

“It was the heart of the town”: two public
monuments, cultural memory and oral
histories in Walkden and Hastings

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Abstract

The importance of the historic built environment to local communities and its ability to foster a sense of place is an issue at the heart of current heritage impact research. This thesis is primarily concerned with how public monuments, as a focus for the localisation of memories and narratives, can contribute to the development of social capital, sense of place, and a sense of community identity.

As case studies, the thesis uses two large public monuments significant to the cultural heritage and development of two towns: the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden, Greater Manchester, and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, Hastings, East Sussex. The two monuments were erected on particular sites significant to the history of the towns, sites chosen for their resonance with the development and growth of the local communities. The location of both monuments has been the cause of much controversy and public debate for over a century and their position as objects of local heritage is perhaps as important now as when they were unveiled.

As its primary source of data the research study uses oral history interviews in order to analyse how the two monuments are remembered and experienced through accounts of public ceremonials, festivities, and rituals, through specific social norms that have originated in local culture and tradition, and, through the routine activities of everyday life. The analysis of the oral history interviews demonstrates how, through the shaping of kinship and personal narratives, these two public monuments provided a spatial and temporal location for the development of public memory and an associated development of social capital and sense of place. The commonalities within the narratives evidence both how public monuments can situate people through memory and association within their local community, and, how communities can be impacted by their destruction or relocation. In demonstrating how the two monuments functioned, and still function, in the public and private lives of the interviewees, the research findings contribute empirical evidence to debates around rhetoric, memory, place attachment, and demonstrate important but often neglected considerations for heritage management and policy making.

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Finally I would like to dedicate this thesis to my darling mother, Susan Hardie (1942-2006) who would have been so proud - I wish she could have been here to witness this achievement; and also to my partner of 33 years, Ben Howe, without whose unflinching loyalty, patience and support it would not have been possible.

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. Hume', written in a cursive style.

Dated:

25 March 2014

Introduction

'It was the heart of the town.'

'So it became a focal point to, to the community, it really did.'

'Any big event used to start and finish there.'

'I think our lives did circle 'round it; It was a, a totem pole, a meeting point, a landmark, everythin' rolled into one.'

'There is nothing there now but a dead area with no heart.'

'We feel now we have lost a friend and the town has no centre.'¹

These assertions are transcribed from a series of oral history interviews undertaken for this thesis and reveal the emotive response to public monuments that is indicative of the importance of such objects to people's everyday lives. Monuments are erected to commemorate people or events, to celebrate them, to record sacrifice, or to admonish; they mark places on the landscape and offer an opportunity for those living in the present to learn about the past. They can also be an emblematic embodiment of political regimes replete with notions of power and class. In a physical sense public monuments contribute to a familiarity with, and to the essential legibility of the built environment in which we live. Writing about what he describes as *identity points* in the spatial organisation of towns and cities, the architectural historian Joseph Rykwert wrote in 2000, 'points of orientation are essential for any sane urban or rural living. Without them a citizen cannot "read," let alone "understand" his home.'²

¹ See the transcriptions from the oral history interviews in Chapters three, four and five

² Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: the City in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 2000). p133

See also: Nuala C. Johnson, "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography and Nationalism," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995).

———, "Mapping Monuments: the Shaping of Public Space and Cultural Identities," *Visual Communication* 1, no. October (2002).

The building of a public monument changes the public space in which it is situated. It conveys a significance that becomes expressed through the ways in which people use and experience the monument and the space around it; these are uses and experiences which may or may not reference the original subject of commemoration. The special significance that the monument conveys contributes to a sense of place and a sense of community identity held by people that live in the surrounding geographical area, by those who move away and return, and by regular visitors to its location. This results in the object itself becoming a potent and symbolic representation of that place.

Putting aside for now any considerations of its production, much of the significance that the public monument achieves is derived from the way it provides a locality-relevant repository of public memory, binding events from the past to places that have witnessed those events. The public monument contributes to what Nuala C. Johnson terms 'the spatialisation of public memory.'³ Individual memories, though frequently quotidian in nature, inextricably bind people to places. These memories are expressed through narratives of kinship, not exclusively the kinship felt in family relationships but also that felt through a coalescence of close friendship, acquaintance, occupational, political and social ties. These ties help to construct a sense of community identity and are referenced through a recounting of the everyday rhythms and patterns of individual lives.⁴

This thesis analyses the complex public roles of two commemorative monuments, each of which holds a significant place in the collective memory of the town in which it was erected. The two monuments used as case studies are the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden, Greater Manchester, and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings, East Sussex. The selection of

³ ———, "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography and Nationalism." p63
For a discussion on the construction of public memory, see: Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

See also: Tim Benton and Penelope Curtis, "The Heritage of Public Commemoration," in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. Tim Benton, *Understanding Global Heritage* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2010). p53

⁴ Daniel Miller, "What is a Relationship? Kinship as Negotiated Experience," *Ethnos* 72, no. 4 (2007).

Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time."

the two case studies is rooted in the author's previous experience as Research Officer for the Sussex Recording Project, and subsequently as Administrator for the London based Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (PMSA). The two-year, Heritage Lottery Funded, Sussex Recording Project was a collaboration between the University of Brighton and the PMSA. It produced a detailed survey of the diverse range of public monuments and sculpture in the cities, towns and villages of Sussex.⁵

Whilst undertaking these roles, research carried out by the author revealed probable links between public monuments, place attachment and social capital, suggesting the need for a more focused study of these issues. The author's initial research regarding the now demolished Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower revealed surprising commonalities between the public narratives associated with this object and, those associated with the extant Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden, where the author's knowledge arises partly from family connections. This was particularly striking because of distinct differences in the specific rationale for the erection of the two monuments and in the socio-cultural development of the two towns. Walkden, historically part of the county of Lancashire, was a primary centre for deep coal mining and the cotton industry; Hastings, originally a fishing port, developed into one of the major south coast Victorian seaside resorts. The two monuments do however share a similar timeline, both erected at the height of the so called *statuemanía* of the mid 1800s, a period described by *The Athenaeum* as 'an age emphatically of statues and testimonials.'⁶

Both monuments are reifications of the public feeling generated in response to the death of a specific person; in Walkden this was someone of distinctly local relevance, in Hastings someone who became the subject of a cult of mourning

⁵ The results of the survey can be found in an online database at: www.publicsculpturesofsussex.co.uk (date accessed: 16/10/13) and a book based on the research will be published in spring 2014. The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial features in the PMSA's Greater Manchester Recording Project, see: Terry Wyke and Harry Cocks, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester*, Public Sculpture of Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004). p189-191

⁶ See: Maurice Agulhon, "Politics, Images and Symbols in Post-Revolutionary France," in *Rites of Power, Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. S Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
"Our Weekly Gossip," *The Athenaeum*, no. August 10 (1850). p836

that resulted in widespread commemoration both in this country and abroad. The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is dedicated to the memory of Lady Harriet Catherine Greville who was married to Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere. Designed by Thomas Graham Jackson with carving by Farmer and Brindley, the monument was unveiled in 1869. It was situated at the side of the main Manchester to Wigan Turnpike road at what subsequently became the centre of the developing town. The monument was moved approximately five hundred feet to its current location within the grounds of the parish church in 1968 and underwent a restoration in 2006. It was designated with a Grade II listing in 1987.

Dedicated to the memory of Queen Victoria's Consort, the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was designed by Edward A. Heffer. It incorporated a 184cm high statue of the Prince by the sculptor Edwin Stirling and was completed in 1864. It stood at the junction of several major roads in the town centre but was demolished in 1973 and the area is now pedestrianised.

The author's research process - in investigating the histories of the two public monuments as a starting point, comparing and contrasting the one present with the one absent - is mirrored in the structure of this thesis. The research revealed that the intended meanings and functions of both monuments was unambiguous at the time of their erection but those meanings and functions were augmented and altered during the years up to and including the time at which they were moved or destroyed. The fact that their presence and absence is still intensely felt within living memory elicited the use of oral history as a research methodology for the thesis. The data itself has been arrived at from oral history interviews with a total of 25 subjects. In analysing these accounts for expressions of how the two monuments were experienced within their cultural matrix, however abstracted by the mutability of memory, we come close to achieving a sense of how the two objects functioned in actual lived experience, that essential qualia that Raymond Williams termed 'structure of feeling.'⁷ The structure of the thesis is also rhetorical; it is a historical study that first examines the original public meanings of the two monuments as evidenced

⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press Ltd., 2001). p61-65

through historical accounts, and then their later more mutable meanings as evidenced in the oral history interviews.

The physical mass of a public monument is one of the qualities that contribute to its definition as architecture or sculpture; it imbues it, at least on erection, with a sense of permanency, but paradoxically this is an aspect of its nature that so often results in its destruction or in extended periods of contestation. The two monuments were both originally erected on sites particularly relevant to the history of the towns, sites chosen for their resonance with the development and growth of the local communities. In this sense they were site-specific works of public art. Reference to their original meanings was made in an array of community rituals, ceremonials and festivities, and even after those original meanings became adapted and amended by the passage of time, the traditions embodied in those events were preserved.

Illustration 1 shows a photograph, taken in the 1950s, of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in its original position at the centre of the major crossroads in Walkden town centre. With ribbon development in the town rapidly extending outwards from this central landmark, the construction of new roads in the latter part of the 19th century effectively meant that the monument had become isolated in the centre of a roundabout. Indicative of the main industry in the town and directly behind the monument, the winding gear of the Ellesmere Colliery can be seen.⁸ Similarly, the photograph in illustration 2, taken in the 1920s, shows the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower at the centre of the major crossroads in Hastings. Although both images were taken years before the eventual dismantling of the two monuments, with the exception of the roundabouts and central reservations which were all removed, the road layout is unchanged even today.

As sizeable structures the two monuments functioned as directional markers on the landscape but the growing volume of private, commercial, and public transport vehicles resulted in pressure to modernise the road infrastructure between the 1950s and early 1970s and they came to be viewed as obstacles

⁸ The colliery was sunk between 1860 and 1870. Although coal production had ceased there in 1923 it was subsequently used to pump water into the town's underground canal system.

to the unhindered flow of town centre traffic. The location of the two monuments within the historic built environment of each town has been the cause of much controversy and public debate for over a century, and their meanings and roles as objects of local heritage are perhaps as important now, though for different reasons, as when they were first constructed.

The two photographs seen in illustrations 3 & 4 show the two monuments during their dismantling in 1968 and 1973 respectively. The level of destruction is particularly striking in the photograph of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower; this was a demolition of course, unlike the case of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial which was to be re-sited.



Illustration 1: a photograph taken in the 1950s showing the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial sited at the major crossroads of Walkden town centre. © Salford Local History Library



Illustration 2: a photograph taken in the 1920s showing the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower sited at the major crossroads of Hastings town centre © Geoff Woolf, 1066 Online

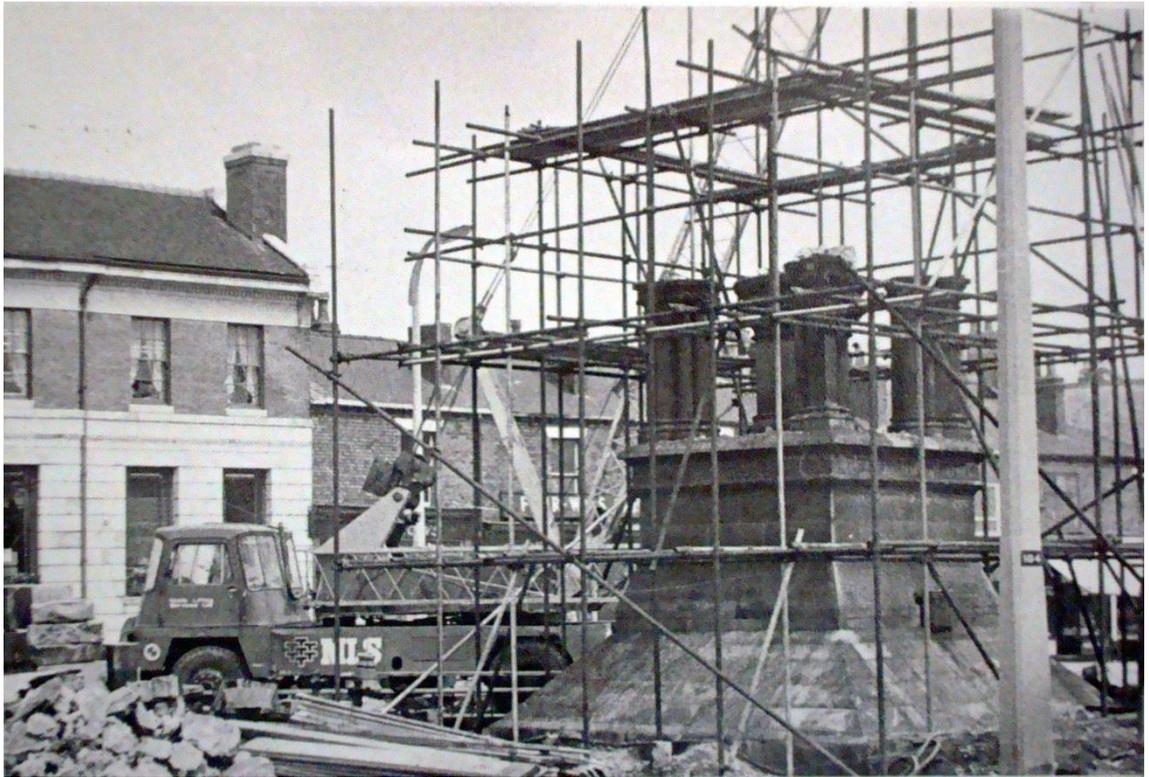


Illustration 3: a photograph taken in June 1968 showing the dismantling of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial. © Salford Local History Library



Illustration 4: a photograph taken in November 1973 showing the demolition of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower.
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In the past three decades the historiography of public monuments and sculpture has seen radical changes. Academic discourse on the subject prior to the 1980s was by and large undertaken by art and architectural historians. The skill, career and oeuvre of the sculptor generally took precedence over other concerns; the research focused on an appraisal of the aesthetic values of the work with an emphasis on its history, design, the materials and processes of making. Detailed study of these aspects of production is essential if we are to understand the original function and meanings of public monuments and sculpture, the accumulated knowledge from which plays a vital role in the preservation of our national sculptural heritage. Indeed, the PMSA's National Recording Project, in which the author was involved and was the starting point for the research contained in this thesis, seeks to achieve precisely that outcome. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the histories of the two monuments under discussion which have never been the subject of any substantive written text; this is despite the fact for example that Thomas Graham Jackson, the designer of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, was one of the most eminent architects of his time.⁹ The thesis contains accounts of the two monuments that outline their original meanings, their sculptural significance and provide information about their makers. Importantly these accounts also provide the historical context for many of the references made in the oral history interviews. Detailed relationship charts for the subjects of commemoration and a combined timeline for the two monuments were developed as research tools during this investigation and are contained in Appendices 1 & 2.

Since the 1980s a growing number of those working in the social sciences have joined art historians in the complex debate around public monuments, examining memory and its manifestation in place attachment, heritage management and policy making, and in mapping the changing relationships between people and public monuments over time. In 2006, Linda Sandino

⁹ Jackson's 'recollections' were published by his son in 1950, but they contain only passing reference to the Countess of Ellesmere Monument, see: Basil H. Jackson, ed., *Recollections of Thomas Graham Jackson 1835-1924* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

In 2006, a much needed scholarly text on Jackson's work was published, see: William Whyte, *Oxford Jackson: Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

The Hastings Local History Group has produced a short booklet about the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower: Hastings Local History Group, *The Albert Memorial: An Illustrated History* (Hastings: Hastings Local History Group, 2004).

identified this trend as a 'paradigmatic shift from the study of production to consumption.'¹⁰

Public space can rarely be considered as neutral. Competing ideologies, political agendas, municipal policies, urban regeneration initiatives, and even changing fashions and taste generate conditions where contestation is probable, if not inevitable. As a result, a significant portion of subsequent scholarly debate concerning public monuments has considered them in the context of state directed tributes to the elite or as contested objects within the changing political histories of nations. Indeed some public monuments are renowned primarily because of a specific heritage of contestation.¹¹

Instead of focusing on those that are overtly contested, this thesis examines how public monuments can be received and experienced through a different lens, one where consensus is an overriding notion. Indeed, absence of any significant local contestation with regard to the two objects under discussion in the oral history interviews, has allowed for a clearer evaluation of how public monuments can act as a focus for the development of social capital, sense of place, and a sense of community identity. Much of the evidence for this evaluation has been obtained from narratives in the oral history interviews that

¹⁰ Linda Sandino, "Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 4 (2006), ———, "Speaking about Things: Oral History as Context," *Working Papers on Design 2 'Show/Tell: Relationships between Text, Narrative and Image - An Introduction'* (2007). As late as 1994, the third edition the Dictionary of Human Geographies still contained no entry for the term monument. It wasn't until the fourth edition published in 2000, 'fully revised to reflect recent changes in the nature and practice of human geography', that it was included.

¹¹ See: Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1998).
Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meanings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

The memorial on Ben Bhraggie in Scotland, dedicated to the father-in-law of the Countess of Ellesmere, the 1st Duke of Sutherland, is a much debated example of the sustained emotive power of some commemorative sculpture, in this case one that was erected almost 200 years ago. The monument is subjected to frequent acts of vandalism; in May 2010 for example, following a newspaper report of another attack, one local reader in a typical response suggested that it should be demolished in order to 'forever smite its cancerous shadow from these, our Highland and Islands.' Even in this particular instance however, there is no consensus, nor ever likely to be, amongst local communities as to the appropriate fate of the monument. Some argue that far from being a memorial to the man himself, it serves instead to remind people of the brutality of the evictions resulting from his Highland 'improvement' policies. See: Marion Scott, "Hate Message Sprayed on Duke of Sutherland Statue," *Sunday Mail*, no. 23 May (2010), <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/2010/05/23/hate-message-sprayed-on-duke-of-sutherland-statue-86908-22279532/>. Date accessed: 16/10/13.

describe how the two monuments served as platforms for the staging of rituals, ceremonials and festivities that in the main constitute acts of consensus and inclusivity. The events discussed directly reference the two public monuments as focal points in the lives of the people that lived with and around them. These are what David C. Harper, writing in 2008, asserts are the 'small heritages that have always existed, but which are rarely celebrated...which do not always have to take the form of overt resistance to officialdom.'¹²

A potential partiality of the interviewees quoted in this thesis must be acknowledged however. This is a historical study which therefore pre-determined the lowest possible age of the interviewees at 40 years old, i.e. it required that they had experienced their local monument both before and after it had been moved or demolished. The interviewees' age range and their association with the localities for considerable numbers of years suggest that they potentially already possessed high levels of social capital and a sense of community identity. Indeed, according to the *Big Society Audit 2012*, there is a 'major intergenerational gap' in levels of social capital and, 'a sense of belonging to the community is least strong amongst those under 35 and stronger in older age groups.'¹³ In addition, the interviewees came forward in response to a range of appeals related to local history and were likely therefore to be invested in the preservation of the historic built environment.

The pressures of an increased volume of traffic in the town centres brought about the eventual re-siting or demolition of the two monuments but it was also bound up with the changing function of public monuments and sculpture in modern society. As well as their role in commemorating two important figures, they each functioned as an *exemplum virtutis*, crafted in part to suggest personal ideals and qualities in the subject that we should seek to identify with

¹² David C. Harvey, "The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot (UK) & Burlington (USA): Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008). p33

¹³ Caroline Slocock, "The Big Society Audit 2012," (London: Civil Exchange in partnership with Democratic Audit and DHA Communications, 2012). p7-16
Founded in 2011 by Caroline Slocock, Civil Exchange aims to provide a catalyst to help civil society and government work together in new ways and is independent of any political group or sectoral interest.

