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Nicholas J. Evans (2017) The Making of a Mosaic: Migration and the Port-city of Kingston upon Hull. In D. J. Starkey, D. Atkinson, B. McDonagh, S. McKeon, & E. Salter (Eds.), Hull: Culture, History, Place (145-178). Liverpool University Press.

https://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/book/10.3828/9781781384190

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CHAPTER SIX

The Making of a Mosaic:
Migration and the Port-City of Kingston upon Hull[1]

Nicholas J. Evans

When the results of the 2011 UK Census were made public in 2013 the BBC's Six O'Clock News ran a live television broadcast from the city to herald a remarkable transformation – Hull was now home to a migrant population of 12,000 European migrants, 5 per cent of the total.[2] Despite being one of the UK's largest passenger ports and home to a university recruiting large numbers of overseas students, that Hull had been settled by European workers seemed to be a cause for national concern. Though the workers filled employment shortages in low paid sectors and bolstered under-populated areas along the Beverley Road district to the north of the city centre, the media portrayed the city as being deluged by a sizeable number of immigrants for the first time in its history. Numerous maritime metaphors were used to explain to 'alarmed' audiences what was happening. Although the city had proudly branded itself as a Gateway to Europe for the previous two decades, and urban planners had sought to persuade Europeans arriving and embarking through the North Sea Ferry terminal to 'stop off' in Hull, the 200 percent increase in the number of EU workers choosing to work in the city was deemed newsworthy locally and nationally. A handful of outsiders or 'aliens' had been associated with Hull since the foundation of the medieval port in the thirteenth century, but 'difference' was always seen as transitory and not part of the place's DNA.[3]

In fact, however, the cultural, religious and linguistic influences of foreign merchants, artists and refugees have given the area its outsider character and unique linguistic identity for over a millennia. Danish-speaking Vikings, who landed in the ninth century, are recalled in place names of villages surrounding Hull – such as Anlaby, Kirk Ella, Willerby, Ferriby and Skidby. French-speaking mercahnts, such as the De La Poles, helped shape the early commerce of the port during the fourteenth century.[4] Flemish cloth merchants expanded trade during the fifteenth century. The Elizabethan Aliens Rolls record the town's first black migrant to have been the servant of Bartholomew Burnett in 1599.[5] Peter Scheemaker, a Dutch sculptor, created the much-loved statue of King William

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[1] Some of the research for this article was funded through the EU's Comenius Regio Programme, 2009-2011 and a Research Councils of the UK Fellowship held by the author between 2008 and 2011. I'd like to thank Professor David Starkey, Ms Susan Capes and Mr Samuel North for advice on earlier drafts of this paper. Numerous members of Hull's communities have inspired or assisted with this research. In particular I would like to thank Dr David Lewis and Ms Helen Good for permission to use information from their researches here. Mrs Linda Lai and her family have also been very generous in sharing information about the Hong Kong community.

[2] According to the 2011 UK Census the population of Kingston upon Hull had grown to 256,406. The non-UK born population represented 8.9 per cent of the population in 2011 – with non-EU migrants representing 4 per cent of the population. (Source: Office of National Statistics report, 2011, accessed at The Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/may/26/foreign-born-uk-population#data Accessed 1 April 2016].)

[3] The medieval genesis of immigration to town can now be easily explored online thanks to the University of York's 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550'. www.englandsimmigrants.com [Accessed on 1 June 2016].

[4] Jenny Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Medieval Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) provides a detailed exploration of the foreign merchants operating in the region.

[5] Research by Helen Good found he was described as 'his neager an aliant by the pole' in the Aliens Lists held at the National Archives in London. (TNA, E 179/204/349).

III (King Billy) that has dominated the Market Place since the mid-eighteenth century. Italian stucco artists' creative talents embellished the architecture of principal properties in the city, including the Maister House, Blaydes House and Wilberforce House.[6] 'Hullness' has been shaped by the continual influence of outsiders throughout the port's long history and it can be argued that the continual presence of new aliens has been an enduring feature of Hull's maritime identity, a symbol of its entrepreneurial vigour. The ebb and flow of every high tide brought people with new skills that have enriched the expanding conurbation. This chapter seeks to explore this forgotten aspect of the making of the city – Hull's acceptance and absorption of outsiders throughout its past. From the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that convulsed Europe during the 1790s and 1800s, to the War on Terror at the end of the twentieth century, various river, sea and ocean-going vessels brought multitudes of migrants possessing various identities, nationalities, ethnicities and cultures. Following the opening of the first dock (later Queen's Dock) in 1778, Hull's importance as a commercial centre was underpinned by outsiders. In turn, the success of maritime trade drew traders and potential settlers from further afield. From the Corporation Pier to Hull Fair, from Market Place to the affluent suburbs, men, women and children from outside of the city have collectively made a mosaic that has enhanced Hull's commercial prowess, cemented her cultural diversity and bolstered the physical expansion of the urban landscape beyond the confines of the fortified medieval town. Hull would arguably be nothing without the continental migrants who expanded her commercial and cultural horizons, the transmigrants who for decades made Hull one of the most important transport hubs in the world, and latterly the economic migrants, refugees and university students who have made Hull a truly global city.

Foreign Immigration and the Emergence of an Ethnic Mosaic

Where once Hull had a 'uniquely Dutch feel', by the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars she was becoming a major European gateway.[7] Traders, mariners and migrants from a number of different European markets settled in Hull from the 1790s onwards. They were not the only ethnic minorities who visited the town. When the black abolitionist Olaudah Equiano visited John Sykes – Hull's Mayor and Wilberforce's cousin – in November 1792, he would have encountered people of all colours, creeds, ethnicities and nationalities living, working and visiting the port town.[8] Though racial diversity was less advanced than in the larger ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow, some paintings now held in the Ferens Art Gallery and Wilberforce House Museum captured the growing diversity of the maritime community.[9] The size of any 'alien' group never exceeded the hundreds before the 1850s, and thousands before the 1880s, yet the former name of Dagger Lane, Ten Faith Lane, suggests a range of foreign faiths worshipped there. It was certainly the home of Hull's first synagogue, which opened in 1766; subsequently, ecclesiastical buildings for German and Scandinavian migrants were opened in Osborne Street in 1848 and 1871. A constantly changing European mosaic settled around

[6] David Neave & Susan Neave, *Hull: City Guide, The Buildings of England* (Pevsner Architectural Guides) (Yale: Yale University Press, 2010).

[7] David Neave, *The Dutch connection: the Anglo-Dutch heritage of Hull and Humberside* (Hull: Humberside Leisure Services, 1988).

[8] Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (London: Stationer's Hall, 1793, 7th edn.), p. xiv.

