the distressing task of making around 1500 redundancies across Hull and Fleetwood.[2] He outlines the dependency upon the trawling firms that existed within the distant-water fishing communities, saying, 'People clung onto the hope that… we could do something'.[3] In response, Alan remembers the tenacity with which Marr pursued new opportunities. By finding potential in diverse areas and appointing a charter manager to find new roles for laid-up trawlers,[4] Marr were able to reorient their business and keep people working.

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[1] AT/012/AJ.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

The desire to keep people, ships and industry afloat also drove Tom Boyd to pursue new options. When embarking on new ventures, Hull firms generally took their own men, who were known to them, conversant with the ships and who turned out to be remarkably adaptable. There were some unexpected challenges. The British Fishing Federation had maintained its commitment to recruitment and training, even in the midst of shedding jobs and vessels.[5] However, as the fleet scaled down, there arose the danger of not having enough crew for the remaining trawlers. The absence or irregularity of work had driven fishermen to alternative employment and the absence of an EEC fishing policy made it impossible to predict stable long term manning requirements.[6] By 1982 the Registrar for the Humber Freezer Trawler Owners Company (HFVOC) was reporting:

> … we are in a very serious crew situation. Good deckhands are not willing to sit around waiting for a fishing job, they are seeking and obtaining employment in other sea-going occupations.[7]

The casual basis of employment made it difficult to keep track of who was still an employee. The Registrar's list of available crew for February 1982 records 11 men as 'unofficially reported to me as left'.[8] In that year, HFVOC set up a centralised register to pro-actively track the availability of men.[9] For firms accustomed to the pick of good crew, the roles had been reversed. The problem was not just one of numbers, but of maintaining skills and experience. Tom Boyd remembers his concern that there would not be enough skilled bosuns, mates and deckhands for the time when he hoped to piece back together his company. Crew had left. 'We had to trawl around' he says, 'and get people back'.[10]

Home Waters: White Elephants and Red Herrings

As Tom Boyd forecast in 1976,[11] the failing battle to make a living from distant-water white fish quotas soon brought the Hull trawling fleet into home grounds. With demersal quotas barely enough to fill a ship, trawling companies, aided by the versatility of the mid-water trawl, turned their attention to other species and to pelagic fishing in particular.

[5] In March 1977, the Federation were asked if applications from port authorities to fund workforce recruitment and training should be supported given present circumstances within the industry. The Federation's view was that 'it would be a folly to reduce our training and recruitment commitments', which was necessary 'to produce the right type of crew member for the future'. HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/72. BFF. Item 77/55 in Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors held on 3rd March 1977.

[6] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/15/115. HFTOC. Minutes of a Meeting of Trawler Managers and Shipping Masters held on 19th November 1981.

[7] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/15/115. HFTOC. Letter from Registrar to all Directors dated 12th February 1982.

[8] Ibid.

[9] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/15/115. HFTOC. Minutes of a Meeting of Shipping Masters and Trawler Managers held on Thursday 26th November 1981.

[10] AT/041/TB.

[11] *FNI,* December 1976.

Their focus fell on non-quota species, which initially could be freely fished. Alongside this, companies engaged in experimental fishing for hitherto unexploited species, such as those that existed in the deep waters off the British continental shelf. Such ventures offered new UK-based opportunities for Hull's former Arctic ships and trawlermen, whilst for other Hull fishermen, home waters brought the chance to work for new masters in the diverse fisheries of the British Isles.

'Mackerelling'

The single most important opportunity for the Hull trawling fleet arose from the South-West shores of England. From the mid-1960s large overwintering shoals of mackerel had appeared off the Cornish coast. Between 1970 and 1975, mackerel fishing developed as a 'boom industry', with landings in England and Wales increasing from 3,000 to 30,000 tons.[12] Since the mid-60s handlining had been the predominant UK catching method, but from the 1970s, trawlers were taking a share. Scottish trawlers and seine netters, displaced by heavy herring fishing restrictions in the North Sea, were becoming regular visitors to Cornwall, increasingly staying for a complete mackerel season. In 1975, for the first time, the combined UK trawler and purse seiner catch exceeded that of handliners.[13] The increase in the UK landings was exceeded by the huge amounts of mackerel taken by foreign fishing effort. In 1970, the total mackerel catch reported to the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea for the English Channel and Celtic Sea by all nations was 60,000 tons. However, by 1975 the catch by foreign vessels had exceeded 300,000 tons. Eastern bloc countries and the USSR in particular were the major new arrivals on the scene.[14]

As questions were raised about the long-term impact of the onslaught for the UK fishery, the developing mackerel bonanza was watched with interest from the Humber. Trawling firms contending with restrictions, quotas and perceived unfair competition were considering new options even before the end of the final Cod War. As early as October 1975, Boyd Line sent the UK giants *Arctic Galliard* and *Arctic Buccaneer* to join the mackerel fishers.[15] Other Hull firms followed. The north ships were heading south and the move was greeted with dismay by the Cornish inshore industry. In August 1976 *Fishing News* commented:

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[12] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/70/28. Mackerel Research in the South-West. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: Directorate of Fisheries Research. Laboratory Leaflet No 32. Lowestoft, 1976, p.2.
[13] Ibid., pp.2-3.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *FN*, October 31, 1975, p.3.

> Although the Cornish fisherman in his 25ft line boat might have thought the Cod War with Iceland or the row over NEAFC quotas for herring had little to do with him, he is now finding out otherwise.[16]

Yet from the Humber perspective, there was logic and justice in sending their fleets to southern waters. Tom Boyd reflects that the move happened 'in parallel with the shrinking fishing opportunities in the Arctic'.[17] They needed a new catch. Tom feels that had Britain been able to manage its own 200-mile limit, opportunities such as the mackerel fishery could have provided adequate resources for the British freezer fleet. Mackerel could initially be fished unrestricted. However, with mounting pressure on the stock, controls were introduced, beginning with the Mackerel Protection Order in 1977 and progressing to restrictive licensing from 1980.[18] Trawler company owner Andrew Marr[19] and company director Alan J. both discuss the allocation of mackerel quotas to the freezer fleet in terms of EEC compensation for their losses in third waters. To Alan it was poor recompense. He says, '... it wasn't really in any way compensation. I mean the difference in market value of the two *[i.e. cod and mackerel]...* was enormous'.[20]

Initially, Hull firms were extracting mackerel for a reduction fishery. Fish was transported by rail to the Hull Fish Meal and Oil Co. and plans were underway to export to the Danish reduction industry.[21] In 1977, the restriction of this practice under the Mackerel Protection Order coincided with the arrival of an even greater opportunity.[22] In that year Eastern bloc fleets were excluded from the newly created European 200-mile pond. Leigh asserts that this did more than any other measure to increase possibilities for EEC fishermen.[23] By August 1977, approval had been given for a 'red fleet' of colossal Eastern European factory motherships to be based on the Cornish mackerel grounds.[24] The ships would not fish, but receive British-caught mackerel, transferred in nets or pumped aboard to feed their enormous processing capacity. Known as klondyking, this method of operating for export became the cornerstone of the UK mackerel trawl fishery. It presented a very different way of working for the men of the Arctic trawl.

Alongside klondyking, Hull companies were also finding direct new African markets for mackerel frozen at sea. The Marr Group and Boyd Line developed market opportunities in Nigeria. Andrew Marr explains that there was a strong demand for frozen

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[16] *FN,* August 13, 1976, p.9.
[17] AT/041/TB.
[18] J. Wood, C. Roberts and L. Oxley, *The Importance of Klondyking to the UK Pelagic Fishery*. Sea Fish Industry Authority, Industrial Development Unit. Internal Report No: 1272. May 1986, pp.8-6.
[19] AT/002/AM.
[20] AT/012/AJ.
[21] *FN,* September 16, 1977, p.1 & September 23, 1977, p.3.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Leigh, *European Integration*, p.91.
[24] *FN,* August 5, 1977, p.1.

fish in Africa, where fish had traditionally been consumed salted or dried. Andrew's negotiations in Nigeria led to the development of J Marr (Seafoods) Ltd as a fish-trading arm to the companies other interests.[25] Transhipment of mackerel for Africa generally took place at Milford Haven; a destination that was to acquire a new and unexpected significance for Hull men whose trips had traditionally ended at Hull's own Fish Dock. The progression in the south-west, from reduction fishery to fishing for human consumption, is a watershed in Hull's post Cod War development. For the first time, Hull ships fishing for mackerel were pursuing large catches intended almost exclusively for an export market. Hull-caught mackerel was going to Eastern Europe, West Africa and Japan. As the surviving freezer fleet fished between pelagic and demersal species, Hull ships returned less frequently to their own city with a catch bound for UK markets.

For Hull trawlermen wanting to stay in fishing, mackerel offered an important lifeline. In my research, Bob, Dave B., Bill, Jill's husband John, Christine's husband Paul and Margaret's brother Harold all transferred to mackerel fishing. There were lessons to learn. Pelagic fish shoal in high numbers and Alan J remembers that in the early days mackerel was caught in excess of the trawler's freezing capacity. The company instructed skippers to take just a fraction of the shoal: no more than the 50 tons that could be processed and frozen in the two days before the oily fish became rancid. But for men versed in pursuing the big catch, old habits died hard. Alan says, 'If they were on a fish shop as they used to call it, they'd catch as much as they can'.[26] Cultural conditioning aside, grabbing a small corner of a big shoal was not easy. Skipper Bob remembers the appearance on the fish sounder of a black ball indicating mackerel. He explains 'there could be hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of tons in that black ball'.[27] It was a case of clipping the edge and towing for as little as five minutes. 'You couldn't actually tow your net through that ball' he says, 'cos you'd finish up with no trawl'.[28] As an oily fish that deteriorates quickly, mackerel was transhipped or frozen whole very soon after being caught. Deckhand Bill D. missed the variety of his former role of gutting and storing fish. With Arctic fishing, he says 'every day there was a different thing happened. You never knew what you was gonna do or what come up'.[29] Arctic cod demanded a hunt. If you caught it you felt lucky. To Bill, mackerel was perhaps too predictable and he says, 'It was there. Once you were on top of the mark, you knew that trawl was full'.[30] Dave B. also

[25] AT/002/AM.
[26] AT/012/AJ.
[27] AT/026/BJ.
[28] Ibid.
[29] AT/028/BD.
[30] Ibid.

recalls the sheer size of the hauls, saying 'I'd never seen a bag o' fish like it'.[31] As a trawler engineer his concern was how to deal with it. Freezing pelagic species in a temperate climate presented a different challenge to handling cod caught in icy seas. Dave remembers a constant battle against heat, generated by the oily fish itself and aided by the environment of the ship.[32] It was a learning curve and he recalls onboard disagreements over the correct approach.[33]

The klondyking system helped to overcome the restrictions posed by trawler freezing capacity. Bob describes the transfer process in terms that evoke a production line:

> Russians and Poles was anchored in a bay… the company use to say, go to so-and-so ship, he's your next ship. And then you went alongside him and he just took all the fish off you and then you left that one, went and caught some more fish and then the company'd say go to that ship then. And that's how we carried on.[34]

Fish frozen at sea was run into local ports. Plymouth and Falmouth developed as prominent mackerel ports, competing with the traditional inshore mackerel fishery at Newlyn. In South Wales, mackerel was landed at Milford Haven, which became an important transhipment port for the Hull trawlers. Here fish would be loaded into refrigerated vessels. Alan J explains that much of their catch went to Nigeria:

> … four or five companies were buying most of the fish in Nigeria. They were all Indian trading companies based in Nigeria that were buying the fish and they used to send refrigerated vessels… nobody ever sent anything less than 15 hundred tons at a time. But you had vessels taking three and a half, four thousand tons at a time.[35]

Fish was not going exclusively to Nigeria. Dave B. remembers landing frozen fish that was taken to Japanese vessels. There were new cross-cultural experiences to savour. The Japanese produced what Dave describes as a spicy white sausage from the fish. He recalls, 'we actually brought one aboard to try it. And it was just disgusting (laughing), so, don't know why they liked it that much, but they could have as much fish as they wanted."[36]

By the late 1970s all the Hull companies were working on the west coast mackerel grounds. The HFVOA rented accommodation and facilities from the Milford Docks Company, resulting in the growth of a Hull colony in the Welsh port.[37] Arrivals and departures were no longer confined to Hull's Fish Dock. Trawlers generally stayed in the

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[31] AT/040/DB.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] AT/026/BJ.
[35] AT/012/AG.
[36] AT/040/DB.
[37] HCA (HC) Ref: DBTH/15. HFVOA. The minutes of the Governing Bodies record increasing activity and involvement with premises and facilities at Milford Haven from mid-1977.

west for the entire mackerel season. Men left and returned to Hull by coach or by taxi. It was not just fishermen who frequented Milford Haven. Engineers X and Philip travelled there to service equipment aboard the Hull fleet. With ships away, there was even less work in Hull for the already diminished ancillary trades. Philip explains that some of the maintenance work at Milford Haven would go to local Welsh companies. However, on occasion engineers from Hull would be sent 'because they knew the ships better'.[38] X remembers seeing familiar companies and faces in the Welsh port: fitters, electricians and shipwrights. He laughs, saying, 'it was like Little Hull down there sometimes'.[39]

The Hull migration was not welcomed by all. Tensions between the expanding trawling fleets and the local inshore fishermen gathered pace throughout the decade. The British Fishing Federation handled complaints, ranging from freezer vessels processing at night with all lights blazing to their ships trawling through fleets of small mackerel jigging boats.[40] With the mackerel fishery of key importance in their attempts to repurpose, the Federation strove to avoid confrontation that could lead to their banishment from the six-mile limit and 'a further nail in the coffin of the trawling industry'. [41]

Regardless of the efforts of Hull owners and fishermen, the colossal rise in fishing effort inevitably led to overfishing. Mackerel quotas were introduced from 1977. However, ongoing miscalculations of fishing effort, vague and optimistic stock assessments and the ambiguous status of TAC recommendations in the absence of an agreed fishing policy, resulted in poor regulation, confused guidance, the early halting of fishing seasons and the reduction of quotas.[42] In 1979, to protect the seriously depleted stock, freezer trawlers and seine netters were excluded from a Government imposed 'Cornish Mackerel Box' and the fleet's attention was redirected to the mackerel stocks in the North-West of Ireland and Outer Hebrides.[43] In 1982, the Government decided to withhold licences to the Eastern bloc factory ships that had been visiting the Cornish mackerel grounds since 1977.[44] The need for regulation was clear, but the chaotic implementation once more saw Hull ships unable to make a profit. As fleets turned once again to the north, the Hull ships missed out, this time to the Scots. Tom Boyd explains:

> … the quotas just came down and down and the Scots had very adequate quotas. Politically they were more attractive, I suppose and they got the

[38] AT/21/PB.
[39] Interview with X. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 17 April, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/014/X.
[40] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/73. BFF. Memorandum, Agenda Item 6 for Meeting of the Board of Directors to be held on 1 December 1977.
[41] Ibid.
[42] For example, see *FN*, February 23, 1979, p.1; September 14, 1979, p.3; January 11, 1980, p.1; *WF*, December 1982, pp.18-19.
[43] *The Importance of Klondyking*, SFIA.
[44] *WF*, December 1982, p.19.

> quotas, which enabled them more or less to survive. And we just didn't have sufficient quotas to keep the ships operating.[45]

Hull trawlermen once again found themselves unable to make a living. Falling quotas meant falling sea-time and falling earnings. Dave B. calculated that in the end, there was only likely to be three or four weeks work for him per year. He decided to come ashore, saying, 'so that's when I gave it up, when they started quota-ing. I thought, this is just not worth it. There's no work. Y' know, you weren't allowed to work'.[46]

However, for almost a decade after the final Cod War, the western mackerel fishery helped to keep hundreds of Hull trawlermen at sea and provided work for the depleted ancillary trades. It was a different experience to that of the Arctic and in Hull it developed its own parlance. The term 'Mackerelling' came to signify novel techniques, new markets, warmer seas and overland journeys to southern ports. It is a term that when spoken conveys something different to 'fishing'. Fishing meant departing from Hull for distant icy waters and for cod.

New Species and Bog-Eyed Monsters

Mackerel was not the only species considered by the UK distant-water industry as an alternative to cod. From the mid-1970s, with cod stock pressure and looming limits, the British Government had funded research into potential new fishing options within its home waters. The development of new fisheries was never merely a question of extracting the resource. Attention was given to cost, fish handling and processing and to available or potential markets. Consumer preferences had to be taken into account, which in Britain meant working against an extremely conservative fish eating tradition. Nevertheless, the process began with the identification of available fish. Here the White Fish Authority and other research agencies worked in consultation with the British Fishing Federation and exploratory journeys often took place in the vessels of interested Hull trawling firms.

By 1980, alongside mackerel, potential investment opportunities had been identified for horse mackerel, sprats and pilchards and an array of shellfish.[47] The Government had rejected research into the pursuit of Antarctic krill.[48] Instead, they pinned their biggest hopes on blue whiting, which could be exploited much closer to home. Blue whiting, a pelagic fish of the cod family, existed in significant quantities in very deep

[45] AT/041/TB.
[46] AT/040/DB.
[47] HCA (HC) Ref: DBTH/20/78. BFF. Agenda Item for a Meeting of the Board of Directors to be held on 7 February 1980. Programme for Improving the Processing and Marketing of Fish and Fish Products in England and Wales under EEC Regulations 355/77, points 68-93.
[48] *FNI*, August 1976, p.21.

water off the continental shelf to the west of the British Isles.[49] Prior to 1974, there had been very little fishing effort on the stock[50] and it was hoped that markets could be developed, not only for fish meal, but for human consumption. In 1974 and 1975, Hull vessels *St. Benedict* and *Arctic Princess* were engaged in blue whiting exploratory voyages.[51] Yet whilst some firms were keen to get involved, others were less enthusiastic. In March 1976, certain members of the British Fishing Federation felt that defining fishing limits should be their priority and there was a consensus that the industry should 'keep relatively quiet on blue whiting fishing until it was possible to regard it as a recognised food fish'.[52] Nevertheless, other firms retained their involvement in the experiments. By the late 1970s, progress had been made in the battle to process these small bony fish into marketable products and consumer trials had received promising feedback from the reticent, cod-loving British housewife.[53]

As other nations, Norway in particular, showed an interest in blue whiting for fish meal, the British trawling industry needed to establish an historic preference for the species, to gain a foothold against future competition.[54] However, in 1978 UK catchers lost considerable sums in an experimental commercial blue whiting season.[55] As the fish disappeared within the non-accessible Faroese limits, Hull's Boyd Line lost £250,000 and henceforth withdrew from the fishery.[56] In 1979 and 1980 significant blue whiting landings by Hull trawling firms Marr and Hamlings proved that with the right conditions the fish could be caught.[57] However, the catch sold as pet food and fish meal. The outcome was a far cry from the anticipated new consumer fishery and the interest of the distant-water industry was waning.

Alongside non-traditional but recognisable species such as blue whiting, more extreme experimentation was also taking place in the very deep waters off the continental shelf. Here fish with strange names and unfamiliar profiles were pulled from the depths in the hope that a viable fishery may be discovered. But if mackerel and blue whiting presented a challenge to the British consumer, then the likes of scabbard and monkfish

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[49] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/70/32. Blue Whiting. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: Directorate of Fisheries Research. Laboratory Leaflet No 45. Lowestoft, 1979, pp.1-2.
[50] Ibid., p.2.
[51] *FNI*, September 1976, p.97.
[52] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/69. BFF. Item 76/38 in Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors on 4 March 1976.
[53] *FNI*, January 1977, pp.63-67.
[54] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/74. BFF. Item 78/02 for Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors on 12 January 1978.
[55] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/75. BFF. Memorandum. Agenda Item 8 for Meeting of the Board of Directors on 5 October 1978, p.3.
[56] *FN*, April 6, 1979, p.1.
[57] *FN,* May 18, 1979, p.2 & April 25, 1980, p.1.

were unlikely to make it to the table. Moreover, the complexities of catching and processing these fish further conspired to keep such species off the menu.

Several of my respondents had experienced the experimental fishing of the 1970s. Their recollections illustrate some of the reasons why these endeavours were unable to reinvigorate the industry. Alan H. worked on several White Fish Authority investigations. The species living 'down the cliff face' of the continental shelf were, he says, 'edible, but not particularly marketable'.[58] Orange roughy, successful in New Zealand, could be found in deep water off North-West Britain. However, Alan remembers that is was, '…very difficult fishing. You were really expecting people to be fishing at depths of 2,000 meters or 3,000 meters and it's a long way to put a trawl down and bring it up empty'.[59] It wasn't just trawling companies that needed to be adventurous. Fish merchants David L. and Chris reflect upon the challenges of enticing the British consumer. To Chris, the experiments were destined to fail. He says, '… no pun intended – it's a red herring. Because, tell me this, have you ever eaten any unusual fish? … when it comes to eating fish we're *[the British]* very conservative'.[60] David lists some of the unusual names amongst the fish being investigated; scabbard, monkfish, rabbit fish, rat-tail. He explains, 'you couldn't produce that into a pack to go into the supermarket, because simply nobody would buy it'.[61] Alan J. recalls how selling a fish called rat-tail 'brought its own problems'. [62] It was marketed under the more attractive name of grenadier fish. However, the strong taste and limited usable flesh did not endear such species to the British consumer or to the industry. Tom Boyd recalls that a reference by a fish representative of one respected international company to these 'bog-eyed monsters from the deep' did little to help.[63]

Blue whiting, the strongest contender for the UK consumer market, also proved problematic. Alan J. recalls the Marr Company's involvement:

> Findus[64] and Birds Eye suggested we might try looking at this species called blue whiting, which we did. We caught a couple of hundred tons and Birds Eye and Findus and one or two other companies played around with it. Birds Eye and Findus particularly thought they could use it to turn into fish fingers, but it was very, very small fish…[65]

Alan explains that small fish had to be processed by hand, which added to labour costs. Deckhand Thomas remembers the unpopularity of the blue whiting with those processing

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[58] AT/005/AH.
[59] Ibid.
[60] AT/006/CG.
[61] AT/010/DL.
[62] AT/012/AJ.
[63] AT/041/TB.
[64] In 1979, the Findus annex in Wassand Street, Hessle Road, Hull, was the centre for a major blue whiting processing experiment, putting Findus and Hull at the forefront of the potential new fishery. *WF*, June 1979, p.95.
[65] AT/012/AJ, p.13.

the fish at sea. He recalls, 'I think the biggest fish was about three inches long. Y' know, you imagine tryn'a gut a ton – one ton of these fish at three inches long. It took us about a day and half, two days and that was everybody.[66] In Thomas' narrative, on one experimental journey the crew's dislike of gutting blue whiting led to dispute.[67] Back ashore its small size helped to make blue whiting unviable as a commercial foodstuff. Alan J. concludes that the labour cost was, '…too great a proportion to the final product and it rapidly became obvious that there was nothing we could do with the blue whiting as far as human consumption was concerned.[68] Fish meal was considered. Alan says, 'Again, we played around with it. The industry looked at it, but it just really wasn't viable'.[69] Tom Boyd reached the same conclusion. His company tried horse mackerel and blue ling, but they didn't take off: 'No' he says, '… you've got to catch them in quite big dollops. And consistently be able to form a market'.[70]

Throughout the 1970s, Hull companies, ships and men played an important role in the search for new species. Ultimately participation did not result in the hoped for long-term opportunities. It is tempting to speculate that had the investigations taken place a decade earlier, alongside a functioning cod fishery, then the vagaries of experimentation may have been more easily weathered. In the late 1970s however, losses from experimental fishing came in the midst of other obstacles and crises for the industry that made its continuation untenable. Yet it was precisely these circumstances that had spurred the new thinking. In the absence of impediment, it is questionable if a quest to shift from cod would have happened at all.

Sailing for New Masters

The Hull distant-water companies were not the only option open to Hull trawlermen wanting to remain in fishing. Within home waters, there were opportunities to work for new masters in an array of inshore and middle water fisheries, enabling distant-water men to continue their careers on coastal grounds. My respondents include three men who after 1976 ventured into coastal fishing, away from the familiar firms of Hull's Fish Dock. During a nine-month period of unemployment, Jill's husband John took work aboard two skipper-owned small boats fishing from Scarborough. Jill recalls that the job required cultural adjustment. Trips were short, between seven and fourteen days and as a family-

[66] AT/037/TN. The Torry Research Station publication *Handling and Processing Blue Whiting* suggests that the average size of blue whiting from the British north-west coast is between 25 and 36 cm. Ref: http://www.fao.org/wairdocs/tan/x5952e/x5952e01.htm, (Accessed 14 July 2014).
[67] AT/037/TN.
[68] AT/012/AJ.
[69] Ibid.
[70] AT/041/TB.

based coastal operation, fishing took place around family commitments. This did not suit John, used to the isolation and independence of the Arctic. Jill explains:

> They'd go out in the North Sea. But half the time they was coming back, because they was radio-ing him… there was always a problem at home and they'd come back. And he went *[said]* - I can't be doing wi' that. So he left…[71]

For Kevin, transition from distant-water trawling to seine netting proved a happier experience. During the difficulties of the late 1970s, Kevin remembers the moment that he decided to make the transfer. In the Fish Dock tradition, he was tipped off by a friend who worked for the Hull Boston Company's fleet of eight seine netters, the only small boats working from the port:

> Well, a mate o' mine more or less told me. I was walking off the dock one day and he'd landed 220 kit and he had like 400 quid to pick up, cos it was prime fish. And I was walking off the dock with about 27 quid for landing 3,000 kit. And I went *[said]* - that's it, I'm off (laughing).[72]

Kevin followed the seiner fleet when it was sold to Consolidated Fisheries in Grimsby and continued in this line of fishing for the next 30 years. For Kevin, the small boat system was preferable. He worked under a share arrangement and felt more in control of his working life. 'When you went seine netting' he explains, 'you were your own gaffer'.[73]

The move to other companies could have unpredictable outcomes. With the creation of the EEC common pond, there emerged a practice of foreign owned vessels re-registering in Britain, enabling them to fish on UK quotas, whilst still landing in their native port.[74] The UK's 'liberal registration arrangements' made the country an easy target for such 'quota hoppers'.[75] Throughout the 1980s Britain tried to halt the practice. Spain were not the only culprits, but as the country awaited entry into the EEC, a 'flag of convenience' regime increasingly brought Spanish vessels to British shores. With them came employment opportunities for redundant British trawlermen. John K. had fished for one year from Lowestoft and had subsequently been made redundant from a shore job at a local tannery, when he took up the chance to fish for a Spanish company. He explains, 'it was people talking again in the *[Hull]* pubs. And then there was a man coming round after people and I signed and then they picked me up and we went to Ireland to join the ship'.[76] John was under the impression that the Spanish ships needed a percentage British crew to

[71] AT/033/JL.
[72] AT/031/KL.
[73] Ibid.
[74] *WF*, April 1983.
[75] *WF*, September 1987, p.27.
[76] AT/027/JK.

allow them to work in UK waters.[77] Hull offered a promising recruiting ground. John fished in the English Channel and Irish Sea, sometimes landing at UK ports, sometimes at La Coruna in Spain. However, it became apparent that John's wife at home was not receiving his wages and in nearly a year of working with the company, John was never fully paid. It was an experience shared by others working for such firms. On taking a chance away from Hull, John had been forced to sacrifice the security of recognised and dependable firms. On this occasion there was a price to pay. He reflects, 'I was one of the unlucky ones. I was in a ship where you got robbed. The others, some of them got paid…', but for John, he 'didn't get anything actually, hardly, no'.[78]

The Gift of Oil

> God has given Britain her best opportunity for one hundred years in the shape of North Sea oil.'
>
> Prime Minister James Callaghan, 1977.[79]

In home waters, alongside the efforts to secure new long-term fishing opportunities, there dawned a promising new prospect, not just for the ailing fishing industry, but for Britain's troubled maritime economy. From the mid-1960s Britain experienced a 'third industrial revolution' with the discovery of gas and oil in the North Sea. By 1967, gas was produced off the east coast of England, followed in 1975 by oil from the eastern Scottish coast.[80] The benefits of these discoveries to Britain's sagging maritime industries were potentially substantial. Jamison, examining Britain's shipbuilding and shipping companies and their involvement in the construction and operation of oil rigs and platforms, found their contribution to be small. However, one area where the nation gained greater success was in the provision of services to the offshore infrastructure.[81] It is here that distant-water trawlers and trawlermen, made redundant by the contraction of one sea-going industry, found roles in an expanding maritime boom.

The offshore gas and oil industry developed rapidly in the 1970s, encouraged by the oil crises, which elsewhere were compounding the problems of the struggling distant-water fishery. To support the expansion a fleet of vessels was needed for platform supply, safety and standby work, anchor handling, surveying, diving support and pipe-laying.[82]

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[77] Based on a research interview with trawlerman George Crellin, Loader suggests that Spanish trawlers required two British crewmen to enable them to fish in UK waters. Source: J. Loader, *The Decline of Hull's Fishing Industry in the Last Quarter of the 20th Century,* Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Hull, September 2010.
[78] AT/027/JK.
[79] Quoted in A. Jamieson, *Ebb Tide in the British Maritime Industries: Change and Adaptation 1918-1990* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003), p.126.
[80] Ibid., pp.142-46.
[81] Ibid, p146-154.
[82] Ibid. p.146.

Yarmouth and Lowestoft in the south and Aberdeen and Peterhead in the north became important offshore support centres.[83] These ports, like Hull, had suffered from the changing dynamics of fishing. For a nascent gas and oil industry in need of vessels, such ports had ships to spare. A history of Aberdeen fishing firm George Craig and Son records that in the mid-1970s companies were 'desperate to grab just about anything that floated' to support their offshore establishments.[84] In the long term, vessels specifically designed as support craft were brought into commission. In the meantime, the rugged deep-sea trawlers built to withstand treacherous seas fitted nicely into the gap.

In common with Lowestoft and Aberdeen companies, Hull's trawling firms also took the opportunity to offer laid-up vessels for charter. Ventures were pursued with varying levels of zeal. When the chance arose, Tom Boyd immediately placed his company's vessels on oil rig standby duty. His father, however, was less eager, believing in the durability of fishing over the lure of lucrative, but time-limited, extractive industries. In the short term, such an enterprise would have eased the company's cash flow, but the opportunity was missed; something that Tom feels was a 'serious mistake'.[85] At the time of its sale in 1983, the Boston Company, working across several ports including Hull, was operating twenty-seven converted trawlers in the North Sea gas and oil fields as Boston Offshore Safety Ltd.[86]

The Marr Group was particularly energetic in their engagement with the new sector. A number of older ships were transferred to standby roles, yet it was in the field of exploration that the company excelled. Following the charter of their trawler *Criscilla* in 1976 for an oil exploration survey north of the Shetlands, the company went on to acquire, convert and manage a growing fleet of survey vessels under the subsidiary of J. Marr Shipping Ltd.[87] Following their success in oil exploration, the company went on to undertake varied seismic and scientific survey work all over the world. With an investment cost of millions the fishing company Marr, just like its Aberdeen counterpart the Craig Group, turned a stop-gap foray into oil into a major new facet of their business.[88] Andrew Marr reflects that the converted freezer trawler survey ships were soon 'enjoying better returns than in the heyday of fishing'. Furthermore, it provided 'a great leap forward for us as other companies were going out of business'.[89]

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[83] Ibid, p.116.
[84] J. Cresswell, *Time and Tide: The Story of the Craig Group* (Aberdeen: The Craig Group, 2003), p.43.
[85] AT/041/TB.
[86] B. Parkes, *Trawlings of a Lifetime* (Penrith: Cumberland and Westmoreland Herald, 1991), p.238; Thompson, *Stern Trawling Fleet*, p.20.
[87] Marr Story, pp.51-61.
[88] AT/012/AJ; Cresswell, *Time and Tide.*
[89] AT/02/AM.