Writing about social capital in *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam also described a generational change in values – see: Robert D. Putnam, "From Generation to Generation," in *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

and emulate. The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial carries no portrait of her; instead four allegorical statues of Piety, Charity, Munificence and Prudence serve to convey to the viewer the personal qualities that are desirable in all of us. The entrance to the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower carried a banner in carved relief proclaiming, 'Albert the Good'. In his portrait statue he is depicted wearing the robes of a Knight of the Garter, an order associated with chivalry and purity. The notion of *exemplum virtutis* now presents as dated and some would argue that it has been replaced with an overriding obsession with celebrity where footballers, pop stars, and glamour models are more likely to function as role models for recent generations.¹⁴ During the period of their design and erection there is also no doubt that the two monuments functioned as representations of both local and national structures of power.¹⁵ The passage of time gradually displaced this original intent and they began to function more as ideologically neutral pieces of public sculpture. Michalski however, writing in 1998, suggests that with meanings more 'diffuse and open to personal interpretation', ideologically neutral public sculpture erodes the functions of the public monument.¹⁶

The very physicality of the two monuments is challenged by contemporary notions of what defines the public monument; the English language itself struggles to inject any notion of meaning into the word, unlike the more nuanced semantics of other countries.¹⁷ Indeed, the discipline of sculpture is no longer bound by the precepts of mass and form; since the latter part of the 20th century sculpture has increasingly utilised the temporary, the conceptual, performance, light, and the virtual. It has been argued that modern technologies may

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion, see: Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren, eds., *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Matthew Craske and Richard Wrigley, "Introduction," in *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, *Subject/Object: New Studies in Sculpture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing., 2004). p9

See also: Mario Carpo, "The Postmodern Cult of Monuments," *Future Anterior* 4, no. 2 Winter (2007).

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of the relationship between hierarchies of power and the development of the nineteenth century city, specifically Manchester and London, see: Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003).

¹⁶ Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*. p201-202

¹⁷ The German language, for example, provides a more detailed and considered categorisation of the word for monument/memorial: *Mahnmal* - a word that implies a sense of admonishment, such as the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin; *Denkmal* - a word meaning a monument or memorial that is of a celebratory nature, and *Ehrenmal* - meaning a memorial of honour. See: Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. p82-83

eventually contribute to a complete loss of the role that physical monuments continue, at least in part, to play today.¹⁸ Yet, this thesis demonstrates that it is indeed the emphatic physical presence of the two monuments that transforms the *spaces* in which they were specifically designed to be sited, into *places* that have the ability to localise and concentrate public and cultural memory so effectively. As Raphael Samuel asserts, 'the built environment gives materiality to the idea of history.'¹⁹ It is the two monuments' physicality, carrying with it a sense of immutability however illusory, which has in fact helped to fuel public resistance to their removal for decades.

Where a compelling sense of the function of the public monument has seemingly been retained is in the case of war memorials. Indeed, Tim Benton and Penelope Curtis describe the war memorial as the 'place where collective and private memory converges most directly.' In a time when losses through armed conflict involving our own military are commonplace, despite the availability of an array of virtual memorials, there appears a renewed desire to see the creation of commemorations in material form.²⁰ Newly erected war memorials complement the public rhetoric and ritual surrounding recent military casualties in validating contemporary conflicts, but there is also resonance with the notion of *exemplum virtutis*. There are echoes here of the cult of the archetypal British soldier hero dying for Queen and country, so prevalent and expressed in the public monument during the high Victorian era from which the monuments discussed in this thesis also emerge.²¹

¹⁸ Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8, no. Spring (1979). p33.
Annie Gérin, "The Virtual Memorial: Temporality, Interactivity, and the Internet," *Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 31, no. 1-2 (2006).

Maarten Doorman, "Sculpture's Location in the Midst of the Real," *Sculpture Journal* 17, no. 1 (2008). p100

¹⁹ Raphael Samuel, "Reading the Runes," in *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain* (London & New York: Verso, 1998). p351

²⁰ Benton and Curtis, "The Heritage of Public Commemoration." p44

For a striking example of contemporary monuments to recent war dead, see: Ian Rank Broadley's work on the Armed Forces Memorial at the National Memorial Arboretum, Alrewas, Staffordshire: <http://www.thenma.org.uk/> Date accessed: 16/10/13. An additional memorial is proposed for the site to commemorate UK soldiers who have died in the conflict in Afghanistan. Between 7 October 2001 when operations began in Afghanistan, and 30 June 2013, the official number of UK military deaths sustained during the continuing conflict was 444. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/op-herrick-casualty-and-fatality-tables> Date accessed: 16/10/13.

²¹ See: Holger Hoock, "The British Military Pantheon in St. Paul's Cathedral: the State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, c.1790-1820," in *Pantheons*:

The physicality of the public monument has also created the dilemma of how to address their presence when they are emblematic representations of state propaganda or of specific ideologies. It is a dilemma, especially during the late 1980s and early 1990s that faced several European nations, those ruled in the past by now overthrown fascist, communist or other autocratic regimes. In acts of wholesale iconoclasm most of these objects have been destroyed in an attempt to somehow eradicate any reminder of historical events that might trigger trauma, anger, a sense of embarrassment or regret.²² In Hungary, however, this iconoclasm has been resisted. On the outskirts of Budapest, *Memento Park* has been constructed to house many of the country's discarded statues and monuments; it has become a tourist attraction albeit one that attracts relatively few visitors. Unsure of how to approach its design, many wanted to create somewhere that reflected the embarrassment and regret felt by the country over its past, others wanted to create something grotesque and filled with irony. The chosen architect, Ákos Eleőd, reflecting on the complexities of the creating the park, writes:

These statues are both the reminders of an anti-democratic society and at the same time pieces of our history...they are symbols of authority and at the same time works of art...in assigning them a new location, I deemed it important to avoid the possibility that they would become anti-propaganda, which would have been no more than a continuation of dictatorship mentality.²³

These issues are also the subject of a 1996 work by the French artist Sophie Calle entitled *The Detachment*. In June of 1992, following the 1990 dissolution of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Chamber of Deputies of Berlin issued a statement asserting that 'whenever a system of rule dissolves or is overthrown, the justification for its monuments – at least those which served to legitimize and foster its rule – no longer exists.'²⁴ Following the subsequent

Transformations of a Monumental Idea ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, *Subject/Object: New Studies in Sculpture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing., 2004).

Also: Cubitt and Warren, eds., *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*.

²² Robert S Nelson and Margaret Olin, eds., *Monuments and Memory: Made and Unmade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*.

²³ Ákos Réthly, *In the Shadow of Stalin's Boots: Visitors' Guide to Memento Park*, trans. Erica J. Füstös and Helen Kovács (Budapest: Private Planet Books, 2010). p6

²⁴ Sophie Calle, *The Detachment* (Berlin: G&B Arts International. Arndt & Partner Gallery, 1996). p6

removal of many of the monuments that were perceived as representing the ideologies of the GDR, Calle visited the sites and interviewed passers-by and local residents asking them to describe the removed artefacts. By far the majority of comments she records express discontent at the removal of the objects and stress is placed not only on their importance as reminders of the history of the city and its past, but also on the objects' significance in the everyday lives of the residents as orientation points and as part as the historic built environment that contributed to the area's local distinctiveness. One interviewee complains, 'now the square isn't right anymore', another, 'whenever I happen to pass by there, I notice the hole.'²⁵ Annoyance is expressed by many of the interviewees at the city authority's attempts to erase this part of their shared history particularly as many of those making the decisions, they assert, had never lived in that part of the city. The comments recorded in Calle's work are strikingly similar to those made by the interviewees with regard to the two monuments discussed in this thesis.

The same iconoclasm that occurred in Eastern Europe has more recently been witnessed in the Middle East. In 2003 British armed forces were sent into Basra, Iraq, to deliberately destroy statues of Saddam Hussein in order to 'strike a psychological blow' to his supporters. A few weeks later American troops staged a similar act of what was widely criticised as propaganda, in the centre of Baghdad.²⁶ Iconoclastic acts are not limited to sites of armed conflict however, or to periods of radical political change. In the year 2000, London Mayor Ken Livingstone attempted, unsuccessfully due to public outrage, to have the statues of General Havelock and General Napier removed from Trafalgar Square, reportedly saying, 'I haven't got a clue who they are...The generals must be moved elsewhere.' A similar plan was proposed by Glasgow City Council in 2012 to remove 13 statues from the city's George Square in time for the 2014 Commonwealth Games which the city is to host; again the plan was dropped in early 2013 due to widespread public outrage.²⁷

²⁵ *ibid.* p12

²⁶ Peter Maass, "The Toppling: How the Media Inflated a Minor Moment in a Long War," *The New Yorker* 86, no. 43 (2011).

²⁷ Hugh Muir and Richard Holliday, "First it was Pigeons, Now Ken Wants to Get Rid of the Generals," *Evening Standard*, 19 October 2000.

All of these examples demonstrate the capacity of the public monument to embody powerful political or ideological meaning, but they also illustrate how threats to their physicality can represent a threat to those for whom the monuments represent a part of their identity, even after any ideological meaning has become less relevant or even remembered. Nelson and Olin echo this point in their book, *Monuments and Memory*:

Because a monument can achieve a powerful symbolic agency, to damage it, much less to obliterate it, constitutes a personal and communal violation with serious consequences...attacking a monument threatens a society's sense of itself and its past.²⁸

This thesis demonstrates through an analysis of the oral history interviews that similar issues arose with regard to the re-siting and demolition of the two monuments under discussion, objects that no longer held overtly ideological meanings but that had become a part of the fabric of everyday life for a local community and contributed to a collective identity and sense of place. As it can be argued that they were at least originally site-specific, by removing the two monuments the public spaces that they occupied were also redefined.

It is now widely acknowledged that the study of collective and cultural memory is fundamental to the study of public monuments, to academic discourse on the nature of place attachment, and to heritage policy formation. This thesis therefore draws on the seminal work on *collective memory* written in 1950 by Maurice Halbwachs, and the key texts on *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) begun and first published in 1984 by Pierre Nora. Their work is cited in the context of almost all scholarly discourse on the subject of public monuments. Halbwachs posited that people construct memory specifically through their dialogue with others in changing and developing social groups. He describes how *landmarks* engender recollection: 'collective memory tends towards 'gathering' in particular locations...because actual sites can create a bridge

Allan Massie, "Why is Glasgow Despoiling its Exuberant George Square?," *Telegraph.co.uk*, no. 6 December (2012), <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/culture/allanmassie/100067440/why-is-glasgow-despoiling-its-exuberant-george-square/>. Date accessed: 16/10/13.

See also: Deborah Cherry, "Statues in the Square: Hauntings at the Heart of Empire," *Art History* 29, no. 4: September (2006).

²⁸ Nelson and Olin, eds., *Monuments and Memory: Made and Unmade*. p3-4

between past and present.²⁹ The term *collective memory* does not have a precise definition however, and many historians are uncomfortable with its use; it is often substituted with the term public memory for example.

More useful to the study of public monuments is an extension of Halbwachs' theories by the archaeologist Jan Assmann.³⁰ He introduced the term *cultural memory* in the late 1980s to distinguish elements of collective memory that are externalised in monuments and through social practices such as rituals, ceremonials, and festivities. Consequently *cultural memory* for most theorists is the appropriate terminology, particularly as memory is strengthened and reconstituted by the repeated performance of such mnemonic acts. Cultural memory, Assmann posits, has fixed points in the past and the memory of past events is embodied in monuments, amongst other artefacts. He asserts that 'cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity.' The cultural memory embodied in the two monuments discussed in this thesis is addressed through two historical accounts that situate them within their cultural context, both locally and nationally; they contain Assmann's 'fixed points...fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments).'³¹

Assmann describes the other aspect of Halbwachs' collective memory as *communicative memory*. This is conveyed through living people as oral history with reference to their life experience. He asserts that communicative memory is 'characterized by its proximity to the everyday', and cultural memory 'characterized by its distance from the everyday.' As culturally informed

²⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire," *Representations* 26, no. Spring: Memory and Counter Memory (1989).

Rigney's translation from Halbwachs' *La Mémoire Collective* cited in: Ann Rigney, "Divided Pasts: a Premature Memorial and the Dynamics of Collective Remembrance," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008). p92.

³⁰ Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010). p109-118

Ross Poole, "Memory, History and the Claims of the Past," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 2 (2008).

³¹ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, no. 65: Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring-Summer) (1995). p129

biographies of the two public monuments the historical accounts contained in this thesis extend beyond, yet also run parallel to the life histories of the interviewees. Detailing the two monuments as elements in the construction of *cultural memory* they provide an essential backdrop to the narratives contained in the oral history interviews, the *communicative memory*, narratives that are bound by lived experience yet frequently reference this historical detail.³²

The French historian Pierre Nora has also expanded on Halbwachs' notions of *landmarks* and their relationship to collective memory in his work on what he calls *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). Nora applies his theories to a much broader range of artefacts than just public monuments, in fact to 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.'³³ In defining *lieux de mémoire*, he argues that:

The moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears...we should be aware of the difference between true memory, which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories, and memory transformed by its passage through history.³⁴

Yet, much of what Nora posits can seem contradictory, and the evidence comprised in this thesis would certainly refute some of his assertions. The Walkden and Hastings monuments must certainly be regarded as *lieux de mémoire*, where memory 'crystallizes and secretes itself', but they have also been an integral component of the 'gestures and habits' of the two towns and to what Nora calls the '*milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory', that he would argue they have replaced.³⁵ A central argument of this thesis is that the two monuments functioned precisely as these *real environments of memory*

³² *ibid.* p128-129

See also: Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory."

Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Harold Welzer, "Communicative Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010).

³³ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). pxvii.

³⁴ ———, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." p12-13

³⁵ *ibid.* p7

primarily because they were significant formal and informal meeting or gathering places in the centre of each town. They were not merely objects of memory but were also instrumental in constructing memory.

Because of the significance of memory in the study of public monuments it has been useful to view the evidence through the lens of the relatively new field of academic discourse known as *Memory Studies*; its interdisciplinary nature brings together the social sciences and the humanities. The current prominence of this area of study is evidenced by the creation in 2008 of a new academic journal, *Memory Studies*. The editorial team in its first issue asserted that 'the field of memory studies mobilizes scholarship driven by problem or topic, rather than by singular method or tradition.'³⁶ In the same issue, American sociologist Jeffrey Olick identifies the launch of the journal as part of an emergent solution to a 'metastatic growth' in studies about memory that has resulted in a 'non-paradigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless condition.'³⁷ Indeed, studies of monuments that date from the 1990s were critical of the formation of academic debate around memory and the interdisciplinarity of memory studies still has its critics even amidst the current enthusiasm emerging from such a wide range of academic disciplines.³⁸ As a result of its relationship with communicative memory, oral history is now probably the key methodology used by those engaged in the field of memory studies. The subjective nature of oral history, once considered one of its weaknesses and now regarded as one of its strengths, is seen by many scholars as ensuring that Memory Studies, as an area of interdisciplinary scholarly activity:

...does not retreat into an arcane intellectual world of rarified debate, but rather is informed by our relationship with the men and women who tell us their memories and by our efforts to engage memory in political debate for social change.³⁹

³⁶ Andrew Hoskins et al., "Editorial," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008). p5.

³⁷ Jeffrey K. Olick, "Collective Memory: a Memoir and Prospect," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008).p26-27.

³⁸ For an excellent overview of some of the concerns expressed see: Susannah Radstone, "Memory Studies: For and Against," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008). See also: Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review*, no. December (1997).

³⁹ Alistair Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," *The Oral History Review* 34, no. 1 (2007). p66

The commonalities in the interviewees' narratives about the historical importance of the two monuments as meeting places has resonance with Halbwachs' assertion that collective memory is formed through group interaction; they demonstrate how memories localised to the objects bind the community together in a shared sense of identity. Writing about the study of communities in 2006, oral historian Linda Shopes makes the same point:

I submit that the nearly automatic equation of local history with locale suggests how deeply place matters in individual consciousness and that a shared sense of identity, a sense of community, often includes a shared set of spatial referents.⁴⁰

The term *community* is often used loosely by a range of disciplines and being an intangible and relatively subjective concept, is utilised in the vernacular to encapsulate a whole array of meanings.⁴¹ In seeking to achieve a cohesive definition, in the late 1970s sociologist Dennis E. Poplin wrote what is regarded as the seminal text on the subject. From an extensive literature search he concluded that the notion of community brings together three commonly acknowledged and fundamental variables. These comprise firstly a territorial variable, in other words people within a spatial unit or a specific geographic area: Poplin describes this as, 'the places where people maintain their homes, earn their livings, rear their children, and carry on most of their life activities'. Secondly, a sociological variable, derived from social interaction and expressed through common ties: what Poplin describes as, 'a condition in which human beings find themselves enmeshed in a tight-knit web of meaningful relationships with their fellow human beings.' And finally, a psychocultural variable: what Poplin describes as, 'a social system with subsystems such as institutional government, economy, education, religion, and family. Each of these

⁴⁰ Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). p266

For discussions on the links between story-telling, place and identity, see: Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Timothy J. Tomasik, vol. 2: Living and Cooking (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Susan Stanford Friedman, *Mappings: Feminism and the cultural geographies of encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

⁴¹ See: Fiona Cosson, "Voice of the Community? Reflections on Accessing, Working With and Representing Communities," *Oral History Journal* 38, no. 2 (2010). p96

subsystems, in turn, is composed of a variety of social and/or associational groups.⁴²

It should not be assumed from these characterisations that Poplin's study on communities suggests that difference, competition and conflict have no place in community building. He acknowledges that conflict can generate more cohesive bonds within rival groups. As a consequence however, this generates a dynamic community that is strengthened rather than weakened by disagreement. The challenge to community leaders and the goal of community development is that groups who are in conflict must cooperate with each other and join forces in solving common problems. In any case, powerful rival groups tend to join forces in response to threats that are viewed as originating from outside of their shared, broader territorial, sociological and psychocultural domains. One commonality expressed in almost all of the oral history interviews used in this thesis for example, is the notion that large numbers of incomers to the two towns between the 1950s and 1970s posed threats to the community identity of what was perceived to be the indigenous population.⁴³

In this thesis the term *community* is used in the context of Poplin's three variables and, in territorial terms it refers primarily to those people geographically located in the towns where the two monuments were erected. This does not negate the existence however of ties to other communities expressed through the oral history interviews, such as the cotton and coal mining communities in Walkden, or the fishing community in Hastings.

If *community* is a relatively intangible and subjective concept, then the notion of *sense of place* is even more so; the term resists clear definition and its conceptual description and its manifestations are often combined into one characterisation. Writing in 1995, the French anthropologist Marc Augé sought

⁴² Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*, 2nd. ed. (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979). p5-9

See also: Cosson, "Voice of the Community? Reflections on Accessing, Working With and Representing Communities." p96

⁴³ For further discussion, see: Dennis E. Poplin, "Community Conflict," in *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research* (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979).

to define *place* through its antithesis, the 'non-place', created in a world of what he terms 'supermodernity' populated by supermarkets, hotels, motorways and airports. In comparison, Augé argues that *place* is relational, historical and concerned with identity.⁴⁴ Perhaps more eloquently than most, Lucy Lippard discusses the concept of *place* in her book *The Lure of the Local*, suggesting that it is:

A portion of land/town/cityscape seen from the inside, the resonance of a specific location that is known and familiar...entwined with personal memory...Place is latitudinal and longitudinal within the map of a person's life. It is temporal and spatial, personal and political. A layered location replete with human histories and memories, place has width as well as depth. It is about connections, what surrounds it, what formed it, what happened there, what will happen there.⁴⁵

Public monuments, by fashioning a town's architectural distinctiveness, acting as a focus for the localisation of memories and narratives and serving as a central platform for the staging of traditional community events, contribute significantly to a sense of place. *Place* suggests an emotional connection, something more subjective and beyond the scope of detached topographic and demographic description.⁴⁶ Recent government initiatives aimed at stemming what is perceived as a gradual destruction of the high streets of our towns and cities, such as *The Portas Review* in 2011, have commented on the importance of local distinctiveness to community identity and sense of place. In her report, the retail and marketing expert Mary Portas describes high streets as 'the heart of towns and communities'; this is the very same metaphor that the interviewees quoted in this thesis frequently used when discussing the two monuments.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*, 2nd English language ed. (London: Verso, 2008). Augé discusses previous work on the subject by de Certeau: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, vol. 1 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984).