[9] See the following examples: Bernard Hailstone, *Signing On in a Hull Merchant Marine Office c.1939-1945*, in Buchan-Cameron, Hazel (Coordinator), *Oil Paintings in Public Ownership in East Riding of Yorkshire* (London: The Public Catalogue Foundation, 2010), p. 108; John Ward (Style of), *Shipping Hull Garrison,* ditto, p. 290.

the edges of the historic town, increasingly surrounded on all sides by maritime activity. As gravestones across the surrounding region indicate, people came from as far away as India, Jakarta, Russia, Latin America, Africa and, of course, Europe.[10] Aliens Lists and passport controls introduced to protect the harbour during the conflict with France further reveal the arrival of migrant men, women and children between 1793 and 1828. Included in the records were 'Italian pedlars', 'negroes' and Polish, Danish, German and Russian 'Jews' and 'Jewesses',[11] who all landed at the western confluence of the rivers Hull and Humber. Whilst many, like the Cohen sisters, were in transit for Sheffield, others remained for the duration of the war, reporting to the Custom House situated in the former Neptune Hotel on Whitefriargate.

Whilst the maritime workforce was inherently diverse, the people who permanently settled were, until at least the mid-Victorian period, drawn from the merchant or artisan classes. Usually possessing both capital and social networks established through seaborne trade with Hull, they were part of dynasties handling port commerce between Hull and the North Sea ports of Amsterdam, Gothenburg, Oslo, Rotterdam, Hamburg and the Baltic ports of Riga, Åbo (now Türkü) and Hangö (Hanko). Men such as John Cankrien from Rotterdam and Frederick Helmsing from Riga augmented the already strong commercial links between ports from rival imperial powers. Except during wartime, papers proving identity were not an impediment to movement.[12] Identities were often deliberately changed so that traders appeared, to all intents and purposes, British. Yet full citizenship – including the ability to own freehold property and vote in Parliamentary elections – was both rare and expensive. Denization required an immigrant to secure an individual Act of Parliament at that time. Only a handful of merchants achieved what John Cankrien, the former Dutch Consul's grave memorialised: 'Naturalised by Act of Parliament'.[13] Their wealth enabled them to integrate into local society, and following expectations of the time for people 'of means' they often had fine residences erected in the rural suburbs surrounding the town.[14]

Rather than retarding settlement, the Napoleonic Wars served to expand Hull's largest alien group, the Jewish community. Though the largely foreign-born community was formally established in 1766, it was the establishment of Hull as a Naval Prize Court during the Napoleonic Wars that persuaded Jews resident in southern ports, and Hampshire in particular, to migrate north, as gravestones within the Jewish cemetery on Hessle Road attest. Money was to be made in the buying and selling of these naval prizes, and for the Georgian Jewish community it made Hull an attractive place to live and work.[15] As research by David Lewis has revealed, throughout the early Victorian era Hull's isolated Ashkenazi Jewish community buried Jews from as far away as Kings Lynn to the south,

[10] The East Yorkshire Family History Society's series of monumental inscriptions has been an invaluable source of information. [I am grateful to former students on my undergraduate History students at the University of Hull for helping me find foreign-born memorials within the transcriptions produced by the society that are housed in the University of Hull Brynmor Jones Library.]

[11] Hull History Centre, BRE/7/1, 'Arrival Certificates and Declarations'.

[12] The exception being Russian ports that required identity papers for those arriving or leaving every port in the realm.

[13] The grave of John Crankien remains at the rear of the Kirk Ella churchyard.

[14] K.J. Allison, *Hull Gent seeks country residence, 1750-1850* (Beverley: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1981). Crankien's home, now called Wolfreton House, is still visible on the Beverley Road linking Anlaby and Willerby.

[15] Hull Jewish Community, *250 years of Jewish life in Hull: 1766-2016* (Hull: Hull Jewish Community, 2016), p. 3.

Sheffield and Leeds to the west, and Scarborough to the north.[16] These early Jewish residents were joined by a smaller number of Mediterranean Jews wearing the exotic clothing of the Levant, who worked as pedlars hawking their wares in the surrounding villages. Thus we find reference to Philip Solomon of Selby appearing in court records at Beverley in 1796; Joseph Jelson, a Sephardic Jew from Gibraltar was charged at the Beverley Assizes in 1839 for criminal activity; and Baghdadi Jew Reuben Sassoon, who witnessed the infamous Baccarat Scandal at Tranby Croft in 1890. Yet despite such 'exotic' Jews occasionally visiting the town, most of the Hull Jewish community remained Ashkenazi Jews from Central and Eastern Europe.[17]

With the peace of 1815, Hull's foreign-born migrant community expanded further as technological innovation reduced the journey times and increased the reliability of North Sea travel. The General Steam Navigation Company, Gee and Company, Bailey & Leetham, and the Wilson Line all plied the North Sea routes from the 1820s onwards. Running scheduled services, the frequency and regularity of movement enabled people and goods to traverse the North Sea with an ease unimaginable during the age of sail. Journey times were reduced on an almost yearly basis as local shipbuilders such as Pearsons and then Earles, coupled with local engineering company Amos & Smith, improved the design and reliability of steamship services. Like the infrastructure enabling Hull to expand, the supply routes – on land and along waterways – in Central and Eastern Europe meant that from the 1840s onwards traders, craftsmen and immigrants from as far away as Scandinavia, Russia, Finland and Italy were arriving through Hull's expanding dock estate. From the late 1820s, the new harbour and steam packet wharf near the entrance to Humber Dock improved landing facilities for passengers and circumvented the need to navigate the crowded River Hull completely. Immigrants settled close to where they landed on reclaimed land near the edge of the former walled town. Those settling came predominantly from or via Hamburg and were aided by John Hurst, the former captain of the early steamship SS *Lion*, who operated an emigrant, passenger and victualling business from the Minerva public house from 1854 (see Figure 7.1).[18] The triangular shaped premises, erected in 1829, were perfectly situated between the Humber Dock Basin and what later became the Corporation Pier.[19] The latter had regular Humber Ferry passenger services to nearby Grimsby and thus the area became the central point of arrival for most early Victorian migrants.

Figure 7.1. (Minerva business card, 1851)

Given the regular sailings of steamers to and from both Hamburg and later Bremen, a growing number of highly skilled artisans began to settle during the 1840s. Hairdressers, sugar bakers and butchers all served the Hull population.[20] Though their arrival coincided with the opening of the Hull to Selby railway line in 1840, there is little evidence to suggest the railway was used by any of the early immigrants. Yet what had been a steadily paced rate of immigration changed dramatically in 1848

[16] Walking tour of Hull's Jewish cemeteries as part of the European Days of Jewish Culture, 2008. Lewis' transcriptions were published in: East Yorkshire Family History Society, *Ella Street & Hessle Road Jewish Cemeteries, Hull: monumental inscriptions* (Beverley: East Yorkshire Family History Society, 2010).