Just as in their fishing ventures the Hull companies that diversified into oil rig support took their Hull crews with them. In the early days, trawlers chartered for oil rig service were able to remain in the membership of the HFVOA. It was agreed in 1975 that if a suitable 'call' was paid by the vessel owners, fishermen would retain their entitlement to Association benefits such as holiday pay, life insurance and pensions, just as if they were fishing.[90] The fortuitous discovery of the North Sea gas and oil fields, just as British distant-water trawling was facing decline is widely observed by my respondents, regardless of whether they were personally involved in the new industry. Former skipper Ken reflects:

> Oh, you could sit and think that if *[the oil]* industry wasn't there, it would've been a complete disaster. We would've had something like four, five thousand men around with nothing to do... so it really was an answer to everybody's problems.[91]

Former trawlermen became numerous amongst those working in offshore support roles. During his years in the sector, Victor reflects that crews were often composed of 'refugees from the fishing industry'.[92] Of those fishermen interviewed, seven had spent time in the service of oil: a significant number within a small research sample. Not all had remained with Hull companies. Some took work with other British or foreign firms working in the North Sea. Others went to work in the oil industry worldwide. Oil did not only provide for fishermen. Following redundancy in 1980, shore-based radio technician X overcame seasickness to return as a ship's radio operator for the Marr survey fleet, before eventually settling to a career onboard the North Sea rigs themselves.[93]

For the oil industry, trawlermen were a welcome addition. It was not only the ships, but the crews that could endure the difficult environment of the North Sea. In his post-fishing role with the White Fish Authority, Ken crossed paths with oil industry representatives. He recalls:

> ... I don't know how many times that I heard oil company owners, managers, saying how pleased they were with fishermen, because they had no problem, they would be out there in any weather. They were hard working...[94]

Three main areas of offshore support were reported in interviews; standby vessels; anchor handling and supply ships; and survey and pipe-laying. There are striking differences in remembered experience within each sector. The older sidewinder trawlers

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[90] HCA (HC) Ref: DBTH/15/39. HFVOA. Item MC/29/75(a)(i) in Minutes of a Meeting of the Management Committee on 26 March 1975 and Agenda Item 2(a) for a Meeting of the Management Committee on 23 April 1975.
[91] AT/018/KK.
[92] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[93] AT/014/X.
[94] AT/018/KK.

were well-suited for standby work and this role features prominently in narratives. Yet whilst standby contracts provided jobs, they did little to deliver job satisfaction. Hard working fishermen struggled to adjust to a new pace of life. In the 1960s, when considering the appropriate length of rest breaks onboard a trawler, the Holland Martin Safety Report had rejected the union's call for twelve continuous hours. It concluded:

> ... fishermen are hunters who would resent long periods of confined idleness at sea, and a break as long as twelve hours in the confined conditions on a trawler would not only be longer than is needed for recovery from fatigue, but might well also in current circumstances create a problem of boredom.[95]

It is precisely the problem of boredom that was reported by trawlermen who went to work on the standby ships. Even those who did not go themselves, remember such reactions from their former colleagues, firmly embedding the matter within the realms of collective memory. The requirement for standby vessels resulted from the collapse of the Sea Gem oil rig in 1965 with the loss of thirteen lives.[96] Thereafter the role of the standby vessel was to be on hand to rescue or evacuate in the event of difficulties. Deckhand Bill D. went to work on standby for a former fishing company based in Lowestoft. He describes his experience:

> Bill: A lot of us went there... Some of the lads who I knew was out there, so I sez, I'll try it.
>
> Jo (Researcher): And how did you find that?
>
> Bill: Boring! Absolutely boring. Believe me, I've never been so bored in my life. Just sat there waiting... not for summat to happen. I mean, *[we]* used to sling a dummy off the ship, used to go pick it up, bring it back. That was just going up and down, up and down. That won't for us. We was used to work. We all the time was working – catching fish, putting it away. That was earning money.[97]

Bill left after a year due to an injury, but he doesn't feel that he could have endured it for much longer.[98] Skipper Bob went to work on standby, again from Lowestoft, when the Hull trawling firm Hamlings went into liquidation. Bob also remembers it as boring, contrasting it to the non-stop, day and night activity of fishing. However, he felt that the standby companies looked after their seafarers and the job offered stability. Bob stayed on standby vessels until 2004. He describes a process of adjustment and acceptance, demonstrating a new type of endurance in the face of less stimulating work:

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95 Holland-Martin*,* *Trawler Safety*, p.63.
96 Dukes Wood Oil Museum, http://www.dukeswoodoilmuseum.co.uk/sea-gem.htm, (Accessed 30 July, 2014).
97 AT/028/BD.
98 Ibid.

> ... fishermen were too hard working to be able to put up with it. But the more you put up with it and you knew there was no work anywhere else, you just did it and did it and did it...[99]

Laurie and Victor also went into the offshore support sector, this time undertaking supply and anchor handling roles. Laurie describes himself as 'a North Sea taxi driver'. He missed the autonomy of commanding a fishing vessel, saying, 'when you was in charge of a trawler, you was in charge of the trawler'.[100] Working on a charter, you had to go where you were told and he concludes 'I didn't like it at all really'.[101] Victor, however, enjoyed the work and continued for 20 years until retirement. He initially transferred from standby, which in common with others, he saw as un-demanding. Instead he was attracted to the supply and anchor work, which involved greater variety. The tug-like anchor handlers, built to tow and manoeuver the anchors of the oil platforms, were ideal vessels for ex-trawlermen. Victor explains that, '…the job was fairly easy for ex-fishermen because they were used to using gear that ran through wires, blocks and that sort of thing, so it was a job that they found fairly easy to adapt to'.[102]

Another area where gear handling skills were in demand was aboard survey and pipe-laying vessels. Skipper Michael P. had been working for Marr on several post-Cod War projects overseas when he was called back to Aberdeen to retrain as skipper of dynamic positioning vessels; ships with technology to maintain a precise course in deep waters. With his new certificate he was able to command pipe-laying and survey ships, which were often converted stern trawlers. His first big job was a North Sea pipeline from Norway to Belgium and this was followed by work on exploratory seismic surveys.[103] Both tasks demanded the ability to manoeuvre a ship whilst manipulating and towing heavy and expensive gear; actions that were second nature to the trawler skipper. Michael recalls a new type of working partnership, with onboard scientific teams directing the technical procedure, whilst drawing upon the skills of the skipper to ensure safe implementation at sea, for as Michael reflects, '...the people you're working with on the ship, they're all university lads or ladies, who's not used to wrecks on the sea bed and things like that in general...'.[104]

For the Hull fishing industry, the discovery of North Sea gas and oil was indeed a gift. The expansion of the oil industry as the fishing fleet contracted offered opportunity to ships, firms and men. In time and specifically in the wake of the 1988 Piper Alpha oil rig

[99] AT/026/BJ.
[100] Interview with Laurie Wileman. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 12 July 2103. Transcript Ref: AT/025/LW.
[101] Ibid.
[102] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[103] AT/004/MP.
[104] Ibid.

disaster, more specialist offshore support vessels were introduced.[105] However, in the decade after 1976 it was the buoyant vessels and robust men, the 'refugees' of the British distant-water fishing fleets, who stepped into such roles. The new jobs offered relative stability and a reliable living. But they also required adjustment. In the standby sector in particular, fishermen who once pursued the big catch had to switch to a mind set in which they hoped their intervention would not be necessary. The result was boredom. However, other roles were more engaging and for all those working in the North Sea there was the chance for more generous breaks at home. For those engaged in exploration, the situation was different. For Michael, working for Marr in the North Sea was just the beginning of a series of survey contracts that eventually took him to places as distant as Vietnam, America and India.[106] After the Cod Wars, rather than move into home waters, Michael became part of a posse of Hull trawlermen and trawling firms who, in seeking out new opportunities, increasingly found themselves scattered all over the world.

Far-Flung

A Globalising Industry

The South-West England mackerel fishery had brought Hull trawlers into home waters, focussing for the first time upon overseas distribution and disrupting the long-established dependency upon home markets and home port. After 1976, Hull companies increasingly functioned within an international arena and the men of the former Arctic trawl found themselves spread worldwide in what was fast evolving into a globalised fishing industry. The limited focus and domestic markets of the traditional Hull fishery had been by no means unique. Wilcox observes that early constraints in technology and available markets had tied many Northern European fishermen to the North Atlantic and to landing at their home port.[107] However, the years following the Second World War saw the spatial expansion of European activity. From the 1960s, the need for Eastern Bloc states to secure cheap protein caused them to become prolific fish catchers. Drawing upon freezer technology, they extended their reach beyond the North Atlantic into the South Atlantic, Africa and Pacific. Mediterranean nations also increased their catching effort in the waters of Africa and the Indian Ocean.[108] However, in Northern Europe, Britain and Germany

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105 Cresswell, *Time and Tide*, pp.44-45.
106 AT/004/MP.
107 M. Wilcox, 'Beyond the North Sea' in D. J. Starkey and I. Heidbrink (eds.), *A History of the North Atlantic Fisheries: From the 1850s to the Early Twenty-First Century* (Bremen: Verlag HM Hauschild, 2012), p.307.
108 Ibid., pp.307-309.

continued as before. Until the 'pull' of new opportunities was compounded by the political 'push' of fishing limits, there did not seem to be a need for change.[109]

The threat posed by technologically advanced and roaming fleets undoubtedly spurred the rapid expansion of 200-mile EEZ. By 1979 the number of EEZ's had increased to over ninety worldwide.[110] The EEZ gave control to the coastline nation to manage its own fishery efficiently, so to avoid overfishing and collapse. For countries wishing to fish in another nation's waters, an agreement had to be reached, which generally involved a financial or other reciprocal benefit for the coastline state. For European members of the Common Market, such negotiations were the responsibility of the EEC. Although EEC negotiations initially focused upon maintaining access to the traditional grounds of member states, from the late 1970s agreements were expanding geographically and sometimes controversially, with the aim of supporting European markets and keeping European excess fishing capacity at sea.[111] EEZs provided an opportunity for nations with small-scale fisheries to expand their industry. In joint ventures, developed countries could offer new fisheries the chance to draw upon the skills and experience of established fishing nations. For developing nations, overseas partnerships could bring aid or payment. Partnerships could also secure the resources needed for growing processing sectors or could secure access to overseas markets in an increasingly globalised fish export economy.

As a leading fishing nation, the British distant-water industry potentially had much to offer and to gain by entering into overseas ventures. Some have criticised the limited level of overseas engagement that was undertaken by UK distant-water firms. In a 1986 interview with Euro MP James Provan, a *World Fishing* journalist suggested that with the exception of Spain, other European distant-water fishing interests, including the UK, had shown little entrepreneurial spirit.[112] Provan agreed that the UK fleet had indeed missed opportunities. There had been, he says, '…plenty of fishing available off Canada, off the Americas, etc, if they had been prepared to go and do it, and they weren't; they would probably have done well'.[113] Peter, who emigrated to Canada in the early 1970s for a fisheries management position, shared his own disappointment that Hull trawling firms did not follow, but instead preferred to 'chase the same old thing'.[114] Yet for Northern Europeans steeped in a home port tradition and only beginning to come to terms with territorialisation and a global arena, the move towards worldwide operation required a

[109] Ibid., pp.309-310.
[110] *WF*, October 1979, p.5.
[111] A. Le Sann, *A Livelihood From the Sea: Globalisation and Sustainable Fisheries Policies* (London: Intermediate Technologies Publications, 1998).
[112] *WF*, February 1986, p.5.
[113] Ibid.
[114] AT/017/PM.

massive shift in outlook. There were also practical hurdles to overcome. As will be seen, overseas ventures were far from stable. They required substantial investment and in his article Provan does concede that the Government had offered little financial support to secure the right conditions for entrepreneurship.[115] Furthermore, UK involvement with joint ventures could result in unwanted concessions, such as a reciprocal influx of overseas fish to depress home markets.

In Hull, there was another factor anchoring the fleet to home. For almost a century the HFVOA had built up dockside services, facilities and subsidiary businesses located in the home port, to serve and profit from the North Atlantic trawl fishery. The divergence of the surviving fleet away from the city would put these facilities (and the resources invested in them) under pressure. Earlier, Peter reported his impression that trawler owners could not conceive of their ships not returning to Hull. The mackerel fishery had already begun a process where trawlers returned less regularly to the port. Operating away from the city had a knock on effect in the struggle to keep the home port and its long-established investments financially viable and perhaps this contributed to any reticence to engage more fully overseas. The traditional Hull trawl fishery was an industry with a strong home base. A shift to a more nomadic operation might be costly in business terms and would require a rapid and substantial adjustment in outlook and practical organisation. Furthermore, it would require the psychological leap of relinquishing the Fish Dock, along with the home port structures and dependencies that had accrued over a century of trawling.

Despite constraining factors, it would be wrong to suggest that Hull trawling firms did not engage overseas in the difficult years after 1976. Their involvement was modest, never matching the zeal of nations such as Spain or the states of the Eastern Bloc. Yet at times it was not without vigour. Through the various mechanisms of EEC joint ventures, private partnerships and the sale of vessels, Hull companies sought new horizons and sent their ships to fish on new continents. With them went Hull crews, keen to work and happy to try new fisheries in warmer climes. For those unable to fish with Hull firms, just as there had been in home waters, there was the chance to work directly for new overseas masters. This was not always plain sailing and in the new global environment it was wise for firms and for men to proceed with caution. On a more stable platform, oil also offered worldwide opportunities for former trawlermen, just as it had in the North Sea. In the years after the Cod Wars, the tight knit networks of Hull's Fish Dock went global, as the hard working men of the Northern trawl plied their trade and skills in increasingly more distant seas.

[115] *WF*, February 1986, p.5

Leaving Home

My research sample includes nine Hull trawlermen who after the Cod Wars pursued opportunities overseas.[116] The foray could be short-lived. Dave and X, for example, spent short spells on fishery and seismic projects overseas before settling to other careers. In a twist of circumstance, Bob had a brief sojourn in Iceland, waiting with another Hull skipper at Partisfjord to take command of new trawlers for the Icelandic company Oddi.[117] As Iceland built up its fishing capacity, Bob explains that firms wanted to benefit from the knowledge of Hull skippers. He says that the Icelandics, 'didn't know their own grounds' and wanted 'people to really show them how to work'.[118] Hull men had worked Arctic grounds for decades and Bob contends that such men knew 'more about Icelandic waters than the Icelandics did'.[119] But the new vessels were never to materialise. Bob spent his time working in the company's fish salting factory, with the occasional trip on the firm's existing ships. In the sensitive post Cod War era, as they waited, Bob could not help but feel that they were being taken 'as idiots' and that this was a way of keeping the Hull skippers in their place. After 11 months in Iceland, when the ships failed to appear, Bob gave up and returned home to standby work in the North Sea.[120]

For others working overseas became a more permanent career choice. Michael's narrative illustrates this. Following his first trip transporting two Marr trawlers to new African owners, Michael's career takes a dominant overseas emphasis. Often, but not always, for Marr, he worked in the waters of Africa, America, Asia and occasionally Europe, staying away from home for months at a time. For those working in association with Hull companies, the length of time spent abroad could depend upon the success of the venture. Hull firms became involved with a mix of projects that had their origins in both private negotiations and government agreements. From 1979, when the West African coastal state of Mauritania revised its fishing policy to improve control of foreign fishing effort,[121] Hull firm Thomas Hamlings was amongst British companies seeking joint ventures under the auspices of the EEC.[122] The venture was short lived, however, as the company went into receivership in 1983. In 1977, with Australia keen to establish its own deep sea fishing industry in advance of their exclusive 200-mile zone, the UK firm British United

[116] This figure is for fishermen only and includes three male relatives of female interviewees. Note: By also including trawler owners, management and ancillary workers who were involved with overseas projects after 1976, the total rises to 15.
[117] AT/026/BJ.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] D. Gibbs, 'Politics of Economic Development: Case of Mauritania Fishing Industry', *African Studies Review*, 27:4 (1984), pp.79-93.
[122] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/6/4/11. Various Papers Relating to Hamling's Interest in West Africa, including Mauritania, 1979-1980.

Trawlers (BUT) joined forces with Australian company Southern Ocean to establish an integrated catching, processing and marketing operation.[123] Three Hull freezer trawlers, *Othello, Cassio* and *Orsino* made their way to Albany in Western Australia, along with their crews of mainly Hull men.[124] It was planned that the nascent Australian industry would benefit from the experience and skills of British management and crews, whilst Australian fishermen were trained to take over in the future.[125] However, by May 1979 the partnership had gone into receivership. The Hull crews found themselves at the centre of a wrangle over who should bring them home, as discussions got underway to sell on the ships to Nigeria.[126]

In New Zealand, the reluctant sale of the *Arctic Buccaneer* and *Arctic Galliard* resulted in a happier outcome. Like Australia, New Zealand was also keen to establish a deep-sea fishery in their newly established 200-mile EEZ. Bombarded with joint venture applications from the sizable fleets of Russia and Japan and faced with the political bartering of fishing rights against dairy markets by those countries, New Zealand actively encouraged the involvement of the British distant-water industry.[127] But in 1977 the terms being offered made the move unattractive to British firms.[128] It was not until 1982, with the enforced sale of his cutting edge freezer ships that Tom Boyd was to engage with New Zealand, as Boyd Line continued to manage the vessels on behalf of New Zealand owners Fletcher Challenge. The ships sailed with Hull crew, mixed with New Zealand trainees, as the nation sought to build up its own domestic deep-sea sector.[129]

Leaving home for New Zealand was a big decision and Tom recalls the moment that he broke the news that the ships had been sold:

> ... at that time we were briefing *[the crews]* at the end of every trip. We got the crews in and said we'd got good news and bad news for them and I was going to give the bad news first and that was that their ships had been sold... There was a horrible silence. And then we said, but the good news is that those of you who would like a job, there is a job for you in New Zealand, on these ships. And I can't tell you what you'll be paid... but we will be managing them and we will negotiate for you, whatever we can and it'll be a fair rate.[130]

Despite the life-changing impact of operating in the South Pacific, many crew remained with the now renamed *Otago Buccaneer* and *Otago Galliard*. With shrinking opportunities at home, Hull trawlermen wishing to remain in deep-sea fishing had little option but to broaden their horizons. And as one Boyd manager commented, New Zealand offered the

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[123] *FN*, May 27, 1977, p.3.
[124] *FN*, November 18, 1977, p.4.
[125] *FN*, May 27, 1977, p.3.
[126] *FN*, June 22, 1979, p.3 and October 5, 1979, p.1.
[127] *WF*, September 1977, pp.3-4.
[128] Ibid., p.4.
[129] *FN,* August 6, 1982, p.3.
[130] AT/041/TB.

chance to 'see something building up rather than running down.'[131] The engagement of Boyd Line in New Zealand was a success. Freed from the restraints of small quotas the performance of the cutting edge vessels and experienced Hull crews was exemplary.[132] Fishing proved lucrative and Boyd Line continued to manage the venture for around ten years, starting off the New Zealand deep-water industry.[133]

An area offering long-term opportunities for former Hull trawler skippers was the overseas oil industry. Just as in the North Sea, the skills of the skipper were welcome in the global offshore support and supply sector. Crews however, were generally local or with the maritime shift towards globalism, international. In his autobiography, Hull skipper Danny Platten's move to Africa with offshore support company OIL, was spurred by his knowledge that other trawling skippers had done the same. He worked in the African oil industry from 1984 for 14 years, enduring a tumultuous political situation in return for a steady income and a job that he enjoyed.[134] Amongst my respondents, when the mackerel fishery began to dwindle, Jill's husband John also took a job with supply companies, working mainly in the Gulf and remained in the business for 19 years.[135] Ron too found work with American-Arabian oil company Aramco in Saudi Arabia, teaching Saudi nationals seamanship and chart skills aboard the company's own training ships.[136]

For some, working abroad brought the opportunity to emigrate. As seafarers many Hull trawlermen were willing to try their luck in more distant seas. As X reflects, at that time Hull had 'always been that sort of a town, guys *[had]* always worked away'.[137] But emigration was different. It meant disrupting families and pulling up roots. Dave B. refused an offer to emigrate with a further Hull fishing venture in Australia, because the project could not offer a guarantee of success and stability.[138] Christine's husband Paul was offered the chance to emigrate to Canada or New Zealand, but family ties made Christine reluctant to move. She says, 'oh, I didn't wanna go... Well, it's me family. I'm close to all me family, but I'm close to one sister and she had heart trouble and I didn't wanna leave her. So, we stuck it out here'.[139] For Dave and Paul distant horizons meant voyaging further afield and spending more time away. But it also meant coming back. In this context, ties to Hull may have been severely weakened, but family bonds ensured that they were not broken altogether.

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[131] *FN*, February 5, 1982, p.3.
[132] *FN,* 2 August, 1982, p.3.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Platten, *Arctic to Angola*, pp.134-139.
[135] AT/033/JL.
[136] AT/019/RW.
[137] AT/014/X.
[138] AT/040/DB.
[139] AT/038/CW.

Working beyond the North Atlantic

For all those engaged in overseas projects, there were new experiences, encounters and lessons to be learned. The relentless rhythms of trawling from Hull prior to the Cod Wars had confined many to a cold climate and expected protocol. Michael P.'s narrative frequently illustrates his own realisation of just how different things could be in an emerging new era. Delivering two Marr trawlers sold to Ghana, Michael sailed into unfamiliar seas. Accustomed to Arctic waters, he recounts his enjoyment of this novel voyage and unusual encounters. 'I'd never been further south than Grimsby in me life' he explains, 'and I was 38, so when I saw the sunshine and all that... well I couldn't believe it. I thought, what have I been doing (laughing)'.[140] He continues to relay how the ship's mate asked him to view an unexpected spectacle:

> *[The mate]* said, can you see these fish jumping out of the water? I said, yeah. He said, thank God for that, he said, I thought I'd had the DTs (laughing), cos he's never been down there before and we saw flying fish and all that.[141]

The arrival was even better:

> We got down there, it was paradise. Big, white sandy beaches and palm trees and it's really lovely... we was in this big hotel... it had a great big reception area with a fountain in and a pond and little turtles swimming about and palm trees. I though, blood 'ell, this is the life. We've arrived.[142]

Michael stayed in Ghana for a year, firstly helping with the handover to local crews and then working directly for the Ghanaian company. Here again, there were unexpected protocols. Michael was surprised when the crew asked to fish on the journey to the fishing grounds, something that would never have been requested on the run out of Hull. He realised that the crew needed to fish for their own sustenance. On return to port, Michael took this up with the company owner, requesting vegetables and meat for his crew. His request was met with deep amusement. Michael says, '…tears was coming down his cheeks... I thought what's funny about that? He said, we don't treat our fishermen like that Mr Paterson. He said, you're in Ghana'.[143]

Other respondents similarly encountered different cultural experiences when working overseas. Ron, who also emphasises the move away from a cold climate, describes the privileged lifestyle he commanded as a Britain working in an American-Saudi company. As a senior staff member Ron was provided with attractive sea front accommodation and he says 'it was like being on holiday all the time'.[144] Ron was treated

[140] AT/004/MP.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] AT/019/RW.

well, but there were cultural rules to observe and he says that being in a Muslim country 'you had to live properly'.[145] Working in the Gulf, Jill's husband John skippered crews that were largely Indian or Filipino. In his spare time, he would ask the ship's cook to teach him how to make authentic curry dishes.[146] X, after working for Marr in Angola, Cameroon, Singapore and Indonesia, found himself employed by an American seismic company and experienced living in a houseboat moving around the Delta and tying up in the Mangroves.[147]

Sometimes it was not just adaptation to new places, but to new roles that was required. Michael narrates two amusing stories from his time as skipper of a small cruise vessel sailing around the Falkland Islands. In one, a stewardess clearing up a galley that had been smashed by the effects of a stormy night is rude to two passengers who request eggs for breakfast. 'I can't tell you what she said' says Michael, 'but it was really bad and I thought, bloody 'ell, she shouldn't be talking like that to passengers'.[148] In another, Michael summons back his passengers from a visit to an Island farmhouse, concerned by a swelling sea in the rocky cove where he was anchored. The tourist rep called the farmhouse and Michael recalls:

> I'll never forget, I was really worried, all these rocks and that... *[the farmer's wife]* said, I've poured all the tea out, all cups and saucers. So *[the rep]* said, what shall I tell her? I said, you can tell her what the bloody 'ell you like, they're not going and that was that.[149]

Whilst amusing anecdotes, Michael's stories also illustrate the more serious point of just how different life could be in the days after the Cod Wars. Negotiating the niceties and sensibilities of paying guests and tourist providers could not be further away from the life of the independent trawler skipper with his absolute command of ship and crew. In going to work overseas, it was not only physical, but sometimes metaphorical distance that had to be navigated.

Work overseas also brought ex-trawlermen into circumstances that were politically unstable, dangerous and corrupt. Those working for Hull companies had the relative stability and protection of known and reliable firms. Although BUT had wrangled over assisting their men stranded in Australia, in Ghana, Michael was confident, even when working directly for the Ghanaians that 'Marr's would o' looked after me if anything terrible had happened and got me home again'.[150] Indeed Marr, who were the instigators of Michael's involvement in Ghana, sorted out his payment when it was not forthcoming

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[145] Ibid., p.10.
[146] AT/033/JL.
[147] AT/014/X.
[148] AT/004/MP.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

from Africa. Like John K. and his experience with the Spanish fishing company, Michael was aware that 'a lot of Hull skippers had been to Africa, different countries and places and never got paid...'[151]

For those working directly for overseas employers, the situation could be precarious. Projects to expand fisheries in under-developed nations could be disorganised. For example, Danny Platten tells how he aborted his management contract with Guyana Fisheries as the company suffered constant technical and staffing difficulties.[152] However, worse problems could be posed by the political environment, by cultural protocols and by unreliable masters. In July 1979, the Hull Trawler Officer's Guild was celebrating new opportunities for its members as three Hull skippers flew out to Nigeria to contracts with the American company Sea State Seafoods. The Guild explained that 'all those going abroad want to keep in the fishing industry and are prepared to go anywhere to follow occupations'.[153] Yet within one month all three were rushed home as the American company director was inexplicably threatened with house arrest and the ships with impoundment.[154] Michael, in his prolific and varied overseas career encountered dubious management, drugs amongst the crew, guns stored aboard and an employer who wanted to dump the ships log overboard.[155] Even when working for stable companies, the environment itself could be dangerous, as Danny Platten illustrates in his description of the evacuation of onshore oil personnel out to nearby rigs during fighting in Angola in the 1990s.[156] In the past, fishing in the Arctic had brought its dangers, but it had operated within recognised parameters. In the new global arena, working overseas could mean journeying into a hazardous unknown.

Scattered

Whether working for a reliable employer or grasping at insecure contracts, the decade after 1976 saw Hull trawlermen scattered all over the globe. As the Trawler Officer's Guild had emphasised, men wanted to keep fishing and true to the hard-work ethos of Hull's Fish Dock, many were willing to go to great lengths to do so. For some, the Hull connection was maintained as they continued to work for Hull firms and with other Hull men, albeit on very distant shores. Yet even when working for new masters, the skills and experience that Hull trawlermen held in common often led their paths to cross overseas. Indeed the continuance of old Fish Dock networks actively contributed to Hull men

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[151] Ibid.
[152] Platten, *Arctic to Angola,* p.133.
[153] *FN,* July 13, 1979.
[154] *FN*, August 10, 1979.
[155] AT/004/MP.
[156] Platten, *Arctic to Angola*, pp. 158-158.

securing jobs in the same locations. Ron regularly met Hull trawlermen in Saudi Arabia, as they skippered diving support and supply vessels. He recalls one such encounter:

> ... we was walking along the sidewalk, among the Arab shops and all of a sudden I heard a voice shout from across the road. Now then Wilki! Who the hell is that? And it was a kid *[man]* who I knew from the fishing industry. I thought to myself, good grief, I'm in the middle of Saudi Arabia and all of a sudden you meet somebody from Hull.[157]

Jill's husband John also worked amongst former Hull trawlermen in the Gulf oil industry. Jill recalls, 'he said, ohh, it's like being at Iceland or Bear Island or somewhere, you wanna see the blokes I've met out here, y' know, on the radio... saying all their names and that'.[158]

With the need to recoup losses, Hull trawlers were also dispersed worldwide as they were sold on to new owners. Sometimes the men and ships of the old Arctic trawl came face to face on distant shores, as Michael and Alan recall:

> ... *Junella*, Marrs'es first stern trawler, famous in its day... actually got towed somewhere to India for scrap and it was just past us as it was tied up in Cape Town. That's a million to one chance.[159]
>
> *Michael P.*

> It's amazing, y' know, I went into St John's, Newfoundland and I was just looking out the hotel window and – that's an ex-Hull trawler there – and it was. And you see them all over the place.[160]
>
> *Alan J.*

After the Cod Wars the local focus of the Hull trawl fishery disappeared forever. Bonds did remain, but the home port became increasingly remote, in distance and in significance, as Hull men and ships were scattered across all continents. To Michael the sight of *Junella* and two other Fleetwood trawlers in Cape Town said it all: 'It just shows you' he reflects, 'how we was spread out all over the world'.[161]

Developing the Falklands: A New British Fishery.

> ... they was nearly running the Falklands from what I saw of it
>
> Michael P., commenting on the Marr Company role in the South Atlantic.[162]

In the attempt to diversify Hull trawling companies had became involved in disparate and sometimes short-lived fishing and marine enterprises, scattered across home waters and foreign seas and often buffeted by international relations. From the late 1980s however,

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[157] AT/019/RW.
[158] AT/033/JL.
[159] AT/004/MP.
[160] AT/012/AJ.
[161] AT/004/MP.
[162] Ibid.

there arose a major new opportunity to develop a focused, comprehensive and sustained new fishery. This time it would be in direct British control. In 1976, an Economic Survey of the Falkland Islands undertaken by Lord Shackleton proposed the development of a new South Atlantic fishery as a means of realising the economic potential of the Islands.[163] The purpose of the survey had been to assist the flagging social and economic conditions on the British outpost.[164] However, the recommendation for a 200-mile exclusive fishing zone presented an opening, just at the UK distant-water fleets were facing up to the closure of the North Atlantic.

By 1977, consultation was underway with the British Fishing Federation.[165] By 1982, members were offering their services for the establishment of a South Atlantic fishery, with the Federation asserting that they alone in the UK 'had the commercial fisheries expertise that would be relevant but, that whatever was done would need to be underwritten by HMG'.[166] However, the economic climate of late-1970s Britain, followed by the 1982 Argentinian war over sovereignty of the Islands, served to delay progress. In addition, the strained relationship with Argentina and her allies in the years after the UK victory meant that the multi-lateral conservation and management agreement desirable as part of an EEZ declaration stood little chance of fruition.[167]

In the meantime, the area outside the Falkland's meagre three-mile limit was being fished relentlessly. Fleets from the Eastern Bloc, Spain, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea took advantage of the absence of restriction, fishing freely and extensively upon squid, hake and blue whiting, with some openly declaring their intention to fully exploit the bonanza until the UK government decided otherwise.[168] With little co-operation from Argentina in the conservation of a shared resource, the fishing continued and the risk of stock depletion threatened to wipe out Britain's newest fishery before it had even begun.[169] Eventually, in October 1986, Britain announced a 150-mile interim fishing limit around the Falkland Islands, with fishing licenses issued from February 1987.[170] In the initial years of the new fishery, revenue came from the fees of a managed system of licensing foreign vessels, rather than from the direct fishing effort of the Islanders. However, those applying for a license were strongly encouraged to enter into a joint

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[163] Falkland: Our Islands, Our Story
http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/mar/20/falkland-islands-30-years-on-thatcher
[164] Ibid.
[165] HCA (HC) Ref:C/ DBTH/20/73 BFF.. Item 77/181 in Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors on 6 October 1977.
[166] HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/20/82. BFF. Item 82/66 for Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors on 29 September 1982.
[167] *WF*, December 1986, p.3.
[168] *WF*, October 1984, p.10.
[169] *WF*, November 1986, p.3 and December 1986, p.3.
[170] *WF, December 1986, p.3 and April 1987, p.2.*

venture with Stanley Fisheries Ltd., the company created by the Falkland Islands Development Corporation with the intent of giving Islanders a direct and long-term stake in their own fishery.[171]

For Hull trawling firms, the Falkland Islands presented a chance to apply their skills and experience to a developing fishery, which under the rules of Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT) enjoyed a degree of autonomy from EEC Law and the Common Fisheries Policy.[172] The two remaining Hull distant-water companies, J Marr and Son and Boyd Line, embraced the opportunity with energy and enthusiasm. In April 1987, *World Fishing* praised the support of Marr in the establishment of the Island fishery.[173] Five Marr freezer trawlers had been requisitioned as part of the Falkland's Naval Task Force during the 1982 conflict. In the ensuing years the company had continued to promote to Government the benefits of a fishing zone around the Islands, laying out detailed suggestions to tackle the practicalities of such a venture.[174] With the establishment of a 150mile zone Marr, along with Boyd Line, threw themselves into a range of operations to take the fullest advantage.

In the ten years since the collapse of Arctic trawling, both companies had learned new ways to fish. Both firms engaged with the Falkland squid fishery by entering into joint ventures with Japanese squid jigging vessels.[175] Such venture allowed trawling firms to experience new techniques, until the revision of licensing arrangements by the Falkland Islands Government removed this type of partnering opportunity.[176] The outcome was frustrating and Tom Boyd describes his additional disappointment as permission was withheld to launch a potential salmon ranching project on the Islands, and as his experimental venture to catch and process crab, in partnership with leading UK crabmeat firm Smirren's, also met with restriction.[177] The cost of fishing in the Falklands was becoming prohibitive. Both firms also had their own vessels in the South Atlantic. Boyd had the *Arctic Freebooter*, renamed the *Lord Shackleton*. But there was little profit. Alan J, who had left Marr and was a partner in the Boyd venture, suggests that

> ... the ships weren't the right ships. We didn't have the right sort of freezing equipment, we had to use different nets etc. *[We]* quickly caught on to the way that the fish was caught and it wasn't a problem to catch it. But y' know, they weren't the right ships, they needed to be... different, organised differently.[178]

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[171] *WF*, April 1987, pp.2-3.
[172] J. Ziller, 'The European Union and the Territorial Scope of European Territories', *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, 38 (2006), pp51-63.
[173] *WF*, April 1987, p.2.
[174] *WF*, October 1984, pp.10-11 and AT/002/AM.
[175] *WF*, November 1986, p.33 and April 1987, p.3.
[176] AT/002/AM and AT/041/TB.
[177] AT/041/TB.
[178] AT/012/AJ.