See also: Steven Miles, *Spaces for Consumption: Pleasure and Placelessness in the Post-industrial City* (London: Sage, 2010).

⁴⁵ Lucy R Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentred Society* (New York: New Press, 1997). p7

⁴⁶ See: Yi-Fu Tuan, *Escapism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
———, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis & London: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977).

Brian S. Osborne, "From Native Pines to Diasporic Geese: Placing Culture, Setting Our Sites, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31 (2006).

⁴⁷ Mary Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets," (London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011). p3

The monuments were sited at the very centre of what would have constituted the high street in both Walkden and Hastings and the oral history interviews evidence that their size and design conveyed an architectural distinctiveness upon the two town centres. As a consequence of this distinctiveness each is the subject of innumerable souvenirs and postcards celebrating its relevance as an iconic representation of its town and its cultural heritage. Images of the two monuments were, and still are used on a range of ephemera that represent the communities in which they were situated: in local newspaper columns, company logos, and trades union or local charity insignia for example. As powerful representations of place and through public ceremonials and festivities, the two monuments played an important part in the shaping of kinship and personal narratives, played against what Connerton refers to as a 'master narrative... making sense of the past as a kind of collective autobiography', and as such they provided a spatial and temporal location for the development of public memory.⁴⁸

Both master and personal narratives tend to be understood as chronological. This thesis focuses additionally on the often overlooked cyclical experience of events and the effects on communities of reiterative activity. Intrinsic to many of the events organised around the two public monuments under discussion was the calendar, both in its religious and secular construction. Religious festivals such as Whitsuntide and Rogationtide were celebrated as well as secular festivities such as the town carnival and the crowning of the May Queen or Rose Queen. Usually occurring on key symbolic dates, these events provided traditional, frequent, and annually repeated opportunities to gather as a community, to reconstitute existing memories and to create new ones. The calendar provided a framework for remembering through the seasons with their associated symbolic ritual markers.⁴⁹ The importance of these dates in the calendar and the formal and informal community activities associated with them is referenced in all of the oral history interviews from both towns. Crucially, the

⁴⁸ Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley, "Monuments and Memorials," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Chris Tilley, et al. (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2006). Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). p70-71

⁴⁹ See: Johnson, "Mapping Monuments: the Shaping of Public Space and Cultural Identities." p294

centrality of the two monuments to those events is demonstrated both through the oral testimony and is represented in archive photographs and newspaper reports. In the case of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden there are also several films held by the North West Film Archive that evidence the centrality of the monument to certain specific local festivities; church organised events such as the Whitsuntide processions and secular festivities such as the carnival are recorded.⁵⁰ The interviewee narratives, photographs and films also reveal the monuments' association with other material constituents of cultural memory such as banners. In addition to a wide range of cyclical festivities the two monuments were also used as central staging points for a range of ad hoc political protests and rallies; the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial for instance was the site of miners' strike processions, an address by Keir Hardie and meetings of the Labour Party organised by the local pioneers of the Movement.

Susan Davis has pointed out that the study of the complex social relations embodied in parades and public events is an area neglected by scholars. Whilst acknowledging this broader importance, it should be noted that this thesis specifically explores such events as part of a wider frame of rituals, ceremonials and festivities, including the everyday, only as they relate directly to the two monuments under discussion and to their settings in Walkden and Hastings.⁵¹

This thesis not only contributes to a greater understanding of the importance of the historic built environment to local communities and its ability to foster a sense of place, but also highlights the role of public monuments in the development of social capital. The term *social capital* has many critics, perhaps most notably the economist Ben Fine who accuses it of being a meaningless

⁵⁰ North West Film Archive, The Manchester Metropolitan University, Minshull House, 47-49 Chorlton Street, Manchester, M1 3EU

"NWFA 915: Walkden Whit Walk," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, c1930).

George Worthington, "NWFA 1348: Anniversary Sermon, Sunday 4 May 1949," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1949, 1951/1952).

———, "NWFA 1350: Walkden Anniversary Sermon and Procession," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1953).

A search was made of the Screen Archive South East, held at the University of Brighton, for footage that illustrated similar events in Hastings but none could be found.

⁵¹ Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986).

See also: Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). p150 & 183-185

abstract term that degrades the social sciences and all other disciplines that associate with it.⁵² Since the early days of debate around the concept in the 1980s, it has been repeatedly evaluated, refined and extended. Its history and origins are detailed fully in John Field's book, *Social Capital* and David Halpern's excellent book of the same name.⁵³ As an indication of its growing socio-political relevance, a table in Halpern's book shows the number of articles written on the subject rising from zero in 1987 to 300 by the end of 2003. This number has continued to increase exponentially since that date. A report prepared for the Office of National Statistics in 2001 gave a sample of some of the terminology used to describe the concept: 'social energy, community spirit, social bonds, civic virtue, community networks, social ozone, extended friendships, community life, social resources, informal and formal networks, good neighbourliness and social glue.'⁵⁴ Indeed, much of what Poplin defined as *community* has resonance with definitions of social capital suggesting that the two concepts are inextricably linked, each contributing to the other. In a summary definition of community that could equally apply to social capital, Poplin writes:

In short, *community* has been used to refer to a condition in which human beings find themselves enmeshed in a tight-knit web of meaningful relationships with their fellow human beings.⁵⁵

The term *social capital* was first popularised in 1986 by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to suggest an oppressive development and maintenance of capitalism and inequality by social and economic forces. Combined with, and convertible to, what he described as economic capital and cultural capital, he saw these three things working together to create a class-defined structure.

⁵² See: Ben Fine, *Social Capital Versus Social Theory*, Routledge Studies in Contemporary Political Economy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000).

———, *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly* (London: Pluto Press, 2010).

⁵³ John Field, *Social Capital* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

David Halpern, *Social Capital* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005). Halpern is currently on full time secondment from the Institute for Government to both No.10 and the Cabinet Office to head the Behavioural Insight Team, and to provide support on the Big Society and wellbeing agendas. In July 2013 he was appointed to the additional role of National Advisor to the What Works Network, formed in response to a key action in the Civil Service Reform Plan to transform the use and generation of evidence in government, see: <https://www.gov.uk/what-works-network> Date accessed: 16/10/13.

⁵⁴ Rosalyn Harper, "Social Capital: A Review of the Literature," (London: Social Analysis and Reporting Division Office, Office for National Statistics, 2001). p6

⁵⁵ Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*. p5-9

Some scholars would argue that Bourdieu's appraisal of social capital has been neglected in understanding the social and political dynamics of communities.⁵⁶

In contrast to Bourdieu, the term was later used in 1988 by the American sociologist James Samuel Coleman with much less focus on the aspect of social control and instead on social capital's positive and productive impact on communities. Coleman writes, 'a property shared by most forms of social capital that differentiates it from other forms of capital is its public good aspect.' Arguing that social capital is defined by its function, he used the term in an attempt to bring together diverse sociological theories into one framework. In acknowledging its intangible nature he refers to social capital as existing within the relationships of trust between people or actors within social structures that generate effective behavioural norms and shared values. He also points out that another important function of social capital is information flow: people being able to facilitate actions in their own lives through information gleaned through their relationships with others.⁵⁷

It is mainly however through the work of the American political scientist Robert David Putnam that the term *social capital* has become so prominent, and indeed more accessible. In his book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam looks at the increasing number of people who bowl in the USA against the declining number of bowling leagues, seeing this as an example of a reduction in general social capital. He lays the blame for this on changes in family structure, suburban sprawl and the individualisation of leisure time through technological advances such as the Internet and television. Putnam writes:

Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue." The difference is that "social

⁵⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986). p9-10 See also: Franz Schultheis, "Social Capital and Power: A Sociological Point of View," in *Scala Discussion Papers* (St. Gallen, Switzerland: Research Centre for Ageing, Welfare and Labour Analysis, University of St. Gallen, 2009).

⁵⁷ James Samuel Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *The American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure (1988). p104-119

capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations.⁵⁸

Putnam’s work has its critics, some suggesting that the reduction in participation in formal social groups is due to a shift towards less formal social interactions with friends and family, aided by technological advancements that make communications between them easier. Evidence from time-budget studies in America however, would appear to shed doubt on this hypothesis as a valid criticism of Putnam’s arguments.⁵⁹ Putnam has also been criticised heavily for his underestimation of the dynamics of power and politics in his communitarianist analysis of social capital. Discussing the history of the labour movement and class struggle, the political scientist Vicente Navarro argues that what Putnam refers to as a decline in community ‘togetherness’ is a direct result of the growth of competitiveness and capitalist relations. Navarro goes on to argue that:

Social cohesion and social peace in highly exploitative communities were of no benefit to those at the bottom of the power pole – which included the majority of people in many communities.⁶⁰

The research for *Bowling Alone* was an extension of an earlier study Putnam had carried out examining regional government in Italy from which he defines social capital as, ‘features of social organisation, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.’ He goes on to describe it as ‘a resource whose supply increases rather than decreases though use and which (unlike physical capital) becomes depleted if *not* used.’ Importantly, Putnam asserts that social capital is also vital for economic development.⁶¹ In recognition of this assertion the World Bank, primarily through the work of social scientist Michael Woolcock, has also played a key role in promoting the concept of social capital as a means of addressing poverty and

⁵⁸ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000). p19

⁵⁹ Halpern, *Social Capital*. p205-207

⁶⁰ Vicente Navarro, "Politics, Power, and Quality of Life: A Critique of Social Capital," *International Journal of Health Services* 32, no. 3 (2002). p427-429

⁶¹ Robert D. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life," *The American Prospect*, no. 13 (Spring 1993). p1-3

other aspects of social deprivation.⁶² Some of the literature on social capital has been criticised however for presenting ‘a romantic view of community’ and for assuming ‘that close knit communities are necessarily healthy’, whilst instead they can generate enforced assimilation, exclude perceived outsiders, and indeed, ‘may not be healthy for those who are not part of them or those within them who disagree with the majority.’⁶³ Putnam does acknowledge this however and others highlight ‘the continuing centrality of social capital to discussions of healthy, connected communities.’⁶⁴

Putnam categorised social capital as being of *bonding or bridging* type. In an expanded conceptualisation, Woolcock adds an additional classification, *linking social capital*. *Bonding social capital* is characterised by the strong bonds that exist for example between immediate family members, close friends and neighbours; *bridging social capital* is characterised by weaker but frequently highly important connections, for example between work colleagues, business associates, acquaintances, friends of friends; *linking social capital* is characterised by connections with people in positions of power and by networks between those within complex hierarchies of power. Woolcock describes *linking social capital* as associated with formal institutions and relations between those people from inside, with those from outside of the community. In defining social capital Woolcock warns against confusing *what it is* with *what it does*, simply stating that it ‘refers to the norms and networks that facilitate collective action.’ Acknowledging its widespread use he concedes that ‘the idea of social capital is at heart a pretty simple and intuitive one, and it consequently speaks to a lot of different people.’⁶⁵

⁶² Michael Woolcock and Anne T. Sweetser, "Bright Ideas: Social Capital, the Bonds That Connect," *Asian Development Bank Review* 34, no. 2: March-April (2002).

⁶³ Fran Baum, "Social Capital: Is it Good for Your Health? Issues for a Public Health Agenda," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 53, no. 4 (1999). p195
See also: Barbara Arneil, *Diverse Communities: The Problem With Social Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶⁴ Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community*. p22
Fiona Shirani, "Working Paper 146: The Centrality of Social Capital - Concepts of Community in the Era of the Big Society," (Cardiff: Cardiff School of Social Sciences, 2011). p1

⁶⁵ Michael Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes," *ISUMA: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2, no. 1 (2001). p13-14.
Putnam in fact attributes the coining of the terms *bridging* and *bonding social capital* to Gittel and Vidal in: Ross Gittel and Avis Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998).

This thesis does not seek to provide a detailed exploration of the application of social capital as a concept but it has been necessary to formulate a working definition of the term in order to facilitate an analysis framework for the oral history interviews. Drawing on the work of the most prominent theorists in the field therefore, in broad terms and for the purposes of this thesis, social capital is defined as: *A matrix of formal and informal relationships and networks, based on shared values and understandings, providing mutually beneficial cooperation that is manifested in social cohesion, a sense of both shared identity and overall well-being.*

Links between the historic built environment, sense of place and social capital are issues at the heart of current heritage impact research. In 2009 for example, Newcastle University produced a report on statistical research commissioned by English Heritage. This quantitative study surveyed the views of 500 adults and 700 young people in the age group 13-14 years; it used aggregated results from questionnaires designed to elicit people's views on place and identity. The results were seen to provide evidence of links between social capital and the historic built environment.⁶⁶ The report pointed out that little evidence on the specific role of the historic environment in the construction of sense of place exists, but that the available literature demonstrated an established connection, through place dependency and attachment, between sense of place and social capital. In the conclusions cited in its own subsequent report, *Heritage Counts*, English Heritage asserted that the research was able to show amongst other things that, 'adults and young people who cite a local building or monument as special are likely to have a stronger sense of place' and also that 'both adults and young people who cite a local building or monument as special have higher levels of social capital.'⁶⁷ It also identified the need for further research on these issues.

⁶⁶ David Bradley et al., "Sense of Place and Social Capital and the Historic Built Environment: Report of Research for English Heritage " (Newcastle: Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University and Bradley Research and Consulting, 2009).

⁶⁷ English Heritage, "Heritage Counts 2009: England," (London: English Heritage, 2009). p2 Helen Graham, Rhiannon Mason, and Andrew Newman, "Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place, and Social Capital: Commissioned for English Heritage," (Newcastle: International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, Newcastle University, 2009).

Arguably, inherent within notions of community and social capital is memory; narratives are central to a community's sense of a shared past and are shaped and triggered by memory, both individual and public. The matrix of formal and informal relationships that is an integral aspect of social capital provides the arena in which memory can be re-constructed and re-presented, particularly through mnemonic practices such as rituals, ceremonials and festivities. The territorial variable of a community enables a localisation of these memories to a specific place. Despite it being the most commonly used methodology in memory studies, in reviewing the available literature it is clear that there is little or no oral history work that has specifically focused on the relationship between public monuments, social capital and sense of place, although one recent oral history study by Garry Tregidga has identified the importance of 'physical sites of memory for ensuring genealogical continuity.' Reiterating the existing literature on cultural memory Tregidga asserts that his research suggests that there is 'a central role for buildings, monuments and landscapes in the act of remembering events and personalities.' He also asserts that 'an acute sense of place tends to be central to the construction of kinship narratives.'⁶⁸

Drawing on the seminal text by Paul Thompson,⁶⁹ this thesis demonstrates that oral history, in providing an expanded approach that focuses on the dialogic encounter and on subjective perceptions of past events, was the most appropriate tool for gathering data. A richly textured account was achieved that provided a more meaningful understanding of how the two monuments under discussion impacted on the lives of both individuals and communities. Writing in 2006, Linda Sandino asserted that oral history can help us to study 'objects and practices and their modes of production and consumption in order to understand the society in which they functioned.'⁷⁰ Working with the interviewees and their personal narratives revealed in unprecedented ways the complex rhetoric associated with the two monuments and demonstrated their

⁶⁸ Garry Tregidga and Kayleigh Mildren, "Before My Time': Recreating Cornwall's Past Through Ancestral Memory," *Oral History Journal* 36, no. 1:Spring (2008).p25-31.

⁶⁹ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd. Revised ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Thompson organised the first oral history conference in Britain in December 1969.

Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

⁷⁰ Sandino, "Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects." p275

significance to such subjective notions as social capital and sense of place in the two towns. Very little qualitative work has in fact been carried out in examining social capital, most studies have been quantitative. Indeed, Michael Woolcock has cautioned that 'while gathering hard data is indispensable, the qualitative aspects of social capital should not be neglected.' He argues that:

The most compelling empirical evidence in support of the social capital thesis comes from household and community level (i.e., micro) studies, drawing on sophisticated measures of community networks, the nature and extent of civic participation and exchanges among neighbours.⁷¹

Through its suitability for memory work, oral history facilitates an exploration of these exchanges, the essential qualia of community life in proximity to public monuments and the interplay between communicative and cultural memory. Historian Michael Frisch echoes this view by arguing that more so than in most other research methodologies:

The question of memory – personal and historical, individual, and generational – moves to center stage as the object, not merely the method, of oral history... how culture and individuality interact over time, are the sort of questions that oral history is peculiarly, perhaps uniquely, able to penetrate.⁷²

In order to gather data for this thesis a research programme was designed, the first stage of which was to secure volunteers for the oral history interviews. Presentations outlining the main aims of the study were given to a range of groups and societies. Unexpectedly, members of local history groups, who are generally passionate and diligent in their research of local cultural heritage and their communities, were not particularly useful in terms of providing interviewees. This was primarily as a result of their unswerving focus on the historical detail of the two public monuments rather than providing personal memories, anecdote, and opinions about how the objects were received and experienced by their local community. Some members did however facilitate contact with potential interviewees outside of their organisations, and some

⁷¹ Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes." p12-15

⁷² Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1990). 9-10

responded to subsequent calls that appeared through advertisements placed in their society newsletters. Advertisements were also placed in local libraries and direct contact was made with community groups such as the Royal Voluntary Service (RVS), over 60s clubs, coffee clubs and with managers of sheltered housing. Some potential interviewees were also found through existing ones; one interviewee placed an advertisement on the notice board of her block of flats for instance and another placed a notice in her church magazine.

In addition to 23 interviews that were personally undertaken by the author, two life history interviews with Walkden residents, held in the LifeTimes Oral History Archive in Salford, have also been used to provide additional perspectives. Several photographs used in this thesis were also generously provided by the LifeTimes Project.⁷³ In addition to the oral history interviews, some written testimony from one Hastings resident who did not wish to be recorded has also been used.

With the exception of the two LifeTimes interviewees all volunteers in this study were first met individually and the project was explained in broad terms. During the initial search for interviewees the author had made direct reference to its focus on the two specific monuments chosen as case studies. It became apparent that this was counterproductive as many people who were initially enthusiastic subsequently asserted that they knew very little about the history of the monuments and therefore felt that they had little to contribute to the study. This is a recognised problem for all researchers engaged in oral history work. Fiona Cosson comments, 'getting the message over to those who believe themselves to be *ordinary* that they are in fact *extraordinary* is a constant battle for project workers everywhere.'⁷⁴ At subsequent introductions therefore, the project was described in broader terms with a focus on the interviewee's memories of the development of the town centre from childhood through to the present day. In every case, descriptions and specific memories of the two

⁷³ LifeTimes Oral History Archive, Salford Museum and Art Gallery, Peel Park, Crescent, Salford, M5 4WU. Founded in 1999, this archive and local history centre, contains over 200 recordings with people who have lived and worked in the city. The archive was begun by Ann Monaghan who was in fact for many years the Local History Officer at Walkden Library.

⁷⁴ Cosson, "Voice of the Community? Reflections on Accessing, Working With and Representing Communities." p99

See also: Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. p18-19

monuments under discussion arose out of that more general narrative, sometimes within the first few minutes of the interview.