[17] Israel Finestein, 'The Jews in Hull, Between 1766 and 1880', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 35 (1996), pp. 33-91.

[18] Robert Barnard, *The Minerva Hotel* (Hull: Local History Unit, 1999), p. 7.

[19] Ibid, p. 2.

[20] Michael Adrian Smale, 'Patterns and processes of migration to the port of Hull in the second half of the nineteenth century: an examination of the movement and settlement of migrants from the rural hinterland and continental Europe' (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Hull: University of Hull, 2006).

with the failure of harvests and revolutions across Central Europe. Though the Irish 'Potato Famine' was a central factor in Britain and Ireland, agrarian failure in the late 1840s, coupled with failed political revolutions in Europe, precipitated large-scale German emigration.[21] Most Germans were bound for the industrial centres at Leeds, Bradford and Manchester, but a growing number established themselves and their families in Hull. By 1851, Germans formed the largest foreign-born population in Hull. They established their own church services from 1844, with donations from the Royal House of Prussia.[22] The population was affluent, and from 1848 sustained both a permanent German Lutheran Church on Nile Street, and a charity for distressed foreign migrants.[23] Being wealthy and highly cultured, they expanded the cultural aspirations of the town and facilitated the visit of talented, classically trained musicians. Though removed from their native homeland most retained a strong command of the German language. Professional tradesmen also visiting trade fairs in Germany, where they won awards for their crafts – all of which were proudly displayed to their non-German clientele in Hull.

Many female immigrants, and a significant number of immigrant children, entered the service of local gentry and aristocratic families as German culture became *de rigueur* for aspiring Victorians. The Barnards of Cave Castle in the West Hull village of South Cave were typified this trend by employing German-born governesses to educate their children at home before the First World War. Meanwhile male migrants and their children, such as the Hohenreins, entered the East Yorkshire Militia and become members of the Humber Masonic Lodge - Hull's oldest Masonic Lodge - situated off Dagger Lane. Other successful German-born merchants entered the Hull and Humber Chamber of Commerce as part of their commercial assimilation into the business elites of the town. Until the First World War hampered German settlement, Hull retained one of the country's largest German communities after London, Manchester, Dundee and Bradford. The census reveals that in 1891 at least 906 Germans, or 33 percent of the foreign-born population, lived in the town, yet this declined to 576 (18 percent) by 1901, before growing again to 738 (20 percent) by 1911.[24] Unlike the early generation of immigrants naturalisation had become easier and more affordable and so around ten percent of the Germans arriving sought British citizenship.[25] They gave generously to local good causes and, like early migrants, moved to some of the elite residential districts of the city, including Coltman and Linnaeus Streets, the Avenues and Beverley Road. Very much an upwardly mobile population, they made an important cultural imprint in terms of music, food, drink and language.[26] They cemented important commercial ties between the Humber and the global trading centre of Hamburg. It is thus of no great surprise that the future shipping magnate, John Reeves Ellerman, described by William Rubinstein as the richest man in England when he died in 1933, was born to German immigrant parents on Hull's Anlaby Road in 1862.[27]

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[21] Russia's occupation of Poland had caused the arrival of a smaller number of Poles during the early 1830s. See Alan Deighton, *"A Shocking Case of Starvation in Hull" – A Short Memoir of the Life of "Count" Adolph de Werdinsky* (Beverley: Highgate Publications, 2014).
[22] D.G. Woodhouse, *Anti-German Sentiment in Kingston upon Hull: The German Community and the First World War* (Hull: Kingston upon Hull Record Office, 1990), p. 15.
[23] Barbara Robinson, *The Hull German Lutheran Church, 1848-1998* (Beverley: Highgate Press, 2000).
[24] Ibid, p. 87.
[25] Ibid, p. 87.
[26] See in particular Norman Staveley, *Two Centuries of Music in Hull* (Cherry Burton: Hutton Press, 1999).
[27] William Rubinstein, *Men of Property: the very wealthy in Britain since the industrial revolution* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006, 2nd edn.), p. 61.

Yet by far the largest and most influential migrant group in terms of Hull's development as a city were the Jews from Eastern and Central Europe, who reached the town between 1848 and 1914. They changed both the religious and economic landscape of Hull and though most studies of British Jewish history, and indeed the Jewish diaspora, begin their coverage with the outbreak of Tsarist persecution, or *pogroms*, in 1881, Hull's Ashkenazi population mushroomed following the expansion of the German railway network during the 1840s. The opening of a direct rail route between Berlin and Hamburg in 1846 enabled Jews to reach North Sea ports within hours. Most bound for Britain originated in the area of Eastern Poland or Western Russia known at the time as the Pale of Settlement. The Jews of Russia had faced mobility and occupational restrictions since the at least the 1790s. Despite the repression and hardship facing all who lived under the brutality of imperial Russian rule, the community grew during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The Jews who came into Britain between the 1880s and 1914 entered mainly via Hull and Grimsby and were mostly transients, crossing the country on their way to the United States and Canada. The majority came on a through-ticket that included the cost of travel from continental Europe, a train journey across Britain, and then the steamer across the Atlantic. Yet in addition to those bound for further afield, Jews wishing to settle permanently in Britain landed at either Hull (from Bremen, Libau and Hamburg) or Grimsby (from Hamburg, Antwerp or Rotterdam). Though later descendants often believed they had been tricked into stopping off in Hull, from 1851 onwards their tickets clearly stated the ultimate destination to which they were bound.[28]

Despite its role as a major immigrant and transmigrant terminus for Jewish migrants during the period of mass migration in the mid to late Victorian period, Hull did not develop a Jewish migrant ghetto. Unlike the Red Bank area of Manchester, Leylands of Leeds, or East End of London, the port-city never had a migrant ghetto and, according to analysis of the 1861 and 1891 census by Michael Smale, no street had more than 22 per cent of its population born elsewhere.[29] Even Osborne Street, recalled by third- and fourth-generation Jewish immigrants as the centre of Jewish Hull, was a cosmopolitan space within which foreign migrants of many religions and nationalities settled and worshipped. At its height the Jewish immigrant generation was supported by kosher bakeries, butchers, delicatessens, fish shops, six synagogues and numerous Jewish charities. Yet, as with the children of immigrants elsewhere, those born in Hull rapidly began to enter the professions and eventually dominated the legal profession in Hull.[30] The Jewish community made a vital contribution to civic life as councillors, mayors, lord mayors, sheriffs and aldermen.[31] As with affluent German immigrants, over the next 150 years Hull's Jewish population suburbanised. Ultimately, some would argue, the success of these immigrants lay in their ability to assimilate and integrate, in part because of the piecemeal and gradual nature of their settlement. This largely explains why Jews who lived in the town, later city, escaped the type of persecution directed towards ethnic minorities living

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[28] For examples of the myths surrounding Jewish immigration see: Elliott Oppel, *The History of Hull's Orthodox Synagogues: And the People Connected with them* (Beverley: Highgate Publications, 2000); Michael E. Ulyatt, *Be Still and Know Thyself More: The flight of Eastern European Jews to Hull and Beyond* (Hull: Michael Ulyatt Enterprises, 2012); and David Goodman, *Aspects of Hull: Discovering Local History* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 1999).