Marr had *Junella*, which following an expensive conversion became *Hill Cove*, owned by Stanmarr, the joint venture between Marr (Falklands) Ltd. and Stanley Fisheries. In 1988, as *Hill Cove* left 'one of the world's oldest fishing communities, Hull, to join one of the newest, Port Stanley', she took with her a skipper and crew from Hessle Road.[179] In many ways the *Hill Cove*, designed to fish flexibly on all species found in the Falklands, represented the new face of diverse fishing, a final departure from the cod dependency of a decade earlier. Yet diversity could not protect the venture from a volatile market. Nor could it avoid legislative changes ashore, which ultimately led to the dissolution of the Stanmarr partnership just a year later, with the subsequent sale of *Junella* to Uruguay.[180]

Whilst fishing ventures in the Falklands proved problematic, one area of success was the involvement of Hull firms in managing the fishing limit. Tom Boyd explains:

> I think there were only two of us, distant-water companies, to manage the fishing operations of the squid fishing boats. And I suppose they felt that we would know about fishing and would be able to control those fishing operations. Which we did.[181]

In addition, Marr took on the major role of fisheries protection, providing vessels and crews for the Falkland Islands Patrol Service with their ships, *Falklands Desire, Falklands Right*, and later *Falklands Protector* and *Cordella*.[182] Amongst those interviewed, seven were involved in the Falklands, three in management, one fishing and three on patrol ships. For Michael, who had openly breached the Icelandic limits during the Cod Wars, it was a case of poacher turned gamekeeper, as he chased unlicensed Taiwanese ships towards South Africa and halted the painting of false registration numbers onto Japanese vessels.[183] For engineer Dave B., working on fishery protection in the Falklands offered the chance to pay off his mortgage. In the era after the Falklands War, he remembers being flown from RAF Brize Norton, acquiring a fighter plane escort as they approached the Islands and being thoroughly briefed about areas that were off limits due to landmines.[184] X also worked as a radio operator on the Marr protection vessels. He recalls a patrol system in its infancy. Obtaining information from the foreign vessels, he says, was 'like pulling teeth', but it was generally amicable.[185]

With plurality that was becoming characteristic of Marr, particularly in the South Atlantic, Dave recalls that alongside fisheries protection, *Falklands Protector* was also engaged in surveys for oil. He says, '…we used to drop this thing over the side, like a sonar

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[179] *WF*, March 1988.
[180] *WF*, July 1989, p.21 and AT/002/AM.
[181] AT/041/TB.
[182] Thompson, *Marr Story,* p.61
[183] AT/004, MP.
[184] AT/040/DB.
[185] AT/014/X.

thing and did all seabed soundings, while we was going round checking the licences of other ships'.[186] Whilst the fishing ventures of Hull companies in the Falklands were short lived, the protection role had greater longevity. However, Dave recalls the time when both his trip and his sea-going career were called to an end. His second trip was aboard *Falklands Desire*, formerly *Southella*. *Southella* had been Dave's first ship and it was to become his last. The Falkland Islands Government, he recalls:

> ...had decided that they wasn't selling enough licences for fishing the squid and they felt they didn't need two ships. So one had to go and it just happened to be ours, unfortunately… So we sailed up to Cape Town, disembarked there, stamped me book... and that's me last trip to sea.[187]

The role of trawling firms Marr and Boyd in the South Atlantic was substantial. In 1987, as the long-anticipated managed fishery got underway, *World Fishing* reflected:

> Marr are justly proud of their involvement in the Falkland Islands Fishing Zone and not only that they have helped to create it, but that they are taking a leading role in making it work, both from the control aspect and in fishing the zone.[188]

Their involvement was energetic, diverse and committed, with the company actively encouraging Islanders to become part of their own fishery.[189] As Marr had predicted in the early planning stage, the fishing zone brought significant wealth to the flagging economy of the Islands. In 1985/6 the income of the Falkland Islands Government was £6 million. By 1988/89 fishing had boosted this to £35 million, transforming the Islands with affluence and self-sufficient investment into public services and infrastructure.[190] Over a 25-year period the Islanders' position within the fishery shifted from that of agents, to joint partners, to fishing vessel owners in their own right.[191] In 2012, the Falkland Islands were acknowledged as one of the best managed fisheries in the world.[192] There are many contributors to such an achievement. But amongst the initiators of this new enterprise in the South Atlantic were the adapting companies and experienced men of the old, Hull-based, North Atlantic trawl.

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[186] AT/040/DB.
[187] Ibid.
[188] *WF*, April 1987, p.3.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Falkland: Our Islands, Our History http://www.falklands.gov.fk/assets/OurIslandsOurHistory.pdf and Falkland: The Guardian http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/mar/20/falkland-islands-30-years-on-thatcher (Accessed 11 August, 2014).
[191] Falkland: Our Islands, Our History. (Accessed 11 August, 2014).
[192] Falkland: Best Managed Fishery http://www.en.mercopress.com/2012/04/22/falkland-fisheries-25-years-of-success-and-one-of-the-two-best-managed-in-the-world (Accessed 11 August, 2014).

A Place in the World: Importing Fish into Hull

Whilst Hull firms, ships and crews pursued opportunities that were increasingly far flung, back in the home port the needs of the city's substantial merchant and processing sector were driving the development of new supply networks. As fish landings fell and as the home fleet sailed to more distant horizons, the fishing port of Hull was compelled to open its gates to an international market. Earlier, this chapter has shown that by the 1970s fishing was swiftly emerging as a globalised industry. Wilcox places emphasis on the prominence of the fish trades in leading this largely demand-led transformation.[193] Holm illustrates that:

> Stagnating catches in North Atlantic waters, and the success of small coastal nations in claiming Economic Zones, boosted world trade as the major Western fish-consuming nations, including the UK, had to rely on imports for their home markets.[194]

Holm observes, 'frozen fish blocks became the basic currency unit in the fishing industry worldwide'.[195] In the UK, imports increased rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, as the changes in the structure and politics of its fishing industry left merchants and processors unable to source adequate supplies of British caught fish. The high volumes of fish landed at the Humber ports prior to the crises of the 1970s, had established Hull and Grimsby as major fish handling and processing centres. For over a century the Hull fish trades had been supplied predominantly by Hull vessels landing on their own fish quay. In 1970, a total of 197,014t of fish was landed at Hull Fish Dock. By 1982, in the immediate wake of limits and quotas, this had fallen by 92% to a mere 15,217t.[196]

For firms in Hull making a living from the sale and preparation of fish, the maintenance of supply was critical. If fish could no longer be delivered by the Hull fleet, then new suppliers must be attracted to the port. The result was a growing independence of the fish trades from landings made at Hull Fish Dock.[197] The localised bond between fleet, filleters and factory was proving to be dispensable. For merchants and processors to survive, old ties had to be broken. Fish merchants David L. and Chris recall the transition of supply from the Hull fleet to a national and international network. The process had actually begun prior to the final Cod War. By the mid 1960s, Hull's growth as a freezer port, coupled with falling catch rates, had led the Hull merchants to procure Scottish

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[193] Wilcox, 'Beyond the North Sea', pp.313-314.

[194] P. Holm, 'An International Perspective on Britain's Fisheries in the New Millennium' in D. J. Starkey, C. Reid and N. Ashcroft (eds.), *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), p.239.

[195] Ibid.

[196] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.2.

[197] In 1982 126,100t fish entered Hull via all means. Of this less than a quarter was landed through the Fish Dock and of this quarter, only 7% frozen fish and 5% wetfish was landed by Hull vessels. SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, ptII.

caught wet fish to supplement supplies.[198] As the supply crisis deepened throughout the 1970s and 1980s, increased volumes of Scottish fish travelled overland into Hull, accompanied by fish from the inshore fishing ports of the Yorkshire Coast. In addition, wet fish and frozen fish was imported from Iceland, Norway, Ireland, France and East Germany.[199] Packaged in containers, imports arrived via the commercial docks of the Humber, eventually travelling into Hull's fishing district by road. Chris describes the shift:

> ... it increased more and more with containers – there's a *[freight]* ferry that goes to Reykjavik to the Faroe Islands and then I think it's Immingham. And they loaded all these containers on this ferry. They were taken from Immingham round to Hull and then it became like it was before... the fish was graded, sorted and processed. It was still haddock, cod and whatever, but the vessels didn't come to the quayside. They stayed in Iceland and it was the containers themselves that came to Hull to be processed.[200]

Merchant David L. was pleased to see the arrival of the much-needed Icelandic supplies. However, the new system was not without logistical problems. Container vessels landed once, perhaps twice a week. A wet fish cargo landed on a Sunday might have to last all week:

> They would use some on Monday, some on Tuesday, some on Wednesday. By Wednesday it was beginning to get a bit old. And very rarely did anything come in mid-week. So by Thursday and Friday, the key time for the frying trade, there was nothing around or it was very poor quality... There's no continuity and no guarantee of quality. Particularly later in the week.[201]

David felt that this issue was never remedied by the Icelandics, although he says the Norwegians adapted much better to sending fresh fish. As the supply of wet fish fluctuated, there was a growing dependence upon frozen imports. David was an early convert to a frozen supply. He dealt in fish from the Hull freezer trawlers from the early 1970s,[202] although this was difficult for some of the smaller merchants who lacked the facilities to deal with the frozen blocks.[203] As the impact of limits began to bite, David made contact with several Norwegian companies, eventually choosing to buy directly from one. He explains:

> Our *[company's]* trade developed from there and to this day it is the same. I've dealt with one company now there for about 15 years. It's evolved, but we've learnt what we want from there and what kind of fish we buy... That's our particular trade and that's how we've survived.[204]

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[198] Ibid, p.33.
[199] Ibid, pp.34-46.
[200] AT/006/CG.
[201] AT/010/DL.
[202] Ibid.
[203] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983,* p.34.
[204] At/010/DL.

In the late 1970s such fish constituted around 10 per cent of David's business, the remainder being supplied from Scotland. But in later years it was Norwegian frozen fish that became their dominant trade.[205]

Alongside commercial imports, some fish was landed directly onto Hull's Fish Dock by foreign fresher and freezer trawlers. Many came from Iceland. Chris remembers some initial resentment to the visiting Icelanders amongst the struggling fishing community. Two Icelanders known to Chris had been refused service in some local pubs. He explains, '…it wasn't fierce, but it was... you can understand it, if you went into a pub on Hessle Road and you were Icelandic, you wouldn't be particularly welcome, put it like that.[206] Chris feels that such resentment only lasted a decade or so, adding, 'I mean this generation wouldn't bat an eyelid would they'.[207] Skipper Victor shows resignation to the Icelandic invasion. He says that to trawlermen, Icelandic caught fish was 'a body blow', yet he is reconciled, concluding, 'but needs must'.[208] For deckhand Thomas, however, the memory of Icelandic trawlers landing in Hull in the wake of the British ban from Iceland remains deeply emotive, as he reflects: 'Icelandic trawlers landing direct here! Because we couldn't fish there, it was... *(he breaks off in angry frustration)...* ahh, it was terrible.[209] The landings, says Thomas, created 'massive bad feelings. Because they took our... y' know, our living away'.[210]

Despite such emotions, Icelandic and foreign caught fish was vital to the continuation of the fish trades and to the survival of the Fish Dock itself. Just as in the catching sector, international operation brought vulnerability to global negotiations and politics. In 1984, Alan J. set up his own Hull-based fish trading company, importing Russian fish into the UK. In the early 1990s, he says a ban on the importation of Russian fish into the EEC wiped out 90 per cent of his business.[211] However, the potential and the willingness to source from the fisheries of the world, gave the Hull merchant and processing sector the means to retain and adapt their trade in the turbulent years after 1976. The 1983 analysis of the Hull fishing industry produced by the SFIA praised the adaptability of the fish trades. Despite contraction, the report concludes that:

> … it has been the business acumen of many firms – both large and small alike – that has secured for Hull an important share of the UK's distribution and processing activities.[212]

[205] Ibid.
[206] AT/006/CG.
[207] Ibid.
[208] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[209] AT/037/TN.
[210] Ibid.
[211] AT/012/AJ.
[212] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, ptI.

In the years to come, Hull was to find for itself a place in the world as a European centre for the trade of fish. After the Cod Wars, the combination of freezer technology and a globalised fish trade produced a very different working experience to the frenzied, hands-on, home fleet landings that had previously defined St Andrew's Dock. Alan J., manager within both the catching and trading sector, explains:

> ... the people that were left were involved in getting raw material that you never even really saw. You bought it... you put it into a ship and sent the ship to a Danish port or whatever, you sent a couple of guys over there to supervise the discharge and make sure everybody was happy with the quality and that was it. You never saw it.[213]

The distinct shoreside functions, once essential to the handling of the perishable bounty of the sea, were consigned to the past. As David concludes, fish had become a commodity just like any other. 'A block of frozen fish doesn't need any processor' he says, 'It just needs someone to store it and sell it. Y' know, it's a bit like selling boxes of cornflakes'.[214]

New Lives

In the decade following the final Cod War, life in all quarters of the Hull fishery altered forever. The dependable rhythms and close knit structures had faded. Thousands had experienced unemployment and endured the breakup of the social and economic bedrock upon which their lives had been founded. Emerging from the wreckage was a much reduced industry working in a much expanded arena. In this new era, fishing had become political, territorial and above all global. For those who had struggled through the transition, times had been turbulent. Big changes had imposed new lives. Respondents' narratives after 1976 are a far departure from the established blueprint of the old North Atlantic trawl.

Unsurprisingly, it was within the seagoing sector that shifts were most discernible. For some older men riding out redundancy in pubs and on street benches, 1976 brought their seagoing and, sometimes, their working lives to a close. Others had decided to 'swallowed the anchor' and find permanent work ashore. Sometimes, like Ken in the White Fish Authority and Ron teaching at the Nautical College, their new shore job related to fishing. Sometimes, like Thomas in the army, there was a clear break with the past. For some staying at sea was imperative. Jim, who went to work on the Humber pilot cutters, expressed that being at sea was all he wanted to do. For those like John K., Dave B. and Christine's husband Paul, new lives could fluctuate between sea and shore. The progression of John K.'s career illustrates the instability that could occur in the years after the Cod Wars. John's ethos of hard work kept him employed, but a combination of family

[213] AT/012/AJ.
[214] AT/010/DL.

circumstances, redundancy and unreliable firms saw him change jobs seven times before eventually retiring.[215] Despite its casual basis, with hard work and good fortune, trawling had offered the assurance of a job for life and for the ambitious, the chance to make it from deck to bridge. In the working lives the fishermen encountered after 1976, there were no such promises.

John's narrative highlights another major change for those leaving trawling. In the heyday of the 1950s, Tunstall showed that despite the poor hourly rates, trawling offered the chance of lucrative annual incomes, far exceeding those for other working class jobs ashore.[216] Much of the employment available after the collapse of 1976, at sea or on land, could never match the earning potential of the big catch. For qualified skipper Ken, even a specialist professional job as a cartographer could not equal his income from trawling. In the same vein, John's foray into taxi driving as he moved towards retirement, proved to be a financial miscalculation. It was, he says, '... the worst thing I could've ever done... I was hoping to stop, cut me hours down. But I was having to work more hours than I was even when I was at sea, y' know, to earn a living'.[217]

It was not just finances that might send men back to sea. After the collapse of trawler firm Hamlings, Christine's husband Paul found a job that he enjoyed at a local tannery. But Christine recalls that he got 'itchy feet'.[218] She recalls, 'I know he missed it... he said he'd never go back to sea, but I knew that he would. I knew he would. It was always there'.[219] For the next 23 years, Paul secured one of the dwindling number of fishing jobs with Marr and Christine re-adapted to her role as fisherman's wife. Dave B. had also returned to sea on several occasions, before finally coming ashore in the 1990s. With his engineering qualifications, Dave had adjusted easily to shore based employment. However, he describes a fatigue with the regularity of shore life that lured him back to sea:

> ... you come ashore for a while and you want to go back to sea. It's a pull somehow. I don't know whether it's the routine ashore that you get sick of. Having to do this, having to do that. Whereas at sea, you're your own boss, effectively. You know what you've got to do and you do it. And you don't have to travel to and from work, you're there… even your food's laid on (laughing)...[220]

The struggle to adapt to a settled life could prove difficult. Some women also found it hard to adjust to having a husband at home, particularly under strained financial circumstances.

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[215] AT/027/JK.
[216] Tunstall, *Fishermen,* p.69 & p.207.
[217] AT/027/JK.
[218] AT/038/CW. Trawler radio officer Mike Allison also uses the term 'itchy feet' to describe the impetus behind his own return to sea from a secure job on an oil platform. Personal Communication, Letter from Mike Allison, July 2013.
[219] Ibid.
[220] AT/040/DB.

Whilst this is not evident directly within my research, Ivy reports that it split up couples and the pressure placed upon relationships is reported in other oral sources.[221]

Many trawlermen interviewed specifically stated that that they missed fishing. Ken's office at the White Fish Authority overlooked the lock gates of St Andrew's Dock. For some years he was saddened by the sight of trawlers leaving and returning without him. It was hard, he says, because 'I missed it. I think it took about four years before I thought to meself, well it's out of your system now and of course by then, the fishing industry was well on its way out'.[222] Amongst those who continued to work at sea, Laurie missed the independence of the trawler skipper and Bob and Bill the daily challenge of fishing. Jim and Michael initially missed the assurance of the familiar.[223] Victor missed that special camaraderie amongst trawlermen, born of an extreme occupation and shared community bond.

To Jim, trawlermen were hunters at heart. Even with advanced technology, they hunt for a living and Jim says that it is 'in your blood'.[224] The memory of a collective buzz of anticipation is evident in many of my respondents' narratives of their trawling years; the thrill of the chase and the expectation of the big catch. Jill, speaking of her husband John, says '... even when he came home, he always talked about fishing and even when you met men that was fishing, they talked... cos I used to say, well, I'm sick of hearing about how many and how much you got of fish...'.[225] Such a buzz is conspicuously absent in the narratives of later times. Even for those that remained in trawling, the new practices of international landings and irregular returns to the home port diluted the collective experience and shared enthusiasm. Christine recalled the pleasure of past settling days and says:

> ... once they didn't *[sail]* from Hull, I think a lot of the Hull fishermen missed it. They didn't have that rapport, y' know, what they used to have when they went down and saw each other. It just went and they just didn't go to the office much. *[Their mone*y] was put into the banks then.[226]

The fishing community had grown accustomed to comings and goings that happened at Hull's Fish Dock, in many cases just a short distance from their own front doors. However, the dispersal of the fishing fleet and the move into other seafaring careers brought with it new travel arrangements. In global fishing, arrival in port did not always mean arrival home. A further journey could be required, by coach, taxi or even aeroplane, before reunion with family and friends. The same applied for the return trip.

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[221] AT/015/IG; See also Creed, *Northern Trawl*, p.75.
[222] AT/018/KK.
[223] AT/001/JW(I); AT/004/MP.
[224] AT/001/JW(I).
[225] AT/033/JL.
[226] AT/038/CW.

Even though men had regularly worked thousands of miles from the city, a starting point other than Hull's Fish Dock could emphasise the distance. Jill describes her reaction when her husband John took a job in the Gulf:

> ...oh, I went *[said],* oh going all them miles. And he went (laughing) - well, it's no further than going to, like, Canada, off Newfoundland and all that. But it was, cos I was taking him to a plane. It won't like going away *[when]* I used to take him to the ship or the bus'd pick 'em up when they was mackerelling.[227]

Jill was also alarmed by the length of time that John would be away. Although the traditional 21-day trawling trip offered only a short time at home, it is clear that many of my respondents preferred this frequency of contact to longer absences. After 1976, there could be little choice, as Jill once again illustrates:

> I said, you can't go. You can't leave me for three months. It's endless. So he said, well, it's work and if I don't work, you won't be able to live to the custom that you have been living.[228]

With her husband regularly away for longer and her children getting older, Jill decided to go out to work herself; a departure from her former life as the wife of a trawlerman. For the women of the fishing community there were other changes too. With men in new careers or trawling overseas, the coherence of the female support networks began to dissolve. Like the camaraderie at sea, such networks had grown from shared experience and shared need. After 1976, although many men were still at sea, diverse new rhythms replaced old commonalities and rendered old ties redundant. Individual friendships endured, but the broader social links with other fishermen's wives became harder to sustain and arguably less essential to getting by. The weakening ties left a void. Pauline found that her new life as the wife of a merchant seaman could feel more isolating without the support of the female networks that she had established during the fishing industry.[229] Pauline, like Jill, had kept in touch with closer friends, but lost contact with many others. In the past, Pauline had socialised with other fishermen and their wives. They had taken their children out together when their husbands were away. But, she says, '... as soon as the fishing industry went... it just went. It died. It died of a death really, as friends'.[230]

However, with the emerging new lifestyles there were compensations. The elimination of the 21-day trip meant more time for home, family and leisure. Some, like Ken, were now working ashore. For Jim, sailing pilot cutters on the Humber, working

[227] AT/033/JL.
[228] Ibid.
[229] AT/029/033/V&PW.
[230] Ibid.

close to home meant that he could see his family every day.[231] For those working in global waters, longer spells away generally resulted in longer periods of leave. For Jill's husband, longer shore time had occurred too late for him to see more of his own children growing up, but it did mean that he spent more time with his grandchildren. There were some regrets. Jill says, 'He used to say to me, why didn't I have the time like I have now, with my children'.[232] John K. expressed a similar sentiment. Once retired John became aware of what he had missed. On reflection, he says he wishes that he had stayed ashore:

> I've got five children. I never saw any of them grow up. And now I'm seeing me grandchildren and me great-grandchildren grow up and it's surprising... how it reflects back to you, you *[haven't]* seen your own children grow up.[233]

For Victor in the Merchant Navy, however, there were unexpected opportunities to see his family, as occasionally, Pauline and their children were permitted to travel to ports in Spain, Holland, Belgium and France and stay aboard his ship; something unthinkable in his trawling days.[234]

Longer spells of leave also changed the customary shore time frenzy that had accompanied the old sidewinder fleet. Change had begun with the advent of the freezer trawler, but gained greater prevalence in later years. After 1976, new rhythms allowed time to plan a holiday, relax and even have hobbies. Michael and Jill's husband John learnt to drive; something many trawlermen had deemed low priority when they had only three days ashore. Jill explains:

> Before, he never had time... he'd have a few driving lessons then he'd give it up. He'd say – oh, I'm going for a pint, I can't be going on driving lessons. You didn't have the time for it. But when he went in the Gulf, he learnt to drive.[235]

Having more time and being able to drive brought rewards. As a trawler skipper, Michael says 'you had like blinkers on'.[236] Michael followed Hull City football and the racing, but with three days ashore and with stresses at sea, he says that previously there had been little opportunity for outside interests. With a car and leisure-time, things were different. He says, 'I used to go up North Yorkshire and places and just park somewhere and just walk all day or go fishing or whatever and it was lovely'.[237]

For wives used to independence, having a husband at home for longer periods could be a challenge. Jill reflects:

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[231] AT/001/JW(I).
[232] AT/033/JL.
[233] AT/027/JK.
[234] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[235] AT/033/JL.
[236] AT/004/MP.
[237] Ibid.

> ... you're that used to making your decisions and then there's somebody comes that's been away for three months and starts sort of putting their oar in (laughing). He used to ring me up from the Gulf. I'd say – oh, you're never here when there's a problem. And he'd say to me, yeah, but when I say summat, you wanna sort it out your way… But I suppose it was like having a honeymoon every three months, really. I think it kept your life going.[238]

Another shift for those at home was in the nature and pre-dominance of worry. Fear and danger were widely reported by all female interviewees during the days of the Arctic trawl and particularly during the reign of the sidewinder fleet. After the Cod Wars, for those with men working amongst the unstable regimes and precarious politics of global companies, there could be new fears to contend with. Jill, for example, became anxious when John's ship became involved in minesweeping operations during the 1990's Gulf War.[239]

However, for Pauline, when Victor left fishing it released her of the fear that he may be lost that she had carried in her earlier life. Interestingly, Pauline expresses this in the context of a conversation about superstition. Superstition was a convention common to many seafarers and, according to Gill, was particularly prevalent within Hull's trawling community.[240] By the 1960s, Tunstall reported a waning of superstition, with his respondents attributing it to the older generation.[241] In their interviews, both Jill and Pauline expressed some scepticism towards superstition. Nevertheless, they were bound to the practice, sometimes by the older women in the family, sometimes by the fear of regret should a disaster follow a breach of protocol.[242] Both narratives hint not only at the strength of the custom, but also at the power of the matriarchal networks and the shared cultural dialogues that moulded expected behaviour and bound together those involved in an extreme occupation. When Victor joined the Merchant Navy, Pauline says of superstition, 'I never bothered. It just went'.[243] It is interesting to place this turnabout within the context of the breakdown of the old networks. Pauline does not directly attribute her abolition of superstition to the absence of the dangers of fishing. Instead, she positions it within the many big changes that were happening in her life:

> Your life was changing. Your money was changing. Your kids... life was changing. It was changing. So going to sea in the big ships was never a worry to me. When he was trawlering, I mean... I love the life, I loved the people, I

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[238] AT/033/JL.
[239] Ibid.
[240] A. Gill, *Superstitions: Folk Magic in Hull's Fishing Community* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1993).
[241] Tunstall reports 'If asked about the question of superstition fishermen usually say vaguely that fishermen used to be superstitious in the old days, or they say: "Ask one of the old men about it."' Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.168.
[242] Pauline's mother-in-law and Jill's grandmother reinforced superstition. Jill reports breaking taboos. Pauline calls it 'codwash', but stuck to some practices because if something had happened following a breach 'you would'a blamed yourself'. AT/033/JL and AT/029/030/V&PW.
[243] AT/029/030/V&PW.

> loved him, I loved what he did. But you still always had that big fear with fishing'.[244]

For the fishermen too, new careers could bring relief from the anxieties of trawling. This was particularly so for trawler skippers. Although some expressed boredom on standby vessels and others lamented the loss of independence, such as Laurie in his 'North Sea taxi', there were also compensations. Released from the responsibilities and insecurities of landing a lucrative catch, Jill feels that her husband felt less stress. She observes, 'I look at life, how he was when he was fishing and when he got his tickets and about the catch, trying to get the catch and psychologically what it does to you as well'. Jill concludes that John was 'a lot more relaxed man in the Gulf'.[245] Michael P. too describes a calmer working atmosphere:

> It's unbelievable. When I went to Ghana... all that pressure'd gone. I couldn't believe it. Not just me, other people was the same I would think... I can't explain how different it was. How easy you felt in yourself, having a job to go to, that's the main thing - cos fishing has always been casual, where you don't know whether you'd have a job because you had the wrong coloured eyes or the wrong suit on or someone didn't like you... all that was stressful. So when you got on survey ships it was lovely and you met decent people and you won't worried about fishing or expenses anymore.[246]

After the trawl, much had been lost. But some things had been gained. With hindsight, Michael reflects upon the process of transition:

> I was skipper for over twelve years, so you get used to it – the good and the bad – and you feel happy in yourself at what you're doing. So I was really disappointed when we got thrown out of Iceland and it all went down the tubes. But after a while, it was like a novelty, meeting all these people on the ships who'd been to university, cos I'd never met people like that all me life... *[it was]* all just people who'd been on Hessle Road and same schools as me – so that was interesting. And then when I went to Ghana and saw sunshine and palm trees, I wished I'd been there 50 years before, it was really nice.[247]

One decade after the Cod Wars, a portrait of working lives and culture amidst the remnants of Hull's once coherent fishing community paints a very different picture from the rhythms, protocols and certainties of trawling in the 1960s and early 1970s. For Michael and others like him, the pain of losing an absolute occupation and a distinctive way of life was gradually soothed by positive new experiences. There were emerging new careers: adventurous for some, tedious for others. Some had gained stability and satisfaction, like Michael, who speaks with evident enthusiasm of his post-trawling activities. But, this was not the case for all. Others struggled from contract to contract,

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[244] Ibid.
[245] AT/033/JL.
[246] AT/004/MP.
[247] Ibid.

between sea and shore, between work and unemployment. In the home port, the assurances of work in the ancillary and fish trades had been shattered. Jobs had been lost and where trades had survived, the work available had diminished. In the troubled British economy of the 1970s and 1980s, men and women from Hull's former fishery joined the de-industrial ranks of the un-employed and under-employed that were seeping from the city's changing port and manufacturing sectors. My respondents all fared well; their experience, their work ethic, or their willingness to venture afield rewarded them with new lives. But often new lives broke old ties with the home port and, as discussed in chapter eight, with the established dynamics of place. For Hull, in the context of wider recession, employment and deprivation statistics suggest that the collapse of trawling left the next generation with a legacy of struggle and inopportunity,[248] as deckhand Bill D. reflects:

> If the fishing industry was still going, all the fishermen was at sea – I've got two sons, they'd a' carried on and other fishermen with sons, they'd a' carried on. And if *[there was]* fishing today, all the sons, they'd a' carried on. But it isn't. It's gone…. There was work for everybody. You didn't have to go to sea, you could go on bobbing, barrow boys... There was different jobs. Now there's nothing.[249]

1983 and the Last Men Standing

In 1983, the European Union finally released the long awaited revised Common Fisheries Policy. It brought to an end a decade of uncertainty. That decade had coincided with a metamorphosis in international fishing protocol and trade that had sent the British distant-water fishery into turmoil. The absence of clear policy had seriously hampered the attempts of the industry to restructure.[250] This was particularly so for the catching sector. With limited financial support from the UK government, trawling firms had struggled to accommodate rapid change in the face of fluctuating quotas, undermined by competition from the subsidised fleets of other nations. The 1983 Common Fisheries Policy brought a framework for change and with it financial aid for the de-commissioning of vessels surplus to requirement. For the firms of Hull's Fish Dock, the package came rather late. The sidewinder fleet had already gone, reduced from 71 vessels in 1971, to five in 1981 and just one – the *Arctic Corsair* – in 1986.[251] In 1983, the freezer fleet stood at 17 vessels, of

[248] Loader's analysis of census data shows that between the 1970s and 1990s unemployment in Hull was above the national average. Her research is inconclusive regarding to what extent unemployment and high deprivation levels reflect the decline of fishing or the wider recession or other local factors. However, she points out that the 1981 statistics do show the highest levels of unemployment in the wards adjacent to the Fish Dock and that high levels of unemployment persist in these wards in 1991. Loader, Unpublished MA Thesis, 2010.
[249] AT/028/BD.
[250] SFIA Hull Fish Industry in 1983, p.2.
[251] Thompson, Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet, p.94.

which only 11 were active and sea-ready.[252] Economic pressures had seen Hull's once extensive distant-water fleet scrapped, sold and scattered. European aid for de-commissioning merely mopped up the remaining surplus.

Amongst some interviewees there is a conviction that in the face of the post Cod War difficulties, Hull's trawling firms simply walked away. The evidence, however, is to the contrary. All firms struggled against the odds, investing effort, energy and depleting finances into diversification. Yet in the decade leading up to the finalisation of the revised Common Fisheries Policy, other forces had determined the fate of Hull's trawling companies. By the late 1970s, the smaller company of Newington Trawlers had abandoned distant-waters, in favour of inshore and North-Sea operations.[253] In 1983, Thomas Hamlings went into receivership, just short of the company centenary.[254] By 1982, Boston Deep Sea Fisheries had lost £3 million over three years and was under pressure from its board to cease fishing operations.[255] In 1983, the company was taken over by the North British Maritime Group. The fishing fleet was gradually disposed of, with the last trawler going in 1986.[256] Similarly in 1986, British United Trawlers sold the last of their freezer ships to foreign owners.[257]

As Britain moved towards a new era under revised European fishing policy, only two tenacious trawling firms remained on Hull's Fish Dock. From 1986, J Marr and Son[258] and Boyd Line were the last fishing companies standing. With persistence and resourcefulness, both firms had weathered the perfect storm. Both had progressed from traditional cod-focused North Atlantic fishers, to diverse and versatile companies able to work flexibly in a global economy; Boyd remaining as a fishing company, Marr diversified further into additional maritime and trading sectors.

From the mid 1980s the turbulent fallout from the transforming politics of fishing was beginning to settle. With the added security of the Common Fisheries Policy, the British fishing industry faced a period of relative stability and modest recovery.[259] For the distant-water sector, there was also the promise of a new British fishery in the South Atlantic. In 1988, *World Fishing* was cautiously speculating that perhaps after all, there was a place for a new generation of big trawlers, equipped to diversify from earlier dependencies upon cod.[260] In that year Marr took delivery of three large freezer vessels.

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[252] SFIA, Hull Fish Industry in 1983, p.9.
[253] Thompson, Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet, p.94.
[254] Ibid., p.20.
[255] *FN*, March 26, 1982, pp.6-7.
[256] Thompson, Stern Trawling Fleet, p.20 & p.36.
[257] Ibid., p.52.
[258] In 1986, J Marr and Son was restructured into two companies: Andrew Marr International dealing predominantly with fish and J Marr dealing with fishing and survey vessels.
[259] *WF*, October 1986, p.30.
[260] *WF*, January 1988, p.1.

The first, *Thornella,* was the largest trawler to have been built in the UK for over a decade.[261] In the Hull trawl fishery, that decade had witnessed colossal sacrifice to the changing regimes of international fishing. But there were survivors and for those who were left, in the fish trades and in the decimated catching sector, there was for the time being the chance of a future.

[261] *WF*, April 1988, p.51.

Chapter 8: The Life and Death of Trawlertown

From its earliest days, fishing in Hull had established strong place-based associations. The previous chapters have revealed the highly localised operational and business structures that prevailed before the Cod Wars, along with the strong situated presence of the fishery in the portside district of Hessle Road. Trawling had moulded the West Hull urban landscape with dock, railway and factory. Economically, the fishery provided livelihoods, at sea and on shore, employing local men and women who frequently, although not always, originated from Hessle Road. It underpinned the high street shops that traded in the Fish Dock vicinity, putting money in the pockets of those who lived and worked there. In return the district provided labour for ship, dock and factory. In this chapter Hessle Road is portrayed as Trawlertown:[1] a fishing heartland, where the comings and goings of the fleet, the celebrations, losses and the daily shoreside grind took place amidst the bricks and concrete of terraced streets running down to the dock. This is where the networks of female support and companionship described by Jill and Pauline were strengthened by daily contact. For concentrated here were the families of fishermen, dockworkers and fish processors who shared and understood the centrality of the Fish Dock within their lives.