With the exception of one Hastings interview where transcribed passages were edited by the interviewee, all others are presented as far as possible verbatim. Where minimum correction or clarification has been considered appropriate, this has been inserted at the relevant place in the text enclosed by square brackets. In the case of those interviews carried out in Walkden, the author's knowledge of dialect, local words, phrases and colloquialisms, was invaluable both during the interviews themselves and when transcribing passages. It is not uncommon for oral historians to allow interviewees to edit transcripts for the sake of clarity, although there are different views on its efficacy. Willa Baum, one of the pioneers of oral history in the U.S.A, advises that the researcher, in order to produce 'a usable research manuscript', should do so by 'cutting out unnecessary impediments to the flow of the story', and to 'revise the wording slightly to make it clear.' She does suggest, however, that in the main this should be done with the editorial input of the interviewee. On the other side of the argument, Kate Moore suggests that any editing of the interview transcription removes it even further from the oral primary source and that every word and expression, however incomplete, contained in the interview should be transcribed. She also expresses concern over the way that researchers might use punctuation to indicate nuances in speech of the interviewee.⁷⁵ In the final analysis all oral history interviews are fundamentally, and in every sense, a negotiation between interviewer and interviewee and a pragmatic approach would seem the most appropriate. Francis Good suggests that,

In the end, we must learn to live with the fact that transcription of the spoken word is more of an art than an exact science; techniques attempting to convey its orality in print vary widely.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Willa Klug Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History* (Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 1991). p40-45

Francis Good, "Voice, Ear and Text: Words, meaning, and transcription," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). p365

⁷⁶ Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities." p269

Taking more of a life review approach to the interview framework rather than working with a specific agenda, interviewees were initially asked about their personal and family backgrounds. The interviewees were given the opportunity to fully direct the interview, and questions were posed in response to various elements of the narrative as they arose. A chronological approach was avoided in order to encourage a range of associations with recounted events and scenarios. Bornat describes the life review format as a 'process in which narratives, stories, and accounts are elicited for a purpose, perhaps to answer the questions of an interviewer, to construct a life story.'⁷⁷

Although consideration was given to using video recording techniques, this was not regarded as having anything specifically useful to contribute to the study. In addition, the interviewees were primarily elderly subjects and introducing video as a recording technique was also considered to have the potential to inhibit a fully reflective narrative due to possible concerns about being filmed.⁷⁸ The very act of recording an interview inevitably changes its dynamics; whilst contributing to greater accuracy in reporting what was said, it can cause some interviewees to be less forthright and others perhaps to embellish their narrative. When analysing or transcribing interviews, audio recordings also have the benefit of imposing immersive deep listening that in turn facilitates a fuller engagement with a nuanced narrative.

Although oral historians generally consider it more productive to interview subjects individually, several interviewees in this study wished to be interviewed in the presence of someone else. In each of these cases the interviews were nevertheless highly productive and, in some respects, prompting by the other person present often resulted in a more detailed exploration of the events and issues raised. There was no perceptible inappropriate influence on the interviewee's testimony. Recounting a similar situation where the wife of an interviewee became involved, oral historian Mary Kay Quinlan comments:

⁷⁷ Joanna Bornat, "Remembering in Later Life: Generating Individual and Social Change," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). p206

⁷⁸ The growing use of video technology in interviews was discussed by several experts in the field of oral history at a recent conference, see: Linda Sandino, "Keynote Speech: Show/Tell" (paper presented at the Vision On: Digital Video and Oral History, Museum of London, 20 November 2010).

Occasionally, an interview with more than one person yields unexpected rewards...the interaction between them led to rich recollections. Between them, they reminded each other of details about the community's past that likely would not have surfaced otherwise.⁷⁹

Although this thesis contributes to current scholarly discourse that centres on public monuments, cultural memory, sense of place and social capital, the research study is historical in context. Indeed, researching and writing the history of each monument is also a significant element of the contribution to knowledge that this thesis presents. It was therefore necessary to select interviewees who were able to give an account of changes to the two public monuments and the towns over the past 50+ years, and particularly those changes up until the early 1970s; in other words those people who had experienced the monuments both before and after they were moved or demolished. As a consequence, the average age of the people in the 25 interviews used was 77.48 years old, with the youngest being 54 years old and the oldest 97 years old. The person whose written testimony has been quoted was over the age of 65 years.

Some of the early criticism of oral history contained accusations that sentimentality, nostalgia and mental deterioration invalidated the memories of older people when searching for accounts of historical events. Indeed, up until the early 1960s when a paper by Robert Butler, then a research psychiatrist at the American National Institute of Mental Health, challenged prevailing views, the act of looking back, reviewing a life, or reminiscing was seen by the medical profession as a pathological aspect of ageing, causing or exacerbating depression and disengagement from everyday life. Butler in fact coined the term *ageism*.⁸⁰ Writing in 1989, Joanna Bornat, now Professor of Oral History in the Faculty of Health and Social Care at the Open University, commented that:

Fifteen years ago or so there was little to show in history books, in social work textbooks or in publishing, of any idea that ordinary

⁷⁹ Mary Kay Quinlan, "The Dynamics of Interviewing," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). p29

⁸⁰ Robert Butler, "The Life Review: an Interpretation of Reminiscence in the Aged," *Psychiatry* 26, no. February (1963).

older people's life experience might be of interest or of any value. There were few exceptions.⁸¹

Oral history has now addressed much of the prejudice suggesting that interviews with older people tend to be centred on their sense of loss and detachment from the present. Indeed, even if nostalgia and sentimentality are aspects of memory captured by oral history interviews, in his discussions about heritage, David Atkinson reminds us that 'while earlier scholars might shun any mention of emotive phenomena like nostalgia, it is today assessed as a significant cultural phenomenon that exposes the plural and overlapping histories of places.'⁸² After many years of scrutinising the evidence, Paul Thompson is adamant that:

Interviewing the old, in short, raises no fundamental methodological issues which do not also apply to interviewing in general – and consequently to a whole range of familiar historical sources, as well as to those of the oral historian.⁸³

Often there is also an attempt in the literature to try to separate oral history from reminiscence. Bornat argues that this also contributes to a marginalising of older people in terms of what their memories contribute to historical knowledge. She suggests that both share the same focus in terms of remembering, and the only difference is that 'for oral history, remembering is seen as a means to an end. By contrast, reminiscence work fixes on the process, the social interactions and changes brought about by engaging in remembering.'⁸⁴ Indeed reminiscence perhaps suggests a person's deeper analysis of an event, not just a recounting of the facts. In several of the oral history interviews used in this thesis insight is offered with regard to the practice of looking back to earlier times or reminiscing. One interviewee suggests that it is merely changes to the activities of daily life and a reduction in personal commitments that facilitate this process:

⁸¹ Joanna Bornat, "Oral History as a Social Movement: Reminiscence and Older People," *Oral History Journal* 17, no. 2 (1989). p16

⁸² David Atkinson, "The Heritage of Mundane Places," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot (UK) & Burlington (USA): Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008). p388

The University of Southampton has a nostalgia research group within its Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

⁸³ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. p137

⁸⁴ Bornat, "Remembering in Later Life: Generating Individual and Social Change." p202

People, say of our age...are now getting to the stage where they can have the time to suddenly go back, and say "eh, what's, what's been happening?" While all this was happening too busy bringing up their families to take much notice.⁸⁵

In reviewing some of the debates around interviewing older people and their perspectives on personal, local, and national histories, the author has also found it beneficial to interrogate the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex. Its usefulness during this study was in providing comparative views on similar issues discussed by the interviewees. Two directives: *Public and Private Spaces/Places* from 2003 and, *History Matters: Or Does It?* from 2006, were of particular interest inasmuch as they posed questions about the respondents' feelings about their built environment, their family and community life, the value of local and national history, memory, traditions, notions of 'heritage', and public monuments.⁸⁶ Refuting some of the previously noted accusations surrounding nostalgia and sentimentality, an examination of the Summer 2006 directive, *History Matters or Does It?*, reveals that there is often in fact a notable ambivalence amongst older respondents to both the study of history, to commemorative acts generally, to memorials or monuments, and to the preservation of old buildings if there is no specific community use for them. In a total of 233 respondents the average age in this particular directive was 56 years with the age range between 18 years and 93 years. Writing about history in general, one 80 year old female respondent rather amusingly writes:

History is the pornography of violence, + should be relegated to the top shelf of shops and libraries – though that might make it more popular...We never learn from history, unlike pornography.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Interview with Jan D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009). 00:45:24

⁸⁶ "Public and Private Spaces/Places," in *SxMOA2/70/1: Papers of the Mass Observation Project* (Brighton: University of Sussex, Autumn Directive 2003).

"History Matters," in *SxMOA2/78/1: Papers of the Mass Observation Project* (Brighton: University of Sussex, Summer Directive 2006).

It must be noted that the writings in the Mass Observation Archive should not be regarded as oral history and that Mass Observers do not constitute a statistically representative sample of the population.

⁸⁷ "History Matters or Does It?," in *SxMOA2/70/1: Papers of the Mass Observation Project* (Brighton: University of Sussex, Summer Directive 2006). (Respondent: G1041, female retired librarian, aged 80 from Purley)

Expressing views that resonate with Ken Livingstone's assertions about the statues in Trafalgar Square and issues surrounding the creation of Memento Park in Hungary discussed earlier, another respondent, an 85 year old male writing about the historic built environment and public memorials states:

Our collection of Victorian military men on plinths in London streets is out of date. A time limit should be announced when a statue first goes up, and at the end of its public life it should go to a park where all the other time-expired people have been put, so that if anyone wants to look at a particular memorial they know where to go.⁸⁸

Another respondent suggests a rationale for reminiscence that echoes the views of some of the people interviewed for this thesis from Walkden and Hastings:

Writing all this has made me realise the extent to which I need to connect with the past. I hope it does not mean that I am losing interest in the present or the future – I am sure I am not. To some extent it is simply that retirement has given me time to develop interests that I always had.⁸⁹

Whatever the age of the interviewees, as in other oral history studies the interviews analysed in this thesis have specific temporal boundaries, that is, they are limited to the lived experience of the interviewees. They represent Assmann's *communicative memory* with its powerful links to the everyday and a community's ties to others who 'conceive their unity and peculiarity through a common image of their past.'⁹⁰ Using transcribed sections from the interviews, the analysis in this thesis provides a detailed perspective on the changing public meanings of the two memorials over time and, on how commonalities between the testimonies of the Walkden and the Hastings interviewees evidence the multifarious functions of public monuments beyond their original commemorative intent. Analysis of the narratives is presented in three discrete chapters to facilitate a distinct focus on: aspects of the physical - how the local communities mapped and navigated the landscape, the social - how meetings

⁸⁸ *ibid.* (Respondent: B2240, male retired pensions advisor, aged 85 from the south-east)

⁸⁹ *ibid.* (Respondent: B1475, female retired auditor, aged 63 from Chesterfield)

⁹⁰ Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory." p127

were facilitated by a range of public events, and the emotive - exploring the construction of imagined communities.

The sequence of the chapters in this thesis restages the author's research process. The two, in-depth historical accounts that follow facilitate a thorough understanding of the development of each of the two towns and the circumstances in which the monuments were constructed. The significance of these chapters is considerable since they restore a detailed and revelatory history of what is now lost to us completely, and what is partly lost to the interviewees since they were born long after most people from the communities that commissioned the memorials. The two accounts are complemented by the detailed relationship charts and combined timeline contained in Appendices 1 & 2, the two research tools developed by the author during his investigation into the histories of the two monuments and the towns in which they were constructed. The monuments are discussed at length through two separate accounts in consideration of them being individually significant objects in the sculptural heritage of the nation, and, because of the fact that they were constructed in two discrete parts of the country. A close reading of primary sources including accounts in both local and national newspapers and magazines reveals the mechanism of their commission, design, and construction, as well as providing us with a view of why they were erected and of the public feeling at that time in the two towns in which they were situated. Similarly, accounts of inauguration ceremonies, public rituals, festivities, and ceremonials provide us with some notion of how they were used as reference points at the commercial and financial centres of two growing urban conurbations.

Viewed together in this thesis, the *cultural memory* of the two public monuments as outlined in the two substantial historical accounts, along with the *communicative memory* as analysed in the oral history interviews, constitute a rhetorical appraisal of the two objects. The thesis details the intended public meanings of the two monuments when erected and an examination of how those meanings developed through the passage of time and through the everyday activities of those who lived in the local geographical area. The oral

history interviews add a richly textured complexity to the historical accounts and demonstrate how a coalescence of objective historical research and subjective reminiscence can produce a new methodology for exploring how public monuments, as a focus for the localisation of memories and narratives, can contribute to the development of social capital, a sense of place, and a sense of community identity.

This study draws on traditional methods of writing about monuments, it draws on oral history practice, and it also involves scrutiny of heritage policy and management. This is a new approach to the debates around this subject and the thesis has been structured in a way that best delivers the arguments and reveals the processes and breadth of the author's research.

Chapter one

The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden

This chapter provides a historical account of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial set against a backdrop of the development of the built environment of Walkden and Worsley through a long association with the Egerton family. The text is complemented by the research tools provided in Appendices 1 & 2: a relationship chart detailing the key individuals of the Egerton family and a timeline of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial set against significant local and national events. The monument was unveiled in 1869 and situated at the side of the main Manchester to Wigan Turnpike road at what subsequently became the centre of the developing town. It was moved approximately five hundred feet to its current location within the grounds of the parish church in 1968 and underwent a restoration in 2006. It was designated with a Grade II listing in 1987.

Within the historic built environment of the area is encoded the industrial, educational, social and spiritual impact that the family had on both the physical landscape and on the everyday lives of its inhabitants particularly during the late 18th and the 19th centuries. This account examines the commemorative monument erected following the death of Harriet, Countess of Ellesmere in 1866 and its place in the formation of cultural memory in Walkden. It explains why such a substantial and elaborate Gothic Revival structure was erected in the centre of this industrial town in the north of England, setting it apart architecturally from most of its neighbours. The account demonstrates how the paternalistic management of Walkden and the extended Worsley estates by the Egerton family brought radical changes to the working, social and spiritual lives of local people. It also points to the origins of a sense of community identity and the place attachment that is expressed in the oral history interviews used in this thesis. The Walkden interviewees frequently discuss the Egerton family and their historical association with the town and this account seeks to provide an

accurate historical setting for those references in the narrative.¹ In this context, representing the *cultural memory* component of Halbwachs' original concept of collective memory, the account is designed to prepare the reader for the discussion related to the *communicative memory* component as expressed in the oral history interviews and their analyses.²

The town of Walkden lies seven miles, or 11.5km, to the west-northwest of Manchester. Prior to the late 1700s, it was comprised of a group of small hamlets but the growth of the mining industry from the 1770s onwards brought increasing numbers of workers into the town from rural areas with residential and commercial development taking place to provide the necessary physical and social infrastructure. Through the endeavours of the Egerton family during the Industrial Revolution, Walkden was to become one of the main centres of deep coal mining and cotton manufacture in Lancashire, and it remained so well into the 20th century. Any understanding of the importance of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial as a central focus for the construction of public memory and as an object that became emblematic of the town's identity requires an understanding of the rise to prominence of the Egerton family. Their innovation, wealth and patronage were key to the industrial development of Walkden and Worsley and to the social and economic improvements that were made to the lives of the people who lived and worked there. Those contributions to the local community were the reason why such a substantial monument as that under

¹ For a fuller discussion of paternalism in the nineteenth century, see: David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1979).

———, "Tory Paternalism and Social Reform in Early Victorian England," *The American Historical Review* 63, no. 2: January (1958).

Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

———, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

See also: Nicholas Fotion, "Paternalism," *Ethics* 89, no. 2: January (1979).

Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein, "Libertarian Paternalism," *The American Economic Review* 93, no. 2 (2003).

Iain J.M. Robertson, "Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot (UK) & Burlington (USA): Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008).

² Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010).

discussion in this thesis was erected in what was at the time a small, but developing industrial town.

The origin of the Ellesmere title and its association with Walkden lies with the founder of the Egerton dynasty, Thomas Egerton, the illegitimate son of Richard Egerton of Ridley Hall, Cheshire. Given every benefit of the family name he served as Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth I and received a knighthood. Subsequently, as Lord Chancellor to James I he was elevated to the peerage in 1603 under the newly created title of Baron Ellesmere; the title Viscount Brackley was also created for him in 1616.³ Thomas Egerton's son, John Egerton, was created 1st Earl of Bridgewater in 1617 and in 1630 he purchased the Worsley estates from his aunt Dame Dorothy Legh (Leigh), although she retained the right to manage the estate.⁴ In 1720 John Egerton's great-grandson, the 4th Earl of Bridgewater, Scroop Egerton, was given the title of 1st Duke of Bridgewater.⁵ The titles and the forenames of generations of the Egerton family, and many of their associates, are stamped onto the fabric of the urban environment in Walkden through a traditional commemorative naming of streets, roads and civic institutions, reinforcing the family's ties to the town. This tradition was established during the time when the family first moved to the area and continues up to the present day; it is noted by some of the Walkden interviewees as demonstrating the importance of local history. Commemorative street names are in fact an example of Nora's *lieux de mémoire* and the custom contributes to the construction of public memory.⁶

Links with the Egerton family were firmly established in the 17th century but we must look to the arrival in Worsley of Scroop Egerton's third son, Francis

³ Egerton was an important national figure; he was a prosecutor in the trials of Mary Queen of Scots, Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, Robert Devereux 2nd Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh and the gunpowder plotters, amongst others. He purchased Tatton Park in 1598; now a National Trust property it stayed in the ownership of the Egerton family until 1958 with the death of Maurice 4th Baron Egerton.

⁴ Daughter of Richard Egerton. On her death she left a bequest of £400 to Ellenbrook Chapel to buy Common Head Farm at Mosley Common, the income from which established Dame Dorothy Legh's Charity, which continues today. She is buried in Eccles Parish Church. See: Hilda Davenport Watson, *Portrait of Dorothy* (Eccles: Eccles Parish Church, 1985).

⁵ The Manchester Ship Canal Company, *The Bridgewater Canal: Bi-centenary Of The Canal* (London: Pyramid Press Ltd., 1961). p63-64.

⁶ See: Maoz Azaryahu, "The Critical Turn and Beyond: The Case of Commemorative Street Naming," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 10, no. 1 (2011).

Egerton 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, and his complex last will and testament in order to pinpoint a precise turning point in the lives of the people of Walkden. The 3rd Duke, known colloquially as 'The Canal Duke', in exploiting the resources of the Great Lancashire Coalfield during the mid-18th century fuel famine, became one of the most influential aristocrats of the Industrial Revolution. Indeed he is frequently described as one of the fathers of the Industrial Revolution and Worsley its birthplace. Ironically as a child he had been regarded as sickly, illiterate, mentally defective and unlikely to succeed to his title.⁷ As he grew older however he became stronger and in 1757, when he was 21 years old, after two disastrous betrothals he assumed control of the Worsley estates from his guardian, left London, and threw himself into the development of his collieries and canal. It was a highly unusual move for a member of the aristocracy of that time; absentee estate landlords were commonplace and an involvement with industry was in fact deemed unsuitable for aristocratic families. Even later in the Victorian era, with few notable exceptions, historian K.D. Reynolds notes that 'to be too closely involved in manufacturing and commerce was to endanger caste and class, as the very definition of the aristocracy involved separation from the toiling and business classes.'⁸ Indeed over one hundred and forty years after the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater moved to Worsley, although extolling the virtue of peers and peeresses in business, an article in the *Harmsworth Magazine* still nevertheless began, 'extremely few of our aristocratic families are free from the taint – if taint it can be called – of trade.'⁹

When the 3rd Duke arrived in Worsley, the road network was extremely poor making the transport of coal from the area's collieries difficult. He therefore saw his first priority as developing a navigable waterway between Worsley and Manchester. The Bridgewater Canal and the Duke's other engineering masterpiece, the Barton Aqueduct both opened on 17 July 1761. The stone aqueduct allowed the canal to pass over the River Irwell at Barton; it only had to

⁷ Glen Atkinson, *The Canal Duke's Collieries: Worsley 1760-1900* (Radcliffe: Neil Richardson, 1998).p11

⁸ Kimberley D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). p60

⁹ Ignota, "Peers and Peeresses in Business: Some Aristocrats who Run Shops and Factories," *Harmsworth Monthly Pictorial Magazine* 2, no. 9 April (1899). p293

be replaced in 1893 by the Barton Swing Aqueduct because the now larger ships were unable to pass beneath it. The Duke would later extend his canal between Worsley and Leigh during 1797-1800 with the aim of eventually linking it with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal; it was not until after his death however that this was realised by linking Wigan with the Bridgewater Canal at Leigh in 1821.¹⁰ The Duke's work was achieved with borrowed finance and the skills of two exceptional engineers, John Gilbert who is particularly associated with the design of the underground canal at Worsley, and James Brindley. For many years Brindley was regarded as the protagonist in the construction of the canal and Gilbert less influential. More recent research however has reversed this understanding.¹¹

The Bridgewater Canal and the Barton Aqueduct revolutionised transport across the country and its impact on Worsley and the surrounding area was considerable. Regarded as marvels of engineering they became famous throughout the world, as did the 3rd Duke himself, which placed Worsley firmly on the international stage. The widely circulated line engraving shown in illustration 5 was published in 1766 and shows the young Duke gesturing with his left hand towards the Bridgewater Canal and the Barton Aqueduct. The more commonly seen stipple engraving shown in illustration 6 was published after his death and depicts the Duke in later years.