[29] Research by Michael Smale presented to the Hull College 'Know Your Place' module field trip around migrant Hull, 2002.

[30] Legal businesses with Jewish origins included Graham and Rosen, Max Gold, Gosschalks and Myer Wolff.

[31] This was reiterated at events marking the 250th anniversary of the Hull Jewish Community at the Hull History Centre and the Hull Hebrew Congregation.

elsewhere. They added, moreover, to the fluidity and vitality of Hull as a great port city. Yet after the Aliens Act in 1905 attempted to curtail European immigration to Britain, each vessel arriving in the Humber was visited by an Immigration Officer. At Hull in the early twentieth century, the officer concerned was Paul Julius Drasdo. An immigrant from Berlin in 1880, Drasdo married the daughter of one of Hull's emigration agents, and by the time the Aliens Act was passed had become Hull's leading emigration agent.[32] He was then appointed Hull's official Immigration Officer. In this role he met (for a fee) every vessel bringing aliens to Hull, and arranged transport for those who had not already paid for onward rail travel. Drasdo spoke several languages, including German, Yiddish and Russian, and could help the immigrants during their medical inspections and on disembarkation.

Immigrants from most European countries found a home in Hull during the long nineteenth century. Swedes, Norwegians, Danes and Finns rubbed shoulders with Russians, Poles, Austro-Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Romanians, Germans, Dutch, Belgian, French, Spanish and Portuguese settlers. The cultural sophistication of those inhabiting the port town also developed as every high tide brought new cultures, foods and styles. Whilst fish, bread and potatoes remained the staple diet for most, exotic spices from Asia, rice from slave plantations in the Americas, bananas and pineapples from the Caribbean, and oranges and lemons from the Mediterranean all changed the culinary pallet of Hull's growing urban population.[33] As mariners and merchants settled, they were joined by other migrants from most European countries. Though 612 Belgians found temporary refuge in Hull during the First World War, the era of mass immigration came to an abrupt end.[34] Only those transiting the port *en route* to foreign countries would be welcomed in the decades that followed. As Hull developed a truly ethnic mosaic during the nineteenth century, the port remained a very European space with few settlers from the British Empire or other places further afield. Hull, unlike most British ports, remained an overtly white mosaic city – something that remained unchanged for most of the twentieth century.

The Staging Post to America: Transmigration through Hull

Because of its location on the shortest rail route across Britain, Hull developed in the mid-nineteenth century as a major migrant gateway for transmigrants. Those arriving were not destined to settle in Hull, nor to live in Leeds, Manchester or Liverpool. Instead, they arrived already possessing a ticket to a final destination further afield. The combined influence of geography, transport infrastructure and foreign merchants able to assist every boatload of migrants arriving at the port ensured that for nearly a century Hull remained one of the world's largest migrant handling ports. Like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Liverpool, Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam and Le Havre, Hull facilitated millions of European migrants bound for the United States, Canada, Latin America and southern Africa. All were hoping to better their economic, political or religious well-being by migrating to the other side of the world, and Hull developed into a secure staging post along this aspirational route—a stepping stone

[32] For further information on the role of foreign agents in the transmigration business, see Nicholas J. Evans, 'The Role of Foreign-born Agents in the Development of Mass Migrant Travel through Britain, 1851-1924', in Torsten Feys, Lewis R. Fischer, Stephone Host & Stephan Vanfraechem (eds.), *The Impact of the Maritime and Migration Networks on Transatlantic Labour Migration during the 18th-20th Centuries* (St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2007), pp. 49-61.

[33] Ann Bennett, *Shops, Shambles and the Street Market: Retailing in Georgian Hull, 1770 to 1810* (Wetherby: Oblong, 2005)

[34] Oliver Baxter, 'Reception, experiences and departures of Belgian refugees on the Yorkshire Coast, 1914-1918', *East Yorkshire Historian*, XVI (2015), pp. 61-88.

to far larger cities. So central was the traffic to the prosperity of the city that when a statue to Queen Victoria was unveiled in 1903, the profile of a Wilson Line vessel carrying transmigrants was chosen to symbolise, on its pedestal, one of the means through which Hull had emerged as Britain's third port during Victoria's long reign. Though a significant and constant feature in the port's traffic from the 1840s to the First World War, transmigration was a largely forgotten story until the late 1990s, when attempts were made by Hull City Council to rebrand the city as a both a gateway to Europe and a fount of freedom.[35]

During the period between 1851 and 1914, Hull played a pivotal role in the movement of transmigrants via the UK,[36] with over 2.2 million European migrants passing through Hull *en route* to a new life in the USA, Canada, Latin America, South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Australasia.[37] Originating predominantly in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and Germany (see Figure 7.2), the transmigrants disembarked in Hull, and then proceeded by train to Glasgow, Liverpool, London or Southampton. The latter were the real magnet, for they were the departure points for steamship services to the 'New World'. Before 1848, the traffic was small and insignificant, with less than a thousand European migrants arriving annually. Whether the European emigrants came from the Baltic, Germany or Scandinavia, the experience of the voyage from mainland Europe to the UK was the same – an ordeal. The journey varied in length according to the weather and the vessel, but generally took between three and five days. Yet economic and political crises in Europe in 1848, together with the introduction of improved transport facilities, stimulated and facilitated the growth of emigrant passenger services via the UK.

Figure 7.2. (Types of German Emigrants, 1881)

Although the trade was cyclical, and emigration to America collapsed during the US Civil War (1861-65), once peace was restored America again became the distant magnet for the transmigrants arriving in Hull in the steamers that arrived every Sunday and Wednesday evening. The Hull-based Wilson Line dominated the Scandinavian business, but it faced constant competition from German, Dutch and Danish transatlantic steamship companies, which all sought to transport migrants directly from the European continent to the USA. Wilson's dominance was not accompanied by improvements in the quality and standard of the service provided for transmigrants, with Hull Board of Health communicating frequently with the company between 1864 and 1884 about the poor and unacceptable standards of accommodation it offered to its transmigrant customers. In the case of SS *Argo*, the Board claimed that the migrants, who were supposed to be second class passengers, were treated more like cattle than humans. In another instance, the Board reported that human excrement was running down and sticking to the sides of ships in which 200 migrants were to be housed for four days until their train for Liverpool was ready. Something had to be done, and ultimately action was taken by Hull's sanitary authority.