The 1970s brought disturbance to Trawlertown. The disruptive technology of the freezer trawler was diluting the collective experience and culture of the 21-day trip. At the same time, Hessle Road residents were facing the breakup of their tight knit community as post-war housing clearances gathered momentum. In the midst of this transition, came the Cod Wars and the ensuing decline of trawling. As Hull's distant-water fishery suffered a decade of struggle, the ripples were felt in the dockside district. The search for new opportunities took ships and men away from the city and brought new suppliers to the quay. The social, economic, spatial and cultural connectivity that had defined Hull's fishery for almost a century was interrupted and a maritime community was divorced from the industry that had given it life.

Coming into Port

In focusing on the life and demise of the shoreside spaces of Hull's distant-water fishery, this chapter takes a phenomenological stance to explore the dynamic relationship of maritime activities and their cultural landscapes. Those studying maritime communities have engaged a range of approaches to examine the port-city. Historians Palmer and Hilling have conceptualised a port-city relationship based upon multiple economic and

[1] The term Trawlertown is widely associated with the folk CD, J. Conolly and P. Sumner (2000) *Trawlertown: The Singing of the Fishing* (Fellside) [on CD]. Predating this is the local history video, *Trawlertowns - Hull and Grimsby* (Forest Edge, 1993) [on VHS].

spatial linkages.[2] At the same time, the port-city is revealed as responding to the distinct social needs of seafaring, enabling those engaged at sea or in maritime occupations on land to reside in a neighbourhood that understood and shared their experience.[3] Recently, however, the port studies literature has drawn attention to cultural dimensions, with memory enrolled as a means to articulate and capture the human aspects of the port-city dynamic.

This chapter builds upon such cultural approaches, engaging memory to express the port-city as a network of meaningful lived spaces. Geographical literature studying the connection between people and their environments has underlined the significance of everyday engagements, social contact and the habitual movement of bodies in the constitution of place relationships.[4] The work of phenomenological and non-representational geographers evoke an understanding of place that is based upon embodied encounters and the position of being 'slap bang in the middle' of a world shaped by practice, smell, sound, and sensation.[5] In this sense, place is deeply rooted in the human experience and some assert that 'lived place' lies at the heart of feelings of belonging.

Ingold brings these factors together in his concept of the taskscape.[6] With its phenomenological, sensual, yet simultaneously physical rendering of place, the taskscape provides an adaptable model for an exploration of the port-city. This chapter draws upon oral history testimony to explore the lived experience and embodied geographies of the life and demise of a trawling port-city. By presenting Hull's fishery as a taskscape, or *Trawlertown*, Hull's fishing district is portrayed as a visible, recognised and lived entity, embedded within the flows of the wider city. It then considers the aftermath when fishing activities cease and the lived spaces of a maritime community are consigned to the past.

Welcome to Trawlertown

Oral history offers the ideal vehicle for a visit to Trawlertown. If Trawlertown is a phenomenological encounter, then narrators are able to invoke its existence because they lived it and lived in it. Respondents recall an exceptional neighbourhood where a lifeworld bound to the fishery could co-exist with other expressions of community. Trawlertown cannot be divorced from the broader composition of Hessle Road, just as Hessle Road cannot be ascribed exclusively to fishing. Lives and lifeworlds were

[2] Palmer, 'Ports', Hilling, 'Demise of Sailortown'.
[3] Palmer, 'Ports', p.148.
[4] Refer to chapter two, pp.10-11
[5] Thrift, Ecology of Place, p.297.
[6] Ingold, 'Temporality of the Landscape'.

intertwined. But with a nuanced ear and a keen eye, it is possible to detect Trawlertown from amidst the bustle of a working-class district.

The practices and culture of distant-water trawling - the concentration of shoreside activity, the casual employment, fluctuating pay, short time ashore and the three-day millionaires, created an environment reminiscent of a latter-day sailortown. On Hessle Road until the 1970s, the fishermen's pubs, clubs and 'orgies',[7] pawnshops, chandlers, backhanders and loan systems, even the fishermen's outfitters and tailors providing the distinctive fishermen's suits draw easy comparison with Hugill's popular depiction or to certain elements of the sailortown districts examined in the academic work of Daunton, Hilling or Palmer.[8] Yet here the similarity ends. For like the seafarers in Moon's study, Hull's fishermen were returning not just to port, but to their home community; to wives, mothers and girlfriends; to family, children and shore-dwelling friends. They were returning to the 'sailorhood' of Hessle Road; to *Trawlertown*, a taskscape of collective activity that was distinct from, yet at the same time part of the wider city and which had emerged in response to the rhythms of the North Atlantic trawl.

In his 1957 analysis, Horobin conveys the complex mechanics by which industry and district had become entwined. He describes trawling as an industry that was 'essentially different from any other and which by its nature affects the whole social life of its workers'.[9] In the 1950s, fishermen constituted around 11 per cent of Hessle Road's male workforce, yet Horobin names them as the key group in the industry that dominated the neighbourhood. As a result, Hessle Road became an area where 'practically the whole of the population… including shop keepers, are 'geared' to the rhythm of fishing'.[10] Here shops were reported to vary their prices in accordance with the state of the market for fish. Such dependency was characteristic of single industry settlements, such as mining villages, but Horobin sees this as less common within districts of cities the size of Hull. He suggests that dependency upon the industry fostered high levels of community interdependence, which became particularly apparent in times of hardship and disaster. 'When a vessel is lost' says Horobin, 'the whole community "draws together", as it were, for the bell tolls for everyone, and everyone knows it'.[11]

The position of Hessle Road at the heart of the fishing community is taken for granted by all my oral history interviewees, regardless of whether they themselves lived there. Yet the precise limits of Trawlertown are less consistently defined. The abstract boundary may be unsurprising, for here it is argued that the creation of Trawlertown

[7] Tunstall, *Fishermen,* p.140.
[8] Daunton, 'Jack Ashore', Hilling, 'Demise of Sailortown', Palmer, 'Ports'.
[9] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p.348.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

stemmed less from its physical infrastructure, than from the situated, lived experience of its inhabitants. A visit to Trawlertown was a phenomenological encounter with the port-city. The fishing district had an economic and material expression, with Fish Dock, smoke house, railway and cold store immediately recognisable as the fabric of a trawling port. But the essence of *Trawlertown* lay in the collective encounters of those who lived and worked in the shoreside spaces of an extreme seafaring occupation. Trawlertown was a 'lifeworld' that was walked, smelt, heard, felt and touched. It was lived space, embodied place and although it could be observed from the outside, it could only be fully understood from within.

Hessle Road: 'In Full Swing'

My research respondents have a mix of associations with Hessle Road. There are 'Hessle Roaders' born and bred, some, but not the majority, living there still. The entwining of dock and district is observable in the sample. Most Hessle Roaders interviewed had some connection with the fishery. For example, Jack, Rose and Michael H. were interviewed on the basis of their lifelong residency in the area. Initially, they declared that they were not really part of the fishing community, yet with seeming inevitability, their narratives revealed that their lives had indeed crossed paths with the Fish Dock in ancillary roles. Conversely, although interviewees were recruited from all areas of the city, the theme of the research served to ensure that most held a connection with Hessle Road. Amongst the trawlermen, Doug, Victor, engineer Dave B. and Christine's husband Paul, had joined the industry from other parts of the city. Nevertheless, Doug, Victor and his wife Pauline, narrate a strong affinity with the fishing district. All other fishermen originated from Hessle Road, giving support to the notion of a neighbourhood tradition. There were also those for whom Hessle Road was their workplace only; a district that they travelled to, worked within and then left. These narrators were generally (but not exclusively) the senior members of the industry: the trawler owners, firm directors, technical professionals and the fish merchants. Trawlertown was thus composed of diverse connectivities and fluctuating encounters. Binding them together were the relentless rhythms of trawling.

Narrators were invited to describe Hessle Road in the 1960s, when the fishing industry was 'in full swing'. The prompt was intended to evoke the lived spaces of trawling before the fishing crises of the 1970s. Responses, however, do not always convey a precise timeline. The housing clearance programme, begun in the late 1950s and examined later in the chapter, blends with other transformations, making a neat before and after scenario impossible. The question prompts them to recall Hessle Road's heyday and it seems likely that their 'full swing' narratives draw upon memories of the 1950s and

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1960s combined. In many respects, memories of Hessle Road in this era resonate with recollections of other traditional working class communities, such as those explored by Klein and Roberts.[12] Klein defines a traditional working class community as one of close knit social networks produced by 'the concentration of people in the same or similar occupations in the same local area, little migration into or out of the area, local intermarriages, continuity of social relationships, opportunities for relatives and friends to help one another, little opportunity for physical mobility, little opportunity for social mobility'.[13] Just as Roberts witnessed in the working class communities of Lancashire, my own respondents portray a community that looked after itself through mutual assistance, was self-policing and which forged social networks amidst the streets, shops and pubs of Hessle Road. Lily echoes others in describing the warmth and security of belonging to a place where you were known. She says,

> ... it was like a big family. I mean, no... that isn't fair, it won't like a big family, but... there were a lot of people you knew. Some you only knew by sight to say hello to, some you knew really well and you had proper neighbours... and if anything happened, they were really kind. I've known people and they've took kiddies in or they've made meals and just taken them across.[14]

There were good and bad aspects to such communal living. As a child, Lily says, '...you could never get away with anything... because if your mother didn't see you do it, somebody did.'[15] And it was not only children who were policed by the community. Staff working for fish merchant David L. came from Hessle Road and David recalls one older man who took on the role of community champion. 'He wasn't a violent man' says David, 'but he would sort everything out that went on in that terrace'.[16]

In accounts of Hessle Road there is a striking conveyance of bustle: the endless movement and multitudes of a working class thoroughfare. Jill recalls the volume of life, '... it was full of people' she says, 'Hessle Road was full of people'.[17] Ivy describes it as 'a very, very busy place... it used to take you hours to do your shopping, because you knew everybody'.[18] Reminiscent of Seamon's 'place ballets', this surge of daily contact and movement served to create an insider's knowledge and sense of belonging. These quotidian flows swirled around the terraces, amid the children playing in the streets and the women donkey stoning doorsteps, as described by Ivy.[19] They congregated in the

[12] J. Klein, *Samples from English Cultures* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); E. Roberts, *Women and Families: An Oral History*, 1940-1970 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).
[13] Klein, English Cultures, p.130.
[14] AT/032/LW.
[15] Ibid.
[16] AT/010/DL.
[17] AT/033/JL.
[18] AT/015/IG.
[19] AT/015/IG.

Figure 4. Star and Garter, the fishermen's pub, known locally as Rayner's after a former landlord.[20]

Figure 5. Shops on Hessle Road, 1957.[21]

[20] Photographer Unknown, *Hessle Road Shops, Hull.* 1957 [Photograph]. Available online: http://www.lordline.co.uk/index.php?route=product/product&keyword=Hessle%20Road&category_id=0&product_id=454 [Accessed 26 September 2015].
[21] Photographer Unknown, *Star and Garter (Rayner's), Hessle Road, Hull.* Date Unknown [Photograph]. Available online:

many pubs, which according to Jack, could be used to navigate the district (figure 4).[22] They convened within the shops. Almost without fail respondents refer to the myriad of small retailers that lined the high street: the little epicentres of communal life (figure 5). Michael H. describes Hessle Road as, '…ohhh, beehive. There was loads of little shops and what-have-you. And the unique thing is, you could go into a shop and nearly everybody knew somebody who you knew.[23] Roberts and Klein both suggest that gossip in working-class communities helped to maintain neighbourhood solidarity, regulating social behaviour, fostering belonging and even alerting the community to those in need.[24] Roberts places the shop at the centre of the gossip exchange, for women in particular might visit their local retailer several times a day.[25] The shop as a receptacle for gossip is clearly expressed by Michael:

> There was a lot of backchat going on and chit chat – did you hear about so-and-so having a baby, sort o' thing. And people knew each other that way, y' know, there was always a bit of banter going about.[26]

Narrators offer a string of familiar retailers: Maypole, Meadow, Home and Colonial, Winkles, Fletchers, Boyes, Woolworths, Clothing House. On Hessle Road you could buy 'anything from a safety pin to a Rolls Royce'[27] or completely furnish your house.[28] To Lily it was a little community of its own. Everything that you needed was available and there was no pressing need to go elsewhere.

In the 1950s Hessle Road was reported to Horobin as 'a world in itself'.[29] My own respondents similarly portray Hessle Road as a self-contained world, which although functioning within the wider city, could nevertheless provide for its own. They conjure an 'insiders' sense of distinctness and separation; a self-sustaining 'otherness' that outsiders might perceive as a closed world. Alan R, a musician and 'outsider' to both Hessle Road and to Hull found it impossible to break into the music circuits to perform in Hessle Road clubs.[30] This had not been a problem in other parts of Hull and he attributes this invisible barrier to the close knit insularity of this part of the city. Several respondents report that

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http://www.lordline.co.uk/index.php?route=product/product&keyword=star%20and%20garter&category_id=0&product_id=2179 [Accessed 26 September 2015].

[22] Interview with Jack Howden. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 27 February, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/007/JH.

[23] Interview with Michael Howard. Interviewer Jo Byrne: 5 March 2103. Transcript Ref: AT/009/MH.

[24] Roberts, *Women and Families*, pp.207-211; Klein, *English Cultures,* p.128.

[25] Roberts, *Women and Families*, p.210.

[26] AT/009/MH.

[27] AT/037/TN.

[28] AT/032/LW.

[29] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation, p.243.

[30] Interview with Alan Richardson. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 9 July, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/024/AR

fishermen were looked down upon by residents of the wider city.[31] Tunstall suggests that even on Hessle Road itself, the streets closest to the Fish Dock could be viewed with disdain by more distant neighbours.[32] Such outside attitudes, coupled with internal self-sufficiency no doubt served to perpetuate the idea and practice of autonomy.

Many interviewees recall Hessle Road in the 1960s as 'something very special',[33] 'a wonderful, wonderful road',[34] 'a breed of their own'.[35] With clarity they assign the cause of this distinct and separate sense of place. For Hessle Road fishmonger Billy, it could only have come from the fishing industry. He says, 'the atmosphere of Hessle Road was from nowhere else. There's nowhere else like it... Absolutely. It could only be that *[fishing].* Yeah, it could only be that'.[36] Fish processor Ivy is similarly absolute:

Ivy	... that's what Hessle Road was built for. For the fishing industry. Nothing else.
Jo (Researcher)	And could you see that when you were living down there?
Ivy:	Oh yes. I din't know nothing else apart from fishing. I didn't even know there was a Metal Box *[local factory]* 'til I left school, because that was Gypsyville and I never left from Hessle Road 'til I was 15. I didn't even know there was a town *[city centre].*

The narratives of Ivy, Billy and others like them express the dominance of Hull's deep-sea fishery over their domain of Hessle Road. The taskscape is never far away within these reflections. Trawlertown comes into being with their reports of the continual day and night motions of dock workers, fish bobbers, merchants and processors, with the trains and fish vans, with the sound of a ship's hooter. Jim refers to the sound of 'hundreds' of fish bobbers walking to work in the very early hours in iron-shod clogs 'like horses hooves'.[37] Alan J. recalls the perpetual threading of people to and from the Fish Dock:

> You had to walk all the way down West Dock Avenue, under the tunnel, under the railway lines and onto the dock. And I mean there were always masses of people. You never walked down West Dock Avenue on your own (laughing)... there was always people backwards and forwards all the time.[38]

Many concur that a visitor to the area would have recognised its connection with fish. There were the filleting factories and distinctive lines of slender chimneys belonging to the kipper houses. There were the women wearing the 'wellies' and 'turban' headscarves of

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[31] AT/014/X; AT/021/PB.
[32] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.93.
[33] AT/018/KK.
[34] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[35] AT/016/BG.
[36] AT/016/BG.
[37] AT/001/JW(II).
[38] AT/012/AJ.

the fish processor.[39] And there was the odour. 'We did have our own fish smell' admits Ken.[40] Not the seaside smell of a fresh landing, but the heavy, dull tang of fish meal, cod farm and smoke house.

If the area beat to the rhythm of trawling, then it was the comings and goings of the fleet that set the tempo. Gill has revealed how Hessle Road shops included outfitters 'open to suit all tides' and shops offering credit until dad came home from sea with his wages.[41] Narrators place fishermen centre-stage when describing the visible and distinct character of Trawlertown. There were the suits that adhered to latest and sometimes exuberant fashions and which could make a gathering of fishermen instantly identifiable. 'They had their own sort of tailoring style', says Philip, 'double breasted suits, which were tightly fitted round the hips, the bell-bottom trousers. In outrageous colours as well some of them'.[42] There was the bustle of fishermen's wives retrieving suits that had been pawned to enhance the family budget prior to their husband's homecoming or carrying work gear to the wash house, ready to return to sea. There was an observable generosity and easy spending.[43] There was the frenetic movement between home, dock, pub, the homes of friends and relations, the tailor, the bank, the barber, as three weeks of living was compressed into three days. There was the perpetual darting of taxis, for fishermen did not waste time walking: '...it was a taxi' says Ivy, 'even though it was only next street'.[44]

Fused with the collective encounters of the fishing taskscape were the specific spaces that they had simultaneously created. Ken's narrative demonstrates how certain physical places took on meaning within Trawlertown, via the interactions of the fishermen who went there:

> They're connected with fishing via the fishermen themselves... there was your own tailors... We had our special shoe shops, they all knew the fishermen more or less by names. We had our own barber that would give you a dram o' rum while you were sat in his barber's chair. You'd all be sat talking while you're waiting for your hair cut – about how much you'd made and how much you landed – and so all the way along the length of Hessle Road, there was stories of the fishermen.[45]

In such places, fishermen could come together and reconnect back to land. And at the heart of the process were the pubs. Alan H. recalls that the pubs of Hessle Road were, '... constantly alive with people coming and going and ships coming in and coming out'.[46] Narrators are consistent in naming the pubs favoured by fishermen: Dee Street Club, St

[39] AT/032/LW.
[40] AT/018/KK.
[41] Gill, *Hessle Road*, p.29.
[42] AT/021/PB.
[43] AT/039/MG.
[44] AT/015/IG.
[45] AT/018/KK.
[46] AT/005/AH.

Andrew's, Halfway, Wassand Arms and of course the Star and Garter, the fishermen's pub, known to 'insiders' as Rayners. Margaret was a barmaid at Dee Street Club. She conveys the regular flow of new arrivals, many of whom she knew by name:

> Right, rack 'em up again, Margaret, from the back of the room. All right. Same round? Same round… Then there'd be another crew come in an'all. I'd think, Jesus. I'd be one end o' there, to there. All day long, but I loved it.[47]

Pubs were more than just places to drink, says Jim, they were places to meet your friends. Tunstall observed that certain clubs on Hessle Road were regarded by fishermen as their 'exclusive preserve'.[48] Relatives would know which Hessle Road pubs to frequent in order to meet with a newly landed crew. Whilst some harboured the hope of a generous round, many others came to welcome and catch up. For with only three days ashore, pubs were not only places of leisure, they were important arenas to maintain relationships.

Fish Dock

At the end of West Dock Avenue, through a tunnel and under the lines of the L.N.E.R., stood St Andrew's Fish Dock: the very hub of Trawlertown. Here, in the transitional space between land and sea, the actions, encounters and fabric of Hull's fishing taskscape were generated at their most intense. The Fish Dock was an other-world, a geographic entity that was seldom seen by those without reason for a visit. To the inhabitants of Trawlertown, however, this world was known at first-hand, through their daily work, through its ships, stores and offices, through the emotive flows of arrivals and departures. Alan J. remembers his first encounter with the dock in 1960:

> ...I knew we had a big fish industry, but I couldn't envisage what it was like. But when I went down there, it just amazed me, because there were just hundreds and hundreds of people, doing all sorts of things… and when I saw it, y' know, I thought – this is huge.[49]

Alan's job with a trawling firm pulled him into the heart of the fishery taskscape, into its endless stream of work and people. Respondents frequently spring into life when asked to describe the dock in its heyday. They draw upon common terms to convey animation and movement; 'very, very busy',[50] 'hustle and bustle all the time',[51] 'a beehive',[52] 'like ants'.[53] There is clear eagerness to convey the spectacle that distinguished the dock from an average workspace. The dock was a space of anticipation. Ron describes the buzz and

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[47] AT/039/MG.
[48] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.138.
[49] AT/012/AJ.
[50] AT/006/CG.
[51] AT/037/TN.
[52] AT/009/MH.
[53] AT/033/JL.

noise of the Dutch style fish auction, with its jostling buyers and salesmen standing on large aluminium fish containers known as kits.[54] The thrill of the big catch resonated amongst the trawling community and Ron physically connects this excitement to the dock:, saying, '…the Fish Dock as a whole was just a hive of activity and like the fishing community, like the Hessle Road area… there was an air of expectancy and there *[was]* a vibrancy about it all the time'.[55]

When describing the Fish Dock, witnesses powerfully invoke a blend of motion, sounds, sights, smells and feelings. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the dockside activity. Jim describes the efficient disarray:

> It was dangerous walking… You'd have clogs, because there was water and fish slime and ice, melting ice floating… you would have the bobbers landing the fish and at the same time they were bringing up the fish room boards… board scrubbers... there would be shore-riggers splicing wires, there'd be electricians, the Marconi man would be going round all the wireless and the electronics… The cod liver oil boat would be alongside, pumping out… organised chaos, everybody knew what they were doing.[56]

Others recall the sounds, the smells and the routines. Alan J. and X remember the smells:

> ... when I first went down the Fish Dock, I could hardly abide the smell. I mean, the smell in some of the places was awful...[57] (Alan)

> ... the smells, y' know, obviously the smell of fish and fish meal and the rope smells and net smells and the old style stuff...[58] *(X)*

Trawlerman Michael P. relays an aural memory:

> When you're on dock, you'd hear people riveting all day – bang, bang, bang, bang, bang. And all the fitters and labourers and it was just endless.[59]

Alan H. brings together the soundscape that progressed throughout the day:

> …the daily activity could be best summed up by the different noises coming from the dock… in the earliest hours of the morning the bobbers would clatter down to the dock… in their clogs… there would be noises… of clashes of boards from the ships being thrown onto the quayside and aluminium kits being bounced and people yelling and shouting and the squeal of winches and such like. Then you'd have the auction itself with all its noise and then the frenzy of the fish coming off the dock in trucks and trailers… Peace reigned in the afternoon.[60]

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[54] AT/019/RW.
[55] Ibid.
[56] AT/001/JW(I).
[57] AT/012/AJ.
[58] AT/014/X.
[59] AT/004/MP.
[60] AT/005/AH.

Figure 6. St Andrews Dock: Fish landers or 'bobbers' unloading a side trawler using the traditional method of swinging fish to the quayside in baskets.[61]

Figure 7. Fish stored in containers (known as kits) waiting for auction.[62]

[61] Photographer Unknown, *Bobbers Unloading Fish on St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* Date Unknown [Photograph]. Accession No, KINCM: 1991.141.1385, Hull Museums, Hull.

Such vibrant descriptions capture the raw frenzy of the daily practices. Sense of place is vividly and sensually conveyed and the role of embodied and sensual experience in the creation and subsequent recollection of place is revealed.

Amidst the generally enthusiastic descriptions of the Fish Dock, there are one or two dissenting voices. Fishmonger Billy, who had also worked as a Fish Dock barrow boy, offers an alternative view of the dock. In the 1960s, he says:

> It was a bit of a dump then... Bloody 'ell, some of the conditions I worked in, they wouldn't do it now. In a wintertime, they'd put bags over their shoulders and put kits up to keep the bloody wind off. On the front there, it was like bloody pneumonia corner. Very, very cold in winter... And that's only on the dock, it won't even at sea.[63]

Fish merchant David L. also highlights operational difficulties. It was, he says, busy, noisy and wide open to the elements. David rented a small office known as a 'stand' along with an adjacent area of the fish quay. But until the vessels had finished landing and the quay had been cleared after the fish auction, David's workspace was limited.[64] Different perceptions of the dock are perhaps explained by experience. For those working from the shelter of an office or workshop, the dock could be an engaging spectacle. For those battling with exposed and uncomfortable conditions, the same space was a challenge.

Beyond its working role, there are other recollections of the Fish Dock. Ivy and Margaret remember Sunday outings strolling along the dock to enjoy the spectacle of the fishing boats and buildings.[65] Jill remembers a forbidden childhood playground. A trip to the Fish Dock to meet the brothers of her friends who were returning from sea might result in sweets or chocolates from the bonded store. It was a hazardous environment, but the excitement made it worth breaking parental rules. She recalls, '...we'd come back and me mam and dad'd say – I hope you an't been down that dock. But we had'.[66] For fishermen and their families, St Andrew's Fish Dock assumed significance as a place of arrivals and departures. From Arctic seas, it was the gateway back to Trawlertown. Subsequently, it was the point of separation. Tradition dictated that women would not wave off a ship from the lock pit, but many would be there for its return. Jill's daughter remembers being passed onto her father's ship as it waited in the lock to enter the dock. Margaret remembers meeting her brother and other friends as they arrived into port. 'It was lovely' she says, 'It made you feel real warm. And glad to see them come back'.[67] For

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[62] Photographer Unknown, *Fish on the Quayside, St Andrew's Dock, Hull*. Date Unknown [Photograph]. Accession No, KINCM: 1991.141.1378, Hull Museums, Hull.
[63] AT/016/BG.
[64] AT/010/DL.
[65] AT/015/IG; AT/039/MG.
[66] AT/033/JL.
[67] AT/039/MG.

fishermen themselves, the Fish Dock was their first and last contact with land and could assume a territorial significance, as Ken illustrates, saying, '…a dock is a dock, you know, and it's just a place where you take your ship. But St Andrew's Dock, wasn't just a dock, it was *the* dock, y' know, it was... it's ours'.[68]

From such a mix of affective encounters, shared experience and collective activity, the fishing taskscape of Trawlertown sprang into being amongst street, shop and factory, amongst dock and district. Trawlertown was an ongoing lived encounter with the rhythms and physical spaces of the Hull trawl fishery, embedded within the West Hull urban landscape. On Hessle Road, other work communities lived side by side with Trawlertown; it was part of their neighbourhood, although they themselves may rarely engage with it. There were those who breezed in and out of Trawlertown, as they laboured in its workforce, perhaps drinking in its pubs before returning home to other quarters. Amongst these were fishermen like Doug and Victor who lived to the east of the city, but who express Trawlertown as their own: a place that understood and supported their lifestyle. But for many, Trawlertown was their primary world. They lived and worked within its midst, unequivocally absorbed within its sounds, smells, sensations, encounters and networks. If it is through such interactions that connection to place is cemented, then we might expect the distinct and intense encounters of Trawlertown and its located systems of occupational support to produce significant place attachments.

Interruption: Demolition and Development

In the 1950s, life in Trawlertown could be said to have acquired the same sense of permanence that Tunstall had observed aboard trawlers. Yet things were set to change. Infiltrating the close knit and bustling world of Hessle Road in the 1960s were the beginnings of disruption. It commenced with the implementation of Hull's post war housing strategy, which sought to improve living conditions in areas of the city where accommodation was deemed sub-standard. Included were swathes of Hessle Road. In the mid-1970s came further disturbance. This time it was on the Fish Dock. The expanding fleet of freezer trawlers brought a growing need for new facilities that could accommodate bigger and technologically advanced vessels. By 1972 plans were underway to redevelop William Wright and Albert Dock as a new base for the fishery. After more than ninety years, the fishing fleet and its associated trades were to abandon their established home. Two separate factors were forcing change. Yet the interdependency between dock and district meant that the remould of one held consequences for the other. The changes ahead would bring new ways of living and working, diluting the collective encounters of Trawlertown.

[68] AT/018/KK.

Moving On and Moving Out: Change on Hessle Road

> Longhill isn't so alive as Hessle Road. But there's more sunlight and fresh air.
>
> Uncle Bernard said he didn't think I'd settle up at Longhill and laughed when I told him 'You even miss people you don't like.
>
> Annie Eliza Courtney, Extracts from Dear Tom[69]

After the Second World War the Hull Corporation faced the challenge of rebuilding the badly damaged fabric of the city. Alongside the rehousing of 152,000 people rendered homeless by bombing, was the need to continue the improvements that had been started before the war. Post-war development proposals known as 'The Abercrombie Plan' aimed to deliver a 'proper healthy and amenable state of living' for the city's inhabitants.[70] To achieve this, new local authority neighbourhoods were created to the east of the city at Bilton Grange (1955), Longhill (1958) and Greatfield (1960).[71] A fourth, known as the Thornton Estate, was created in the years up to 1970, in the area of Porter Street, between Anlaby Road and Hessle Road, close to the city centre. Further estates developed north of the city at Orchard Park (1963) and Bransholme (1966) and to the east at Ings Road (1963).[72] The new estates were to meet the demands of a rising population, whilst also dealing with the removal or reconfiguration of sub-standard areas. The process was referred to as slum clearance and prior to the war the focus of the remodelling had been upon the crowded and insanitary conditions within central Hull. By the late 1950s, Tunstall was observing a shift of attention as the inner city problems were resolved. He writes:

> ... the term 'slum' is now being applied to districts slightly further out. Hessle Road, which was mostly built up between 1890 and 1914 is such a district today, and most of the area to the south side of the road is scheduled for demolition. Many houses have already been pulled down and the threat of imminent demolition hangs over the rest.[73]

As Tunstall was writing, new estates were going up and parts of Hessle Road were coming down. On Hessle Road the process took place over a protracted period, beginning in the late 1950s with the creation of the Thornton Estate and continuing into the 1980s (see Maps 5 and 6). Gill, photographing the area between 1974 and 1987, likened some streets to a battleground. Demolitions had been completed, but national politics

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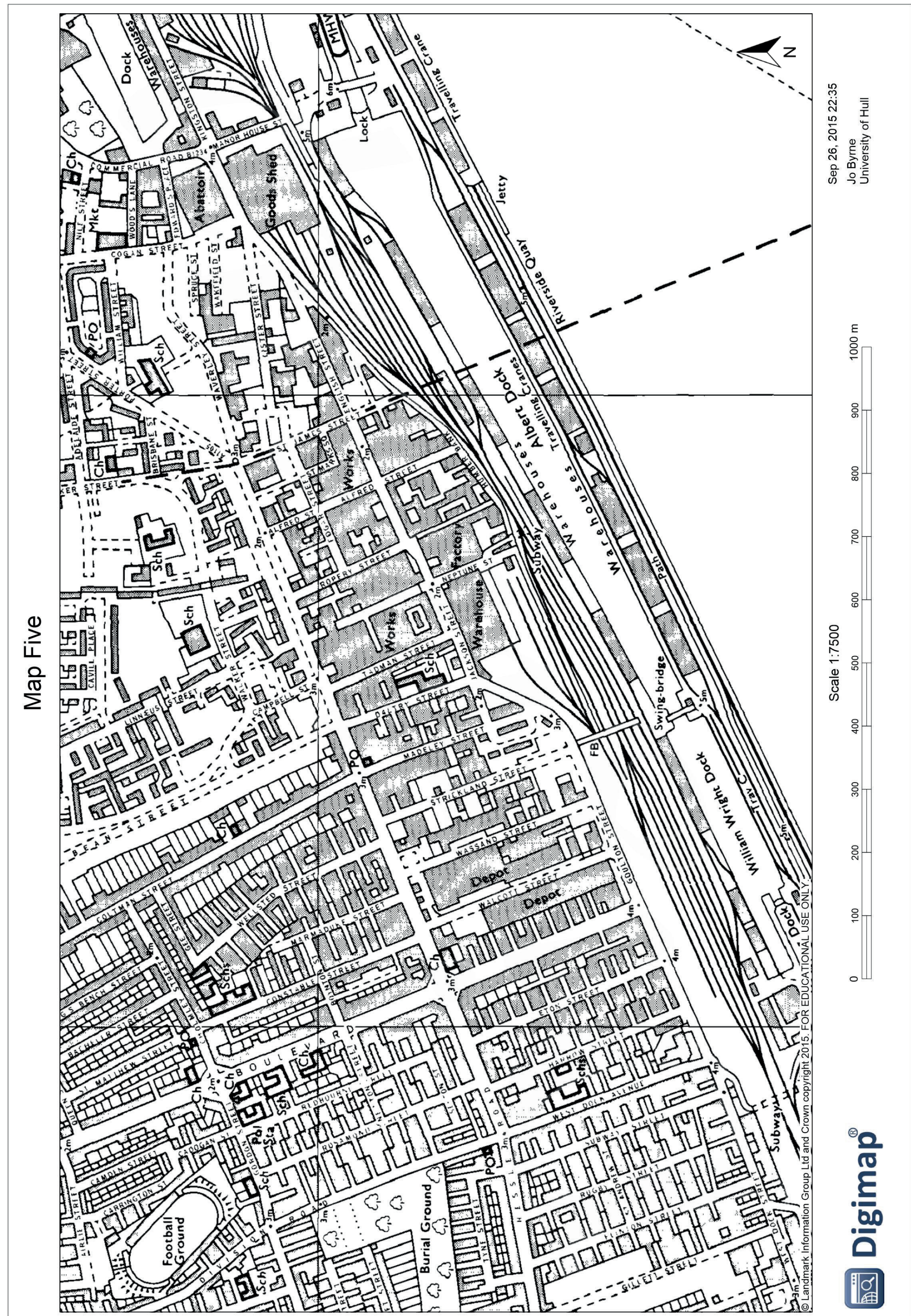
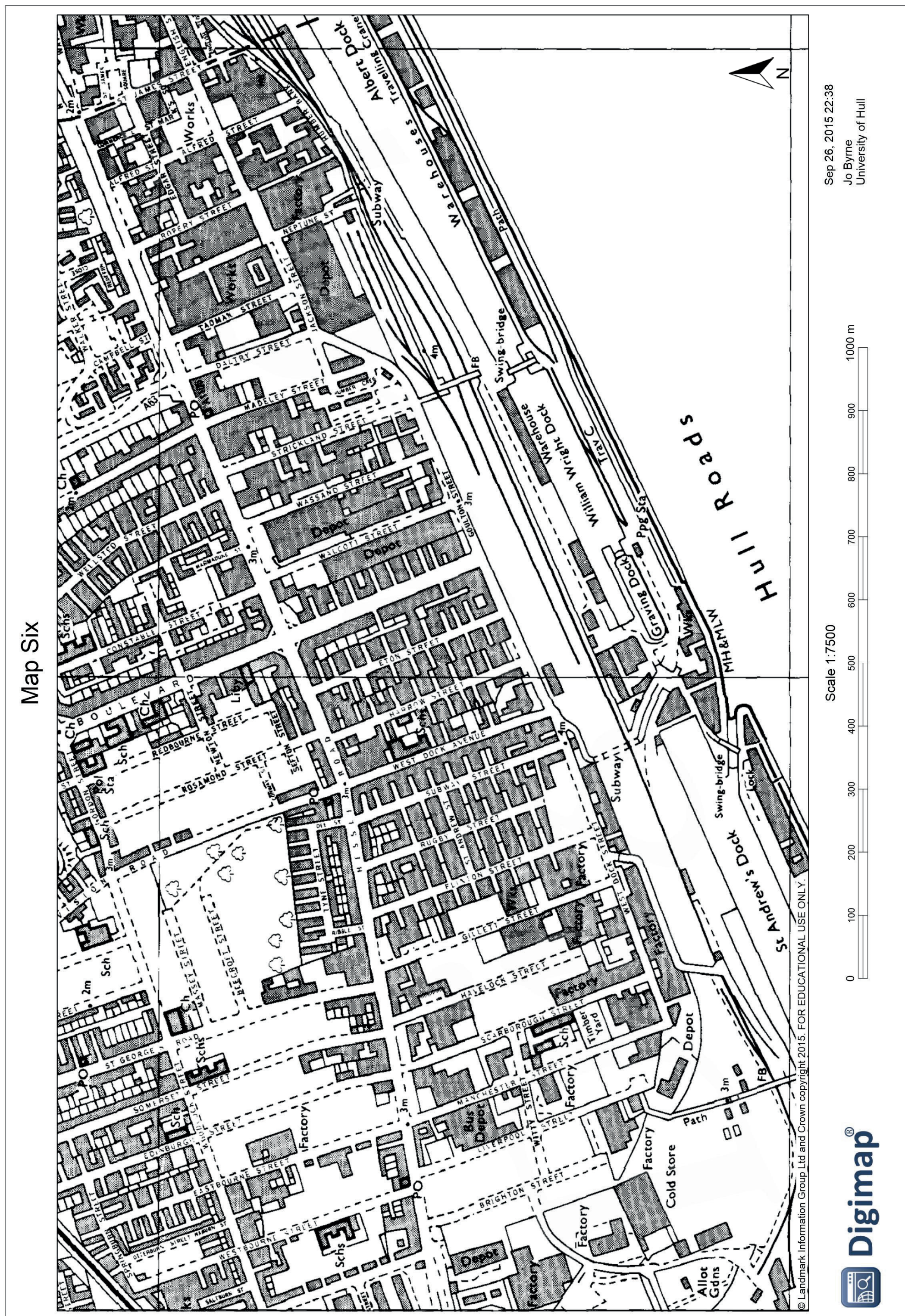
[69] T. Courtney, *Dear Tom: Letters from Home* (London: Doubleday, 2000), p228 & 255.
[70] D. Neave and S. Neave, *Hull*, Pevsner Architectural Guides (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p.33.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., pp.33-34.
[73] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.86.