The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater died from influenza, aged 66, on 8 March 1803. As he died unmarried and without issue the Dukedom became extinct. His impact on the industry, wealth and urban development of the region and on the lives of the people of Walkden and Worsley had been considerable, yet oddly and despite several earlier proposals it was not until 1905 that a somewhat unusual public monument to commemorate his achievements was erected by the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere; the base of the tall chimney that stood in the Bridgewater

¹⁰ It is perhaps surprising that it took so long to initiate the development of a canal system in England as the successful Languedoc Canal (Canal du Midi) in the south of France, linking the Atlantic with the Mediterranean, had been opened by Louis XIV as early as 1681 and was very well known across Europe. Certainly the 3rd Duke had taken inspiration from it when he visited the site during his grand tour of Europe.

¹¹ See: Hugh Malet, "Brindley and Canals, 1716-1772," *History Today* 23, no. 4: April (1973). John Gilbert (1724-1795) was appointed agent to the Duke in June 1757. The underground canal was eventually to extend for 46 miles. James Brindley (1716-1772) worked with the Duke from approximately 1759; he died before the Bridgewater Canal was fully completed.

Canal Works Yard was converted into a large drinking fountain. Around the steps at the base is a Latin dedicatory inscription in reference more to his achievements than to the man; there are several substantially different published translations of the inscription.¹² Illustration 7 shows the unusual drinking fountain shortly after its erection. A 33m tall commemorative tower was also erected to his memory at Ashridge¹³, his ancestral home but the Worsley monument remains the only one in the region commemorating the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater although he is depicted opening the canal in one of Ford Madox Brown's twelve magnificent murals on the walls of the Great Hall in Manchester Town Hall.¹⁴

¹² For examples of two versions, see: Terry Wyke and Harry Cocks, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester*, Public Sculpture of Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004). p191 and Hugh Malet, *Bridgewater The Canal Duke, 1736-1803* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977). p174-175. The memorial is sited where the original Bridgewater Yard stood; it is now a residential area called The Green, Worsley.

¹³ Douglas Coult, *A Prospect of Ashridge* (London and Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1980). p187

¹⁴ Eleventh in order of completion, the mural depicting the opening of the Bridgewater Canal was painted in 1892. The whole series was designed to stress the importance of Christianity, commerce and the textile industry in the history of Manchester.

Nequicquam Deus Abscidi Prudens, Oceano dissociabili Terras, et.



*The Most Noble Francis Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater;
and Marquis of Brackley.
Seu Navis Britannicæ Magister. 1006
Magnificum pretiosus emptor. Northampton*

Illustration 5: a line engraving of Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater depicted as 'The Canal Duke'. Published 1766. © National Portrait Gallery.



Illustration 6: a stipple engraving of Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater by James Heath. Published after his death in 1803. © National Portrait Gallery.



Illustration 7: a photograph showing the monument to the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater on The Green, Worsley, shortly after its erection in 1905. © Salford Local History Library

After the 3rd Duke died the industrial properties and the estates in Lancashire and Northamptonshire were placed in trust for the Duke's nephew, George Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Marquis of Stafford and later 1st Duke of Sutherland.¹⁵ The Canal Duke's will was a highly complex document. Running to sixty six pages, it was a brilliant exercise in controlling the future destinies of his canal and the collieries that he loved so much. Under the terms of the will income from the properties was to be paid to the 2nd Marquis of Stafford during his lifetime, and afterwards to his second son Francis, on the condition that the son relinquish his patronymic name and adopt the surname of Egerton. The decision-making power and overall control of the Worsley estates however was given to three Trustees, one of which was to have the title Superintendent. The will decreed that this arrangement was to remain in place for the duration of the lives of all the peers of the House of Lords and of their sons who were living at the time of the Duke's death and, of the lives of several named relatives of the Duke, and then for twenty years afterwards. Although the officers of the Bridgewater Trust changed over the hundred years of its subsequent existence the 3rd Duke ensured through his will that his name and influence continued in the Worsley area long after his death.¹⁶

The death of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater effectively resulted in a cessation of the type of hands-on munificent management of the estates by the Egerton family that the Walkden and Worsley workers had become used to. The first Superintendent of the Trust, Robert Haldane Bradshaw effectively controlled it and in addition to a substantial salary he also occupied the Bridgewater mansions at Worsley and Runcorn; the contrast in management style could not have been greater. Bradshaw was judged a conservative and obstinate man with an inability to delegate and he alienated estate workers and users of the canal alike.¹⁷ He served as Superintendent for a full thirty years and he also

¹⁵ George Granville Leveson-Gower was the son of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater's sister Lady Louisa Egerton, who married Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Marquess of Stafford. The other parts of the estate in Lancashire and Cheshire were left to the Duke's cousin, General John William Egerton (1753-1823), who succeeded the Duke as 7th Earl of Bridgewater. That bequest included Ashridge, the ancestral home of the Egerton family near Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire.

¹⁶ Francis Egerton 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, "The Will of the Most Noble Francis, Duke of Bridgewater," (Richmond: The National Archives, 1803).

¹⁷ Robert Haldane Bradshaw (1759–1835). See: Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Harold Perkin, Studies in Social History (London & Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul; University of Toronto Press, 1973). p43

held the right to nominate his successor. As a result of Bradshaw's stranglehold on the Trust, when the 1st Duke of Sutherland died in 1833 its income had dropped substantially. Bradshaw had suffered a stroke in 1831 that had paralysed his left arm and leg and as a result he had become even more uncompromising and irritable; his business decisions subsequently became even more questionable. The 1st Duke of Sutherland may have felt powerless against Bradshaw's position as Superintendent of the Trust and the rigid terms of the Canal Duke's will, but it is more likely that he had little real interest in the Worsley estates because his second son would inherit them as opposed to his first; the bequest would also remove the second son's patronymic name. In addition, because of the 1st Duke of Sutherland's financial investment in the railways, on his death his sons' inherited business interests would then be in direct conflict.

The history and development of Walkden and Worsley, the Bridgewater Trust, and the Canal is in fact indivisible from that of the railways in Britain. When the first Railway Bill came before Parliament in June 1825, the Bridgewater Trustees had helped to secure its defeat. In December 1825 however, the 1st Duke of Sutherland, at a cost of £100,000, bought into the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. This sum was actually one fifth of the total capital required for the enterprise, a fact which in effect forced the Trustees to withdraw their opposition. As a result, in 1826 the 2nd Railway Bill was passed by Parliament paving the way for the building of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&MR) which opened on 15 September 1830. William Huskisson, M.P. for Liverpool had been instrumental in persuading the Duke and his reluctant second son Francis, who was the future beneficiary of the Trust, to invest in the railway pointing out its potential future benefit to the transport of coal output from the Bridgewater collieries.¹⁸

On the death of his father, the 1st Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle, Sutherlandshire, on 19 July 1833, Lord Francis Leveson-Gower inherited the Worsley estates and Bridgewater House in London. As was stipulated in the

¹⁸ William Huskisson (11 March 1770 – 15 September 1830). Huskisson died after being run over by Stephenson's *Rocket* at the opening ceremony of the L&MR; he is notable as the first railway fatality in the country.

Canal Duke's will, on 24 August 1833 he relinquished his patronymic name and adopted the surname of Egerton.¹⁹ He had married Harriet Catherine Greville on 18 June 1822 with whom he eventually had eight children. Illustration 8 shows a pencil drawing of the young Francis by George Richmond R.A. and illustration 9 shows a print of his wife, Harriet. The latter was made circa 1850 by which time she had assumed the title of Countess of Ellesmere. As well as having a political career, Egerton was also known for his literary work; he published a substantive body of writing including biographies, plays, his travel diaries, and collections of poetry.²⁰

¹⁹ "Whitehall, August 24 1833," *The Morning Chronicle*, Wednesday 28 August 1833. p2

²⁰ Egerton served as M.P. for Bletchingley in 1822, the County of Sutherland in 1826, South Lancashire in 1835, 1837 and between 1841 and July 1846. He also held a range of appointments including Lord of the Treasury, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Secretary for War and, shortly before his death, Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. See: G.C. Boase, "Egerton, Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere (1800-1857)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8585>. Date accessed: 17/10/13.



Illustration 8: a pencil drawing of Francis Egerton (Francis Leveson-Gower)
by George Richmond R.A. © Salford Museum and Art Gallery



Illustration 9: a print by Thomas Lewis Atkinson showing Harriet, Countess of Ellesmere. Mixed method on chine collé, circa 1850. 54.4cm x 47.6cm. © British Museum.

When Francis Egerton inherited the Worsley estates it quickly became clear that Bradshaw's position as Superintendent was untenable and James Loch, agent for the 2nd Duke of Sutherland, was tasked to engineer Bradshaw's retirement.²¹ Loch had a substantial interest in the Bridgewater Canal and Collieries and also owned large tracts of land in the Highlands. When the 1st Duke of Sutherland died, Loch remained agent to both George, 2nd Duke of Sutherland and to his younger brother Francis thereby retaining the links established by the 1st Duke between the railways and the canal. This was an invidious task however as technically the two brothers were now business rivals; one had inherited the canal transport system and his older brother had inherited its competition, their father's business interests in the railways.²²

Under pressure from Loch and with an agreement that he should retire on full salary, Bradshaw named James Sothern as his successor who was appointed by deed on 3 February 1834. Sothern had been associated with the Trust since 1813 and was a loyal member of Bradshaw's staff. The change was not an efficacious one however and following a couple of years of serious disputes with both Loch and Francis Egerton that included charges of dishonesty against him and the threat of legal action, Sothern agreed to resign at the end of 1836 and was ejected from Worsley Old Hall where he had taken up residence after Bradshaw's retirement. On 1 March 1837 he was succeeded as Superintendent by James Loch himself. The effective 'buying off' of two Superintendents in the space of three years had been extremely costly but the appointment of Loch indicated a new period of stability for the Trust and for the workers on the Worsley estates.²³

In July 1837, just as the Canal Duke had done before him, his namesake Francis Egerton decided to leave London and live in Worsley. He initially moved

²¹ Loch had been Estate Commissioner for the 1st Duke of Sutherland since 1812. In this position he had been responsible for the development and implementation of the Sutherland Highland clearances between 1811 and 1820. During his career, he also became Director of the English Historical Society, Governor of the Forth and Clyde Canal, Commissioner of the Caledonian and Crinan Canal, and Director of the Grand Junction Railway. See: Eric Richards, "Loch, James (1780–1855)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16883>. Date accessed: 17/10/13.

²² ———, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution*. p73-75

²³ *Ibid.* p131-132. The other two Trustees at this time were Edward Venables Vernon-Harcourt, then Archbishop of York and William Courtenay, 10th Earl of Devon.

to Brick Hall and took firm control of the Bridgewater Trust; since inheriting the estates he had been living at Bridgewater House in London.²⁴ In 1840 he demolished Brick Hall and began building Worsley New Hall, a grand residence on the same site.²⁵

The New Hall was the first of several examples of the Gothic Revival architecture that the family commissioned in Walkden and Worsley; the style was later to become closely associated with High Church ideology.²⁶ Illustration 10 shows a lithographic print of the building by M&N Hanhart on the front of the sheet music for *The Ellesmere Polka*; the music was composed by Heinrich Blümer especially for a visit of Queen Victoria to the New Hall as a guest of the Egertons in 1851. Typical of Blore's designs, the image demonstrates the building's strong Gothic styling with late Medieval and Tudor features.²⁷

²⁴ The house was originally called Cleveland House as it had been given by Charles II to the Duchess of Cleveland. After its demolition in 1840, the new Bridgewater House was built more or less on the same site by the architect Charles Barry (1795-1860). The new house was not ready for occupation however until Spring 1854. It was eventually sold by the 5th Earl of Ellesmere in 1948. See: "Cleveland Row," in *Survey of London*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London: 1960). p487-509

²⁵ The designs for Worsley New Hall were by the establishment architect Edward Blore (1787-1879), well known for his work on Buckingham Palace. The foundation stone was laid on 31 December 1839 and the New Hall was eventually completed in 1846. It was demolished in 1949. See: Giles Worsley, *England's Lost Houses: From the Archives of Country Life*, 2011 Paperback ed. (London: Aurum Press Ltd., 2002).p12-13.

²⁶ See: Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003). p146-147 & p159-169, for a discussion on historicism and Gothic Revival architecture

²⁷ In 2012 a project focused on reclaiming the New Hall's past was initiated by the University of Salford; it is described as 'an archaeological dig and survey of historic sources, recording memories and the dusting off of archives relating to one of the region's finest historic homes.' The sheet music for *The Ellesmere Polka* had been discovered in the archives and used for an exhibition associated with the project; the composition was played in public for the first time in over 150 years by University musicians. The project also undertook several oral history recordings with people from the local community who had some association with the New Hall. Full details of the project can be found on the University of Salford website: <http://www.salford.ac.uk/library/about/worsley> Date accessed: 17/10/13. See also: <http://www.salford.ac.uk/news/queen-victoria-polka-to-be-heard-for-first-time-in-150-years-at-mediacityuk> Date accessed 17/10/13. A recording of the polka made by the university can be heard at: <https://soundcloud.com/salforduniversity/ellesmere-polka> Date accessed: 17/10/13. In 2012, architects Allies & Morrison, London, won a RIBA competition to build a luxury hotel on the site. The designs have resonance with the original layout of the New Hall and its Victorian gardens. The proposed designs for the hotel were also on display at the exhibition.

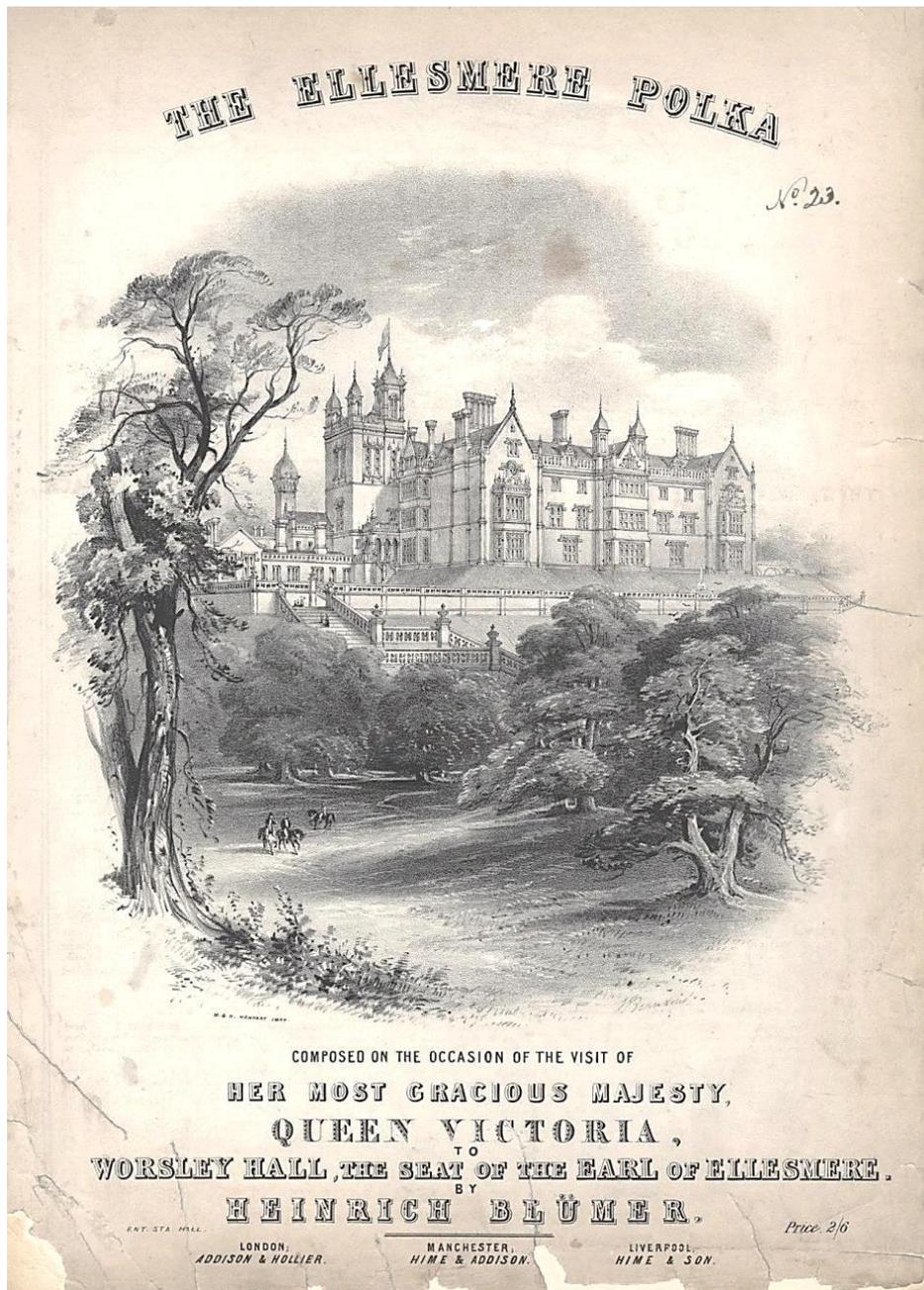


Illustration 10: the cover of the sheet music for *The Ellesmere Polka* featuring a lithographic print of Worsley New Hall by M&N Hanhart. The music was composed by Heinrich Blümer especially for the visit of Queen Victoria to the New Hall in 1851. © Salford University.

In an area such as Walkden and Worsley that was rapidly being populated with industrial buildings, pit headgears, mills and factories, the New Hall was an impressive and discrete architectural addition to the built environment. It very quickly became an iconic representation of the locality and of its associations with the Egerton family. Images of the building started to appear on pictorial postcards of Worsley; in illustration 11 three examples are shown that feature various elevations of the elaborate and imposing edifice.



Illustration 11: three pictorial postcards showing various elevations of Worsley New Hall

Following his move to Worsley, Francis Egerton would certainly find management of the Bridgewater Trust and the estates more practical. By 1837 the Bridgewater collieries alone employed around 1200 men, women and boys with a further 200 employed at Worsley Yard. That was a substantial number of employees for this period and made the Bridgewater Collieries one of the largest employers in the country. The Bridgewater Canal had become 'one of the principle arteries of the Industrial Revolution in Britain' and by 1836 more than one fifth of coal brought into Manchester was being carried along it.²⁸

With James Loch as a loyal Superintendent combined with the employment of George Fereday Smith a dependable Deputy/General Manager who was to serve the Trust for fifty years, Francis Egerton and his family could begin to repair the fractured relationships that had developed between the Trust and the estate workers of Walkden and Worsley under Bradshaw.²⁹ Within a short time of moving to the area, Egerton became the instigator of enlightened social policies that once again made Worsley famous throughout Britain. His wife Lady Harriet had strong religious convictions and saw herself as an active agent in the local community in bringing education and better social and moral conditions to the area. In common with her husband, she was a prolific writer, much of her work focusing on her spiritual concerns.