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[35] The exception were small references within the works by local historians Edward Gillet & Kenneth MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull: Hull University Press, 1989, 2nd edn.), pp. 340, 375, John Markham, *The book of Hull: the evolution of a great northern city* (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1989), p. 100, and George Patrick, A Plaque on You Sir (Hull: George Patrick, 1981), pp. 71, 81-2, 95.

[36] This topic has been discussed extensively in Nicholas J. Evans, 'Aliens en route: European transmigration through Britain, 1836-1914' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2006).

[37] For a breakdown of the statistics see Nicholas J. Evans, 'Indirect Passage from Europe', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 3, no. 1 (2001), pp. 75-84.

Figure 7.3. (Harry Lazarus Hotel, Posterngate, Hull)

Because of the perceived risks to the town's health from the large numbers of European migrants passing through the port, the North Eastern Railway Company built a waiting room near Hull Paragon Railway Station in 1871. This waiting room had facilities for the transmigrants to meet the ticket agents and take shelter from the weather. At no time throughout the age of mass migration did the authorities in Hull provide purpose-built emigrant lodging houses for the migrants. Although twenty emigrant lodging houses were given licences to accommodate or feed transmigrants by the Town Council in 1877 alone, these differed from common lodging houses only in their description and size - the emigrant lodging houses licenced after 1877 being much larger and able to accommodate between 20 and 80 people at a time (Figure 7.3). Most only stayed in these lodging houses when necessary and most arrived in and departed from Hull within 24 hours. Although the majority of migrants were only in Hull for a short period of time, the emigrant waiting room at Paragon Railway Station was doubled in size in 1882 due to the numbers of transmigrants passing through the town (Figure 7.4). The extension provided a separate waiting room, and discrete toilet and washing facilities, for the women and children. A second emigrant railway platform was constructed in 1885 by the Hull & Barnsley Railway Company as part of its new facilities at Alexandra Dock. This was the first purpose-built dockside railway platform for emigrants, with deeper docks to cater for larger steamships and a longer platform to enable large numbers of transmigrants to board the specialist 'emigrant trains' that conveyed them to Liverpool.

Figure 7.4. (Emigrant Waiting Room)

Most transmigrants travelled from Paragon Railway Station to Liverpool via Leeds, Huddersfield and Stalybridge, near Manchester. Sometimes, so many migrants arrived at one time that there would be up to seventeen carriages being pulled by one steam engine. All the baggage was stored in the rear four carriages, with the passengers filling the carriages towards the front of the train. These trains, which usually left Hull on a Monday morning around 11.00 and arrived in Liverpool three or four hours later, took precedence over all other rail services because of their length. In 1904, the number of transmigrants travelling through the UK via Hull was so great that the Wilson Line leased a separate landing station called Island Wharf. This was located just outside the Humber Dock and was one of four separate landing stations used to disembark passengers. Although the Allan, Cunard, Dominion and White Star Lines sold tickets throughout rural and urban Scandinavia to would-be migrants travelling to America, it was Wilson ships that brought almost all of these migrants to the UK, thereby generating profits for the family members who owned what was dubbed at the time the 'largest privately owned shipping line in the world'. The scale of this firm, and the agencies it had established across northern Europe, explained the dominant role it played in the migration of thousands of Scandinavian emigrants between 1843 and 1914.

After 1905, the numbers of immigrants travelling via the UK was severely restricted by the Alien Immigration Act. Although this legislation did not initially inhibit the scale of transmigration, by 1914 the level of migration via Hull had declined. With the outbreak of the First World War and the passing of immigration acts in South Africa and America, the era of mass transmigration via the UK, and from Europe in general, ended. Although transmigration on a smaller scale did resume after 1918, it never approached the volume witnessed in the 70 or so years preceding the Great War. During that time, transmigration generated business and income in Hull. It stimulated demand for the building,

victualling, coaling and servicing of steamers; it increased dock dues, berthing fees and agency commissions; it created employment for seafarers and stevedores, both British and foreign; and it contributed to the extraordinary hold that Thomas Wilson Sons & Co, Ltd were able to exert over Hull's maritime interests, a role that permeated the city through the investments, philanthropy and civic service of the Wilson family members. Transmigration also temporarily expanded the population of the port area of the city by 50 percent in waves that strained the city's provisions. In response, foreign-based charities, including those funded by the German, Danish and Jewish communities, assisted those temporarily in Hull, whether as passengers or crew. Indeed, reports published between 1897 and 1899 show that the Hull Hebrew Board of Guardians paid more than any Trans-Pennine Jewish community to keep the migrants moving – either back to Europe or onwards to America. Together, these transients and support agencies collectively expanded the racial and cultural diversity of the city. By 1924, when transmigration came to an end with the closure of US borders to immigrants under the Quota Acts, Hull had become a major player in the flow of people, cultures and money along the commercial highways and seaways that connected the Old World with the new lands of opportunity across the oceans.

Paper Walls and the Emergence of a Truly Global City

Whilst both the city and port of Hull grew steadily during the long nineteenth century, the outbreak of the First World War arguably stalled its commercial and urban expansion. Though the war provided an important economic stimulus and full employment for men, and increasingly, women, the end of mass migration had begun. The Aliens Act of 1905 was augmented by the wartime restrictions on aliens under the Defence of the Realm Act of 1914. When the war ended in 1918, two new measures – the 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act and the 1920 Aliens Order – further limited immigration.[38] From then on the scale and character of migration – whether by immigrants, transmigrants, sojourners or increasingly refugees – was conditioned by legislation. Hull became an increasingly inward looking and isolated space and outsiders already resident in the town assimilated and integrated into the host society. Supported by so-called 'paper walls', the city's alien population stabilised and at times decreased. Though many visitors continued to use the port, they transited without engaging with the city at all. There was now a discernible disconnect between the port and the city – whether real or imagined. Those who did come - black seafarers, refugees from Nazism, displaced persons from the Second World War, the Hong Kong Chinese, and Kurdish asylum seekers resettled during the Gulf War - were all seen as outsiders. Despite being technically welcomed by the city and its communities, earlier waves of both internal migrants from Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as European immigrants and transmigrants, were all forgotten and amnesia quickly set in about the central role that migration had played in the city's life. Hull remained, to all intents and purposes, a monocultural city.