Map 5. 1971. Hessle Road Changes.[74]

The map shows Hessle Road in the early 1970s. To the north-east, the early phase of housing redevelopment around Linnaeus Street (Porter Street) disrupts the regular street pattern.

[74] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:10000. National Grid Tile TA02NE, EDINA Historic Digimap Service, 1971. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].



Map 6. 1983. Hessle Road Changes.[75]

The map shows Hessle Road following an extensive period of housing clearance. Streets of terrace housing to the north and south give way to plots of empty land awaiting redevelopment. The final phases of demolition to the south are still to be completed.

[75] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:10000. National Grid Tile TA02NE, EDINA Historic Digimap Service, 1983. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].

after 1979 had delayed the later re-building.[76] Indeed, the protraction was such that in the late 1980s new neighbourhoods were planned for the Bean Street area of Hessle Road to re-accommodate tenants from the failing 1960s maisonettes, built on the Thornton Estate during the earliest phases of development.[77] Whilst some were able to benefit from such localised rehousing, for many more, particularly in the earlier years, a new house meant a shift from Hessle Road to the outskirts of the city.

The remodelling of Hessle Road impacted upon all its residents. As figures 8 and 9 illustrate, images of the demolitions are 'blitz like' and the wreckage of once familiar spaces, however 'insanitary', could take an affective toll. Ken describes the process:

> …the demolition company, they had a huge machine where these chains were put around full terraces and then they just hove on these chains and all the houses just collapsed in one big heap and for people to see that happening must have been devastating.[78]

Ivy and Rose both narrate an attachment to the bricks that now lay in collapsed piles. Ivy's past was quite literally etched into the bricks of Manchester Street tram shop – 'I.P. loves L.H.' – the remnants of a teenage romance.[79] Ivy tried to retrieve the inscribed brick when the tram shop was demolished, but could not find it. Rose recalls the demolition of her old school:

> Well, we were passing by and we saw the men pulling it down and I said, that's my school, what are they doing to it? So *[we]* stopped the car and I got out and went round and there was this man with bricks and I said, you're pulling my school down. He said, yes. I said, Villa Place. He said, yes. I said, can I have a brick? He said, you can have all the bricks. I said, no thank you, I'd just like one. So he gave me one brick and I've got it, it's in the shed.[80]

Beside emotional ties, restructuring had an impact on the form and function of the district. Respondents remember the changing environment. Chris recalls that 'whole swathes of the place were becoming derelict'.[81] Virtually all report the loss of familiar shops and pubs, those little heartlands of daily encounters and gossip. The emptying streets brought challenges to local retailers and Billy remembers the impact on his fishmongers shop, saying:

> We had no houses over there and no houses at the back. But we kept going. We seemed to just keep going through all that. Nothing at the back, nothing at the front. But I used to go selling in me van.[82]

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[76] Gill, *Hessle Road*, p.111.
[77] Ibid., p.113.
[78] AT/018/KK.
[79] AT/015/IG.
[80] Interview with Jack and Rose Howden. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 27 February, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/008/RH.
[81] AT/006/CG.
[82] AT/016/BG.

Figure 8. Demolition of 191-193 Hessle Road, 1966.[83]

Figure 9. Demolition of Eton Street, south of Hessle Road, 1980.[84]

[83] Photographer Unknown, *Demolition of 191-193 Hessle Road, Hull.* 1966 [Photograph]. Ref: TSP.3.1876.33, Hull City Archives, Hull.
[84] Photographer Unknown, *Demolition of 24 Eton Street, Hull.* 1980 [Photograph]. Ref: THD.3.300a.25, Hull City Archives, Hull.

Billy had the chance to go mobile, but others did not. As business dwindled, Jim recalls the loss of well-known names. 'The shutters were going up' he says, 'shops that you'd used for years and that included the pawnshop. I mean the famous pie shop on Hessle Road… Winkles pies… they were an institution and all of a sudden, one by one, they'd be closing'.[85]

In the residential streets, the transition could render sinister the former comfort and safety of home. In the late 1970s, Michael H. and his mother were the last remaining residents on Beecroft Street off St Georges Road, before it was demolished. Michael describes an unpleasant experience:

> ... there'd been vandalism going on and various people had been setting fire to the houses that was left in that area, so it got a bit scary at times... There was no telephones either because they'd taken the poles down. And one particular day, me mother said, I can smell burning and when I went out somebody had actually set fire to the house two door away. So I had to run across St Georges Road and borrow somebody's phone to ring the fire brigade.[86]

Amongst Hessle Road's disrupted community, were those whose lives were tied to the fishery. In 1957, Horobin had urged city planners not to disregard the special circumstances of the trawling community when planning for redevelopment. He argued that fishermen benefitted from living close to the Fish Dock, to pick up wages, sign onto ships and minimise time spent travelling during their short spells ashore. The need was even greater for the fish landers or bobbers, who must reach the Fish Dock at night when public transport was unavailable. In 1955, 72 per cent of bobbers against 57 per cent of fishermen lived within one mile of the dock.[87] In terms of recruitment, Horobin recognised trawling as a neighbourhood tradition and advised both industry and planners to consider the consequences of removing trawling families from the area. His most impassioned plea, however, related to the social dynamics of fishing. Just as Jill observes earlier, Horobin had noted that far from wanting to escape from work ashore, fishermen, like miners, 'talk incessantly about their work'.[88] He saw this as a need for peer group understanding in an occupation unlike any other. The contemporary aspiration to build more diverse or 'balanced' neighbourhoods, he said, ran contrary to this requirement. With this in mind, Horobin believed that the occupational structure of the area should be a key consideration when planning for the future. He concluded:

> We are constantly hearing in Hull about the 'clannishness' of fishermen. Would the balanced neighbourhood break down this clannishness? More importantly, do we want to break it down? Surely not. The statement is commonly made that the town-dweller is typically impersonal in his

[85] AT/001/JW(II).
[86] AT/009/MH.
[87] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', p.348.
[88] Ibid.

relationships, and if this is true, the impersonality may itself be a result, in part, of the lack of common or like experience among urbanites. It is one of the professed aims of town planning to foster 'neighbourliness' moreover, so that there would seem little point in trying to break it down when it is found already in existence, simply for the sake of balance.[89]

There is scant evidence that such warnings were heeded. In the planning documents for this period viewed during this research, the presence of a trawling community is invisible.[90] A paper regarding the development of the Thornton Estate, albeit closer to the city centre than to the Fish Dock, does not mention trawling.[91] Occupational issues are discussed in simple terms of travel to work. Disgruntled residents were asked if they would prefer to live in a flat within the vicinity or have a house and travel a greater distance to their workplace. Their response was neither.[92] In an attempt to embrace neighbourhood cohesion, the estate was designed to face inwards, rejecting the old north frontage of Hessle Road and demolishing the neighbourly shops to the south, so as to remove the danger of crossing the road.[93]

Horobin's warnings were similarly ignored closer to the Fish Dock. In this vicinity early demolitions focused on the streets running down to the dock. Here fishermen and dockworkers lived in greatest concentration.[94] Jill, who lived in Flinton Street when first married, confirms

I would think half of that street was fishermen's wives or something, or bobbing... nearly everybody had something to do with the sea, or their family had something to do with the sea, even if they didn't go into that work.[95]

With their own connections to fishing, several interviewees had lived in this area at some point in their lives and some had been directly affected by the demolitions. There is a mix of enthusiasm and regret in narratives of relocation. Hessle Roader Ivy, who relocated to Bransholme via a sojourn on Beverley Road, was looking forward to raising her children in a greener environment. She occasionally felt homesick and went back to Hessle Road once a week, but she was determined to stay in her new 'castle'. She says:

Oh, it was going into the country. The smell was different. You could go back if you wanted to, wherever you came from. But I thought, no, my children's

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[89] Ibid., p.353.
[90] HCA LH711HE. The documents comprised a limited collection of development and consultation papers relating to Hessle Road district and local plans in the 1970s and 1980.
[91] HCA Ref: HL711HE. City and County of Kingston upon Hull, Redevelopment of Decayed Area; with particular reference to Residential Area 17, H.E. Alton, May 1960.
[92] Ibid., p.5
[93] Ibid., p.6.
[94] Tunstall, *Fishermen*, p.93. Tunstall states that the homes of fishermen were concentrated on the south side of Hessle Road, thinning out quickly to the north. He draws upon figures from Horobin's 1955 thesis, which shows 29.9% of all fishermen living within a half mile of the fish dock.
[95] AT/033/JL.

> gonna grow up in the country. It isn't really the country (laughing)... but it was for us.[96]

John K. looked forward to moving to Orchard Park and found the move to be 'great'.[97] Lily too reports that her cousin, a mother of two, was happy to move away to a new house with a bathroom.[98] But for her grandmother, the situation was different. Although moving only a few streets, Lily feels the move destroyed her. For the older generation, Lily saw the demolitions as cruel.[99] It is a sentiment echoed by Jim, who says that despite the lovely new houses, for the older generation 'it nearly brok' their heart'.[100]

Ron, like Lily, shows how even a small move could be unpalatable, particularly amidst the tight knit networks of fishing. Ron's in-laws were forced to move to a new house on the north side of Hessle Road when Subway Street, to the south, was demolished. They hated the move and Ron explains why:

> They'd lived there a long time and my father-in-law was a fisherman and his father was a fisherman and her father was a fisherman and they were right in the hub of the fishing community. Subway Street, West Dock Avenue and all that there - that was just the hub of it. And they lost all their friends, because they didn't all move to Dairycoates Avenue… So they lost friends and the days of standing on your doorstep and talking to your neighbour, as they used to do in the terraced houses... It just became a different way, a different community.[101]

Ron's family eventually settled, but others could not. In *Dear Tom*, the autobiography of actor Tom Courtney, Tom's mother Annie expresses her restlessness in letters to her son.[102] The wife of a Fish Dock painter, she describes the move from the cramped, gossipy terraces of Harrow Street to the fresh air of Longhill with a growing sense of isolation. The distance to the Fish Dock meant long travelling hours for her husband and Annie missed familiar faces and easy contact. She expresses her disquietude as 'the most awful feeling of wanting to go home'[103] and makes plans to return to Hessle Road.

Respondents Thomas and Margaret both went to great lengths to remain in Trawlertown. Margaret moved from Harrow Street, to Strickland Street to Wassand Street ahead of the bulldozer, before finally relocating to Boothferry Estate. Margaret liked her new bathroom and the garden for the children, but she says 'there won't the atmosphere'. As a child Thomas and his family were moved from Hessle Road to one of the pre-war estates on Bricknell Avenue. Thomas hated it and as soon as he started fishing, he bought a

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[96] AT/015/IG.
[97] AT/027/JK.
[98] AT/032/LW.
[99] Ibid.
[100] AT/001/JW(I).
[101] AT/019/RW.
[102] Courtney, *Dear Tom*.
[103] Ibid., p.241.

house down Eton Street, back near the Fish Dock. These houses too were soon pulled down and Thomas had to move several times, each time returning to Hessle Road, where he still lives.[104] For those who did move away there were new rules of engagement. John K., Margaret and Ivy all report a change in the attitudes of neighbours who moved with them. Baths, gardens and fresh air seemed to bring a degree of separation.[105] John explains, '...people you've lived with for years... cos they got new houses, they didn't want to talk to you, as though they was better than you'.[106]

From this small research sample, it would be difficult to assess with confidence if the impact of rehousing was greater for the fishing community than it was for other Hessle Roaders or indeed for those from other parts of the city facing clearances. The focus of the research means that with few exceptions my respondents all had ties to the Fish Dock and this precludes comparison with other communities. In some ways, their recollections have similarities with studies and narratives of transformation in other working class neighbourhoods during the post war era.[107] Yet whilst my respondents do not always overtly connect their feelings about the disruption of Hessle Road directly to the localised ties of fishing, there is a strong implication that *these* community bonds were particularly hard to break. This is most apparent in the streets to the south of Hessle Road, close to the Fish Dock. At the root of such attachment it is plausible to sense the beat of Trawlertown.

The transformation of Hessle Road meant that the days of Trawlertown were numbered. Alan H., from his position within the White Fish Authority, observed the change with sadness:

> ... there was clearly a feeling that *[the new houses]* were more sanitary, and toilets and bathrooms and things like that could be built. But it destroyed a community really... they distributed people into another place, which hadn't got the same deep-rooted sentiments.[108]

For skipper Jim, the strength of the bonds was unsurprising. Fishing, he says, was a community into which you were born and bred. Jim respected other dangerous jobs, such as mining and steelwork. But fishing was different:

> ... at the end of their working day... they went home to their families. We didn't. Some of us went and never came back. And the ladies, the mothers, aunties, the children, they all helped each other. Well, you don't walk away and ever forget that kind of community.[109]

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Roberts describes the negotiation of new rules and behaviours that often accompanied moves from working class terraces to new estates in the 1950s and 1960s. Roberts, *Women and Families*, pp.212-218.
[106] AT/027/JK.
[107] For example, Roberts, *Women and Families*, pp.211-221.
[108] AT/005/AH.
[109] AT/001/JW(I).

Albert and William Wright Dock: An Untimely Beginning

As Hessle Road streets were being transformed, life on St Andrew's Fish Dock continued as usual. The freezer fleet had grown from the early 1960s bringing with it a new means of operation and new patterns of encounter. By the 1970s, the fishing taskscape was poised towards a different beat. Yet the still sizable sidewinder fleet maintained old rhythms (figure 10). Whilst some noted the appearance of cold stores for frozen fish, narrators did not generally attribute the changing atmosphere on Hessle Road in the 1970s to the freezer trawlers. It was, perhaps, too soon to tell or the disruption of demolitions had rendered other change invisible.

On St Andrew's Fish Dock, freezers initially brought only small-scale adjustment. Frozen fish blocks could not be swung from the trawlers in baskets in the wet fish tradition. Bobber John C. remembers the installation of a new system that he calls a 'banana rig' to mechanically land the fish.[110] Chris recalls an area being cleared on St Andrew's Dock to produce a concrete landing space where two to three freezer trawlers could be off loaded. Here fish would be laid out before being moved to the newly built cold stores.[111] In some cases, the cold stores had replaced the demolished terraces of fishermen's houses to the south of Hessle Road; a rather literal example of the impact of progress and the freezer fleet upon the surrounding district.

As the freezer fleet grew, wider remodelling was required. St Andrew's Dock was becoming outmoded and its facilities dilapidated. Alan J. explains the management perspective:

> ... the facilities for landing the ships weren't fantastic on St Andrew's Dock. We'd built a separate area for the freezer trawlers, but the wet fish trawlers still had lots of men working in the fish room and swinging the fish up using derricks… The ships were getting bigger and there was a need to get better facilities… a lot of the owners wanted to mechanise the landing of the ships...[112]

In June 1972, G. Maunsell and Partners were commissioned by the HFVOA to investigate the merits of relocating to the adjacent Albert and William Wright Docks.[113] The Albert and William Wright Docks (henceforth Albert Dock) had been closed to commercial traffic in that year, despite having undergone a programme of modernisation less than ten years earlier.[114] These docks offered a more extensive water area, 3453m of operational quay and an entrance lock that could admit the larger freezer vessels. With a 60 per cent Government grant, Albert Dock was converted to accommodate the fishing industry at a

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[110] AT/022/JC.
[111] AT/006/CG
[112] AT/012/AJ.
[113] C/DBTH/15/129.
[114] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.25.

Figure 10. Merchants with kits of wet fish, St Andrew's Dock, 1975.[115]

Figure 11. Processing fish in the new covered facilities on Albert Dock, 1976. In the background are the upgraded 'stands' or offices belonging to the fish merchants.[116]

[115] Photographer Unknown, *Fish Merchants with Fish Kits on St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* 1975 [Photograph]. Associated British Ports, Hull.

cost of £1.06 million.[117] In October 1975, the trawling fleet left their home of over ninety years and on 3rd November 1975, Boyd Line's *Arctic Raider* was the last ship to exit, leaving St Andrew's Fish Dock redundant.[118]

As figure 11 illustrates, the new Fish Dock on Albert Dock offered much improved facilities, which in 1983 were hailed as amongst the most up-to-date and best maintained facilities in the UK.[119] Despite initial disagreement, between the trawling firms themselves, and with the bobber's Union, fish landing at Albert Dock abandoned the traditional swinging baskets in favour of a fully mechanised system of conveyor belts.[120] From a management perspective Alan J. felt that mechanisation was inevitable. For trawling firms it meant less labour, easier sorting and a better end product that met industry demands and EEC standards.[121] To bobber John C. however, it was a change for the worse. He felt mechanical landing was slower and under the new conditions he felt that he had to work longer hours but for no extra pay.[122] For fish merchants David L. and Chris the move to Albert Dock was business as usual, but in much improved surroundings. David explains:

> Well, it wasn't a bad move in a way, because the merchants moved into adapted warehousing, which *[had]* semi-individual stands. They were small units of three or four merchants and the actual fish was landed in separate warehouses. Slightly more covered, as it were, from the elements.[123]

Chris also noted the separation of the landing and processing of fish. A lorry transported fish from the landing to processing area.[124] David and Chris agree that for the merchants the move brought benefits. But the modern facilities brought a dilution of the dense concentration of life and activity that had been characteristic of St Andrew's Fish Dock. In the summertime, David missed working outdoors and found that the warehouse environment felt enclosed, even unhealthy. It also altered the working atmosphere and the daily encounters that had stood at the heart of the fishery taskscape. David recalls:

> ... you didn't see your neighbours so much. I mean on St Andrew's Dock, when you were down on the quayside filleting, you could see people both sides for

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116 Photographer Unknown, *The New Fish Processing Facilities on Albert Dock, Hull.* 1976 [Photograph]. Associated British Ports, Hull.
117 Ibid.
118 Thompson, A Tribute, p.14. The SFIA Analysis of 1983 gives the date of the move as 1976. However, Thompson's date is supported by HCA (HC) Ref: C/DBTH/15/39. HFVOA. Minutes of a Meeting of the Management Committee on 24 September 1975. Item MC/97/75 and subsequent minutes.
119 SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.27.
120 For disputes over landing, see HCA (HC) C/DBTH/15/39. HFVOA minutes from January 1975 to November 1976. For final outcome see SFIA, Hull Fish Industry in 1983, pp.29-30.
121 AT/012/AJ.
122 AT/022/JC.
123 AT/010/DL.
124 AT/006/CG.

> as far as the market went… when we moved into Albert Dock, there were walls built, every sort of four stands there'd be 7 or 8 foot wall. So you weren't aware so much of other people around about you.[125]

Further separation resulted from the fact that in the early years of the new Fish Dock, many essential larger facilities, along with offices and other provisions, continued to be located on the old St Andrew's estate. Over ninety years of infrastructure could not be re-located overnight. On St Andrew's Fish Dock, decades of trawling had produced a physically concentrated shoreside operation. 'Everything was in together' explains Alan J.[126] However after the move it was different, as Alan continues:

> When we moved into Albert Dock the Ice Company stayed where it was of course, they didn't put *[up]* a new ice company. They were at the end of the dock. So we had to transport the ice, on trucks, down to Albert Dock. So it split it up, cos some of the staff stayed in the old area. I mean the Fish Meal Company was right at the most westerly end of the Fish Dock, y' know, you weren't gonna move that... Boyd Line, they moved their office onto Albert Dock, but by and large, nobody else did.[127]

After the move John C. continued to clock on at St Andrew's Dock and he and his fellow fish landers would be taken to Albert Dock by coach. With the break-up of concentrated activity, along with the new practices of the re-located freezer fleet, many agree that the atmosphere of the new dock never matched that of the old. Michael P. recalls, '…when you went into Albert Dock the market was very small. It was in a couple o' warehouses and the atmosphere'd gone completely'.[128] Jim, revisiting the Fish Dock after leaving the industry, also noted a much smaller operation[129] and Ron laments, 'well, it lost a lot of the character y' know'.[130] Deckhand Thomas, who in later years worked in security at Albert Dock, felt that the move had stripped away all former connectivity. Speaking of Albert Dock, he says:

> ... there was no atmosphere there. Not like there was... y' see, everything happened on *[St Andrew's]* Fish Dock. Everything. Y' know, your trawlers were landed on Fish Dock, you signed on on Fish Dock, you signed off. Everything happened on Fish Dock. So to move it to another dock, it just... it was all wrong. Completely wrong, you know what I mean.[131]

The move severed the former coherence of the Fish Dock. Although commodities such as ice would eventually be produced on Albert Dock, events after 1976 ensured that the new Fish Dock would never gain the status of St Andrew's as the pulse of Trawlertown.

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[125] AT/010/DL.
[126] AT/012/AJ
[127] Ibid.
[128] AT/004/MP.
[129] AT/001/JW(I).
[130] AT/019/RW.
[131] AT/037/TN.

The effort and expenditure on the relocation occurred with incredible mistiming, revealing just how unprepared were both industry and Government for what was to follow. The planning and refurbishment of the new Fish Dock occurred in the midst of the turmoil surrounding the second Cod War. The transfer itself occurred on the very eve of the third. When the Albert Dock scheme was conceived there were, on average 4.25 trawlers landing each day (c.597t fish total). By 1976 this had fallen to 2.4 (446t) and by 1983 it had plunged to 0.7 (c.85t).[132] The new Fish Dock was in trouble from the start.

Twice Disrupted

Given time, the people and their activity on and around Albert Dock would have generated a different taskscape, creating a new freezer-Trawlertown at the heart of a modern fishery. But as the industry tried to settle in its new home, the interruption of the move was followed by the greater disruption of the final Cod War, with its critical outcome for the Hull catching sector. As ships were laid up, sold or operated elsewhere, the consequences spilled from the dockside, to a neighbouring district that was already trying to adjust to the disturbances of housing clearance. The residents of Trawlertown were hit by a tidal wave of transformation, to their homes, streets and networks, to the location and dynamic of their workplace. On top of this came the greatest threat of all, the contraction and loss of the fishery: the very bedrock of Trawlertown and the catalyst of the lifeworlds it embraced.

The housing clearances and the end of fishing were two separate events, but as Lily explains, 'to people who lived there, they probably felt it was all the same, it all happened more or less at the same time'.[133] Faced with a multiple bombardment, it is not always easy to assign cause and effect. On the new and old Fish Docks, however, the direct impact of the final Cod War was easier to discern. Fewer trawlers were arriving into Hull and when they came, it was with less frequency and from new waters. Chris recalls the shift brought by the mackerel fishers, the start of the divergence between industry and home port:

> They were catching mackerel and stuff like that... it wasn't part of what the Fish Dock had been before. They were landing fish that was being exported to Africa and things like that. Their nature had changed... they loaded them into reefers, cargo vessels in Cornwall... So in a sense they'd left the Fish Dock and y' know I can't remember them having a great presence. Other than to come back and repair the freezer trawlers.[134]

By the early 1980s, the trawler owners, who in the tradition of the past had taken

[132] SFIA, *Hull Fish Industry in 1983*, p.25.
[133] AT/032/LW.
[134] AT/006/CG.

on the full lease of Albert Dock and had invested in its new facilities, were in a desperate battle to keep the dock viable. With the industry facing difficulties, the time-served model of running a substantial home base was becoming unprofitable. With only limited Government assistance and in a position of non-negotiation with the British Transport Docks Board, the trawler owners fought to keep the dock from closure. In February 1980 the HFVOA proceeded towards voluntary liquidation. Created in its place was the Humber Freezer Trawler Owners Company (HFTOC). Freed from earlier restrictions on rent negotiation, the Company strove for a better deal that could keep the dock operational. By the late 1970s, with opportunities for Hull trawlers severely restricted, it became clear that Icelandic vessels must be attracted to the port, if the dock and the fish trades were to continue. It is with irony that so soon after the withdrawal of British trawlers from Iceland, Hull should so desperately need to attract Icelandic vessels to its own Fish Dock. Yet the landings that had incensed Thomas were a necessity. Without Icelandic caught fish, Hull's contracting fishery could not have survived. The price was the development once again of a risky dependency upon Iceland.[135]

As the landings of the Hull fleet declined and the industry struggled for supplies, the effects could be seen in the vicinity of the dock. Engineering shops closed, along with the premises of joiners, riggers, plumbers.[136] The ice house closed in 1978,[137] and then, '... all the fish houses started closing' says Michael P., 'cos there wasn't the fish anymore'.[138] On the crumbling estate of the old St Andrew's Fish Dock, some functions lingered on. Lily, working in an office by the lock pit, recalls that elements of the dock were still active when she left in 1981. 'It wasn't a dead dock', she says.[139] Amidst the growing dereliction, X remembers odd interim uses:

> ... there was a guy... where the old bank used to be, I think it was, he was extracting gold off the old military equipment, y' know the plate, the contact… He just set up for himself and he must've got the building for a song... y' know, he didn't need a penthouse...[140]

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[135] The information in this paragraph is taken from various minutes, letters and supporting documents of HFVOA and HFTOC July 1977 and April 1981. HCA (HC) Ref: DBTH/15/41; DBTH/15/42; DBTH/15/114; DBTH/15/121.
[136] AT/020/PB, pp.20-22.
[137] Thompson, *A Tribute*, p.15
[138] AT/004/MP.
[139] AT/032/LW.
[140] AT/014/X.

Figure 12. The derelict St Andrew's Fish Dock, 1986, looking east from the western end towards the lockpit and the Lord Line building. To the right, the fish meal factory, to the left, the lights of the newly constructed A63 on the site of the former fish landing sheds and railway lines.[141]

Figure 13. The fish meal factory on the derelict St Andrew's Dock, 1986. The factory was still in partial operation in 1988, prior to its demolition.[142]

[141] Dyson, M., *View of Derelict St Andrew's Fish Dock, Hull.* 1986 [Photograph]. Available online: http://www.flickr.com/photos/53761336@N00/1475873957/in/set-72157602242234548 [Accessed 26 September 2015].

[142] Dyson, M., *Fish meal Factory, St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* 1886 [Photograph]. Available online: http://www.flickr.com/photos/53761336@N00/3241174244/in/set-72157602242234548 [Accessed 26 September 2015].

However, as the 1980s progressed and the industry continued to contract, the remnants of St Andrew's hastened towards final closure. Figures 12 and 13 show the dock in 1986. For most, it is this site, rather than the struggles of the newly established Albert Dock, that came to symbolise the end. Doug observed the beginning of decay as he drove past the former Lord Line trawler company offices. He says, 'it looked absolutely derelict, because the windows were smashed. Kids'd obviously used it for a bit of entertainment on a night time'.[143] Lily describes with emotion her return to St Andrew's Dock after 1981, saying, 'oh, it just looked derelict. It was awful... it was just so sad to see it... when I was always used to *[there]* being so many people about and so many things happening'.[144] The sight of a place once characterised by so much life, reduced to silence and dereliction was a spectacle that some chose to avoid. Michael P. explains, 'I went down there once. I din't want to know any more, it just looked horrible. No, as soon as fishing finished, I didn't want to know any more, cos it was depressing'.[145] Ken confirms that others feel the same way:

> I've spoken to many, many fishermen, who just say that they will not go on the dock because they like to remember it exactly how it used to be and not to see it in its dilapidated state now.[146]

Reminiscent of Edensor's study of the disordering of industrial space, Ken describes the progression from dock to wasteland, which he viewed daily from his office at the White Fish Authority:[147]

> *[The dock]* was closed up and of course with the twice a day, very strong tides, it was decided by whoever owned it that they had to kind of stop it silting up until decisions could be made on what they were going to do with it. And so all they did was cut large holes in the lock gates, which they said would allow the tide to flow in and out and stop any silting up. And this didn't work at all. So people could see, slowly, the dock filling up and silting up with sand. And the worse scenario for people to see, and what nobody can fight against, is Mother Nature and grass and weeds and plants growing. I saw this from my office window… I could actually see it changing... you got people coming and throwing things in it. The strong tides used to bring all kinds of rubbish up the river and drop it off at the entrance to the lock. So it was a sorry state to see it. And then the trawling offices that were left - everybody used to go to almost daily - you would see all the windows getting broken and vandalised. And then one time, the demolition people came along, a big contract, to start to knock everything down...[148]

[143] AT/003/DD.
[144] AT/032/LW.
[145] AT/004/MP.
[146] AT/018/KK.
[147] Edensor, *Industrial Ruins.*
[148] AT/018/KK.