Lady Harriet's personal interventions for and on behalf of the miners and their families was to win their deep respect and their confidence, indeed some of the oral history interviews used for this thesis reveal that her memorial was considered by some as associated specifically with her reforms of the local mining industry. She could be described as the classical 'Lady Bountiful' and although this role was clearly bound up with the commodified and paternalistic relationship that estate owners maintained with their tenants and workers, it is clear from her own writings and from contemporary reports that she did far more than pay lip service to this role that was expected of someone in her position, an accusation that could justifiably be made against many of her

²⁸ F.C. Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). p1-3

²⁹ George Samuel Fereday Smith (7 May 1812 - 26 May 1891).

contemporaries.³⁰ Her husband was equally philanthropic in his dealings with his workers but as historian Jessica Gerard points out:

Charity was seen as the special duty of the female sex...In the cult of True Womanhood, the Victorian idealization of women's nature and domestic roles, women were considered morally superior to men, more sensitive, emotional, and intuitive. Innately nurturant and maternal, they were expected to devote their lives to others, supervising, influencing, and guiding their families and servants.³¹

In the portrait of Harriet seen in illustration 9 she is clearly depicted as this idealized feminine stereotype. Even though by this time she was the Countess of Ellesmere she is captured not as in a status portrait but working intently on a piece of embroidery that is remarkably suggestive of an ecclesiastical stole. There would be few women of any class during the Victorian period that did not possess needlework skills and engaged in this act she projects a commonality with others of her gender. In addition she is seated in front of an old master painting that portrays a woman embracing a child, a device emblematic of motherhood, whilst a male figure lies carelessly gazing on the scene with apparent devotion and admiration. The waste paper basket to her side is overflowing with written pieces of text symbolising that in her new role as the Lady of the estate she has eschewed her previous literary occupations and has turned her attentions to the charitable and nurturing roles that her position now required. In the Victorian language of flowers, as well as symbolising faith, the irises in the vase symbolise the giving of a message; the manner in which she is portrayed indicates that she is both spiritually receiving the message as to what her new responsibilities are and the image conveys to the viewer that this will be her role in their lives. This role was expected of her not only as one associated with her status but also by the local community itself. Generally at that time, the rural poor strongly believed in the mutual benefits of a paternalistic relationship with estate owners; the majority saw the passing of

³⁰ The term *Lady Bountiful* originates from 1707; it was a character in the play, *The Beaux Stratagem*, by George Farquahar (1678-1707). The character was a country woman known for her herbal cures, charity and generosity. For a study of how this role was undertaken by Victorian aristocratic women, see: Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*.

³¹ Jessica Gerard, "Lady Bountiful: Women of the Landed Classes and Rural Philanthropy," *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 2: Winter (1987). P189

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 for example, as a diminishing concern for their traditional rights and well-being. Gerard asserts:

The Parish Union, and eventually local authorities and government agencies, were alternate sources of social welfare, but the ladies' amateur and voluntary benevolence was more welcome than intrusive officials and impersonal bureaucracies. Independence and respectability became highly valued by the poor themselves, and charity from the country house demanded and accepted as a traditional right, enabled them to escape the stigma and degradation of parish relief.³²

However apparently benevolent, the paternalistic management of the estates by the Egerton family has nevertheless been criticised as severely as other more coercive examples seen in the Victorian era.³³

When Francis Egerton took over the Bridgewater Trust following the ejection of James Sothern, thirty years of poor management by Bradshaw had resulted in the Bridgewater miners being amongst the lowest paid in the Lancashire coalfield and even by 1842 the wages remained less than many other mines in the area although this was offset by low rents in tied housing.³⁴ Within a few years of arriving in the area however the Egerton family had built an unrivalled social and welfare infrastructure in Walkden and Worsley that included schools, churches, libraries, miners' recreation centres, and medical dispensaries, amongst a wide range of other public amenities.³⁵ Another of the family's overriding concerns was the estate workers' spiritual health; even before the family had actually moved to Worsley, Francis Egerton had written in a letter to his wife, dated 15 June 1834:

³² Ibid. p208

See also: R.N. Soffer, "Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North 1830-1850," *International Review of Social History* 10, no. 3: December (1965). p445

³³ Malcolm Hardman, "A Time for Paternalism," in *Classic Soil: Community, Aspiration, and Debate in the Bolton Region of Lancashire, 1819-1845* (Cranbury, NJ.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003).

³⁴ Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872*. p321

Christopher Aspin, *Lancashire: The First Industrial Society* (Helmshore: Helmshore Local History Society, 1969). p88-89

³⁵ The first schools included Worsley School built in 1838, St. Georges Chapel/School in 1839, the Juvenile School in 1844 and Worsley Infants School in 1847. See: W.M. Rogerson, "Old Worsley, Some Historical Notes: Education in Worsley," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, July 7 1933.

The first thing I am going to do is to build a church. The parish is enormous, and, like most of the manufacturing districts which have grown up suddenly to wealth, wretchedly provided...There is nothing now but a Sunday school...There are 40,000 people in this neighbourhood who cannot go to church; no wonder they dissent or believe nothing.³⁶

Egerton's brother-in-law, the renowned diarist Charles C.F. Greville agreed that the people of the area lived in 'the lowest state of ignorance and degradation.'³⁷

These assertions are also echoed in a local guidebook from 1870:

When the Duke of Bridgewater died in 1803, and for many years afterwards, Worsley was, so to speak, a god-forgotten place, its inhabitants were much addicted to drink and rude sports, their morals being deplorably low. The whole district was in a state of religious and educational destitution; there was no one to see to the spiritual wants of the people, and teaching was all but nullity itself.³⁸

Keen to address what they saw as this moral degradation and the poor working conditions in their mines, the Egerton family initiated an immediate and radical programme of change to the area. The lack of religious observance and the abuse of alcohol were first targeted in a range of reforms; from December 1837 for example, despite an obvious loss of income for the Trust, Sunday travel on the canal between Worsley and Manchester was prohibited to improve observance of the Sabbath and in 1841 the selling of the Trust's land for the building of Beer Shops was banned. In addition, to improve on the provision of education St. George's Chapel School was established in Walkden as early as 1839.³⁹

³⁶ Francis 1st. Earl of Ellesmere, *Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington by Francis, the First Earl of Ellesmere with a Memoir of her Father by his Daughter Alice, Countess of Stafford* (London: John Murray, 1903). p48

The Sunday School he refers to was one of the first in England. It had been founded in 1784 by Thomas Bury, a colliery manager for the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, John Varey, cashier to the Duke, G. Artingstall, a joiner and builder, and several farmers from Stannistreet, a hamlet in what is now Walkden. See: Harold T. Milliken, *Changing Scene: Two Hundred Years of Church and Parish Life in Worsley*, 4th revised ed. (Worsley: Parish Church of St. Mark's, 2007). p5

³⁷ Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1852*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1885). p304

³⁸ The Advertiser, *A Guide to Worsley Historical & Topographical* (Eccles: The Advertiser Office, 1870). p12

³⁹ Since the Beerhouse Act of 1830 relaxing the regulations around the brewing and selling of beer, there had been a proliferation of new alehouses, pubs and breweries all over the country. St. George's Chapel later became Walkden Infants School.

One of the very first welfare concerns that the Egertons addressed in their mines was the employment of women and young girls. By July 1841, even before the Mines Act of 1842 prevented the employment of both women and boys under ten years old, Lady Harriet had instructed Fereday Smith that he was to employ no further women in those roles; she had in fact already proposed this change as early as 1838. James Loch, who was not a supporter of simply removing existing female employees of the collieries from their jobs, insisted that the Trust must assist the women displaced from the mines in finding other employment. On 30 July 1842 he signed the order for the younger girls to be sent, with free accommodation, to the newly founded, Lady Francis Egerton School of Domestic Service, and the older women were found work on the estate. The parents of young girls sent to the school were given one shilling per week for each child for a period of twelve months to compensate for their related loss of earnings from the mines.⁴⁰ The Trust subsequently tried to prohibit the employment of boys under twelve years old, rather than the ten year age limit demanded by the 1842 Act, but the miners objected strongly and the Trust management had to capitulate.⁴¹

To lessen the miners' workload the Trust also tended to employ far more workers than the number accepted by other mine owners as necessary to do the job. As evidence of this, census returns show that population growth in Worsley was high during the 1840s when in fact the output of coal was tending to decrease.⁴² There were also many occasions where Francis Egerton implemented work solely in order to provide jobs for unemployed miners, such as building projects at Cornbrook and the Linnyslaw Reservoir in 1841-1842. Welfare benefits of a financial kind were also introduced for the miners; in 1847 a non-contributory old-age pension scheme was implemented.

⁴⁰ Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872*. p323
The school was the first of its kind in the country. See: Aspin, *Lancashire: The First Industrial Society*. p92

⁴¹ Malcolm Hardman, *Classic Soil: Community, Aspiration, and Debate in the Bolton Region of Lancashire, 1819-1845* (Cranbury, NJ.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003). p246
It should also be noted that even after the Mines Act of 1842, it was several years before many other mine owners in the country fully adhered to its conditions.

⁴² Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872*. p323-324

Under the patronage of the family, Walkden and Worsley continued to expand both in terms of population, public amenities and residential developments; to continue to improve educational standards in the community, in 1844 for example, a Reading Room and Library were founded. As a reification of the new religious observances in the area, in 1844 Egerton commissioned the design of a new church, St. Marks. Once again the family wanted a substantial building in the Gothic Revival style and so chose Sir George Gilbert Scott as architect. The church was eventually consecrated on 2 July 1846; the final cost of £20,000 was borne entirely by the family. Keen to provide an equally substantive place of worship for the community in Walkden, as soon as the work on St. Mark's had finished, construction began there on St. Paul's Church.⁴³

In no small part as a result of the benefits he had brought to Worsley, the Bridgewater Collieries and the Canal, Francis Egerton was created 1st Earl of Ellesmere by Queen Victoria on 30 June 1846.

Continuing with the programme of religious and educational reform, in 1850 the now Countess of Ellesmere wrote to Reverend St. Vincent Beechey and offered him a position in Worsley which he accepted.⁴⁴ Beechey had a strong interest in education and in his previous post as Vicar of Fleetwood with Thornton, he established the Rossall School; the school is extant today and known as the 'Eton of the North'. On arrival in Worsley, Beechey immediately set about assisting in the continued development of the schools in the area and with the Earl, was responsible for setting up the Worsley Literary Institute with an initial membership of 200. Reflecting on her compassionate nature, years later he

⁴³ The foundation stone was laid by the 1st Earl's eldest son, George Granville Francis Egerton on 15 June 1844, to coincide with his 21st birthday that same day. See: "Festivities at Worsley Hall," *The Morning Post*, Monday 17 June 1844.

Sir George Gilbert Scott (13 July 1811 – 27 March 1878). Scott was later to design the Prince Consort National Memorial. According to his son, he regarded the church as 'one of his most successful and purest essays in the geometrical Decorated Gothic style of the late 13th and 14th centuries, with careful attention to detail. See: Milliken, *Changing Scene: Two Hundred Years of Church and Parish Life in Worsley*. p12

⁴⁴ Reverend St. Vincent Beechey (7 August 1806 – 19 August 1899) was incumbent at St. Mark's between 1850 and 1872.

was to say that through the Countess of Ellesmere he had always been able to obtain almost everything he wished for on behalf of the welfare of the parish.⁴⁵

Under the 1st Earl's management, the mid 1840s saw the beginning of a period of great prosperity for the Bridgewater Canal and of significant improvements to the working and living conditions of the communities who lived in Walkden and Worsley. The first half of the 1800s had seen the Canal's most substantial development and subsequent profit but it was the second half of the century that marked the period when coal production began to significantly increase. Between 1829 and 1839 the output of coal from the Bridgewater mines had doubled but the early 1840s saw stagnation in production due to the railways bringing in cheaper coal from other areas; by 1853 however recovery was evident. Numerous new pits were opened and by 1886 the coal production of the Bridgewater Collieries had risen to an astonishing five times that in 1855.⁴⁶ Indeed even as late as 1911 the *Manchester Guardian* commented that the Bridgewater Collieries were 'at the height of their output and prosperity' and that they still had 'the largest unworked coalfield in Lancashire.'⁴⁷

The paternalistic yet benevolent management style that the 1st Earl adopted towards the Worsley estate workers and the improvements in working conditions and social welfare that he established had the result of curtailing any impact on the Bridgewater Trust of a growing trade unionism and strike action sweeping the manufacturing districts of the country in the mid-1800s. Significant improvements had also been made to health and safety procedures in the Bridgewater Collieries making them much safer to work in than most others in the country. The Chartists also had little influence in the area; this was despite the fact that Walkden is a mere 7 miles from Kersal Moor where on 24

⁴⁵ Milliken, *Changing Scene: Two Hundred Years of Church and Parish Life in Worsley*. p15 Students who attained certain standards in the schools were rewarded with trips to seaside resorts such as Southport in the summer; concerts were arranged in the schools during the winter; and the students were invited to a dinner at the New Hall every Christmas as well as during a range of other festivities. See: Rogerson, "Old Worsley, Some Historical Notes: Education in Worsley."

⁴⁶ Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872*. (279,140 tons in 1855 and 1,303,625 tons in 1886) p364

⁴⁷ "An Historic Colliery," *Manchester Guardian*, 23 June 1911.

September 1838 one of the largest of the early Chartist meetings was held.⁴⁸ In fact during the Plug Riots of 1842, and despite some isolated violent disturbances in the area, not only did the Bridgewater workers stay at their jobs but in response to a meeting with the Earl they put together a public address that asserted:

From a consciousness of the good feeling that prevailed amongst us when Your Lordship addressed us in such an affectionate and kindly manner...as with the voice of one man, we declare our design that we are willing, as far as life and safety seems probable to make us, to defend your honour and all in connexion.⁴⁹

Nevertheless following the formation of the Miners Association of Great Britain and Ireland that same year, trade union membership in the Trust gradually increased and several strikes did take place in subsequent years. In the main however disputes were rare and those that did occur were quickly and amicably resolved; unlike those in the mines of neighbouring Farnworth for example, where the brutality and intransigence of the owner, 'Squire' William Hulton, had created a whole different working milieu for his miners.⁵⁰

The continued deference to the Egerton family, even well into the 1900s, may not solely have been because of the family's philanthropic acts but also because the Trust had maintained a sense of being an aristocratic estate rather than a large impersonal employer with a range of business interests outside of the locality. Demonstrating unusual behaviour for the time, the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, jaded by the highborn life in London and his childhood experience, had established a very close and personal relationship with his workers and this had very much been continued by the Earl and Countess of Ellesmere. Although it very much served to reinforce the social order on the estate this relationship of trust and mutual benefit was nevertheless valued and respected

⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion on the impact of Chartism in the Manchester area, see: Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*.

⁴⁹ F.C. Mather, "Progress and Paternalism in the Worsley Mines," in *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

See also: Hardman, *Classic Soil: Community, Aspiration, and Debate in the Bolton Region of Lancashire, 1819-1845*. p248

"Lord Francis Egerton and the Worsley Colliers," *The Times*, Tuesday August 23 1842. p6

⁵⁰ ———, *Classic Soil: Community, Aspiration, and Debate in the Bolton Region of Lancashire, 1819-1845*. p250

Aspin, *Lancashire: The First Industrial Society*. p92

by the tenants, workers and canal users. The Egerton's acts of private charity to families suffering hardship or illness were well-known and abundant; the Countess in particular would go frequently from house to house on the estate ensuring that the workers and their families were adequately looked after. Again, although visiting the poor was somewhat of an expectation within the roles of Victorian aristocratic women, she demonstrably carried out this task with alacrity and genuine concern. The seasons of the working year were marked by large public celebrations at the New Hall, such as those during the annual May Day festivities. These repeated annual ceremonials and festivities laid the foundations for the large scale public events that would in future years take place around, and with reference to, the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial. The annual celebrations at the New Hall involved all estate workers as did a range of what for most aristocratic families would constitute private occasions; in 1844 for example when the Earl's eldest son came of age the colliers were given the day off work and invited to a large fête followed by a celebratory dinner for 3000 and a Ball with fireworks. Workers from further afield on the estate were brought to the hall by the Earl's own boats.⁵¹

The Egerton family's sustained investment in the Trust but also in the well-being of the estate workers was the reason behind the continued stability and economic development in the area. James Loch died on 28 June 1855 and was succeeded as Superintendent by the Earl's third son, the 29 year old Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton; in collaboration with Fereday Smith he was able to initiate a new period of substantial growth in the collieries and canal. The relationship between the Trust and the railways continued to be ambivalent however with support forthcoming only when plans benefitted the Bridgewater Collieries. Support was given for instance to the London & North Western Railway's branch line between Eccles, Tyldesley and Wigan which brought the railway to Worsley; the Trustees saw the new railway as an opportunity to develop its cotton industry with associated benefits to the collieries.⁵² The relationship was always going to be complex; the future of the collieries would

⁵¹ "Festivities at Worsley," *The Morning Chronicle*, Monday 17 June 1844.

"Festivities at Worsley Hall."

⁵² In 1861 the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere cut the first sod for Worsley Railway Station.

be increasingly dependent on the growth of the railways which, of course, would increasingly compete with the canal.

After ushering in radical changes to the built environment and the lives of the people of Walkden and Worsley, and after more than thirty years of dedicated management of the Trust, Francis Egerton 1st Earl of Ellesmere died at Bridgewater House in London on 18 February 1857, aged 57. His eldest son, George Granville Francis Egerton, succeeded to the title of 2nd Earl of Ellesmere. Under the 1st Earl's patronage and shrewd management, the Worsley area had become one of the most important centres for deep coal mining in the country and an intense programme of social and welfare reforms had made the lives of his estate workers far more comfortable and rewarding than those of many others in similar employment across the country.

The 1st Earl's funeral took place on 26 February at his beloved St. Mark's Church, Worsley.⁵³ Immediately after the funeral a Memorial Committee was set up, chaired by Fereday Smith. Advertisements were subsequently placed in various papers throughout the UK during the months of February and March 1858. The proposed memorial was to be built on high land near Wren's Wood, west of Worsley New Hall. The deadline for the submission of designs was 30 April 1858 and artists were required to produce plans for something that would be 'substantial and durable rather than elaborate and ornamental, and that it should be easily seen from a distance.' The Committee stated that the memorial was not to be a statue and that the winner was to supply, erect and complete the monument for £1800.⁵⁴ Three prizes were to be offered and responses came in from 161 different artists and companies. All of the designs were exhibited at the Royal Institution, Manchester. Of these, six were shortlisted and those designs sent to the architect, Edward Barry of London who selected the winner, Messrs Driver and Webber of London, for their design entitled 'Proportion'. Their design was described as a,

⁵³ "Death of the Earl of Ellesmere K.G.," *The Morning Chronicle*, Thursday February 19 1857. p5

⁵⁴ "Designs for the Ellesmere Memorial," *The Glasgow Herald* Monday February 22 1858. p1

Tower of Transition Gothic character, consisting of an octagon shaft, with spiral belt of coloured tiles, rising from an elaborate square basement, terminated by a corbelled out gallery, with iron balustrade around an enriched central spirelet. Height 120 feet.⁵⁵

Illustration 12 shows the design as it appeared in *The Builder* of 6 November 1858. Fereday Smith laid the foundation stone of the monument on 17 November of that same year.⁵⁶ The third substantive Gothic Revival structure to be built in the area, this monument again contributed to a built environment that set Walkden and Worsley apart as architecturally distinct from other industrial towns in the country. The inauguration of the finished monument took place on Friday 10 August 1860. The weather for the inauguration was so bad that the ceremony had to be continued at Worsley Court House. Harriet, the Dowager Countess had been told to stay at the New Hall rather than attend because of the 'pitiless, pelting rain.'⁵⁷

The tower quickly became a well-known local landmark and it was a popular place for estate workers and others from outside of the area to visit for the day, particularly on public holidays such as Good Friday weekends. At the top, accessed by a spiral staircase of 125 steps, was a room from where it is said you could see six counties. Admission was free to Worsley parishioners but other visitors were charged one penny to access the tower.⁵⁸ Although erected as a dedication to the memory of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere, its augmented role as a meeting and gathering place for extended families on specific dates on the calendar demonstrates the performative, cyclical and participative functions that a public monument can assume over time. Inasmuch as it provided

⁵⁵ Edward Barry (7 June 1830 – 27 January 1880) was the third son of Sir Charles Barry. Amongst other projects, when his father died, he completed his work on the Palace of Westminster. The second prize of forty guineas went to John Lowe of Chorlton-upon-Medlock for his design, 'Nunc aut nunquam' (Now or never) and the third prize of twenty guineas to Edward Basset Keeling of London for his design, 'To Worth'. See: "The Ellesmere Memorial," *Manchester Weekly Times*, Saturday July 17 1858. p5

⁵⁶ "The Ellesmere Memorial", *Manchester Weekly Times*, November 20 1858. p7

⁵⁷ "Ellesmere Memorial: Inaugural Ceremony," *Salford Weekly News*, August 11 1860. p2
Herbert Clegg and Frank Mullineux, "A New History of the Worsley Monument," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, Friday December 5 1952. p8

⁵⁸ W.M. Rogerson, "Old Worsley, Some Historical Notes: Worsley Memorial," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, March 17 1933.