With the outbreak of the First World War, Hull's position as one of the world's great migrant entrepôts came to an abrupt end. The infrastructure, both in the UK and on the European continent, that had previously aided transcontinental migration was quickly commandeered to support the military effort. Crews of migrant vessels intent on voyaging to Hull, with both transmigrants and immigrants aboard,

[38] For the history of immigration restrictions in modern Britain see: Tony Kushner & Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: global, national and local perspectives during the twentieth century* (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

were interned following the declaration of war. They were then imprisoned for the duration of the conflict at Ruhleben in Germany, a town through which many European emigrants bound for Hull had once passed through.[39] Closer to home the crews of foreign vessels berthed in Hull's docks were also interned, the majority on the Isle of Wight. Meanwhile, the British-registered SS *Borodino*, belonging to the Wilson Line, was used as a makeshift internment camp for adult male Germans between the ages of 17 and 42.[40] Even those who had been resident in Hull for many years now found themselves rounded up, ostracised and unable to financially support their wives and children. The maltreatment of aliens intensified as the war progressed, as the Defence of the Realm Act impeded migration, whilst Hull was identified as a possible landing place for the anticipated German invasion of Britain. Anti-German prejudice surfaced on a number of occasions and was targeted at people who had served the city economically and philanthropically for several generations. Blatant and more subtle prejudice compelled Germans not only to naturalise, but also assimilate their personal and commercial identities. The German Church, by then on Nile Street, was quickly closed for the duration of the war and all things German cleared from public view. Wartime propaganda denigrated 'the Hun', and thus everything German was susceptible to attack – especially men of military age.

After an outburst of anti-German activity on the day war was declared, things in Hull appeared peaceful. Even the bombardment of Scarborough, West Hartlepool and Whitby in December 1914 failed to generate any response from the population of Hull. Yet in spring 1915, as first trawlers were torpedoed and then the *Lusitania* was sunk, small-scale attacks—window smashing, verbal assaults and boycotting—on German-owned businesses were seen as a form of revenge. Order was quickly restored. But in June 1915 the destructive bombardment of numerous parts of the city by Zeppelins prompted one of the largest acts of anti-German agitation in British history. Crowds and individuals targeted not only foreign-born enemy aliens, but also innocents mistaken for foreigners, including Hannah Feldman, the Liverpool-born former Lady Mayoress of Hull.[41] The attacks were not just reprisals for the civilian air attacks, but attempts to loot food and valuables from businesses in the city centre, Princes Avenue, Hessle Road and Holderness Road. The Hohenrein family (see Figure 7.5), who owned four properties and had shown unstinting loyalty to Hull for over 60 years, were compelled to close after a series of violent and very personal attacks. Sympathy for the family was expressed by the constabulary and former employees, yet anti-immigrant sentiment had manifested itself like never before in Hull. The city lost the German cultural influences that had prevailed in city centre and suburban landscapes for some time. Even patriotic families, such as Max Schultz's, who had seen their patriarchs interned in pre-war Germany as punishment for allegedly spying for the British, found that they had to assimilate and use the name of the British branch of their family – Hilton – even after the war. By the end of the war, the German community had been reduced to one quarter of its pre-war size, just 254.

[39] Tobias Brinkmann, 'Traveling with Ballin: The Impact of American Immigration Policies on Jewish Transmigration within Central Europe, 1880–1914', *International Review of Social History*, 53 (2008), pp. 459-84.

[40] Arthur Credland, *The Hull Zeppelin Raids, 1915-1918* (Croydon: Fonthill Media Limited, 2014), p. 43.

[41] According to reports from the Hull Police Court retold in *The Hull Daily Mail* on 21 June 1915 it was believed the 'riot' outside Feldman's home arose from an incident on Holderness Road earlier that day when her sister-in-law had been attacked by rioters and needed to be escorted to Linnaeus Street by the Army. *Hull Daily Mail*, 21 June 1915, p. 6.

Figure 7.5. (Charles Henry Hohenrein, c.1910)

During the First World War, merchant shipping operations continued on a reduced scale, and the complement of seafarers who had not been called up into the Royal Naval Reserve was supplemented by non-white seamen, known as lascars. Deployed especially on long haul routes to Asia and Africa, lascars valiantly staffed vulnerable steamers ploughing through bomb-ridden waterways for lower rates of pay than their white counterparts. At the end of the conflict, most were dismissed when white seafarers returned from military service. For the non-white seafarers based in Hull, further misery was to follow as waves of xenophobia swept through the city between 1919 and 1921. Despite being British subjects, in Hull, like Liverpool, Glasgow and other port cities, blatant prejudice was directed towards the non-white seafarers. As Jacqueline Jenkinson has observed, this was not just related to the war, for there was 'evidence of a persistent anti-Black sentiment in British society which, at times, in specific circumstances, spilled over into violence'.[42] In Hull during mid-June 1920, Osborne Street, Pease Street and Lower Union Street all became areas where violence towards black seafarers occurred. Though Hull had tried forcibly to repatriate mariners 'back' to Africa or the Caribbean where the authorities felt they belonged, a colour bar on vessels bound for those destinations meant that these seafarers could not work their passages home. In one instance, over 200 people were seen attacking a 'negro child', whilst pubs banned non-whites, and the wives and children of interracial unions were harrassed. In total, accounts indicate that Hull's non-white population was between 60 and 100 at this time.

Figure 7.6. (The North Sea Outrage)

During the interwar era Hull became more intolerant of ethnic and religious minorities. Despite its long, proud record of accepting waves of migrants and refugees, the economic challenges of the interwar period made life for ethnic minorities challenging. That racism emerged as the economic well-being of the port city diminished suggests that there was much concern within the community about the precarious future of the 'Third Port of England'. In response, with the election of Hitler to power in March 1933, protests against prejudice were held across the city. Yet such liberal sentiment did not prevent the surge of intolerance that broke out in the mid-1930s. One of the largest crowds in British history gathered in 1936 at the city's Corporation Field to hear Sir Oswald Mosely, head of the British Union of Fascists, deliver a racist speech just a stone's throw from one of Hull's Jewish synagogues in Park Street. The assembled thousands included fascists and anti-fascists. After shots were fired at Mosely, he was forced to flee, yet he returned in the following year to speak again. Hull was now divided between those who sympathised with Hitler and those fighting prejudice in all its forms. Despite the pockets of intolerance, the city once more became a refuge for people escaping religious and political persecution in Europe. Children fleeing Nazism, or some of the 10,000 Kindertransports arriving via Harwich, settled in the city, alongside leading academics who came on work visas as refugees. Some 63 children found safety and toleration in Hull in their flight from Nazism in 1939.[43] By then, support for fascism had all but ended as the Second World War brought carnage to the city.