From the mid-1980s, the site of St Andrew's Fish Dock began to be cleared, then in-filled to accommodate new development.[149] Jim, in his role with the Humber pilot cutters, became part of the process. He says:

> … it was filled in by a Dutch dredger, which took its sand from the River Humber, just outside Grimsby... the ship never stopped work and it used to do that voyage twice a day... we had to board the pilots on and off each time and I saw that happening. It was a fine piece of engineering and work – no doubt about it – but it didn't soften the blow.[150]

Former fishermen returning to the site of the old Fish Dock in the mid-1980s met with a scene of disruption. As the dock decayed, work was underway nearby on the construction of the A63, named the Clive Sullivan Way, which opened in November 1985. Around this time, Jill's husband John, with his newly acquired driving skills, decided to visit the old dock whilst on leave from the Gulf. The visit was something that John had enjoyed on a regular basis, but on this occasion a surprise greeted him:

> ... he drove down there and I went *[said]* to him – I think you've took the wrong turning… And there was like big digger things and we was on this dirt track…. And this chap stopped him and he went *[said]* – where you going Jack, you can't come along here... you'll have to go back.[151]

As the worker offered directions, John asserted, 'oh I know my way around here'. Yet clearly John was no longer on familiar ground. Demolition and rebuilding had swiftly rendered old haunts unrecognisable and old routines redundant. For John it was a disorienting experience. Jill narrates, 'he went *[said]* – I can't believe this. There's nothing here'.[152] By 1989, as illustrated in Map 7, the majority of the old St Andrew's Fish Dock had been transformed into a retail zone and parking slots. Only two trawling firms remained operating in the adjacent Albert Dock and to Ken, the arrival of new leisure and retail premises in place of dockland, ships and fish market confirmed the end. As he reflects, 'fishermen would've seen cinemas going up and MacDonald's and all that and just think, well that's it'.[153]

The Death of Trawlertown

Beyond the Fish Dock, Hessle Road too was hit by this second and catastrophic wave of disruption. With Trawlertown within its midst, the district not only supported fishing, it

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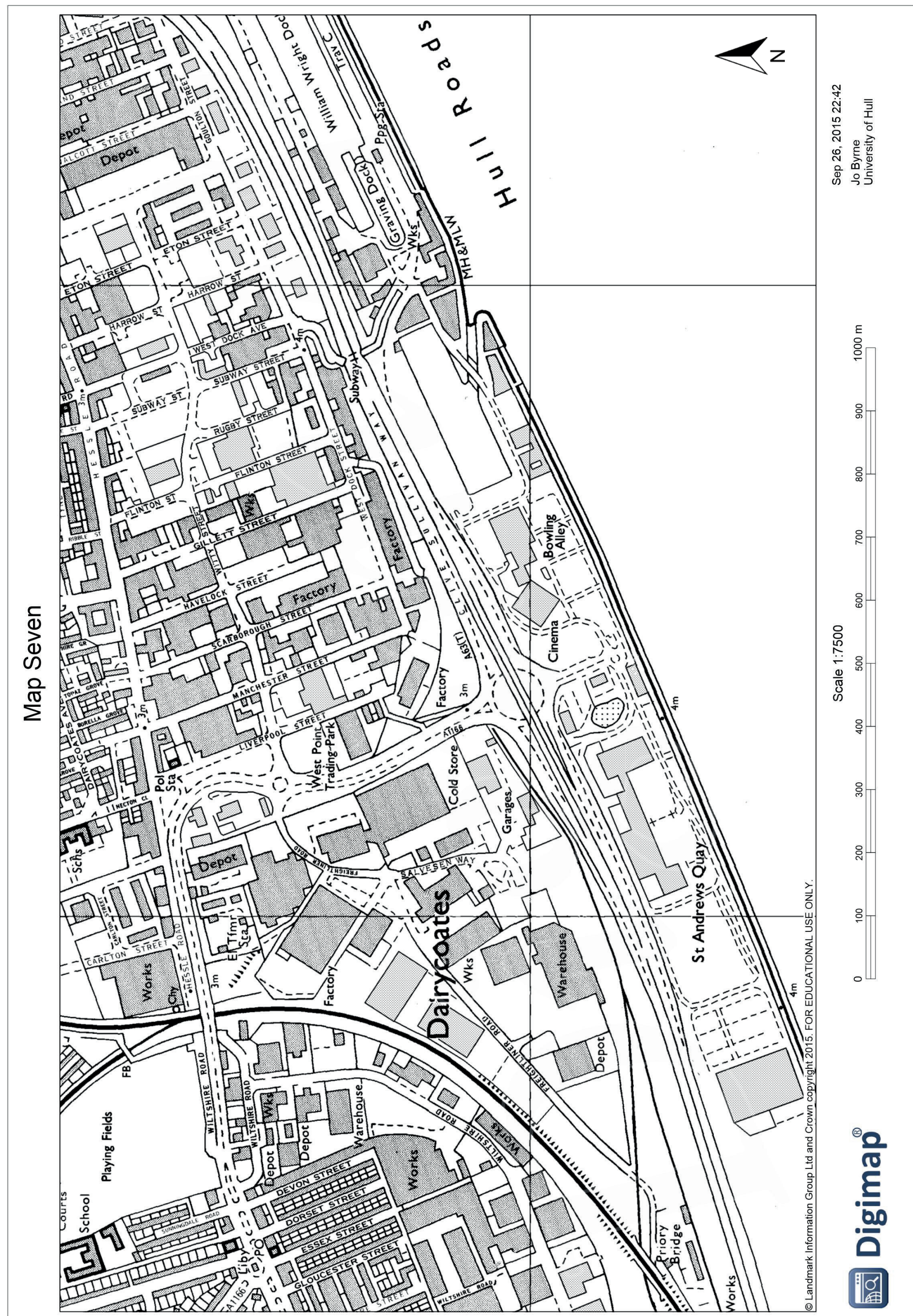
[149] Hull History Centre. http://hullhistorycentre.org.uk/discover/hullhistorycentre/ourcollections/maritimesources/historyofhulldocks.aspx. (Accessed 16 October 2014).
[150] AT/001/JW(I).
[151] AT/033/JL.
[152] Ibid.
[153] AT/018/KK.



Map 7. 1994. St Andrew's Quay Retail Park and South Side of Hessle Road.[154]

The map shows the retail estate of St Andrew's Quay and to the east, the derelict buildings and basin of the St Andrew's Dock Conservation Area. To the north, the Clive Sullivan Way has replaced the lines of the railway. Beyond the carriageway, factory units and cold stores stand on the site of former terraced housing.

[154] Landmark Information Group, *Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire*. 1:10000. National Grid Tile TA02NE, EDINA Historic Digimap Service, 1994. Created online: http://digimap.edina.ac.uk [Created 26 September 2015].

depended upon it. Retailers were already struggling with the effects of a dispersed population and respondents narrate a phase of further closures. Ron, describing change on Hessle Road, reflects upon its causes:

> ... a lot of good businesses closed down… that was mainly down to the failure of the fishing industry. Once you haven't got the money there for people, y' know... when we used to come home when I was a deckhand... you came home and for two days it was enjoying yourself, doing things, spending money and keeping the businesses of the city going.[155]

Less work within the fishery, meant less money in pockets and less spending within local shops and pubs. Earlier, Jim had reported pubs as spaces central to the encounters of Trawlertown. He now observes how well-known local spots began to disappear:

> *[Pubs]* were meeting places of your friends, your relations, everything. They were starting to go – one by one. The clubs the same. It was the shops and I think for a lot of people, the Clothing House, when that closed it was like somebody ringing a bell. That's how it went, over a period of years.[156]

Along with the meaningful spaces of the fishing district, the people were also vanishing. Hessle Road had always teemed with life. However, the movement of inhabitants out to new estates and the decreasing numbers coming in to work in the depleted fishery, meant a much reduced footfall in the district. The familiarity of well-known faces was also lost. Doug, like many others, recalls that a visit to the Hessle Road shops in the heyday of Trawlertown would be a lengthy and sociable experience, as he stopped to chat with people he knew. Speaking of Hessle Road in the 1970s, Doug observes:

> ... the thing that you notice[d] is that, when you're walking down Hessle Road, there's not so many people that you knew – not necessarily to talk to – *[but to]* look and say oh, that's so-and-so is that, just across the road there. And course that was because a lot of them had moved out to Bransholme and those sort o' places.[157]

With the industry in rapid contraction and the catching sector in terminal decline, Hull's fishing taskscape was dissolving. Trawlertown had come into being with the common activities, collective encounters, shared spaces and supportive networks of an extreme occupation. As trawling diminished, the surviving fishing firms became more international. Ships and operations increasingly diverged from the city and where they touched, they left a lighter footprint. The fishery that had dominated the function and culture of Hessle Road for over a century would henceforth influence just a small part of it.

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[155] AT/019/RW.
[156] AT/001/JW(II).
[157] AT/003/DD.

The demise of the sidewinders, the colossal reduction of the freezer fleet, the loss of the ancillary trades, the shrinkage of fish processing, the dereliction of the old Fish Dock, the clearance of housing and the dispersal of people had all conspired to bring Trawlertown to an end. For as Ingold writes 'the taskscape exists only so long as people are actually engaged in the activities of dwelling' and Palmer observes 'no sailortown could ultimately survive the decline of the port which had given it life'.[158]

In this chapter, Trawlertown has been conveyed with an 'insiders' sense of place, people and activity, with sound, smell, sensation and motion. Michael P. poignantly brings all these elements together in his description of Hull's fishing district in demise:

> All the people on Hessle Road were - as the fishing was going - then they slowly disappeared and there was different people all together on Hessle Road... I would say 1978 it was going down the tubes... there's all the fish houses gone and all the people who supplied kits and boxes to the market,… all that'd gone, so you didn't see the transport on the roads anymore. There was horses and carts going up and down the streets off Hessle Road all day long… and then it *[was]* fish lorries and all that'd gone... so it was like half of Hull had gone to sleep and just left. Just like, I suppose like California in the gold strike, when it'd gone and you just had towns with all the doors swinging empty and all that. And that's like Hessle Road was. All the factories closed down, cos they didn't need fitters for the trawlers any more. That was it. It was horrible.[159]

Michael continues:

> And Hessle Road, all the shops boarded up and everything... It's like any other industry, like the coal mines. I suppose their towns was the same when the shops closed. And before, all the pubs used to be full at 11 o'clock in the morning and there was taxis darting all over the town. But all that'd gone see, all the atmosphere.[160]

This was the end of Trawlertown. The movement stopped and the taskscape ceased to be. As the fishery assumed a lower profile, that definable layer of geographic, occupational and cultural relationships gradually dissolved back into the undulations of the wider city. Much of Trawlertown had existed in the consciousness and interactions of its inhabitants. Once these were gone it ceased to exist. In Trawlertown, the Star and Garter, known to locals as Rayners, was widely recognised as the fishermen's pub. After the trawl, it is just a pub: the fisherman's pub only in memory.

However, it must be remembered that amidst the lived encounters of Ingold's concept, the taskscape does find physical expression. 'A landscape' asserts Inglis, 'is the

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[158] Palmer, 'Ports', p148.
[159] AT/004/MP.
[160] AT/004/MP.

most solid appearance in which a history can declare itself'.[161] Ingold builds on this, reflecting that, 'Thanks to their solidity, features in the landscape remain available for inspection long after the movement that gave rise to them has ceased'.[162] As the activities of the past give way to new encounters, physical residues are left behind, to be remoulded into the taskscapes of the present. In the following chapter, we will see that this is where the journey to heritage begins. After the death of Trawlertown comes the birth of geographies of memory and the struggles for representation and commemoration. Although the distinct interactions of Hull's fishery have gone and their expression in the landscape is eroded, solid traces endure. These are the relics of the taskscape and they retain the invested memories, meaning and attachments of those who were part of their creation and passing. In the landscapes of the present they are valued and struggled over as sites of memory: as legacy and a tangible expression of other lives.

[161] F. Inglis, 'Nation and Community: A Landscape and its Morality', *Sociological Review,* 25 (1977), p.489.
[162] Ingold, 'Temporality of the Landscape', p.162.

Chapter 9: Remembrance

The Pull of the Past: A Prologue

> Still the old road, like a magnet, draws us back from near and far,
> Do the shopping Sat'day morning, have a pint in Rayner's bar.
>
> Lyrics from Keith Marsden's song, Hessle Road[1]

There is a postscript to the demise of Trawlertown. As Marsden's lyrics suggest, there has been a strong tradition for former residents to return to Hessle Road. Reference in a folk song confirms that the practice is recognised within the realms of popular memory and the topic was raised within my research interviews. The diverse circumstances of respondents meant that some still lived on Hessle Road, whilst others did not, but had continued to make the occasional visit. There was, however, a body of narrators who reported a sustained and conscious effort to retain a connection. In the era immediately after the housing clearances, some like Ivy, would return to Hessle Road regularly to remedy homesickness. Others felt the draw of familiar routines. Ivy reports that her neighbours in Bransholme, a former fisherman and his wife, would visit Hessle Road weekly: she would have her hair done and do the shopping, whilst he would visit the pub and meet friends.[2] Over the decades, practices that were initially a response to the disruption of housing clearance and to the loss of the fishing industry, have endured. Ken says that although many have passed on, there are still fishermen returning to Hessle Road 'to meet up and talk about old times'.[3] Ron reports, 'I just feel so comfortable when I go there'.[4] He observes the declining fabric and changing community dynamic, but says 'that doesn't make any difference. I go down Hessle Road and Hessle Road is Hessle Road'.[5] Pauline, Victor and Jill all enjoy regular visits back. And Margaret, living once again in the area, asserts her absolute affinity. 'I wouldn't leave here' she says, 'If I won the lottery I wouldn't leave Hessle Road'.[6]

Such returns can be explained as the continued pull of Trawlertown: the remnant rhythms of an extreme and situated maritime occupation. Returning to Hessle Road is a performance of place attachment, a demonstration of affinity to a neighbourhood that moulded lives. The death of Trawlertown occurred with the divorce of a maritime community from the industry that gave it birth. When it existed, the intensity of its

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[1] J. Conolly and P. Sumner (2000) *Trawlertown: The Singing of the Fishing* (Fellside) [on CD].
[2] AT/015/IG
[3] AT/018/KK.
[4] AT/019/RW.
[5] Ibid.
[6] AT/039/MG.

encounters forged strong situated bonds. In demise, and for some, those same factors forge a strong desire to return and to remember.

A Post-industrial Resolution: Acts of Forgetting

The disruption in Hull's fishery after 1976 occurred alongside transformations in other British manufacturing and maritime industries. Throughout Britain, de-industrialisation and changes in port practices disturbed once stable communities and rendered swathes of the urban landscape derelict. In post-industrial towns and cities, projects sought to address awkward abandoned spaces, which embodied Britain's industrial past, yet cried out for a new future. In the 1980s, the solution was often economy-driven. Conservation was combined with the active reuse of historic buildings, or learning was merged with leisure in heritage themed tourist attractions. In such projects the past could become an asset. From heritage centres to dockside apartments, from trails and sculptures to place-marketing strategies, representations of the industrial and maritime past were harnessed to serve the economy. Yet as Dicks has revealed, tensions can emerge in such commercial initiatives. Community sense of place and experience may be at odds with the demands of an economically driven heritage product.[7] In the Rhondda Valley Heritage Park, as elsewhere, the same past was pressed into the service of disparate commercial, civic and community needs. Projects could struggle to meet differing expectations, resulting in the contestation that has led many to frame heritage as a dissonant discourse.[8]

From the mid-1980s, as Hull's surviving fishery enjoyed relative calm, Hull's fishing community faced a new dispute. Between 1985 and 1988 the derelict remains of much of St Andrew's Fish Dock had been demolished to make way for the first phase of a retail estate (see Map 7). Opening in 1989, the retail park offered a much-needed economic boost to an area hit by the demise of fishing. Yet unlike schemes in other cities, this re-birth had ignored the past and the redevelopment threatened to sweep away the remnants of Trawlertown. To many members of the beleaguered fishing community, the demolition of the Fish Dock stood alongside other deeds of cultural negligence as an act of disinheritance.

The apparent marginalisation of Hull's trawling legacy within the city's regeneration strategies in the 1980s and 1990s have been highlighted by both Atkinson et al and Lazenby and Starkey.[9] Whilst other ports and cities were drawing upon their maritime and industrial heritage as a route to economic recovery, leaders in Hull made the seemingly conscious decision to bury its trawling past. Lazenby and Starkey refer to a

[7] Dicks, *Heritage, Place*.
[8] For example, Ibid., pp.153-155.
[9] Atkinson et al., 'Tales from the Riverbank'; Lazenby and Starkey, 'Altered Images'.

1980s University of Hull student recruitment video entitled 'Everything but the Fish', where Hull is promoted as a modern, vibrant city by overtly distinguishing this reality from the assumed grime and smell of a trawling port.[10] Trawling was also by-passed by strategic consultants seeking to draw investment to the city. Atkinson et al have explored this disregard in the context of urban boosterism, which dictates that to attract investment, marketing must emphasise the positive elements of place. Deflection of the perceived negative connotation is achieved via silence. Aspects of local identity, history or economic activity considered adverse or commercially unattractive are thus relegated to the margins and these authors suggest that the cultural legacies of Hull's fishing industry fell victim to such an approach.[11]

Yet as Lazenby and Starkey observe, Hull's trawling history was not only distinctive and significant, it was 'replete with danger, excitement, distance and elemental force – attributes that make marketing people salivate'.[12] The attitude in Hull contrasts sharply with the celebratory approach of rival trawling port Grimsby, where trawling heritage was positively embraced with the opening of the National Fishing Heritage Centre.[13] To explain Hull's acts of forgetting, Lazenby and Starkey suggest a political desire, in the enterprise economy of the 1980s, to disassociate the city from an industry which from the 1960s had been portrayed as archaic and marked by poverty, social deprivation and low levels of educational attainment; a stigma enhanced by the decline and defeat of the industry in the late 1970s.[14] With its diverse economy, Hull was able to look elsewhere to promote city identity. Lazenby and Starkey suggest that the understatement of fishing heritage could also be seen as a reflection that trawling was but one contribution to a versatile urban and maritime economy.[15]

The fabric of St Andrew's Dock was also overlooked as a potential heritage asset. The ordinary nature of the dock made it easy to ignore, and attempts by the community to safeguard its buildings fell victim to a heritage protection system that held a narrow and nationally focused definition of heritage significance and which placed great emphasis on architectural merit. The prominent and successful dockside heritage developments of the day, such as St Katherine's Dock in London and Albert Dock in Liverpool, had included architecturally impressive structures. Hull's own award winning warehouse regeneration, The Waterfront, which opened in 1978, had utilised a small but attractive brick building in

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[10] Lazenby and Starkey, 'Altered Images', p.169.
[11] Atkinson et al., 'Tales from the Riverbank', pp.27-31.
[12] Lazenby and Starkey, 'Altered Images', p.168.
[13] Ibid., pp.169-170.
[14] Ibid., p.169.
[15] Ibid.

a prominent city centre location.[16] By contrast, the surviving fabric of St Andrew's Dock was domestic in scale and functional in nature. The modest buildings obscured their significance as the home of Britain's once world-leading distant-water fleet.

The potential of fishing to function within the dynamic realms of heritage-led regeneration and place-marketing was therefore not embraced. In 1984, the leader of Hull City Council asserted:

> Fishing was never the dominating factor here. We've had aerospace, other engineering and pharmaceuticals for years, and they've pushed and thrived. And we're pushing micro technology. We're… not forgetting the past, but we're also looking forward.[17]

By 1996, the civic elimination seemed complete, as the council leader once again reflected:

> While we are proud of our heritage, we must put the city's dominant fishy image behind us once and for all and move forward into a new era of pride and prosperity.[18]

However, amidst deliberate acts of forgetting, Hull's sizable fishing community preferred to remember. In 1989, community fishing heritage group STAND was formed in response to a growing sense that their trawling past was being dismissed. The campaign was initiated by former fisherman and fish bobber John Crimlis (henceforth John C.) and supported by local historian Alec Gill. Amongst my interviewees, Jim, Ron, Victor, Pauline and Jill added their voices to STAND, whilst Ken and Alan H. engaged with alternative projects to raise awareness of trawling heritage. Asserting their 'heritage from below', the close knit networks of Hull's fishing community were mobilised once more, this time on a quest for remembrance. Collectively, their aim was to find a place for their past within the future of the city.

A Ruinous Affect

The processes that shape the desire for remembrance and representation can be considered with reference to theories of lived space. Phenomenological and more-than-representational geographers portray a world that comes into being, and where bonds are forged, through embodied practice and performance. Jones identifies memory as integral to this. To Jones, we live in a continuous unfolding of consecutive moments, which we retain and carry forward. The spatial relationships of the present are thus moulded by the practices, senses and feelings of the past, made accessible by our always-at-work

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[16] Hull Daily Mail, www.hulldailymail.co.uk/breathing-new-life-waterfront-warehouse/story-19735042-detail/story.html (Accessed 13 January, 2015).
[17] Lazenby and Starkey, 'Altered Images', p.169.
[18] Atkinson et al., 'Tales from the Riverbank', p.90.

memory.[19] This premise can explain the persisting affinities to the derelict spaces of Trawlertown. Around the streets of Hessle Road, practice, emotion and affect, as encounters once lived and now recalled, have cemented the bonds of place. In turn, they drive the desire to commemorate and represent.

These forces are most evident in narratives of St Andrew's Fish Dock. Describing the active dock, respondents draw readily upon their memories of sound, smell, feelings and movement. Their vibrant descriptions capture not only the frenzy of daily practice, but also the rawness of affect. There is chaos and movement; slime, ice, bustle, noise. There are the smells of rope and fish and the warmth of arrival. Michael actively recreates the sounds of riveters working on long-since departed trawlers – 'bang, bang, bang, bang, bang'.[20] From this it is clear that in the realms of memory, the sensation of the real-time occurrence remains active and available to recall.

The demonstrable link between memory, senses and repeated embodied activity, reveals the bonding process by which the Fish Dock gained significance as a *'lieu de memoire'* for those with a personal connection. It explains why Lily and Michael could not bear to witness the dock in decline. Just as Miere's interviewees expressed an emotional connection and sense of loss at the demise of their workplace, many of my own interviewees expressed sadness that a place of people and movement should be reduced 'to nothing'.[21] They do not adopt Edensor's celebratory view of industrial ruins. The derelict dock according to Victor is 'symbolic of a whole life gone'.[22] Whilst Lily conjures De Certeau's notion of 'present-absences' by describing the derelict Lord Line building as 'a sad little reminder of something that used to be good'.[23] Jim recalls the bodily affect of loss, going on to make the connection between the empty dock and a sense of heritage:

Jo: And did you ever go back and see St Andrew's Dock when it was empty?
Jim: Too many times (spoken sadly).
Jo: How did that make you feel?
Jim: Aw. Brok'en hearted! (sad laugh). I know that sounds silly, but er (short pause) our history had gone. Our heritage'd gone. Absolutely. Oh aye![24]

As the encounters of the past came to an end, all that was left was the abandoned dock. Yet as these emotional responses reveal, embodied activity had not only formed the dockland, it had bound people to it, imbuing its spaces with personal, collective and temporal significance. Ken's testimony illustrates this. Asked how he had been affected by

[19] Jones, 'Geography, Memory', p.880.
[20] For full description of this activity refer to chapter eight pp.10-12.
[21] AT/032/LW.
[22] AT/029/030/V&PW
[23] AT/032/LW.
[24] AT/001/JW(I).

the physical demise of St Andrew's Dock, Ken focuses upon a large capstan that stands on the inner bullnose. For Ken the now redundant capstan assumed a personal and collective meaning. He explains:

> … the reason I felt this is, every time we came into the port, *[there]* was the routine of a tug starting to tow us and I always had to put our head rope on this capstan to straighten the ship up. So every ship that sailed out of Hull had some kind of contact with that capstan.[25]

As the larger part of the dock was demolished, the survival of the capstan gained significance to Ken as an enduring *'lieu de memoire'*. 'It's still there today' he reflects, '… it was the first piece of the dock and possibly it'll be the last'.[26]

After a period that Orange defines as a metaphorical burial,[27] during which the fishing community could begin to come to terms with the loss of trawling, there emerged a new allegiance to the dock as a site of remembrance. As the fabric of the old Fish Dock began to dissolve, this new association would lead into a battle for conservation and commemoration. At its root, I argue, stood the encounters of the past. The unconscious practices and everyday relationships, recalled so vividly within this research, had forged intense attachment to place. When threatened with loss, this bond, transferred to the physical relicts of past associations, spurred some into the arena to fight for representation and remembrance.

The Rise of Heritage from Below

In 1975, the Hull Museum of Fisheries and Shipping, established in 1912, moved from a small brick pavilion in Pickering Park, west of Hessle Road, to its new city centre home. The Town Docks Museum, now Hull Maritime Museum, took residence in the impressive former offices of the Hull Dock Company and work began to create a gallery telling the story of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery. In letters to the HFVOA, the museum sought advice and artefacts, outlining their intention to take the trawling narrative from the nineteenth century to the modern era of freezer trawlers and echo sounders.[28] The fishing gallery opened in 1976, claiming its place alongside other exhibits of the city's whaling, shipping and trading past.

The launch of the new fishing gallery, just like the move to Albert Dock, narrowly preceded the collapse of the industry. Here again, there is little evidence that the demise was anticipated. The museum's letters to the HFVOA do not suggest a collection policy

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[25] AT/018/KK.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Orange, 'Industrial Archaeology', p93.
[28] HCA (HA) C/DBTH/15/39. HFVOA. Agenda Item 10 for Meeting of the Management Committee on 26 March 1975 and 24 September 1975.

based upon a sense of threat. Modern artefacts were requested merely to offer a 'comprehensive picture' from past to present.[29] The new gallery took a technical look at the history of fishing, concentrating upon vessels, techniques and the development of the industry. As this 'authorised' city narrative entered the 1970s, the tone was measured yet confident. The 21-day trip was conveyed with certainty as *this is what we do* and the Cod Wars were addressed as recent turbulence in the continuum of the fishery.

Almost forty years later, visitors may be unaware that the fishing gallery has changed very little. An audio-visual recording of ex-fishermen talking about their lives has helped to animate the technical exhibits. A graphic added in 2011 compresses into a single panel the struggles of the industry in the wake of the final Cod War. Certain panels carry a notice that their detail needs revision. Yet despite the present tense used in later displays, the dated nature of the gallery is not immediately obvious. The opening of the fishing gallery just as the British fleet was forced from Iceland, meant that without intention, the ending of the gallery's narrative coincided with what was to become of end of the traditional fishery. Without modification, the account of *what we do* slipped silently and seamlessly into the conveyance of *what we did*.

The fishing gallery gives rare insight into the city's sanctioned and taken for granted view of its trawling past and 'present' on the eve of disruption. The exhibit seems well liked by those who referred to it in my interviews and its vintage was not remarked upon. With its traditional form and function, the fishing gallery has maintained a calm detachment from the struggles over remembrance. Arguably, had the industry remained active, the museum would have continued as the single, obvious and accepted depository for Hull's trawling heritage. But the fishery plunged into crisis and its spaces and practices entered into turmoil. New social and economic projects designed to reinvigorate the city pushed trawling history into their wake. The response was cultural resistance that erupted from outside the authorised discourse. It flowed without the museum walls, around the streets of Hessle Road to the silted basin of the old Fish Dock. This was heritage from below and it emerged as alternative expression, grassroots commemoration and outright social protest.

In the decade after the final Cod War, as the fishing community grappled with immediate difficulties, the past had not been a pressing concern. But from the mid 1980s, the crisis had begun to settle and the desire to remember began to grow. A number of local history publications were produced around this time. They include the work of photographer and local historian Alec Gill, who followed up his photographic exhibitions

[29] Ibid., 26 March 1975.

of the 1970s with a book portraying Hessle Road as a community dealing with change.[30] The publication was an early step on a lifelong commitment by Gill to projects remembering Hull's trawling heritage.

A further contribution came from the perhaps unexpected sphere of the theatre. In the early 1980s, local playwright Rupert Creed was seeking an identity for his newly formed *Remould Theatre Company*. Focusing upon the oral history method as a means to create compelling and authentic theatre, Rupert selected the Hull fishing industry for his first venture.[31] *The Northern Trawl* is what Rupert describes as 'the community's own view of itself'.[32] Drawn from oral history interviews, the play depicts the fishing industry and community through individual stories and multiple voices. First performed in 1985, Rupert sees the play as a milestone in acknowledging the city's trawling past. He explains:

> … the moment we started recording people, we got a real sense that this was the story that they felt needed to be told. There was a passion about talking about the fishing. And there was also that feeling… that Hull had been forgotten a bit. So this group of people felt that their contribution and their history had been side lined, had been unacknowledged and particularly because they had such a high death rate… they felt that this was wrong and they wanted it rectifying. [33]

Rupert's play contributed to a nascent body of work that responded to this sense that the past needed to be recognised. The work of Rupert and Alec can be seen as Samuel's 'little platoons'; expressions of community memory that add to or counter the authorised discourse. Yet Alec and Rupert both declare their 'guest status' within the fishing community. Their 'outsider' role was that of mediator and their work a co-production between artist or academy and community. As the 1980s progressed, the eruption of memory took a new turn. By 1988, the local drive for economic recovery focused upon the redundant spaces of St Andrew's Fish Dock. Until then the dock had attracted little public attention. But by 1988 the fish meal factory had been wound down and the remaining dockland estate was under demolition.[34] As Trawlertown faced oblivion, proposed development that failed to acknowledge the past met with a swell of resistance from within the fishing community itself.

As plans were advanced, former trawlerman and bobber John C. increasingly believed that the memory of fishing should be somehow anchored against the flood of change. In 1985, John began a one-man campaign to have the contributions of Hull's fishing community recognised within the planned rebirth of the old Fish Dock area. He

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[30] Gill, *Hessle Road.*
[31] AT/013/RC
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] *Fish Trader*, October 15, 1988.

explains his motivation, saying, 'being in the fishing industry practically all me working life, losing two brothers and the amount of men what'd got lost from the port, I thought there should be something done about it'.[35] John's original aim was modest. The A63 approach road was under construction immediately north of the old dock basin (see figure 12). He felt that naming the road St Andrew's Way or Memorial Road would act as a fitting tribute to trawling and he approached local Councillors for support. However, shortly before the naming decision was reached, Hull rugby legend Clive Sullivan became terminally ill.[36] John narrates:

> … there was an East Riding Councillor saying that he'd been inundated with requests to call *[the A63]* the Clive Sullivan Way. So I rang him and said that I'd suggested it be named as a tribute to the men who'd been lost in the fishing industry. And he said, oh yes, but Clive Sullivan's done a lot for Hull, y' know. So I said, yeah, I said, the fishing industry did as well…[37]

As the A63 became the Clive Sullivan Way, John turned his attention elsewhere, writing letters to the *Hull Daily Mail* and building a detailed model of the Fish Dock. To help him make progress, a neighbour put him in touch with Alec Gill.[38] Alec too had protested against the naming of the Fish Dock redevelopment. Alec felt that the proposed name *Fisherman's Wharf*, was reminiscent of San Francisco or London and merely emphasised the distance between the development and the cultural circumstances of Hull. He says, '*Fisherman's Wharf* saw my blood boil, Hull were trawlermen and there was never a wharf'.[39] Alec's protest led to a local naming competition and the retail park was called *St Andrew's Quay;* a nod to the past in name at least.[40]

The partnership between John and Alec led to the formation of STAND at a public meeting held at Edinburgh Street School on Hessle Road in September 1989.[41] The St Andrew's Fish Dock Heritage Park Action Group (STAND) had three initial aims; to save the surviving dock buildings; to create a trawling heritage park; and as part of this to include a garden of remembrance to the lost trawlermen of Hull.[42] The group consisted of local people, many connected with fishing. John adapted his Fish Dock model to demonstrate how the heritage park might look and the group swung into action to convince Grosvenor Square Properties Group Plc. (the property arm of Associated British

[35] AT/022/JC.
[36] Clive Sullivan played for both Hull F.C and Hull Kingston Rovers. In 1972, he was the first black captain of any British national sporting team. He died in Hull in 1985.
[37] AT/022/JC
[38] Ibid
[39] Interview with Alec Gill. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 20 June, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/020/AG.
[40] Ibid.
[41] AT/020/AG; AT/022/JC.
[42] Alec Gill private papers. Document entitled 'The Purpose of STAND', undated.

Ports [ABP] and owners of the site) to conserve the extant buildings around the Fish Dock entrance.

From 1989 STAND became the lead campaigners for fishing heritage in Hull. However, they were not the only group engaged in remembering. Other 'little platoons' continued to add multiple perspectives. In 1992, the 1969 triple trawler disaster was addressed in Hull's grassroots community play, *Vital Spark*, directed by Jon Oram and Rupert Creed and performed by local people. In 1998, Rupert led a further oral history project with Hull University Lifelong Learning students, researching the women's 1969 campaign for trawler safety and leading to the book and later the play *Turning the Tide*.[43]

From 1993, George McGee also began a heritage project at the Edinburgh Street Community Centre. George explains his motivation:

> … I'd walked down Hessle Road… I knew then that Hessle Road'd vanished and everything would vanish with it. And that's when I got the idea of a mural. Getting all the streets, pubs, clubs, characters, the trawlers…[44]

George is a lifelong Hessle Roader. If you cut him in two, he says, it would say Hessle Road inside. After a spell as a Fish Dock barrow boy, George worked all his life in the building trade. Nevertheless he firmly equates Hessle Road with the fishing industry. 'Well the fishing industry was Hessle Road' he says, 'it was the fishing industry that held Hessle Road together'.[45] This is reflected in the mural that he arranged to be painted on a large wall of the community centre (figure 14). Taking years to fund and complete, *The Spirit of Hessle Road* depicts the names of streets and shops regularly mentioned by respondents, alongside Hessle Road scenes and well-known local characters. At its heart are the trawlers and a roll of honour to those lost. As part of his project George took former fishermen to give talks in schools and brought classes to view the mural. Yet the mural was primarily aimed at an older generation. *The Spirit of Hessle Road* is an intimate portrait that could only be achieved with an 'insider's' knowledge and understanding. It was, says George 'for the old Hessle Roaders, because Hessle Road had been destroyed for them'.[46]

As a tide of community remembering welled 'from below', the plays, mural, books and photographs offered alternative expressions of heritage drawn from the grassroots of community life. By contrast, STAND's campaign was a direct challenge to the civic authorities and the mechanics of recession economics. Heritage from below became social

[43] Creed, *Turning the Tide*.
[44] Interview with George McGee. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 13 September, 2013. Transcript Ref: AT/035/GM.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

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Figure 14.
Top: ***The Spirit of Hessle Road*** **covers the wall of the Edinburgh Street Community Centre with people and places from the past.**
Middle: A woman and child watch trawlers arriving in the Humber, above a roll call of lost trawlers and alongside an image of Rayner's, the Hessle Road fishermen's pub.
Bottom: A fisherman waits with his kit bag, next to a list of familiar Hessle Road streets.
Photographer: Jo Byrne, 2013.