Despite the original commission being for something 'substantial and durable' by 1939 the monument to the 1st Earl was deemed to be unsafe and the central octagonal shaft was removed. The top part of the structure was placed on the remaining base. What remains of the once magnificent tower achieved a Grade II listing on 1 August 1974 but it is now in a very neglected state and is inaccessible, being enclosed by the gardens of nearby properties.

opportunities to strengthen and extend social networks through such patterns of behaviour it was the first public monument in the area to become a focus for the development of social capital, particularly of the bonding and bridging types. As a well-known and significant structure on the visual landscape it also became, as the New Hall had done, the subject of a range of pictorial postcards of the area, an example of which can be seen in illustration 13.

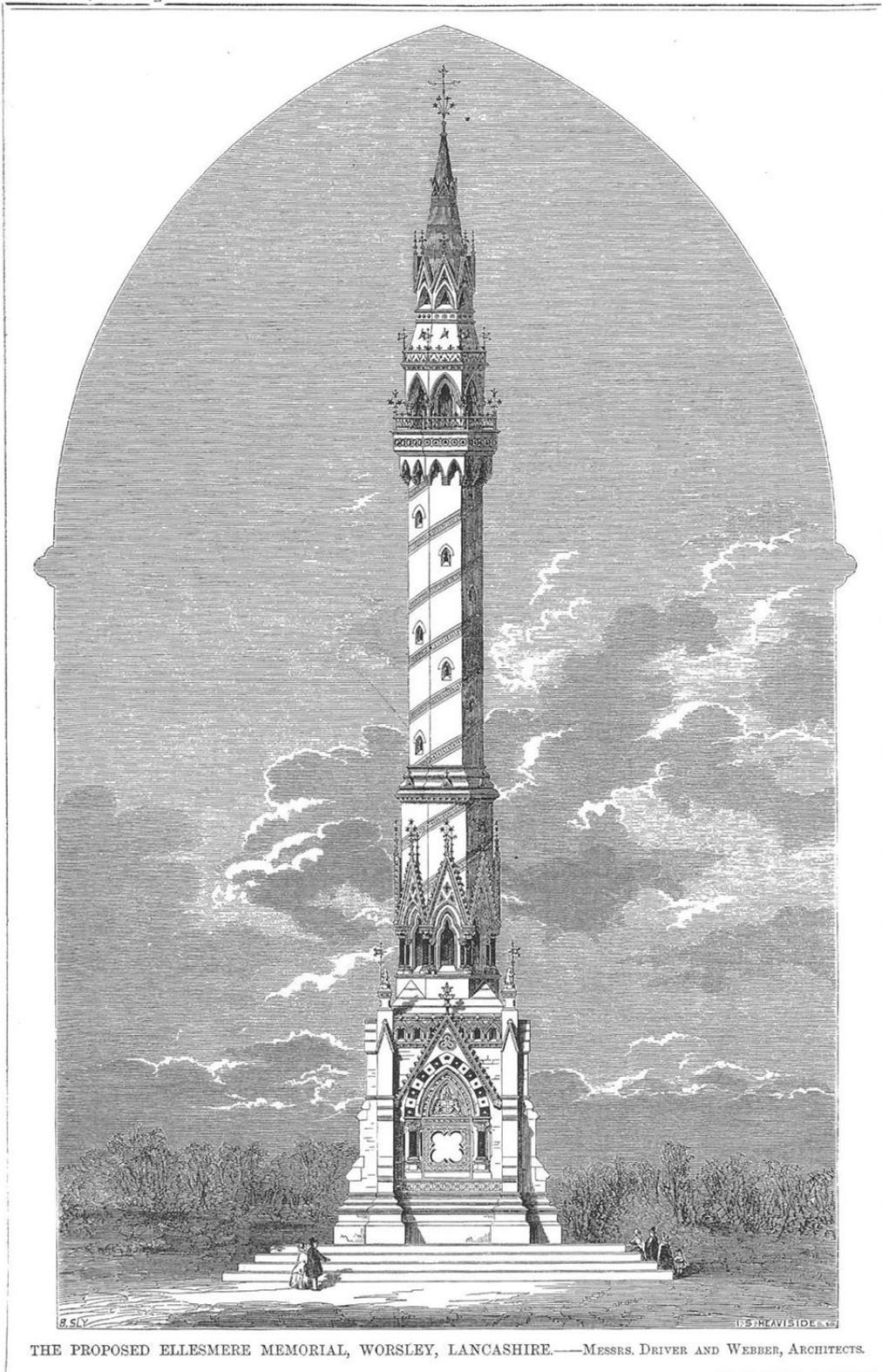


Illustration 12: the design for the Ellesmere Memorial, Worsley, by Messrs Driver and Webber as it appeared in *The Builder*, 6 November 1858



Illustration 13: an example of a pictorial postcard featuring the Memorial to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere in Worsley. Whittaker & Co., Manchester. Postal date of 1907.

During the same week as the inauguration of the monument, a recumbent marble statue of the Earl was installed in St. Mark's Church. Sculpted by Matthew Noble, it surmounted a Caen stone and Devonshire marble monument designed by George Gilbert Scott, the architect of the church. The monument and statue can be seen in illustration 14. The statue depicts the Earl wearing the robes of the Order of the Bath.⁵⁹

Although following the death of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Harriet, the Dowager Countess had retired to Bridgewater House in London, she maintained her links with the people of Walkden and Worsley through the continued development of educational facilities for the Worsley estate workers. By 1859 through her direct patronage there had been a total of seven different night schools established in the area.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ "Monument to the Late Earl of Ellesmere," *Illustrated London News* 15 December 1860. p563/568

⁶⁰ "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial," *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.



Illustration 14: a photograph of the tomb of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere designed by George Gilbert Scott with a marble statue by Matthew Noble. St. Mark's Church, Worsley. © Author

Under the management of the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere and his brother Algernon, the collieries and canal continued to prosper; they had also inherited from their father a genuine concern for the welfare of the colliers and other estate workers and continued to introduce innovative safety measures in the mines.⁶¹ The 2nd Earl was also responsible for establishing the cotton industry in the Walkden area; in 1861 the first cotton mill was built on the west side of Bolton Road by J.W. Whittaker. It brought additional and welcome employment opportunities for the women and girls on the Worsley estates, particularly since their removal from the mines in 1841 after which the only available work was, in the main, agricultural or domestic service.⁶²

Cotton production was eventually established as an industry of equal importance as mining in the Walkden and Worsley area; by 1909 there were eight large cotton mills all within half a mile of Walkden town centre. Two

⁶¹ One manifestation of this was that in 1861 Madams Wood Colliery became the first in the country to be fitted with the Owens Patent Catch for preventing accidents caused by the breaking of winding cage ropes, a common cause of fatalities at that time. See: Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872*. p326

⁶² The mill was bought by John Faulkner in 1879 and his company owned it until 1985 when it closed.

distinct but interwoven communities of workers developed in the town, the colliers and the cotton workers; the majority of families comprised those who worked in both industries with most of the men working in the mines and the women in the mills. Several of the Walkden residents interviewed for this thesis worked in the cotton mills at some time during their working lives.

On 19 September 1862 the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere died suddenly, aged 39 years.⁶³ At the young age of 15 years, his son Francis Charles Granville Egerton succeeded as the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere. On Saturday 27 September the 2nd Earl's body was laid in the vault with his father's at St. Mark's Church of which he himself had laid the foundation stone on his 21st birthday. The tenants gathered at the funeral were numbered in their thousands, lamenting the loss of yet another respected benefactor, this was particularly the case with older residents who the newspapers said 'went up with tottering limbs and feeble gait to show a last mark of respect to the deceased.'⁶⁴ The estate workers were also acutely aware that it would be sometime before the new Earl of Ellesmere would be in permanent residence on the estate and that being so young it was difficult to anticipate his future commitment to the Trust and to the people in the area. Some residents were old enough to remember the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater and after his death the thirty plus years of harsh management by Bradshaw before the arrival of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere. Algernon Fulke Egerton however would continue as a highly respected and successful Superintendent of the Trust during those early years after the 2nd Earl's death.

Harriet, Dowager Countess of Ellesmere died on 17 April 1866 at Bridgewater House, London, aged 66; the people of Walkden and Worsley went into deep mourning. The *Salford Weekly News* stated that 'she was closely identified with most of the charities in and near the village of Worsley, and by her death the poor have indeed lost a real friend.'⁶⁵ The *Farnworth Observer* eulogised:

⁶³ He had in fact resigned his position as MP for Staffordshire North Division as early as 1851 for reasons of ill-health. See: "Death of the Earl of Ellesmere," *Daily News*, Saturday 20 September 1862. p5

⁶⁴ "The Funeral of the Late Earl of Ellesmere," *Liverpool Mercury*, Tuesday 30 September 1862.

p3

⁶⁵ "Death Of The Countess Dowager Of Ellesmere," *Salford Weekly News*, April 21 1866. p2

Her virtues were such as to engrave her name upon the hearts of all with whom she came into contact. By her counsel and support she assisted the clergy, teachers, and others employed on the estate in their work of Christian usefulness.⁶⁶

The funeral took place at St. Mark's Church, Worsley on Tuesday 24 April 1866. In recognition of the role she had played with regard to the spiritual care of the local communities a beautiful commemorative alabaster and mosaic reredos, believed to have been imported from Italy or created by Italian craftsmen in London, was subsequently placed behind the high altar of St. Mark's by the family.⁶⁷ On the day of the funeral the streets and churchyard were crowded with estate workers and children from the Sunday and day schools that she had founded were in lines, flanking the funeral procession to the church door. That same evening, as had happened following the funeral of her husband the 1st Earl, a Memorial Committee was formed in Worsley Court House.⁶⁸ Calls for designs for a suitable memorial were placed in national newspapers and periodicals and although no prizes were offered, fifty designs were subsequently received. Contributions to the memorial fund came from the various landowners, clergy and gentry but the newspapers later commented that the subscription was remembered as a 'spontaneous effort of the villagers in and around Walkden Moor' by whom the Countess was 'greatly revered and beloved.'⁶⁹

The received designs for the monument were exhibited at Worsley Court House during 18-20 April 1867 and were viewed by hundreds of people. There were three submissions shortlisted: Thomas Graham Jackson of London, John Gibbs of Oxford, and Charles Henry Driver of London.⁷⁰ George Edmund Street was the assessor and following deliberations the commission was awarded to Thomas Graham Jackson. Once again Gothic Revival had been the architectural style of choice to commemorate the Countess who had exercised such a powerful role in the religious observances of the local people; both

⁶⁶ "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial." *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.

⁶⁷ Milliken, *Changing Scene: Two Hundred Years of Church and Parish Life in Worsley*. p19

⁶⁸ "Funeral Of The Countess Dowager Of Ellesmere," *Salford Weekly News*, April 28 1866. p2.

The Committee was chaired by Reverend St.Vincent Beechey who had conducted the funeral.

⁶⁹ Wyke and Cocks, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester*. p190

⁷⁰ "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial." *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.

Street and Jackson had also in fact worked in the offices of Sir George Gilbert Scott who had designed St. Marks.⁷¹ Jackson's design for the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial seen in illustration 15, appeared in *The Builder* of 11 July 1868; it was Jackson's first competition win.⁷²

⁷¹ Cecil Stewart, *The Stones of Manchester* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1956). p90
As Edmund Street had also worked in Scott's office, it is perhaps unsurprising that he selected Jackson's design although John Gibbs was also a well-known Gothic Revivalist having designed the Banbury Cross in 1859, erected to commemorate the marriage of Victoria, Princess Royal to Prince Frederick of Prussia

⁷² William Whyte, *Oxford Jackson: Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). p13

Despite this it is interesting to note that the work is not mentioned in Jackson's memoirs, as compiled by his son. Perhaps this is because his interest in the Gothic Revival had waned, indeed later in his career he wrote rather scathingly about the style, see: Basil H. Jackson, ed., *Recollections of Thomas Graham Jackson 1835-1924* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950). p119

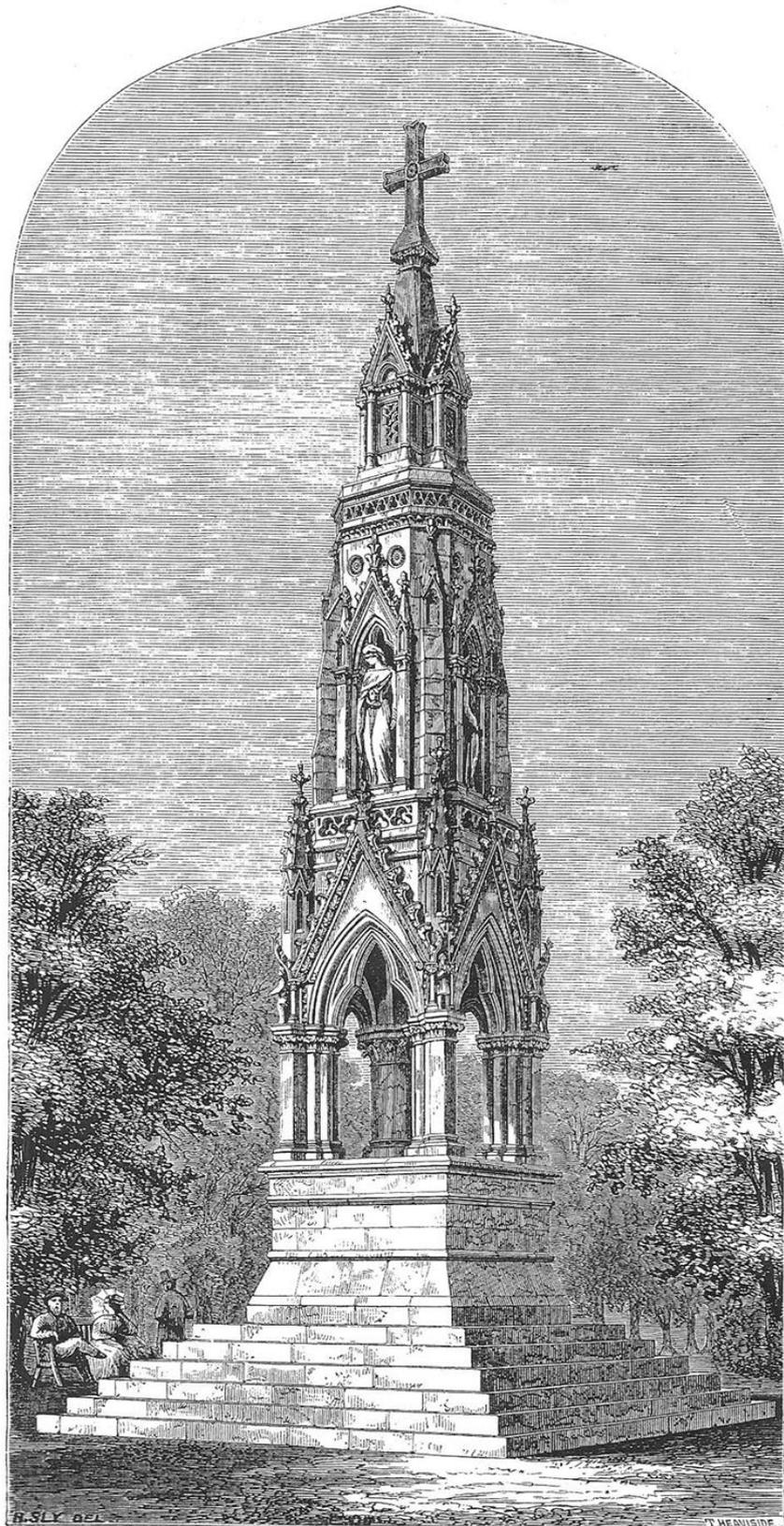


Illustration 15: the design for the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial by Thomas Graham Jackson, as it appeared in *The Builder* of 11 July 1868

The carving and the statues on the monument were executed by Farmer and Brindley, London and the building work by Halliday and Cave, Oakham.⁷³

Farmer and Brindley was a firm of architectural sculptors who worked with most of the Victorian architects of repute including George Gilbert Scott on the Albert Memorial, and Alfred Waterhouse on Manchester Town Hall completed in 1877. They had offices on 67 Westminster Bridge Road, Lambeth. Initially at least, they specialised in Gothic Revival architectural decoration and sculpture. Scott chose Brindley for the capitals and other stone carving on the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park and described him in 1873 as 'the best carver I have met with and the one who best understands my needs.'⁷⁴

The Countess of Ellesmere monument was erected at the side of the Manchester to Wigan Turnpike Road. In recognition of the industrial, educational, social and welfare changes that the Egerton family had brought to the area it was specifically placed on the very site where the first Bridgewater Offices had stood in the days of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater. The first Sunday school, founded on 29 September 1784, had taken place in a room above those offices and originally a coal mine had been next to the site.⁷⁵ The inauguration took place on Monday 26 July 1869 at 5pm. To allow the estate workers to participate in this collective act of remembrance a holiday was announced. A covered platform had been erected in front of the site to hold the 300 family members, principal subscribers and other dignitaries. Despite extremely heavy rain the open spaces around the platform and the monument itself were filled with more than 4000 - 5000 men, women and children. These included 2100 children from the Countess' day and Sunday schools.⁷⁶

The local papers described the memorial as 'appropriately' inspired by an Eleanor Cross. Again this illustrated Scott's influence on Jackson; Scott had studied the Eleanor Crosses throughout his career almost to the point of obsession, asserting that they were 'the most touching monuments ever

⁷³ "The Late Dowager Countess of Ellesmere," *Manchester Weekly Times*, July 31 1869. p3

⁷⁴ Emma Hardy, "Farmer and Brindley: Craftsman Sculptors 1850-1930," *Victorian Society Annual* (1993). p8. William Brindley, Director (1832-1919) and William Farmer (1823-1879). Both originated in Derbyshire.

⁷⁵ W.M. Rogerson, "Old Worsley, Some Historical Notes: The Walkden Memorial," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, March 10 1933.

⁷⁶ "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial." *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.

erected.⁷⁷ In addition to the Prince Consort National Memorial many of Scott's designs in fact referenced them directly, his Martyrs Memorial at Oxford (1841-1843) for example and his Memorial to the Countess of Loudoun at Donnington (1879), one of his last designs.⁷⁸ He was not alone of course in making this association; the well-known Ilam Cross in Staffordshire (completed 1841) for instance was designed by John Macduff Derrick (1805/6-1859), another of Pugin's disciples. Derrick's design for the Oxford Martyr's Memorial had been runner up to Scott's winning design and it is clear that Jesse Watts-Russell, who commissioned the Ilam Cross to commemorate his wife Mary, had done so in consultation with Scott. Indeed the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial bears strong similarities to all of these designs.