[42] Jacqueline Jenkinson, 'The black community of Salford and Hull, 1919-1921', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 7, Iss. 2 (1988), p. 166.

[43] Ian Vellins, 'Kindertransport Children. Memory, Narration, Celebration And Commemoration: Reconstructing The Past' (Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014).

The end of the war witnessed the arrival of so-called 'displaced persons' from Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Estonia and Ukraine. Whilst the fabled arrival of migrant workers from the Caribbean in SS *Empire Windrush* changed the demographic profile of Britain from 1948, for Hull and northern England it was the landing of the SS *Empire Halberd* on 23 April 1947 that paved the way for the entry of hundreds of thousands of migrants from Eastern Europe.[44] Helping to stem labour shortages, they came under the 'Westward Ho' scheme, which was designed to help rebuild war-torn towns and cities, as well as supply workers to contribute to the revitalisation of agricultural production.[45] Hull once more provided a temporary residence for many of these people. A temporary National Hostel Corporation Camp, located on Priory Road, served as a transit camp for the National Assistance Board, which then dispersed refugees to hostels across Britain. Most had been forced labourers in Russian 'gulags', but had been freed when Russia changed sides to support the British-U.S. coalition in 1941. During the war, most of these former prisoners ended up in East African countries under British rule. After hostilities ceased, they returned to Europe via Hull, where they received a friendly welcome. Of 1,018 Polish refugees disembarking at King George Dock from the SS *Dundalk Bay* on 2 September 1950, many had come from Mombasa in Kenya. The Priory Road camp, like others situated in Hessle and Anlaby in the the rural belt surrounding Hull, housed the refugees for a night or two, before they were moved to other camps, after which many settled Huddersfield, Dewsbury and Bradford. Large numbers of transients were handled; for example, the camp on Wymersley Road housed over 16,000 'displaced persons' between April and August 1947 alone.[46] Some married into local families and were absorbed into Hull's population, but in general these were 'forgotten migrants', despite many retaining their Eastern European surnames.

Although the short-term impact of the 'displaced persons' was considerable, for over five decades the largest ethnic community in Hull was the Chinese, particularly those from Hong Kong. Though many British towns and cities were demographically altered by post-1945 decolonisation, Hull remained a city that the so-called 'Windrush generation' largely missed, as only a few non-white settlers arrived. A sizeable Chinese community did emerge, however. It was concentrated in the north west of the city, near the University, and along the Hessle and Holderness roads, where Chinese laundries were rapidly eclipsed by Chinese food takeaways and restaurants. The signage of these places was multilingual, with food being offered in a form familiar to Chinese tastes. Like the Hong Kong diaspora in general, the community grew slowly. All were members of the British Commonwealth, and therefore UK passport holders, until changes in sovereignty occurred in 1989.

The arrival of the Hong Kong Chinese was nothing new. Aside from seafarers noted in the census of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 as being born in China, the earliest resident Chinese population dated from 1910. As a journalist for the *Hull Daily Mail* observed:

> When in Leeds recently I noticed a Chinese laundry, and said to myself that it would not be long before there was one in Hull. Now the expected had come to pass, and a yellow

[44] *Hull Daily Mail*, 23 April 1947, p. 1, 'Farmers, Engineers in Hull arrivals'.
[45] Emily Gilbert, *Changing Identities: Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians in Great Britain* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013), p. 168.
[46] Hull Daily Mail, 5 August 1947, p. 1, 'Hull to close centre for displaced persons'.

> man started a business recently in one of the best parts of the city. Thus do we get discovered?[47]

The premises on Spring Bank quickly flourished, followed by other Chinese laundries across the city. A few months later, the newspaper reported a 'Chinese invasion' of the city, portraying the community in a negative way, in keeping with prejudices towards the Chinese across the UK at that time (Figure 7.7). The earliest Chinese Laundry opened on Hessle Road in 1910, shortly followed by Gong Wing Sing's Chinese Laundry, based on Spring Bank.[48] Though Sing married an English woman, he was later prosecuted for failing to comply with the 1914 Aliens Restriction Act in that neither he nor his five Chinese workers could speak a word of English.[49]

Figure 7.7. ('The Chinese Invasion of Hull')

The older Chinese settlers did not linguistically assimilate because their children, born in the UK, assimilated for them. Their bi-lingual family life served as a bridge between home and Hull.[50] When the population did mature enough to need specialist care charities, the Hong Lok Senior Association catered for the needs of the elderly. Just a stone's throw from the first Chinese laundry of 90 years earlier, the purpose-built community hall prominently displayed Chinese culture in the form of a three-masted Chinese junk (sailing ship) standing four metres high (see Figure 7.8). It also proclaimed, in Mandarin, 'Hung Lok Happy Association', on what remained one of Hull's busiest thoroughfares. Alongside the communal space, a further nine single-storey homes for the elderly, and ten double-storey family properties, were built, each with a 'good luck' symbol above every window. Between 1911 and 2011, the decennial census recorded the increasing size of the Chinese population in Hull. And yet its statistical significance was neither seen as overwhelming nor threatening. The lack of prejudice towards the Chinese community was perhaps explained by the spatial dispersal of the 'outsiders' across the city. The sobriety of the community – who only took Monday or Tuesday evenings off work – meant that they were never accused of being an economic burden. Instead, the city embraced once more the cultural contributions made by migrants.

Whether selling 'English' or 'Chinese' food, Chinese takeaways and restaurants became hugely popular – especially for new residents to the city, such as Philip Larkin, who liked to dine at Hull's first Chinese restaurant, the Hoi Sun, which opened in 1959 on Jameson Street, and was owned by the Yun family.[51] Fellow diners included Larkin's partner, Jean, who later recalled that the 'regular haunt ...