Figure 14.
Top: ***The Spirit of Hessle Road*** **covers the wall of the Edinburgh Street Community Centre with people and places from the past.**
Middle: A woman and child watch trawlers arriving in the Humber, above a roll call of lost trawlers and alongside an image of Rayner's, the Hessle Road fishermen's pub.
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Photographer: Jo Byrne, 2013.

protest against cultural disinheritance. It fell into three areas of activity: saving the Fish Dock; the quest for a memorial; and the preservation of the *Arctic Corsair.*

Saving the Fish Dock

The redevelopment of the St Andrew's Dock had commenced from the west, leaving the area of the bullnose untouched. In December 1990, responding to STAND's vocal campaign, Hull City Council designated the cluster of remaining buildings to the east of the dock as a conservation area (figures 15 and 16). Earlier that year, the Department of the Environment had rejected STAND's request to include certain buildings for statutory listing, on the basis that the structures were not of sufficient architectural or historic interest.[47] Yet by the early 1990s, STAND had launched a petition that had attracted over 20,000 signatures.[48] In the days before e-petitioning, the figure demonstrates significant support for the preservation of the Fish Dock. In local terms, this was hard to ignore.

The city council were not actively against the STAND proposals. By October 1989, several city councillors had expressed their support, followed by West Hull MP Stuart Randall and a number of Humberside county councillors.[49] Yet in the difficult climate of the 1980s, Hull City Council could not extend financial help.[50] The deputy leader, whilst reiterating the city council's general support, questioned the financial viability of the project, highlighting the 'complex considerations' that ran beyond merely seeking to save historic buildings.[51] One such complexity was that the Fish Dock site was owned by ABP. Local authority intervention was therefore restricted and whilst the council were willing to facilitate, they were not willing to take on the project *per se*. In a short newspaper article in November 1989, the city leader makes his position clear.[52] If STAND could persuade Grosvenor Properties to accept their plan, the authority would assist. Responding to criticism that the fishing past had been ignored, the leader sought the shelter of authorised heritage, drawing attention to the contribution of the Town Docks Museum. The council could do no more, he concluded, as they simply did not own the Fish Dock.

The council's position put them at variance with those who valued the Fish Dock as more than real estate. As a campaigner, Alec viewed the council's approach as a deliberate act of forgetting. He says:

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[47] Alec Gill private papers. Letter to Alec Gill from Department of the Environment dated 20th August, 1990.

[48] AT/020/AG.

[49] Alec Gill private papers. Letter to Alec Gill from Councillor K Branson of Hull Labour Group, dated 5 October, 1989; *Hull and Beverley Independent,* November 17, 1989.

[50] Letter from K Branson, 5 October 1989.

[51] Alec Gill private papers. Letter to John Crimlis from Councillor P Bloom, Hull City Council, dated 31 October 1989.

[52] *West Hull Target*, November 9, 1989.

Figure 15. Derelict buildings around the lockpit, in the space designated as a conservation area.[53]

Figure 16. The silted lockpit looking out to the Humber. To the left a cluster of small offices and stores once typical of the Fish Dock. To the right, the larger office of the White Fish Authority stands on the bullnose.[54]

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[53] Hampel, P., *Surviving Buildings around the Old Lockpit of St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (133), Hull City Council, Hull.
[54] Hampel., *Silted Lockpit, Gates and Buildings at the Former Entrance to St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (116), Hull City Council, Hull.

> There was this attitude of lets live it down. Hull wants to move forward, y' know, forget that fishing village thing and fishwives and drunken brawling fishermen. We want to get rid and become a modern town.[55]

From 1991, however, the council's designation of the Fish Dock as a conservation area had placed heritage firmly on the agenda and a dialogue was opened with the developers. Although Grosvenor Properties were unenthusiastic about the site's historic or touristic merit, by 1992, a breakthrough had been made.[56] Hull's bid for £37.5 million from the Government's City Challenge Scheme included a partnership between the local authority and the private and voluntary sector to convert the remaining derelict spaces of St Andrew's Dock into a Marine Science Technology Park. The proposal incorporated a heritage museum, to be run in refurbished premises by the voluntary sector. Whilst leaving heritage in voluntary hands, the scheme demonstrated an acceptance that the past was significant. When the bid was submitted, the site was described as prominent, not only economically and geographically, but also historically.[57]

When the Challenge Bid failed to secure Government funding, the plans for St Andrew's Dock were included within the subsequent successful bid to the Government's Single Regeneration Budget. Since then the site has had a chequered history. Atkinson et al. focus upon a 1997 planning application by Grosvenor Waterside (formerly Grosvenor Properties) for a mixed leisure, retail and office development within the conservation area.[58] Here the views of STAND and Hull City Council's planning committee were united, with the application rejected on the grounds that it did not sufficiently address fishing heritage. The decision was subsequently overturned on appeal in 1999 by a planning inspectorate that was unable to reconcile community expressions of value with nationally imposed judgments of heritage merit.[59] In local terms, however, the planning committee decision was significant, for it revealed the progress that had been made in embedding views 'from below' within the city's authorised heritage discourse.

Even 'from below' not everyone in the city accepted the worth of the Fish Dock buildings. As Dicks has shown, the values assigned to place-memory are 'not uniformly shared by local people'.[60] In a letter to the local paper in 1998, C Wilson expressed an alternative view of the prominent Lord Line building, depicted in figure 17:

> I object to this really ugly building staying upright. The Lord Line building in my opinion has damaged Hull's skyline long enough. Hull needs exciting new

[55] AT/020/AG
[56] AT/020/AG
[57] Alec Gill private collection. Gateway to Opportunity, Hull City Challenge Submission, undated.
[58] Atkinson et at., 'Tales from the Riverbank', pp.31-32.
[59] Ibid, p.39.
[60] Dicks, *Heritage, Place*, p.160.

Figure 17. The end of the Line? The derelict Lord Line trawling offices stand at the head of a silted dock basin.[61]

Figure 18. A sense of placelessness. The white sheds of St Andrew's Quay retail park across the silted dock basin (viewed from the inner bullnose (north of the lockpit).[62]

[61] Hampel, P., *The Lord Line Building,* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (97), Hull City Council, Hull.
[62] Hampel, P., *St Andrew's Quay Retail Park and Silted Dock, Viewed from the Inner Bullnose.* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (112), Hull City Council, Hull.

> developments not painful memories from a generally bitter, sad and hard life for thousands of Hull folk.[63]

Atkinson et al. further reveal the complex dissonance of remembering, for whilst the Lord Line building was embraced by many as an emblem of the Fish Dock, for others it symbolised the trawling companies and was thus unrepresentative of trawlermen and their families.[64]

Despite winning their appeal, the 1997 proposal by Grosvenor Properties did not go ahead. The Fish Dock site has since changed hands and other unimplemented schemes have come and gone. Most recently in 2012, in a reversal of the earlier recognition, Hull City Council granted planning permission to Manor Property Group for a scheme demolishing a significant percentage of the conservation area buildings. Surprisingly, the scheme was passed despite objections from conservation professionals and without reference to heritage in the planning committee meeting where it was determined.[65] In a more positive move, however, as some buildings are demolished, the council has enforced urgent works to stabilise the remaining structures.

Forty years after its closure, the site of St Andrew's Dock is in an advanced state of decay. The crisp, white sheds of the retail park stand in stark contrast to the silt and rubble of its neglected neighbour (figure 18). Many respondents express discontent with the civic response to the emotive spaces of Hull's fishing heritage. John C., the original campaigner, expresses his own disappointment:

> Its sacrilege what they've done to that dock. And what they haven't done, y' know, what they should've done. I mean, that dock could've been turned into something like Beamish. Something like that y' know – historical. Everything was there. But they just let the buildings go to rack and ruin, so that they'd have to pull them down in the end.[66]

There is a sense of marginality and of deliberate forgetting. Victor, a member of STAND, says 'I don't think *[the council]* were that interested in the *[fishing]* heritage. I think they were more interested in the future.' He is reflexive, adding, '…and you can understand the council doing that. They needed to preserve Hull as a city, with forward thinking industries'.[67] Some are less forgiving, revealing that sense of 'otherness' and disregard, which in the past contributed to the autonomy of Trawlertown.[68] Laurie reflects, 'what

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[63] C. Wilson, in *Hull Daily Mail,* January 20, 1998.
[64] Atkinson et al.,'Tales from the Riverbank', pp.36-38.
[65] Hull City Council, Planning Application Ref: 00025408N and 00025408M, received October 23, 2012. Permission granted at Planning Committee Meeting on 5 December, 2012. Meeting attended by author.
[66] AT/022/JC.
[67] AT/029/030/V&PW.
[68] Refer to chapter eight, p.7.

they've tried to do, all these people in the council… is erase fishing. They never liked fishermen at all'.[69] And Ken adds:

> I'm a strong believer that there's lots of people, officials, council members and people in authority… I don't think they give a damn about the fishing industry. I wouldn't say that they're pleased that it's disappeared, because we brought lots of money into the city. But I think that they're slowly showing a lack of interest.[70]

Ken and his friends try to keep the past alive in their own independent ways, for example, by giving talks and fish gutting demonstrations as part of heritage events. 'We try our hardest to keep the heritage open or make people aware of it', he says, 'yet as time goes by, this is something that is harder to do'.[71] Such engagements occur away from the crumbling spaces of the old Fish Dock, which themselves have become marginal to the city. The derelict shell of the former trawling heartland exists as a source of frustration and regret for many interviewees. Skipper Michael P., reflects the feelings of others when he concludes, 'I think it's disgusting… for what the fishing industry did for Hull… and the money that they brought into the town. I think that the town could have made a better effort'.[72]

A Place to Remember

When speaking of fishing heritage, it is common for respondents to refer to the high death rate within the trawl industry. Loss is presented as their premise for remembrance and is echoed in the words of campaigners and in letters of support to the local press. The desire to preserve St Andrew's Dock sits seamlessly alongside calls for memorialisation. Interviewees, such as Thomas, Ivy, Michael H. and X, link their aspiration for a museum on the Fish Dock site with the duty to remember those lost.[73] Michael P. also combines his hopes for a refurbished dock with a sense of commemoration. The dock basin, he says, should have become a garden, containing, '…a nice memorial to the fishermen who's gone, with all their names on, so their grandkids could see it'.[74]

Loss is a legacy of deep-sea fishing. As the Schilling report confirmed, trawling was high in risk.[75] In the 140-year span of the Hull industry, 6,000 men are estimated to have lost their lives at sea.[76] Within the fishing community, it is recognised that for those who

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[69] AT/025/LW.
[70] AT/018/KK.
[71] Ibid.
[72] AT/004/MP.
[73] AT/037TN; AT/015/IG; AT/009/MH; AT/014/X.
[74] AT/004/MP.
[75] Holland-Martin, *Trawler Safety.*
[76] This is the most widely circulated figure in popular memory, media sources and political debate. (although it can range from 5,000 to 8,000). It is not clear where this figure originated.

suffer such loss, the absence of a body or grave is an additional and enduring source of grief.[77] Stephens reveals that forty years after the collapse of trawling, the legacy of loss at sea, coupled with the loss of the industry itself still resonates within the pastoral work of the Fishermen's Mission in Hull.[78] That duality of loss - loss of life, loss of industry – underpins the campaign for a tribute. One loss has folded into the other. The need for loss to be publically acknowledged gained pace and form once the industry itself was threatened with oblivion. In Trawlertown, I argue, loss was supported and remembrance secured within the communal networks of the fishing community. As the taskscape dissolved and its inhabitants dispersed, there arose more structured calls to remember. When John C. began his lobby, his aim had been to anchor the past amidst the flows of change. Commemoration was a major part of that aim and from conception STAND's plans for the Fish Dock had included a memorial.

When first developing STAND, Alec Gill had evolved the idea of an annual Lost Trawlerman's Day to commemorate those lost at sea and to highlight the importance of a permanent memorial. The first event took place in January 1990, timed to coincide with the most treacherous months of the trawling calendar.[79] In these early years it was a hands-on, community-led event, as Jill recalls:

> We used to have tea urns and we used to get the milk from Northern Dairies… as a good will gesture. We used to get tea bags from the local grocery stores or coffee, y' know, everything was donated… and we used to go down on the Friday and Saturday and tidy the dock up with shovels and spades and brushes…[80]

Since then it has developed into an important annual occasion for Hull's trawling community. The service initially took place on the bullnose, by the decaying entrance to St Andrew's Dock. By 1992, a small memorial plaque, donated by the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes and mounted on a simple plinth, provided a focal point (figures 19 and 20).[81] Recently however, the dilapidated state of the bullnose buildings has forced the memorial service to the safer environment of St Andrew's Quay retail park. Over the years, numbers attending have reached 700 and Hull City Council now assist with the organisation.[82]

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[77] For example, T. Stephens, '*Why Does Sudden Loss Continue to Feature so Much in the Current Pastoral Work of the Fishermen's Mission in Hull*', Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation, William Booth College and Havering College, August 2012, p.7-8.
[78] Ibid.
[79] AT/020/AG.
[80] AT/033/JL.
[81] *Hull Daily Mail,* January 27, 1992
[82] STAND website, https://www.hullfishingheritage.org.uk/lost-trawlermens-day (Accessed 11 February, 2015).

Figure 19. (Above) Royal Antidiluvian Order of Buffalos memorial to lost trawlermen on the bullnose. In the background, the decaying buildings (recently demolished) surrounding the old lock pit. *83*

Figure 20. (Left) The modest memorial surrounded by flowers and messages. *84*

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[83] Hampel, P., *Lockpit and Bullnose at St Andrew's Dock, Hull, with Trawlermen's Memorial.* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (120), Hull City Council, Hull.
[84] Hampel, P., *Royal Antidiluvian Order of Buffalos Memorial to Lost Trawlermen on the Bullnose, St Andrew's Dock, Hull.* 2009 [Photograph]. Ref: 21-07-09 (123), Hull City Council, Hull.

From its earliest days STAND had campaigned for a large-scale permanent memorial to lost fishermen. Initially it was to be part of the Fish Dock regeneration programme, but when this failed to materialise, independent plans were progressed. STAND has raised funds and Hull City Council has assisted in land negotiations. But the process has been plagued with problems and delays. The protracted difficulties have led to the appearance of alternative 'platoons' of commemoration. STAND have created fishermen's memorial books, which have been given a space within Hull Maritime Museum's *Area of Remembrance*, dedicated to all seafarers lost at sea. In a separate project in 2013, Ken and Alan H, working with the Fishermen's Mission, have created a memorial corner within Hull's central Holy Trinity church. Importantly, both initiatives provide a quiet and sheltered place to remember, as uncertainty hangs over the dockside.

In January 2015 STAND's Fish Dock memorial fund stood at over £140,000.[85] Yet the lingering ghosts of old place associations continue to haunt the project. The deteriorating environment around the bullnose has forced STAND to relocate not only Lost Trawlerman's Day, but also their permanent memorial away from the lockpit. Ron, secretary of STAND until 2014, explains this pragmatic decision:

> We wanted it in the first instance on the bullnose… for quite a long period that was the allocated site. But it's still derelict and we don't know how long it's going to remain derelict. So we had to rethink… we came to the conclusion it had to remain on what was the St Andrew's Fish Dock. The derelict part we came away from… you've got health and safety issues on there still… and so we moved to the area the other side of the Sailmaker's pub and there's an area there on the river front which is ideal.

The move, however, is emotionally charged. For many members of the fishing community, the bullnose is their chosen place to remember. In the past it was the fulcrum of encounters and the comings and going of the fleet. In the context of loss, it was the place of departures that were never to return. The significance of the lock gates is expressed in comments to the media and in a 556 strong petition calling for Hull City Council to intervene in preservation of the dock. The petition includes the lines:

> The most fitting place for a Memorial is on Bullnose on St Andrews Dock which was often the last thing the men saw when sailing from Hull and the first thing they looked for on return to Port to know they were home back to their loved ones. Many have had their ashes scattered there and it is visited by many so they may feel close to the ones that have been lost or who have passed away.[86]

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[85] Hull Daily Mail. http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/Pictures-new-memorial-Hull-s-lost-fishermen/story-259511-detail/story-html (Accessed 12 February, 2015).
[86] Change.org. https://www.change.org/p/hull-city-council-we-the-hull-fishermens-history-pages-on-facebook-with-4430-members-call-upon-hull-city-council-to-reclaim-lordline-building-bullnose-bostons-building-and-the-surrounding-area-back-to-their-control-and-provide-a-memorial-for-the-lost (Accessed 11 February, 2015).

In August 2013, a group of ex-fishermen called upon STAND to reconsider the new position for the memorial. The chosen spot, they say, is the site of the old fish meal factory and according to the group's spokesman, 'it's an insult to anyone with relatives who were lost at sea to even consider remembering their loved ones there'.[87] He is unequivocal as to where the memorial should be placed: 'The right place is the bullnose where the trawlers used to leave the dock'.[88] Jill too has strong feelings about the location of the memorial.[89] Most recently, she has joined a group of relatives working to erect a series of plaques naming lost men and ships around the bullnose wall.[90]

The dissonance surrounding the fishermen's memorial is a testament to the power of place-memory. The encounters of the past have remained at work, creating an important *lieu de memoire* in the present. In the past, the fishing taskscape forged a community, bound them to dockside spaces and imbued them with the desire to remember. In relict form, these spaces threaten to divide as the memory of the everyday, coupled with the powerful recall of loss, enter the contested domain of representation. In this place-centred story, a place to remember has become paramount. And amidst the emotional geographies of the Fish Dock, the place for memorialisation has become precise indeed.

The Arctic Corsair: Home from the Sea

The final thread of STAND's heritage campaign focused upon the Boyd Line trawler *Arctic Corsair.* By 1986, Hull's sidewinder fleet had been scrapped, sold or converted to new use. The *Arctic Corsair* was the sole survivor.[91] In 1978, the vessel had undergone an unusual conversion for pelagic trawling and had taken part in the south-west mackerel fishery.[92] The *Corsair* was laid up in 1981, but enjoyed a new lease of life after 1985, as British fishing entered a period of recovery.[93] In 1987, she landed a record catch worth £170,000, before returning to port for the very last time.[94]

The idea of preserving a trawler had not been part of STAND's original plans. But by 1990, Adam Fowler had become the group's new chairman. With the *Corsair* rusting in Albert Dock, Adam recognised the opportunity and merit of saving Hull's last sidewinder.

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[87] Hull Daily Mail. http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/Ex-fishermen-want-bullnose-rethink-St-Andrew-s-story-19609477-detail/story.html (Accessed 12 February, 2015).
[88] Ibid.
[89] AT/033/JL.
[90] Hull Daily Mail, http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/New-plan-Bullnose-memorial-Hull-s-lost-trawlermen/story-22084420-detail/story.html (Accessed 12 February, 2015).
[91] Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet,* p.94
[92] *FN,* March 31, 1978.
[93] *Hull Daily Mail*, August 11, 1993.
[94] Ibid.

STAND launched a campaign, asking Hull City Council to intervene and approached local business for support.[95] The impetus came once again 'from below' and whilst hopes for the Fish Dock and its memorial had foundered, the plight of the *Corsair* proved buoyant. In 1993, the vessel was purchased by the council and restored under a partnership between local authority, private business, training providers and volunteers.[96] When purchased, it was intended that the vessel would become the centrepiece of the St Andrew's Dock heritage centre.[97] When the centre failed to materialise, the *Arctic Corsair* found a long-term home on the wharf of the River Hull, adjacent to the council's Museums Quarter (figures 21 and 22). Robin Diaper, Curator of Maritime and Social History, explains that over the years a strong partnership has been forged between the Museum Service, STAND and local volunteers.[98] The Council's support has been crucial to the success of the project. Today, the *Corsair* is owned by the council, who supply and manage a budget for the vessel, whilst applying for grants to support larger maintenance and presentation projects. Volunteers working for the Museum Service carry out tours of the ship and basic repairs. The council provides a stand-alone space within the Museums Quarter, which is used as a visitor unit. The content of the original unit was the work of STAND.[99] In an act of democratisation brokered 'from above', the space was handed to them to tell their own story and the displays and artefacts thus narrate 'from within'.[100]

The survival of the *Arctic Corsair* is a consequence of 'heritage from below'. In 1993, an article in the *Hull Daily Mail* captures the affective impact of the vessel:

> … her devotees look on Hull's last sidewinder trawler with something like true love in their eyes. They can look past the dirt and the rust at what she once stood for.[101]

Affect stems from a maritime space that is at once representational and lived. The trawler enshrines remembered encounters for those who lived the trawling life, whilst for others it is a potent emblem of the city. Jim, a member of STAND and former mate of the *Corsair,* is proud that the trawler is now named alongside the Cutty Sark on the National Register of Historic Vessels.[102] Yet in the aftermath of trawling its significance was almost missed. It was saved 'from below', by the actions of those who understood its symbolism. Robin suggests that the everyday presence of trawlers in Hull had obscured their heritage

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[95] *Hull Daily Mail,* August 11, 1993.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Interview with Robin Diaper. Interviewer: Jo Byrne, 2 February, 2015. Ref: AT/043/RD.
[99] Today it is developed and maintained by Museum Service volunteers, who may or may not be STAND members.
[100] AT/043/RD.
[101] *Hull Daily Mail*, August 11, 1993.
[102] Williams, *Swinging the Lamp*, p.178.

Figure 21. The *Arctic Corsair* berthed on the River Hull in the Museum Quarter.[103]

Figure 22. The fishermen's mess, recreated on the *Arctic Corsair*.[104]

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[103] Photographer Unknown, *Arctic Corsair in Hull Museum Quarter.* Date Unknown [Photograph]. Ref: DSC00011, Hull Museums, Hull.
[104] Photographer Unknown, *Interior of Arctic Corsair*. Date Unknown [Photograph]. Unreferenced. Hull Museums, Hull.

value.[105] As they slowly disappeared, without STANDs intervention and the robust museum partnership, the *Arctic Corsair* would have joined other vessels at the scrapyard, the unobserved victim of its own ordinariness.[106]

Dissonant Voices: A Triumph from Below?

The cultural legacies of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery owe much to heritage from below. The representations, heritage spaces and performances of remembrance have largely occurred or been driven from outside the authorised discourse of civic authority. They have surfaced as Samuel's 'little platoons': alternative expressions, such as the plays of Rupert Creed or George McGee's mural at Edinburgh Street. With the formation of STAND 'heritage from below' has also emerged as social protest; as a campaign and an active pressure group taking direct control over spaces and narratives. From within their close knit ranks, the former fishing community have shown tenacity in their desire to remember and from a position of disinheritance, the representation of fishing has gained a significant presence in the city's formal and informal heritage discourse.

The rise of fishing heritage, however, is not universally celebrated. Other voices now contest what they see as a growing dominance of the fishing narrative. Discontent is apparent in this public focus group, exploring local *genus loci* or 'Hullness':

> Speaker A: To the outside world...that's how they see us. The fishing industry as the predominant industry."
> Speaker B: It's nonsense.
> Speaker A: It is nonsense. But...the fishing community really seriously over-romanticise the work that their forebears did. And they do that very successfully. They've got a giant propaganda machine going there and no-one can get in to deny it and tell them the truth.[107]

Alan R. shares this outlook. Earlier he described his own experience of Hessle Road as an inward looking community, inaccessible to outsiders. He feels that this internal cohesion remains at work in their campaign for representation. It paints a partial picture, as Alan R. explains:

> People say that I'm anti-fishing. I'm not. The problem I think is that fishing is being related as being Hull. It isn't. Fishing is a part of Hull… I think that it's unfair that Hull is designated as being a fishing port. No, Hull is a port. What it did at one period of time, was in a certain area, it did fishing. And it's putting it into that context…[108]

[105] AT/043/RD.
[106] Indebted to AT/043/RD for the idea of ordinariness.
[107] *Hullness: The Search for the Spirit of Place, Heritage Lottery Funded Project, Arc, 2011.*
[108] AT/024/AR

In the less measured arena of local online media commentary, those who call for the city to move on spar with those who demand remembrance. Ron, former secretary of STAND, responds to the critics:

> Yes, *[fishing]* has finished and it has moved on and if this city's got to regenerate itself, it's got to look past that. But I still think that you should never forget it and it should be documented and it should be shown what an important part it played in the development of the city… I just think that when people say, oh forget it – we have some nasty comments sometimes – I just think people don't understand what it was about. If they say that it stood for nothing, then they don't understand what it was all about. [109]

Others have conveyed a similar feeling that their past is little comprehended by those in the present. Doug uses the same phrase as Ron – 'people don't understand what it's all about'.[110] These words may reveal the crux of fishing's contested position within the city narrative. This localised industry and close knit community - part of the city, yet at the same time different - has produced 'inside' and 'outside' perspectives. It has constructed a distinct sense of place, which was lived or which was only distantly observed. It has bred the desire to remember, or people that 'don't understand'.

In many ways STAND's campaign is an example of heritage as social protest. There have been successes and with Lost Trawlerman's Day, the memorial negotiations and the *Arctic Corsair*, the grassroots campaign has progressed from one of opposition, to one of partnership and influence. Yet there co-exists a sense of frustration. There is evidence that those who embarked upon this journey had not intended such a lengthy passage. Alec Gill confirms that initially, he had expected that once the Fish Dock was saved from demolition, STAND would move aside for others to take the lead. Ron too is unhappy that in the wake of trawling disasters, the provision of a memorial was left to the community, saying:

> It should not have been left for a small voluntary group to go cap in hand to the general public, who have given money generously, to put up a memorial. It's a sad thing that we have to do it, when the people of the day should've provided one.[111]

There is an undertow of disappointment therefore, even within the generally positive and pragmatic outlooks of the campaigners. Yet despite the continuing difficulties there is perhaps a further under-appreciated success. By the mid 1980s, redundancy, redeployment and rehousing had seen the fishing community fractured and dispersed. The fundraising campaigns, carnivals and socials organised by STAND helped to bring

[109] AT/019/RW
[110] AT/003/DD
[111] AT/019/RW

some back together. Socials still take place twice a year and Ron explains the demographic of those attending:

> … we bring members of the public together and because it's STAND and because it's about the fishing industry, a lot of the people who come are people from the past, who were associated with the fishing industry and the fishing community… they're an older generation of people obviously, but we are getting a few youngsters, their daughters and their grandkids coming along now.[112]

By arranging and perpetuating events such as Lost Trawlermen's Day and the reunion fundraisers, STAND is engaging with intangible heritage. Smith asserts that all heritage is in fact intangible: not a thing but an ongoing process of giving meaning to the past in the present.[113] With these events STAND have created a channel of memory, between members of a dispersed cultural community, between that community and the wider city and between one generation and the next. The achievement should not be underestimated. Forty years on from the Cod Wars, as the Fish Dock - the physical receptacle of memory - has slowly crumbled, the intangible networks of STAND have kept the past alive.

The Messiness of Remembering

As Hull's fishing economy contracted or collapsed and as Trawlertown melted into the city, memory was left in its wake. Memory is a present-centred experience, fluid, subject to re-interpretation and responsive to the needs of the moment. To Smith, memory as heritage is a negotiation: it is 'a social and cultural process that mediates a sense of cultural, social and political change'.[114] Far from being in the past, it is 'vital and alive'.[115] Through active expressions of memory and heritage Hull's distant-water trawl fishery has retained its own vitality. This thesis places memory as the final, yet continuing chapter in the narrative of trawling. The transition from active industry to maritime heritage is a tapestry of remembering. It is woven with embodied encounters, affective place-memory and *lieu de memoire*, sewn with representation, memorialisation and authorised discourse and hemmed by acts of forgetting and resistance. Side by side, each has been simultaneously active in negotiating the heritage of a once cohesive industry and community. This rich, multifaceted and dissonant account reveals the 'messiness' of remembering. No singular theory can adequately capture its complexity: it is a melting pot of processes at work.

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[112] Ibid

[113] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* p.54.

[114] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* P.84

[115] Ibid., p.83.

The case study of Hull's trawling community can contribute to the academic debates on heritage and memory on several levels. Firstly, the thesis suggests a continuum between everyday practice and the desire to remember. Oral history interviews illustrate the role of lived experience and collective and sensory encounters in creating bonds to place. Interviews also offer evidence that it is the recollection of such encounters that gives meaning to once lived spaces as sites of memory. The study suggests that when threatened with loss, it is this same dynamic of memory that drives the desire to preserve and present the lived spaces of trawling as representations of maritime heritage. The thesis therefore offers the premise that in certain circumstances, phenomenological and more-than-representational forces are actively at work behind the struggles for cultural representation. It brings together two typically divergent understandings of memory and place, identifying everyday practice, senses and emotions as influential in the desire to mould representations of the past.

Secondly, the case study questions the prevailing discourse on heritage dissonance. Academic writing frequently portrays cultural representations such as museums, statuary or heritage quarters as the manipulation of memory by powerful bodies, with the purpose of confirming power, status or economic success.[116] Studies often focus upon national examples, with dissonance most commonly revealed as occurring between those who control how the past is presented and those misrepresented or excluded from official narratives. Initially the trawling case study supports the dominant theory. STAND's social protest was against civic and commercial powers that elided community memory in the pursuit of economic objectives. As heritage from below the STAND campaign was successful in challenging official perspectives and alongside other advocates such as George and his Edinburgh Street mural, trawling heritage found a robust voice. However, others like Alan R. and the focus groups speakers, now question what they perceive as the disproportionate dominance of fishing over other narratives of the city's past. This resonates with the notion of counter-hegemony, in this case the idea that alternative or oppositional cultural values may challenge the existing power structure and if successful may become the dominant cultural discourse.[117] The trawling case study suggests that in Hull, fishing heritage has become so successful 'from below' that it is now contested by other cultural communities in the city. If this is so then it illustrates the under explored premise that dissonance and hegemonic struggles do not only occur between elite institutions and subordinate classes, they take place *between peer groups*, where one is perceived to have gained cultural dominance.

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[116] Refer to chapter two, p.23.
[117] Robertson, 'Class, Social Protest', pp.146-147.

Robertson's work is a rare academic exploration of heritage dissonance that interacts with identity at a *local* level. His example of conflict amongst the Lewis islanders shows that even at the most localised scale and from within a community, heritage is open to contestation.[118] This thesis supports Robertson's observation, for trawling heritage has not only been contested in the wider city, it has also succumbed to dissonance from within the fishing community itself. Like Robertson's work, this protest too has focused upon the precise site of memorialisation. The breakaway groups fighting to locate the fishermen's memorial at the bullnose indicate not only the colossal significance of place, but also the dissonant nature of heritage, even when negotiated on a very local scale. In Smith's view 'heritage *is* dissonant'; it is central to the process of making meaning from the past.[119] The trawling study supports this, but more importantly it confirms that these dissonant processes occur between peer groups and also *within* peer groups, something under-explored within the literature.

Finally, the research reveals a relationship between heritage from below and the authorised heritage discourse that calls into question the neat division between the two. To Robertson, heritage from below can be an expression of social protest, with the potential to be disruptive and radical.[120] In many ways, STAND has embodied these principles by challenging powerful civic and commercial bodies to assert their right to define, protect and celebrate their cultural heritage. Yet on closer inspection the campaign was less subversive. Although driven independently 'from below', the focus of the early campaign was the civic naming of the A63 and St Andrews Quay and the designation of a conservation area that embedded the Fish Dock in a system of national legislation. Later, campaigners sought to transform the Fish Dock into a tidy and sanctioned heritage space, authorised to tell the story of Hull's trawl fishery. In these examples, there is a strong and paradoxical implication that whilst protesting against the authorised heritage discourse, campaigners were simultaneously seeking to be *part of it*. Interviewees refer to the Beamish heritage park, or other representational and commercial heritage projects in Hartlepool and Grimsby as examples of how the Fish Dock could have been. Some ask why this did not happen in Hull and express resentment that the civic authorities did not take charge of remembering. Jim expresses pride that the *Arctic Corsair* is acknowledged by inclusion in the officially endorsed National Historic Ships register.[121] All this has implications for theories that divide heritage into expressions from above and from below. If STAND, whilst subverting the dominant discourse, was at the same time seeking a place

[118] Ibid., p.156
[119] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.82.
[120] Robertson, *Heritage From Below,* p.23.
[121] AT/001/JW(II); Williams, *Swinging the Lamp*, p.178.

within it, then the perception and role of the authorised heritage discourse at all tiers of society is called into question. This is something for further investigation, for it may indicate that in some quarters there is a conservative grassroots desire for a sanctioned but *inclusive* order, rather than Edensor's disordered aesthetics or Robertson's disruptive protest. It may indicate that a position within, rather than opposed to, authorised narratives is something that is aspired to.

Yet this does not hand back the power to those in authority. STAND's protest forced negotiation. In the case of the *Arctic Corsair* it led to a successful partnership between the authorised discourse of the museum and trawling memory 'from below'. The outcome, I argue, is a democratisation of the authorised discourse. The *Corsair* is accommodated within the museum narrative, yet is at the same time independent of it. This hybrid is perhaps only possible in a local arena. It is not a utopian solution and is itself subject to dissonance and curatorial challenges.[122] But it exceeds the dominant polarities of heritage from above and from below. Instead it recognises the potential of partnership, responding to a grassroots desire to be included in a narrative that is sanctioned, but where community voice is valued and memory can be negotiated.

The Right Place

> …but against the water's nice. You know what I mean? Your memories are against water.[123]
>
> Hessle Road resident discussing the location of a lost trawlermen memorial.