[47] Hull Daily Mail, 7 June 1910, p. 2.
[48] Hull Daily Mail, 11 July 1910, p. 1.
[49] Hull Daily Mail, 29 August 1914, p. 1, 'Failing to Register'.
[50] I. S. Watt, D. Howel, & L. Lo, 'The health care experience and health behaviour of the Chinese: a survey based in Hull', *Journal of Public Health*, Vol 15, Iss. 2, pp. 129-136.
[51] I'm grateful to Mrs Linda Lai and her father Mr C.H. Chan for this memory. Lai's maternal grandparents ran the business which employed her father, Mr C.H. Chan, after he married the owner's daughter in Harrogate in 1943. Such mobility, and the change of the family business from a Chinese Laundry at Harrogate to a Chinese Restaurant in Hull reveals a lot about the long term nature of Hong Kong Chinese settlement in the region. The memory is also recalled in the letters page of the London Review of Books. (*London Review of Books*, Vol. 15, No. 10, 27 May 1993, 'Letter Page', Letter by Neville Smith, London W14).

used to have lanterns in the window and lots of Chinoiserie'.[52] It was not only the educated elite who dined there, for it offered working-class couples a rare chance to eat out in the post-war city.[53]

Figure 7.8. (The Hung Lok Cultural Association Building, Park Lane, Hull)

For most of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Hull's growing diversity was never statistically significant and this set the city aside from most other cities of a similar size. In the decades following the Second World War, Hull's Chinese population caught up with other leading maritime centres like Liverpool, Cardiff and London. There was no real expansion in other ethnic groups, despite the growing number of foreign medical professionals who moved to Hull to work in the National Health Service, and the increase in the population of international staff and students at the city's universities. Although decolonisation and globalisation left no major visible imprint on the city's ethnic make-up, the Iraq War in the 1990s, and the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, both had a strong bearing on the composition of Hull's population.

The Iraqi conflict and subsequently the War on Terror led to an increase in migration. In the 1980s, the beginning of a permanent Muslim community was evident in the city. Though Hull's first mosque had opened in 1945, it closed with the decline in the number of Yemeni seafarers visiting the port after the Second World War (see Figure 7.9). In the mid-1980s, a group of Muslims formed the Hull Mosque and Islamic Centre, which opened on Berkeley Street in 1984, whilst a second, largely Bangladeshi community, formed the Jame Masjid and Madrasah Darul Marif Al Islamia at Pearson Park in 1987.[54] Whilst the former sought to provide a gathering place for Muslim worship, the latter, comprising just a small number of families, sought to provide spiritual education for the children of Bangladeshi migrants in their mother tongue. Both situated their operations within close proximity to the growing number of international shops and curry houses along Princes Avenue and Spring Bank where many community members worked. In the aftermath of the Second Gulf War, and in particular the War on Terror, they were joined by over 1,000 young, unmarried Iraqi Kurdish males who were seeking asylum in the UK.[55] Unlike earlier refugee flows that had been directed by transport links, the Government directed the refugee flow from Kent, where the Kurds had originally been sent upon claiming asylum, to northern cities. In Hull, they settled in private housing in the greater Pearson Park area and their concentrated settlement, in areas ill equipped for so many refugees, fuelled community tensions and was labelled by scholar Gary Craig as a 'disaster'.[56] Spring Bank (or 'Spring Bankistan', as it was known locally) quickly became a multicultural corridor connecting the city centre and the University, as Hull finally became home to a sizeable and permanent multi-ethnic population, but not without negativity, as riots between rival groups of refugees in 2001 and accusations of institutional racism in the police increased socio-political tensions in the city.

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[52] *The Yorkshire Post*, 18 November 2002, 'At last, poetic justice for Hull'.
[53] Hull History Centre, 'Oral History with Mrs Gloria Evans' (2014).
[54] The websites of both mosques provide a brief summary of their heritage. See: http://www.hulljamemasjid.org.uk/mosque/about/ and http://hullmosque.com/ [both accessed 1 July 2016].
[55] Hannah Lewis, Gary Craig, Sue Adamson & Mick Wilkinson, Refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in Yorkshire and Humber, 1999-2008: A review of literature for Yorkshire Futures (Leeds: Yorkshire Futures, 2008), p. 17.
[56] Gary Craig with Mick Wilkinson & Johar Ali, *At a turning point? The state of race relations in Kingston upon Hull* (Hull: Centre for Social Inclusion and Social Justice, 2005), p. B.

Figure 7.9. (The Opening of the First Hull Mosque, 1945)

The multi-culturalism visible along Spring Bank, Princes Avenue and Newland Avenue is recent testimony to Hull's transformation into a global city. This has intensified since 2004, as changes to regulations within the European Union have enabled workers to move freely across borders and work in other member states. With countries such as Latvia, Lithuania and Poland joining the EU, Hull is one of many UK places that has become home to Eastern European workers and their families, so much so that between 2001 and 2011 the census recorded a 200 percent rise in the number of so-called 'Accession 8' migrants. The 'ethnic' corridors along some of the city's main arterial routes - Beverley Road, Hessle Road and Anlaby Road – reflect this significant change in the composition and socio-cultural configuration of the city. The new arrivals quickly opened their own shops, restaurants and community organisations, yet did not need to establish their own religious infrastructure, as many simply bolstered the congregations of local Catholic churches, which had once catered for the spiritual needs of Irish famine workers. Once more, negativity has surrounded the newly arrived, most obviously in the campaign and result of the EU membership referendum of 23 June 2016. This is partly because of the additional pressures migrants have placed on social, educational and health services and partly due to the competition they have introduced into local labour markets. But negativity has also arisen because Hull seemingly had no tradition of migration from Eastern Europe. Yet, in fact, Poles, Lithuanians and Latvians had occupied different parts of Hull over the previous two centuries, if not longer. What such negative episodes in the changing ethnic make-up of the city reveal is that the period from 1918 to the early twenty-first century created a chasm in which linguistic skills, communal and philanthropic institutions, and cultural bodies able to adapt and care for outsiders, had all disappeared. Hull's remoteness made her a city that neither Windrush nor multiculturalism, at least on the face of it, had reached.

A City of Diversity

Cultural absorption has been one of the defining characteristics of Hull since its genesis. Indeed, it is impossible to differentiate between Hull and the constantly changing mosaic that makes up its population. Though the once sizeable Welsh, Scottish, Irish, Italian, Jewish, German and Scandinavian communities are now dwindling, other newer migrant communities have replaced them. Hull's largest ethnic population is once more Polish – as it had been in the early, mid, and late Victorian eras, and again in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[57] In turn, the 'outsiders' have helped maintain some of Hull's vernacular architecture because they have enhanced congregations in the City's many religious buildings. In this sense, it might be argued that the modern migrant brings something alien to the city – that is, religious belief - in an era of secularisation. Their settlement near the city centre, which has largely been vacated by long-established residents now intent on living in the suburbs or beyond, has also helped ensure the Spring Bank and Beverley Road areas retain some economic vibrancy as enterprising migrants open new commercial outlets. Though undoubtedly some local people have resented Hull's emergence as a global city, the ebb and flow of communities, transients and travellers has sustained Hull's population and prevented further post-war economic deprivation. As members of the community often tell outsider: 'it's never dull in Hull!'

[57] Anna Krausova & Carlos Vargas-Silva, *BRIEFING: Yorkshire and the Humber: Census Profile* (Oxford: The Migrant Observatory, 2013), p. 11.