The negotiation of trawling memory now has a history of its own. It has been represented in the newly opened Town Docks Museum in 1976, and ignored in the economic spaces and commercial narratives of regeneration in the 1980s. Memory has been contested, against organisations and between and within communities. Alternative expressions have gathered pace and museum partnerships have been forged. Much has been achieved. But almost forty years after the end of the final Cod War, obstacles endure. The challenge that remains is to find the 'right place', metaphorically and physically, for the memory of distant-water trawling within the city. Amongst my interviewees there is little to suggest that the fishing community seek to dominate local heritage. Many of those who emphasise its importance also recognise fishing to be one aspect of a broader city past. Where calls to remember have been most fervent, it has been in a context of loss of life. I suggest therefore, that the search for the 'right place' for fishing heritage is about acknowledging the trawling community's contribution to the city and about acknowledging their dual loss. In sum, it is about passing on a legacy for the next generation.

[122] AT/043/RD.
[123] AT/016/BG.

My interviews reveal continuing feelings of marginalisation; a legacy perhaps from initial acts of disinheritance and the ongoing plight of the fishermen's memorial. Yet in many ways the 'right place' for remembrance has been achieved. Fishing heritage has secured a place within the city's formal and informal heritage with the *Corsair* partnership and with the continuous efforts of grassroots projects. Lost Trawlermen's Day and the STAND reunions give fishing heritage a strong presence, both within the former fishing community and the wider city. These intangible expressions and networks of heritage are significant in keeping the memory of trawling alive. Paradoxically, the failure to establish a physical memorial has served to keep these networks active. Media articles, online comments, dissonance from within and breakaway projects have served to keep fishing memory relevant and vibrant in a way that a fixed representation never could.

At the same time, the difficulty of securing a physical 'right place' for memory has maintained a sense of hurt. As the struggles and contestation have shown, the right place to remember is of great significance to many. For this strongly place-centred industry, memory is firmly embedded within the decaying remains of St Andrew's Dock. Yet the Fish Dock seems locked into ruin, a testament perhaps to the limitations of heritage from below when projects demand significant economic investment and infrastructure development. It means however that whilst the derelict dock survives, it stands trapped between the past and the future and may continue to be so for some time to come. Within the dock, for many members of the former fishing community it is the bullnose that is passionately preferred as the place for a memorial, revealing the affective power of place at its most specific. But this important *lieu de memoire* lies metaphorically and physically out of reach. Relocation even a short distance is unacceptable to many. In the absence of progress, the Fish Dock exists not as a celebration of disordered space, as Edensor would argue, but as a sad and enduring reminder of 'something that used to be good'.[124] Forty years on, the spirit of trawling past is restless, as memory and place continue to be disjointed.

The fishing gallery of Hull Maritime Museum has retained a calm detachment from the tumultuous wrangles over memory taking place beyond its walls. Yet as hope for a sensitive heritage solution for the Fish Dock seems increasingly remote, it is perhaps time to revisit the gallery as the original 'right place' for Hull's trawling heritage. Hull Museums recognise that the gallery, along with the wider Maritime Museum, is due for modernisation at a point when funds allow. In preparation for this, there is scope to consider how the space of the museum could connect with the place-centred narrative of trawling. Alongside a technical and seafaring portrait, a revised gallery could seek to

[124] AT/032/LW.

journey into Trawlertown, into the courts and terraces of Hessle Road. It could render visible the feminine spaces of a matriarchal neighbourhood and reveal dock and district in terms of the lived, everyday dynamic that occurred between the two. In temporal terms, the right place for the museum narrative would also continue beyond the Cod Wars, to portray a more nuanced understanding of change, how this was experienced and how the city lost, yet maintained its relationship with fish.

There is opportunity for the museum to be a refuge for the rapidly eroding spaces of Trawlertown. There may be times when this is literal, as with the locally renowned Fish Dock sign prohibiting liquor to be taken aboard trawlers, that has been rescued and displayed in the *Arctic Corsair* visitor unit. But most times it will be metaphorical; a rescue in terms of images, memories and narratives. The museum cannot replicate the affect of place-memory. It can however, broaden its representation and draw upon its existing experience of partnership, to negotiate a portrait of this extreme seafaring industry in the context of lived place and human experience. As the Fish Dock slowly crumbles, it may indeed be the museum - the original, formal and sanctioned place of memory - that can offer consolation to those who wanted to remember by the water.

Chapter 10: Riding the Perfect Storm

My thesis has examined the events, places and people caught up in a metamorphosis. In the 1970s, the men and women of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery faced a perfect storm of adversity and a decade of disruption that transformed their lives and livelihood. The decade opened with an established fishery gradually adapting to new technologies, while clinging to the steady rhythms of the past. By the early 1980s, the Hull trawl fishery had changed beyond recognition: the fleet had been scrapped, sold or dispersed and foreign-caught fish was being imported. The aftermath, experience and cultural legacy of this transformation are the main subject of my investigation. By adopting an interdisciplinary and multi-themed approach, I provide a holistic narrative of interweaving stories and converging influences. My research is located in, and contributes to, three overlapping fields of enquiry: fisheries history, cultural geography and cultural curatorship. In synthesising time, place and memory, my thesis adds to knowledge and understanding of the profound human ramifications of fishing in distant-waters, as well as charting new grounds for further research.

Past Encounters, Present Voices

In general terms the thesis augments our understanding of the interaction between human society and the marine environment. It illustrates how global influences have local consequences. My research concentrates upon a single British trawling port, yet the study is far from parochial. Hull's fishery developed and operated within international parameters. However, place-centred business and cultural networks, built around the comings and goings of the fleet, had generated the paradoxical impression that Hull's distant-water fishery was a local industry. The turmoil of the 1970s brought the international tenor of this 'local' business into stark focus. Global policy and the territorialisation of the seas brought change directly to Hull's doorstep. In a maritime environment, a related observation is that what happens at sea reverberates on land. By the 1970s, the activity of the fleet was central to Hull as a fishing port in social, economic and cultural terms. When global factors impelled new practices at sea, the influence resonated through the city and the repercussions were felt in the physical spaces of Hessle Road and in the networks of the fishing community.

My contribution is to contemplate fisheries history from a human perspective, supplementing the economic, business and technical approaches reviewed in chapter two. The thesis revisits and builds upon the work of Tunstall, considering what happened to the 'lifeworld' of *The Fishermen,* when its rhythms were no longer dictated by trawling. Just as Tunstall and Horobin contributed to sociological knowledge by investigating Hull's

fishery as a little known enclave of seafaring, my thesis contributes by exploring it as an under-studied aspect of maritime history. Like Tunstall, my study takes a community approach. It is, however, more deliberately holistic, drawing together multiple tiers and sectors of society, not merely as a chorus to the fishermen, but as an integral part of a complex fishery. In using the oral history method, my research builds upon the approach of Thompson et al., who, writing in 1983, drew upon oral testament to examine the social fabric of Britain's diverse fishing communities in the twentieth century. My own work, however, benefits from advancements in oral history theory and practice, contributing to a genre of analysis that puts the narrator at the centre. Although social observation and elements of 'recovery history' are woven through my work, my oral history analysis is primarily underpinned by a phenomenological attitude, which openly acknowledges the influences of individual and collective consciousness, composure and cultural discourse within interview narratives. In adopting a phenomenological approach, therefore, my study weaves together multiple human perceptions of the past, considered from the standpoint of the present. It also goes further, for by structuring and analysing a single body of interviews from different disciplinary perspectives, my research develops a flexible method for capturing the complex relationships of time, place and memory that can be applied to other studies.

Such a plural approach is constructive in fisheries research, where the integration of social, economic and environmental factors is the key to understanding the past, as it is to securing the future. The human and cultural perspectives explored in this study offer a different assertion of history. Illustrative of this is the impact of freezer trawlers, which has been recognised in the historical literature in technical, economic and environmental terms. My study, however, reveals the unexplored social and cultural impacts. The new vessels brought change, not only at sea, but also in dockside operations, cultural practices and living patterns. Before the final Cod War, freezer trawlers were gently reconfiguring the rhythms of the fishing district. A cultural analysis shows that this was not always welcomed, but at the same time reveals a younger generation who saw the freezer as home.

Into this milieu of transition came crisis and disruption. The decline of Hull as a trawling port is often simplistically assigned to the Cod Wars, however, my research reveals a more complex reality. Throughout the 1970s, economic pressures and fishing limits, coupled with Britain's entry into the European Common Market, converged to produce the perfect storm. Whilst individually these might have been weathered, together they spread turmoil. Examining the experience of one trawling port reveals the compounded impact of multiple influences. Furthermore, much extant academic research on this era is politically focused, looking at fishing wars or fishing policy. By contrast, a

human perspective on this period reveals memories of uncertain government guidance, shrinking fishing grounds and unpredictable quotas, firms left to sink or swim and ships scrapped or sold, all expressed with a sense that the industry was re-scaled with a human rather than fiscal cost.

A human perspective also hints at why the impact of this gathering storm was so little anticipated. In the 1950s and 1960s, Tunstall criticised conservative and fatalistic attitudes within distant-water trawling. By contrast, my research shows that after 1976, Hull trawling firms were not passive, but reacted with energy and enterprise to the challenge ahead. However, it leaves the question, why was the disruption not anticipated earlier at any level of the industry? In part, the answer may be a cultural one. In the past, established practises and gradual innovation had served Hull firms well and until pushed, there seemed little reason to change. Fishing limits and a globalising industry forced rapid adjustment. Change occurred in many quarters at the same time, generating a climate of crisis. Greater forward planning might have helped, but this was not part of trawling culture. Trawling firms generally retained short-term horizons and many trawlermen, casually employed in a dangerous environment, were fatalistic. The trawling community were used to living with fear and worry and the threat to fishing was just one more. Finally, perhaps it was simply impossible to anticipate change on this scale. Today, the need for controlled and sustainable fishing grounds is unquestioned, but for many in the 1970s, the closure of open waters was unfathomable. As some narrators reveal, it simply did not seem possible that nations could claim large expanses of water as their own.

By focusing upon lived experience in the decade after 1976, my research reveals a duality. For many trawlermen and secondary industry workers, this period was one of unemployment, underemployment and uncertainty. Memories of older men drinking on public benches and of whole families turning to benefits, paints a picture of dysfunction and breakdown. Uncertainty is conveyed by tales of futile dashes to Fleetwood to get a ship, frequent job changes and gambles taken in the far corners of the globe. Yet these narratives also reveal resilience. Lazenby suggests revising the received post-Cod War images of stagnation and social welfare and my own research concurs.[1] Difficulties and disadvantage must not be dismissed, but they must be set against other narratives. My interviewees (from all sectors of the fishery) usually found work, at sea, on shore or sometimes between the two. Maritime roles feature prominently, in home waters and overseas. Some worked for new companies, but others retained ties to Hull's Fish Dock. My focus on the diversification of Hull trawling firms not only informs business history, but also reveals how the subsequent fortunes of the fishing community remained

[1] Lazenby, 'Change and Adaptation', p.195

dependent upon these firm's initiative and efforts. Ashore, the trawling fleet continued to support a remnant secondary economy. At sea, Hull firms embarking on new ventures generally took their reliable Hull crews. Memories of surveying in India, Mackerelling off Cornwall or fishing in New Zealand revolve around Hull firms, ships and men. The difference was greater distance, for after 1976 ships returned less frequently to the home port and men still at sea could no longer imagine that they were working in Hull.

A port-based approach reveals a further divergence in this period, this time between Hull's fish trades and its catching sector. In the early 1970s, fishing and fish trades had existed in synergy. The freezer trawlers changed this, for frozen fish blocks had become a commodity to be traded at long range. As Hull's catching sector ran into difficulties, flexibility of supply became crucial. Frozen fish could be imported and wet fish could be brought in from overseas and overland. It is debatable if Hull could have survived as a processing centre without access to frozen fish. The new technology developed for Hull trawlers, such as mechanised landing and cold stores, helped to secure a fish-processing future. However, it was no longer Hull ships, but overseas imports and foreign vessels that dominated supply. This shift brought vulnerability to international factors and a new dependency upon Iceland. In the global economic crises from 2008 this dependency once again caused problems for Hull's surviving fishery. But in the critical years after 1976, connecting the processing sector to international suppliers allowed Hull's fish trades to survive. The story of the catching sector is different. Despite their efforts, diversification did not save many Hull trawling firms and after 1985, only two fishing companies remained. Once again, a holistic study unveils the likely reason. After 1976, new projects were trialled concurrently; mackerelling took place alongside experimental deep-water fishing; forays into oil next to ventures in the South Pacific; fishing in North Africa amidst the strain of keeping Hull's new Fish Dock active. In stable times, the losses from one new venture might have been absorbed. In the crisis situation of the late 1970s, however, the challenge of multiple struggling projects proved to be overwhelming. Yet without the jolt of the Cod Wars, it seems doubtful that new ventures would have been tried at all.

After 1985 Hull's fishing industry enjoyed a modest recovery, its fish trades in particular gaining strength. Forty years on from the Cod Wars, a key question is, was the experience of Hull's fishery in the ten years after 1976 one of transition or decline, contraction or demise? The answer is that it was all these things. It was certainly a crisis. The slow transition towards a freezer fishery was overtaken by the rapid decline of the trawling fleet. However, the contraction of the fish trades was arrested by transition to new suppliers. Some fishing firms survived by successfully adapting to flexible fishing and new maritime operations, while others closed. Ashore on Hessle Road, change brought by

housing policy merged with decline brought by adverse fishing politics. For those rendered long-term unemployed, the late 1970s spelt an end, but for others who found fulfilling new careers, it was a transition. In sum, after the Cod Wars, the lives of all those connected with the industry were transformed. The close knit world of the Fish Dock would never return. Much had been lost, but some things had been gained and through the persisting rhythms of collective memory, the relict spaces of Trawlertown could still evoke a neighbourhood whose fortunes were tied to fish.

Alongside fishing narratives, concepts of place are central to the research. My thesis adds to a growing body of work that examines the port and city relationship in cultural terms. It draws upon phenomenological geography and more-than-representational theory to express the port-city as a network of meaningful encounters and goes on to survey the aftermath when these networks fracture. Ingold's concept of the taskscape is employed to reveal how the everyday engagements of a trawling port have moulded physical spaces and imbued them with emotional associations. By visualising the distinct human and spatial interactions of the fishery as a taskscape, or Trawlertown, my thesis offers an adaptable model for the study of other port districts. It also accentuates similarity and difference in the port-city character. Trawlertown is a companion to Hugill's generic Sailortown, Daunton's Tiger Bay and Moon's Portsmouth 'sailorhoods'. It shares commonalities with these, yet conversely it is different, for Trawlertown was shaped by a lesser known engagement with the sea and was the distinctive product of the Arctic trawl.

In the period of this study Trawlertown was transformed. Change was driven by local planning and global practice, but was experienced directly on the streets of Hessle Road. Disrupted rhythms brought new place relationships. In 1957, Horobin warned city planners of the social and economic dangers of disrupting the 'special circumstances' of this particular port-city district.[2] The unanticipated collapse of the fishery interrupted his prediction. From 1976, the fishing community suffered the triple impact of housing redevelopment, economic crisis and changing practices that revised Hull's relationship with fish. The strong bond between industry, workforce, district and community were broken and the rhythms and cultures that had created Trawlertown melted into the ripples of the wider city.

Today, a landscape of emotional space is sustained by local memories of an 'extreme occupation'. My thesis examines how trawling is remembered and represented, and considers this as an integral chapter in its history. An exploration of intense practices, close knit networks and rapid change brings a heightened understanding to how and why

[2] Horobin, 'Community and Occupation', 353.

fishing heritage is important to so many Hull people and why they continue to debate its representation in the present. It is a connection that becomes apparent when examined from 'inside' the community. Community led heritage is the focus of my thesis, which considers the struggles of heritage group STAND, alongside smaller grassroots projects, as examples of heritage from below. The study reveals democratised heritage to be a multiple and dissonant discourse. In doing so, it contests the dominant academic literature that frames dissonance as occurring between elite groups and subordinate classes. Community disputes over fishing memorials and challenges to the perceived dominance of fishing heritage, demonstrate that dissonance also occurs within and between peer groups. Furthermore, by examining community aspirations as to how fishing memory could be represented, I question the neat division between heritage from below and authorised forms of heritage. I observe instead a movement to find a place for the fishing past, not in the realms of disordered space or subverting protest, but within a tidy, sanctioned but *inclusive* civic discourse.

Finding the right place for trawling heritage has proved to be problematic and my research reveals the messiness of remembering. The fishing past has been represented in a technology-focused museum gallery in the 1970s, elided in urban regeneration projects in the 1980s and championed 'from below' in the 1990s. In the twenty-first century it finally found a home once again in the museum, and the *Arctic Corsair,* with its unit of volunteers, demonstrates the achievements of a museum and community partnership. During this time, the abandoned Fish Dock, preferred by many as *the* place for remembering, has slowly fallen into advanced decay. Heritage groups still vie for a memorial by the water and appeal for last minute intervention to save what remains of the dock. Yet a solution seems increasingly remote and my study concludes that with a revised exhibit, it may be the museum - the original guardian of trawling heritage - that eventually provides the space to remember.

Future Engagements

As a first overview of Hull's trawl fishery after the Cod Wars, my thesis lays a basis for future research. Chronologically, the next stage of research would be the years after 1985, when Hull's fishery enjoyed a modest rebirth and growth. However, there is significant scope for further work within the research period used here: including, for example, the south-west mackerel fishery in the late 1970s; the contribution of the declining distant-water trawl industry to the emerging North Sea oil sector; the activities of trawling firms in Australia, New Zealand, Mauritania and Canada; and the development of the Falklands fishery. Government aid to the industry, payments towards decommissioning the fleet and compensation for fishermen are other areas of significant potential.

From the social perspective, I would prioritise three themes. First, the impact on the next generation of the fishing community deserves more coverage. From the loss of work opportunities, to the unwillingness of others to take on family businesses in a climate of decline, my research reveals that the changes to the fishery clearly impacted on the next generation. My respondents found new work, yet the continuing levels of deprivation on today's Hessle Road suggest that the next generation were hit hardest by the contraction of fishing. This is an area for further investigation. Second, memories of Hessle Road housing clearances from the 1950s resonate with narratives of change in other cities. Yet from his contemporary perspective, Horobin suggests that trawling rendered this community different. A comparative study of 1950s to 1960s 'slum clearance' in other former sailortown districts, alongside inland communities, would address the question of if and how community is experienced differently in the port-city neighbourhood. Finally, in this study, the taskscape has been confined to shore. There is, however, an opportunity to contribute to a nascent study of 'ship shaped' geographies by taking the taskscape seawards.[3] My thesis has considered Tunstall's idea that Hull fishermen saw themselves as working in the city and has suggested that with repeated voyages, some came to view the North Atlantic as 'our waters'. Building upon this, there is scope to consider how the collective, embodied encounters of seafaring mould perceptions and experience of ship, sea and 'place' amongst a mobile, yet confined workforce.

Final Thoughts

The achievement of this thesis has been to draw together a multi-faceted history of the afterlife of Hull's distant-water trawl fishery. It is a narrative drawn from memory, where the past is recalled with hindsight. Present reflections, therefore, offer a place to end. Forty years on from the Cod Wars, Philip ponders upon how fishing might have been if an agreement had been reached with Iceland. 'Would it have still gone on?' he asks?[4] Without territorial seas and politics and with smaller ships, he feels that the answer is yes. John C., however, lost two brothers at sea and questions if the end of trawling should be lamented. As the industry declined, ships and men were no longer lost and so, he reflects, 'it was mebbe a blessing in disguise'.[5] Yet paradoxically, despite the danger, loss and hardship, there are those who missed the distinct, familiar rhythms of a close knit fishery. Reflecting in the present, Jill conveys the dichotomy of living and remembering the trawling. 'The sea was good to me' she says, 'but it was bad to me as well'. 'It's my life…',

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[3] W. Hasty and K. Peters, 'The Ship in Geography and the Geography of Ships', *Geography Compass*, 6:11 (2012), p.664.
[4] AT/021/PB
[5] AT/022/JC

she adds, 'I'll never forget it.'[6] It is a succinct and fitting epitaph to an extreme occupation.

[6] AT/033/JL

Appendix 1:

Reflexive Statement:

I was born in Hull in 1967, living just beyond Hull's fishing district. My father was a Hull trawlerman: a mate with a skipper's ticket, who had left the sea in 1964, going on to train fishermen until the 1980s. My mother was a primary school teacher. My family would not be defined as a 'fishing family'. My father is from a Goole seafaring community and my mother was raised at the western end of Hessle Road, outside the core of 'Trawlertown'. Yet Hessle Road has been prominent in my life. I visited there as a child for a variety of reasons. Between 1981 and 1986 I attended Amy Johnson High School situated mid-way between Hessle Road and Anlaby Road to the north. Cycling to school from my grandmother's house meant passing the Birds Eye factory and the boarded up or demolished terraces of the later phases of housing renewal. I had friends who lived on Hessle Road and I shopped there for bargains.

Although the smell of fish meal occasionally wafted through the classroom, any lingering influence of trawling had bypassed the teen culture of Amy Johnson High in the 1980s. My own awareness of fishing came from my father. I have a distant recollection of visiting the Fish Dock in the early 1970s, but can only conjure small details of the visit. As a child I was intrigued by his sea stories. Over subsequent years I developed an interest in the history of seafaring, and of trawling in particular, which spurred curiosity about the reported vibrant culture of Hessle Road in the 1950s. In 1985, Rupert Creed's play *Northern Trawl* not only cemented my interest, but confirmed a personal sense of heritage that was entwined with the story of fishing. The collapse of the industry invokes a personal empathy for the fishing community. I am not an 'insider': I have no direct experience of this way of life. Yet neither am I entirely from the 'outside', as family and place connections have tied my own sense of heritage to this narrative.

Appendix 2:
Background of Respondents: An Overview

Explanation

- Appendix 2 records respondent's backgrounds and roles. It is an indicative portrayal of a complex, casual workforce, and is not intended for detailed quantitative assessment.
- The table lists ***new*** identities and roles that emerged after 1976. With two exceptions (see below) it does not record where men continued to fish sporadically for Hull companies before seeking new roles or where they may have returned for a handful of trips.
- Periods of unemployment have not been depicted

Key

Terms for Clarification	**Meaning**
Other Fishing	Fishing but not for a Hull trawling company.
Other Marine	A job a sea not covered by other categories (such as North Sea Oil).
Non-Marine	A job ashore unconnected with a maritime industry.
Hessle Roader	Lived on Hessle Road for a significant period within their lives.
Housing Relocation	The respondent or a close relative moved due to the Hessle Road housing clearances.
Symbols	
+	Worked in a fishing related role, but before the study period.
*	For female interviewees. Indicates that their close male relative worked in these sectors. The specific roles of the male relative are listed in *italics*.
^	Only Christine's husband and Margaret's brother continued to fish from Hull until recent years.

Project Ref	Name	Date of Interview	Male/Female	Year of Birth	Trawling Identities (Before 1976)	New Identities (After 1976)	Worked with Freezers	Worked Overseas (post 1976)	Falklands	Hessle Roader	Housing Relocation (1st hand experience)	Involved with Heritage
AT/001/JW	Jim	09.11.12 (I) 13.11.12 (II)	M	1927	Trawler Skipper	Other Marine				x		x
AT/002/AM	Andrew Marr	12.11.12	M	1942	Trawler Owner	Trawler Owner; Other Marine	x	x	x			
AT/003/DD	Doug	14.11.12	M	1933	Trawler Mate	Fisheries Training						
AT/004/MP	Michael P.	21.11.12	M	1939	Trawler Skipper	Other Fishing; Fisheries Patrol; Survey; Other Marine		x	x	x		
AT/005/AH	Alan H.	29.11.12	M	1932	White Fish Authority Professional	White Fish Authority Professional	x	x				x
AT/006/CG	Chris	03.02.13	M	1949	Fish Trades	Fish Trades	x					
AT/007/JH	Jack	27.02.13	M		Hessle Roader; Ancillary +	Hessle Roader				x		
AT/008/RH	Rose	27.02.13	F	1926	Hessle Roader	Hessle Roader				x		
AT/009/MH	Michael H.	05.03.13	M	1941	Hessle Roader; Ancillary+	Hessle Roader				x	x	
AT/010/DL	David L.	13.03.13	M	1938	Fish Trades	Fish Trades	x					
AT/011/BA	Bill A.	15.03.13	M	1930	Hessle Roader; Ancillary+	Hessle Roader				x		

Project Ref	**Name**	**Date of Interview**	**Male/Female**	**Year of Birth**	**Trawling Identities (Before 1976)**	**New Identities (After 1976)**	**Worked with Freezers**	**Worked Overseas** (post 1976)	**Falklands**	**Hessle Roader**	**HousingRelocation (**1st hand experience)	**Involved with Heritage**
AT/012/AJ	Alan J.	19.03.13	M	1941	Trawler Company Management	Trawler Company Management; Fish Trades	x	x	x			
AT/013/RC	Rupert Creed	16.04.13	M	1955		Heritage Role Only						x
AT/014/X	X	17.04.13	M		Ancillary (Radio)	Ancillary; Fisheries Patrol; Other Marine; North Sea Oil		x	x			
AT/015/IG	Ivy	21.04.13	F		Fish Trades	Fish Trades				x	x	
AT/016/BG	Billy	24.04.13	M	1945	Fish Trades	Fish Trades				x		
AT/017/PM	Peter M.	30.04.13	M		White Fish Authority Professional	Fisheries Management (Canada)	x	x				
AT/018/KK	Ken	02.05.13	M	1936	Trawler Skipper	White Fish Authority Professional	x			x		x
AT/019/RW	Ron	12.06.13	M	1936	Trawler Skipper	Fisheries Training; Other Marine Training		x		x	x	x
AT/020/AG	Alec Gill	20.06.13	M	1946		Heritage Role Only						x
AT/021/PB	Philip	02.07.13	M	1941	Ancillary (Radio and Radar)	Ancillary (Radio and Radar)	x					

Project Ref	**Name**	**Date of Interview**	**Male/Female**	**Year of Birth**	**Trawling Identities (Before 1976)**	**New Identities (After 1976)**	**Worked with Freezers**	**Worked Overseas** (post 1976)	**Falklands**	**Hessle Roader**	**Housing Relocation (1st** hand experience)	**Involved with Heritage**
AT/022/JC	John Crimlis	02.07.13	M		Trawler Deckhand+; Fish Dock Bobber	Non-Marine				x		x
AT/023/BB	Various	05.07.13	M	Various	Group Interview with Trawlermen	Various						
AT/024/AR	Alan R.	09.07.13	M	1939		Heritage Role Only						x
AT/025/LW	Laurie	12.07.13	M	1935	Trawler Skipper	North Sea Oil	x					
AT/026/BJ	Bob	12.07.13	M	1943	Trawler Skipper	Mackerelling; Other Fishing; North Sea Oil	x	x		x		
AT/027/JK	John K.	12.07.13	M	1943	Trawler Deckhand	Other Fishing; Non-Marine;		x	x	x	x	
AT/028/BD	Bill D.	12.07.13	M	1940	Trawler Deckhand	Mackerelling; North Sea Oil	x			x		
AT/029/VW	Victor	31.07.13	M	1945	Trawler Skipper	Other Marine; North Sea Oil		x				x
AT/030/PW	Pauline	31.07.13	F	1947	Wife of Trawler Skipper	Wife of Seafarer: *See AT/029/VW.*		*				x
AT/031/KL	Kevin	02.08.13	M	1958	Trawler Deckhand	Other Fishing	x			x		

Project Ref	**Name**	**Date of Interview**	**Male/Female**	**Date of Birth**	**Trawling Identities (Before 1976)**	**New Identities (After 1976)**	**Worked with Freezers**	**Worked Overseas** (post 1976)	**Falklands**	**Hessle Roader**	**Housing relocation** (1st hand experience)	**Involved with Heritage**
AT/032/LW	Lily	10.09.13	M	1948	White Fish Authority Secretary; Daughter of Trawler Engineer	White Fish Authority Secretary;				x	x	
AT/033/JL	Jill	10.09.13	F	1948	Wife of Trawler Skipper	Wife of Seafarer: *Mackerelling; Other Fishing; Overseas Oil Sector*	*	*		x		x
AT/034/JR	John R.	11.09.13	M	1955	Trawler Deckhand	Non-Marine				x		
AT/035/GM	George	13.09.13	M	1931		Heritage Role Only				x		x
AT/036/BS	Barbara	19.09.13	F	1940	Wife of Trawler Deckhand+; Hessle Roader	Hessle Roader				x		
AT/037/TN	Thomas	23.09.13	M	1952	Trawler Deckhand	Mackerelling; Non-Marine	x			x	x	
AT/038/CW	Christine	24.09.13	F	1953	Wife of Trawler Deckhand	Wife of Trawler Deckhand^; *Non-Marine*	*					
AT/039/MG	Margaret	25.09.13	F	1945	Fish Trades; Barmaid in Fishermen's Pub; Daughter of Fish Dock bobber; Sister of Trawler Deckhand	Sister of Trawler Deckhand^	*	*		x	x	x

Project Ref	Name	Date of Interview	Male/Female	Date of Birth	Trawling Identities (Before 1976)	New Identities (After 1976)	Worked with Freezers	Worked Overseas (post 1976)	Falklands	Hessle Roader	Housing relocation (1st hand experience)	Involved with Heritage
AT/040/DB	Dave B.	29.10.13	M	1950	Trawler Engineer	Mackerelling; Fisheries Patrol; North Sea Oil; Non-Marine	x	x	x			
AT/041/TB	Tom Boyd	17.11.13	M	1940	Trawler Owner	Trawler Owner	x	x	x			
AT/042/Y	Y	28.05.14	M		Benefits Officer	Benefits Officer						x
AT/043/RD	Robin Diaper	02.02.15	M	1974		Heritage Role Only						x

Appendix 3:
Employment Figures in the Hull Fishing Industry 1960 to 1993[1]

	1960	**1972/3**	**Mid-1976**	**1983**	**1993**
Catching Sector	3000	2307	1850	480	336
Ancillary Trades (non-fish)	2850	Unavailable	2900	1193	781
Fish Trades (incl. fish meal & oil)	3100	Unavailable	3850	2822	2474
Combined Onshore Trades	5950	8700	6750	4015	3255
Total	8950	11000 (approx.)	8600	4495	3591

Explanation:

Precise and consistent employment data for the Hull trawl fishery is difficult to obtain. The industry employed many workers on a casual basis and this means that numbers engaged can exceed listed of positions. The figures here have been compiled from a range of sources, which have drawn upon different criteria with variable accuracy. Whilst this makes precise chronological comparison impossible, the figures do reveal general employment trends over the study period.

[1] **Sources:**

1960 – 1983
W. Robb, D. Symes and G. Haughton, *An Analysis of the Hull Fish Industry in 1983*. Sea Fish Industry Authority, Industrial Development Unit and University of Hull, Department of Geography. Technical Report No. 220, August 1983, pp.81-84.

The figures used in this report are taken from the following sources:
1960: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, reproduced from Tunstall, *The Fishermen*, p.271. The authors of the report class these figures as underestimated, as they exclude certain categories of ancillary workers, (p.80).
1972-73: Compiled from various Department of Employment, local authority and employment census figures. The report authors define the total as an approximation.
Mid-1976: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Board, 1976.
1983: Compiled by the report authors from various sources, including interviews with leading firms, industry bodies and a postal questionnaire. The authors class the calculations as estimates and refer to the catching sector figure as an ‘extremely variable total’.

1993
D.A. Palfreman, *The Fishing Industry of Yorkshire and Humberside: A Regional Study*. Commissioned by the Yorkshire and Humberside Consortium, 1993, p.12.

Appendix 4

Table 1: The rise and fall of the Hull stern, freezer and factory fleet, 1961-1986[1]

Hull Stern, Freezer and Factory Ships			
Year	Arrivals		Departures
	New ships	Ships transferred to Hull	
1961	1		
1962	1		
1963	0		
1964	2		
1965	3		
1966	7		1
1967	3		
1968	5		2
1969	3		
1970	1		
1971	0	1	
1972	4		
1973	7	7	6
1974	1		1
1975	3		1
1976			2
1977		2	6
1978		6	3
1979			2
1980			3
1981			3
1982			12
1983			2
1984			6
1985			7
1986			1

Up to 1973 the fleet is expanding. The activity between 1973 and 1975 reflects a number of operational factors, including Ross Group's relocation of their freezer fleet to Grimsby. Junella (1), was sold in 1973 and Junella (2), entered the fleet in 1975. In 1962 Junella (1) had been Britain's first wholefish freezer trawler. In 1975, as the industry went into decline, Junella (2) was the last freezer to be built for over a decade.[2] From 1975 the figures show a steady decline.

[1] Figures from Thompson, *Stern Trawling Fleet*, pp.125-129.
[2] Ibid., p.84.

Table 2: New Roles for Hull stern, freezer and factory ships after 1975[3]

New Roles*	Number
Standby	12
Non-European Fisheries	11
Nordic Fisheries	7
Survey (Marr)	4
Survey (Other)	3
Other European Fisheries	3
Diving Support	3
Scrap	2
Other	1

*Includes ships sold or redeployed by Hull owners to work in other fisheries or maritime sectors

Table 3: Number of Sidewinder Trawlers Registered to Hull 1961 to 1986[4]

Year	Number of Hull Registered Sidewinder Trawlers
January 1961	140
January 1966	115
January 1971	73
January 1976	36
January 1981	5
January 1986	1

[3] Ibid.
[4] Figures from Thompson, *Hull's Side-Fishing Fleet*, p.94.

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Hull Daily Mail, January 27, 1992

Hull Daily Mail, August 11, 1993

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