The architectural details of the monument's design did not appear alongside the 1868 illustration in *The Builder* but *The Manchester Guardian* provided a full description in its edition published on the day after the inauguration:

It is raised on a pyramid of steps, and the superstructure is divided into three stages. The lowest is square in plan, and consists of a solid basement on which rests a massive central column, surrounded by four groups of clustered columns, one at each angle, which carry pointed arches, trefoil cusped, and surmounted by pediments with crockets and finials. There is an enriched pinnacle at each angle containing of its lower part a niche. The four statuettes, which fill these niches represent a Lancashire operative, a collier, and two factory girls in their characteristic costume; these were copied from life studies. A parapet of open tracery finishes this stage at the top. The second stage is octagonal in plan, with buttresses on the four oblique faces which unite it in outline with the square stage below. The four direct faces of the octagon contain niches with cusped and pedimented canopies in which are life-size statues of the four virtues – Piety, Charity, Munificence and Prudence. This stage is also finished with a parapet of open tracery. The third and top stage is cruciform in plan, with diapers and crocketed gablets on the four direct faces, and is surmounted by a spirelet and a stone cross. The total height from the ground to the top of the cross is 50 feet. The foundations, including 4ft. of concrete, are 6ft. deep below the ground. ...The materials are

⁷⁷ Stephen Bayley, *The Albert Memorial: The Monument in its Social and Architectural Context* (London: Scolar Press, 1981). p45

⁷⁸ Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Leicestershire and Rutland*, Public Sculpture of Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000). p4-5

Edgefold stone for the steps, Hollington stone for the monument, and Box ground for the eight statues.⁷⁹

The memorial was encircled by high metal railings with a locked gate. Running around the cornice at the base of the monument is an incised inscription:

A PUBLIC TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION
AND RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF
HARRIET, WIDOW OF FRANCIS
FIRST EARL OF ELLESMERE A.D. 1868

Demonstrating the close ties between the Egerton family and the Royal Family, Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra had been due to unveil the memorial but had to change their plans and had visited the 3rd Earl at Worsley New Hall to offer their condolences the previous week. Several members of the Royal Family had in the past been guests of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere, indeed both the Egerton and the Leveson-Gower families were well known to Queen Victoria; Granville George Leveson-Gower for example, had worked closely with Prince Albert as Vice President of the Royal Commission for the Great Exhibition of 1851.⁸⁰ In addition, as Chairman of the General Committee the 1st Earl of Ellesmere had worked with the Prince Consort in the staging of the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 at Trafford Park, Manchester, although he did not live to see its opening.⁸¹

The people of Walkden and Worsley took pride in the fact that royal visits to the New Hall had been frequent; most notably in 1851 when Queen Victoria and Prince Albert made an extensive tour of Lancashire. *A Supplement to the*

⁷⁹ "The Memorial To The Late Countess Of Ellesmere," *Manchester Guardian*, July 27 1869. The statue of Munificence held in its arms a statue of St. Mark's Church, Worsley, which the 1st Earl and the Countess had built. The statuette of the collier on the south west corner was damaged by vandalism not long after the inauguration. The sculptor had been taken around some of the mines and mills in the area and had chosen a haulage engine operator from the Sandhole Colliery as his model for the piece. The operator had a reputation for brutality against the younger haulage workers and after one incident, the vengeful victim threw stones at the statuette damaging it.

⁸⁰ Granville George Leveson-Gower (1815-1891), 2nd Earl Granville, cousin of 1st Earl of Ellesmere

⁸¹ The subsequent exhibition, opened by Prince Albert on 5 May 1857, was an enormous success; work was loaned from all over the country and such a vast collection of art shown at one time, in one place, has never been achieved since. See: *The Art Treasures Examiner: A Pictorial, Critical and Historical Record of the Art Treasures Exhibition, at Manchester, in 1857*, (Manchester: Alexander Ireland & Co., 1857).

Illustrated London News published a detailed description of that entire visit to the county.⁸² The Queen and her Consort had sailed to Worsley New Hall down the Bridgewater Canal from Patricroft Railway Station, Manchester, in a Royal Barge especially constructed for the occasion by the 1st Earl.⁸³ The waters of the canal, normally orange as a result of the high content of iron salts, were filled with Royal Blue dye in honour of their visit.⁸⁴ Illustration 16 shows a print from the *Illustrated London News* that depicts the royal party's arrival at the landing stage of the New Hall. The Royal Barge in fact continued to be used on the canal by the Egerton family well into the early 20th century, acting as a frequent reminder for the local and wider community of the close ties that the family and the area had with the Royal Family; the photograph in illustration 17 shows the barge on the canal c1890.

The year 2011 saw the 250th anniversary of the opening of the Bridgewater Canal and a range of events were organised to celebrate the occasion. In an endeavour to reclaim forgotten stories and the cultural heritage of the area, a regatta was organised on the canal that sought to replicate the arrival at the New Hall of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert during the 1851 visit. Illustration 18 shows the actors playing the royal couple arriving in Worsley village on a barge. In the accompanying flyer visitors and locals were invited to come to the regatta 'dressed in Victorian clothes for your chance to meet the Queen and have your photograph taken with her.'⁸⁵

⁸² "Queen Victoria's Visit to Lancashire," *Supplement to The Illustrated London News*, Saturday 18 October 1851.

⁸³ "The State Barges on the Canal," *Supplement to The Illustrated London News*, Saturday 18 October 1851. p497

⁸⁴ Cyril J. Wood, *The Duke's Cut: The Bridgewater Canal*, 2009 ed. (Stroud: The History Press, 2002).p25

⁸⁵ See the *Visit Salford* website: <http://www.visitsalford.info/bridgewater250.htm> Date accessed: 17/10/13.

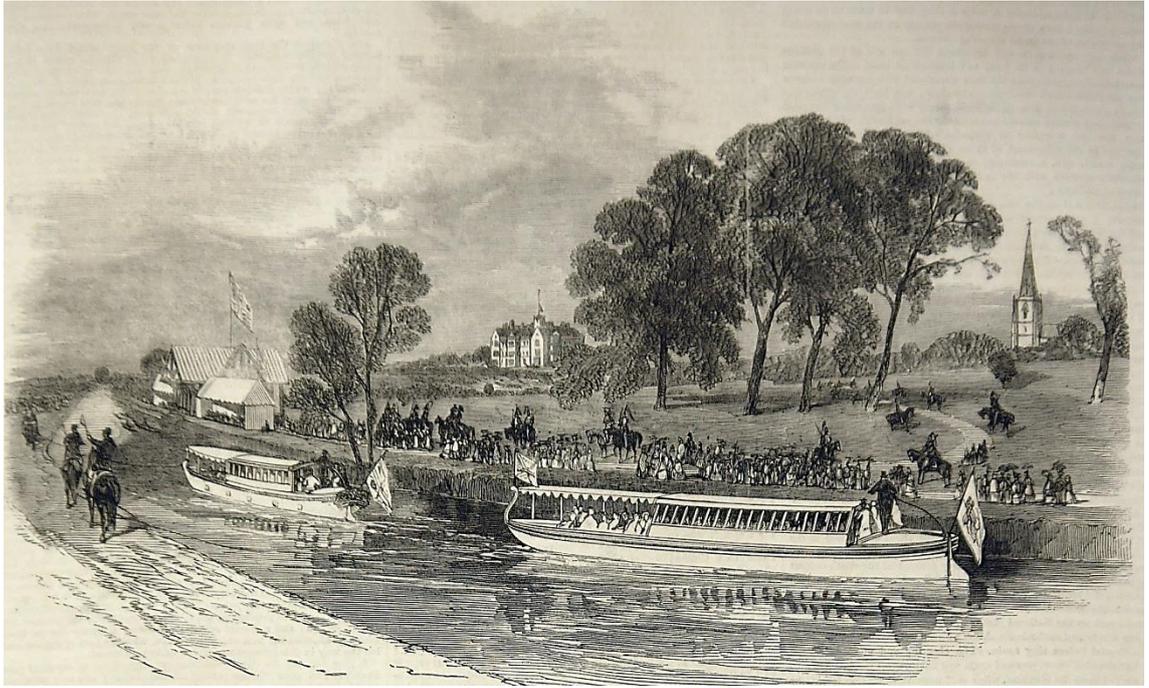


Illustration 16: a print from the *Illustrated London News* depicting the Ellesmere Royal Barge, carrying Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, arriving at Worsley New Hall during the royal visit to Lancashire in October 1851.



Illustration 17: a photograph, c1890, of the Ellesmere Royal Barge in use on the Bridgewater Canal; it was built for Queen Victoria's visit to the New Hall in 1851.
© Salford Museum and Art Gallery.



Illustration 18: a photograph taken on 16 July 2011 showing a re-enactment of the arrival of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Worsley New Hall in October 1851. The regatta was staged as part of the 250 year anniversary celebrations of the Bridgewater Canal.

© Visit Salford

As the Prince of Wales had been unavailable to unveil the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Fereday Smith led the ceremonials and formally presented the key to its gates to the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere. The Earl was bringing his wife Katherine to Worsley for the first time affording the crowds their first glimpse of her. Referring to the design of the monument Fereday Smith is reported to have said:

This chaste – this beautiful monument – truly represents the classic intellect and the classic tastes of her to whose memory it is built...It was placed amongst the people whom she loved, for whom she worked, and for whose prosperity she hoped; and they had erected that memorial in testimony of their good feeling towards her.⁸⁶

The panegyric expresses a link between the built environment, the well-being of the local communities and the public monument being unveiled. Reminding the congregation that he had worked for the Bridgewater Trust since the month that the 1st Earl had taken possession of it, Fereday Smith went on to comment on the conditions in Worsley before the arrival of the 1st Earl and his Countess:

The time when Lord and Lady Egerton came to Worsley was not unpropitious, their advent being when the district might fairly be described as being a moral wilderness – drunkenness and blasphemy holding high court among the inhabitants; but now, thanks to their noble persevering example, a glorious change ...has come to pass, and the wilderness is transformed into a beautiful garden. ...Diminution of drunkenness, of crime, and encouragement of persevering industry has marked the result of their efforts.⁸⁷

In accepting the ceremonial silver key to the enclosure, the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere thanked the gathered crowds and commented on how pleased his grandmother would have been that representatives were present from all denominations and not just members of the churches that she had worked so hard for. In recognising her capacity for bringing groups of people of diverse thought together he also noted that the names of many people from those other churches were also on the subscription list. The Earl also commented on how appropriate the site of the monument was in that it was where she had founded

⁸⁶ "The Memorial To The Late Countess Of Ellesmere."

⁸⁷ "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial." *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.

her first schools. Reverend Beechey, Vice-Chairman of the Memorial Committee then spoke saying:

Love, and not adulation – grateful reminiscence, and not public eulogy, has erected this memorial... Such a monument is most suitable and appropriate for us to erect, and for his lordship to accept, as a memorial of our first patron's well-beloved lady. Such a monument may speak her praise, though we may not. To those who knew and loved her..., she needs none, for she has long been, and ever will continue to be, enshrined in our hearts. ...Long may the present Earl, with his dear Countess and revered mother, be spared to gaze upon the monument with pride and joy, and to point it out to others as the memorial of a grateful population's admiration and esteem of a model wife and mother, and our unostentatious benefactress, Harriet, the first Countess of Ellesmere.⁸⁸

Through Reverend Beechey's and the accompanying speeches it is clear that there was an anticipation that the monument would stand unchanged on its site for generations to come and act not just as a permanent reminder of the person but also of her character that people would wish to emulate. The monument does not feature a portrait statue but instead has four canopied and life-size allegorical statues: Piety, Charity, Munificence and Prudence, representing the personal qualities that the Countess was said to possess and also inspired in others. The statue, Munificence, is depicted holding a model of St. Mark's Church. These figurative elements were to function primarily as an *exemplum virtutis*, the spirit of which was captured in part of Beechey's speech; referring to the four allegorical statues and the character of the Countess he asserted:

If it does not tell men what they are, it tells them what they ought to be... If this memorial does not tell us what she was, it tells us what she strove to be, and wished that others should be.⁸⁹

The smaller statues on the monument depicting colliers and mill girls reference the industrial development in the area carried out by the Egerton family but in combination with the four allegorical works they also embody the welfare and social reforms that they instigated in those industries. This symbolism is referred to at the time of the inauguration but evidence suggests that it has also

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

been retained up to the present day. Shortly after the re-siting of the monument, a letter to the local newspaper asserted, 'as has been recounted here before, the Memorial is a monument to the first steps in the emancipation of women and young children from slavery underground in the mines.'⁹⁰ These meanings are also similarly referenced by some of the individuals interviewed for this thesis; one interviewee singles out this symbolism as opposed to the monument's primary role in commemorating the Countess:

I think it was historical really...for the fight for the miners an' it represented...cotton, coal, an' I think it meant, maybe for people that are older than me at the time, it represented part of their heritage I suppose.⁹¹

At the end of the inauguration ceremony a hymn was to be sung by the children present but due to the inclement weather the verses were instead read aloud by the Reverend Herbert. In closing the proceedings he commented on the overwhelming support for the parishioners that had been continued by the present Dowager Countess of Ellesmere following the death of the 2nd Earl.

Under the management of the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere radical changes were made to the Bridgewater Trust.⁹² On 1 September 1872 the Bridgewater Canal, the Mersey and Irwell Navigation and the docks and warehouses were all sold to a newly formed joint-stock company, Bridgewater Navigation Ltd. for £1,115,000. The Trust continued to manage the collieries and the Worsley estates however. In tandem with these developments to the waterways, the railways continued to expand in the area and in April 1875 the first passenger railway service arrived in Walkden with the London and North Western Railway service between Manchester and Bolton. The Bridgewater Canal continued to generate profit nonetheless and ten years later in 1885, under the 1st Manchester Ship Canal Act, it was sold to the Manchester Ship Canal Company who thereby took over

⁹⁰ "Monument Memories," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, 25 July 1968.

⁹¹ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75, (Walkden: 22 November 2011). 00:27:22

⁹² The 3rd Earl had a long standing military career and was primarily occupied with his substantial investments in horse racing. He retired as a Colonel in the Manchester Regiment in 1896 and through his business interests in racing he founded Egerton House Stables at Newmarket, now owned by the well-known horse trainer Gerard Butler.

all the interests of Bridgewater Navigation Ltd.⁹³ The purchase was finally completed in 1887 for a resounding £1,710,000.⁹⁴ In just over ten years the 3rd Earl had completely changed the structure of the Bridgewater Trust. With the sale of the Canal, in December 1887 even Fereday Smith retired after fifty years working for the Egerton family; he was succeeded by his son Clifford. Over the previous 125 years the innovations of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, and consequently Worsley as the birthplace of inland water navigation, had become world famous. Indeed, against all expectations and despite the expansion of the railways, it continued to be a highly profitable waterway well into the early part of the 20th century; even as late as 1954 approximately half a million tons of coal passed along the Worsley branch. Even today with the growing popularity of canal boat tourism it is a busy waterway and its banks are replete with locations associated with the Egerton name that are being developed as part of the heritage industry, particularly since the occasion of its 250th anniversary; work is even underway to open up the underground canal system.

Despite changes to the Trust, the 3rd Earl maintained the traditional close relationship between the tenants and workers of the Worsley estates and his family. Regardless of sometimes difficult industrial relations he was well respected and continued to introduce new welfare reforms and important health and safety innovations in the mines. There is also evidence in the local newspapers that he continued the long-held tradition of inviting estate workers to the New Hall to share family celebrations. On Friday 7 September 1894 for example, festivities were held at Worsley New Hall to celebrate the coming of age of his son.⁹⁵ Over 1000 of the estate's tenant farmers and miners were given a day off work and were invited to a garden party with several marquees containing refreshments and a band playing throughout the afternoon. The celebrations continued on the following Wednesday when between 800 and 900 children from the estates were given a tea party in the local school in the presence of the Earl and Countess and waited upon by the Egerton children

⁹³ The Manchester Ship Canal Company, *The Bridgewater Canal: Bi-centenary Of The Canal*. p49

⁹⁴ Frank Mullineux, *The Duke of Bridgewater's Canal*, 1975 Facsimile Reprint ed. (Eccles: Eccles and District History Society, 1959). p31

⁹⁵ Festivities had in fact been arranged the previous year on his actual birthday but these had been blighted by difficult times for the estate collieries and the unexpected absence of his mother Katharine, Countess Ellesmere due to illness.

and other family members. The children were all subsequently taken to Worsley New Hall where they were presented with a souvenir of their day by the Countess.⁹⁶

The Bridgewater Trust finally came to an end on 19 October 1903 when, in accordance with the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater's will, the collieries and the estate passed into complete ownership of the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere. Through the terms of that extraordinary document, the Canal Duke had in effect posthumously controlled the administration of the Trust for just over one hundred years. The 3rd Earl died on 13 July 1914, aged 67 years and was laid in the vault at St. Mark's Church three days later.

During the First World War the nation's collieries were all placed under the control of the government and were not handed back to their owners until 1921; by this point in time the 4th Earl found it impossible to financially maintain them. He was already facing financial difficulties and the death duties on the family estates were substantial, and still unpaid. At the beginning of the 1920s in the face of diminishing returns from the land, he decided that he had little option but to sell the Worsley estates. Dismayed at this proposed detachment from the Egerton family and the prospect of a less benevolent management style, Jesse Wallwork who was General Supervisor of the estate and General Manager of Bridgewater Collieries Ltd. decided with the Earl's permission to form a syndicate with other local mine owners to purchase the collieries and other interests. In January 1923 a joint stock company was thereby formed, Bridgewater Estates Ltd., which purchased the whole of the Lancashire and Cheshire properties for £3,353,000.⁹⁷

St. Mark's Church and vicarage in Worsley, St. Paul's Church and vicarage in Walkden, and all the parish schools were not included in the sale and were

⁹⁶ "The Coming Of Age Festivities At Worsley," *Manchester Weekly Times*, September 14 1894. p3

⁹⁷ Christopher Grayling, *The Bridgewater Heritage: the Story of the Bridgewater Estates* (Manchester: Bridgewater Estates PLC, 1983). p67.

The 4th Earl had bought Mertoun House in the Scottish Borders in 1912 and moved there permanently when he sold the Worsley estates in 1923. Mertoun is now the residence of Francis Ronald Egerton, the current 6th Earl of Ellesmere who also holds the title of 7th Duke of Sutherland.

handed over to the Bishop of Manchester. After more than 200 years the sale effectively severed the Egerton family's direct connection with the area. The change in ownership was met with great apprehension in Walkden, Worsley and in the extended Manchester area. The 4th Earl was the third landowner to sell large estates in the region in a 20 year period and the Worsley communities feared that their futures were less secure under different management. In fact, after only a few years and following a period of recession, worsening industrial relations, and the General Strike, in 1929 ten local mining companies including Bridgewater Collieries Ltd. and Bridgewater Wharves Ltd., had to merge in order to survive as Manchester Collieries Ltd. Bridgewater Estates Ltd. surrendered all of its holdings in its two former subsidiaries.

In the shadow of the changing fortunes of both the Bridgewater Trust and the Egerton family, the memorial to Harriet, 1st Countess of Ellesmere stood unchanging in the centre of Walkden well into the early part of the 20th century. The built environment had developed outwards in concentric circles from the monument as a consequence of the growth of the town's industry, its population and of the wealth that the Egerton family had generated. Indeed a different bank was opened on each corner of the road junctions around the monument, effectively making it the financial as well as geographical centre of the town. By the 1950s however, with the continued post-war increase in car ownership, the junction was fast becoming a bottle-neck on the progressively busy A6. The very necessary pedestrian crossings installed near the monument only contributed to the congestion. Inevitably the Ministry of Transport began to apply intense pressure on the local council to move the monument in order to facilitate a more rapid flow of traffic and debates about moving the structure began in earnest during 1962. Several attempts were made to adapt the footprint of the structure to alleviate the traffic problem; in 1966 the diameter of the roundabout on which the monument now stood was reduced by approximately 25 feet for example. By the following year however after what was termed a 'ten year battle', Worsley General Purposes Committee decided that the monument should indeed be moved. The decision was taken despite the fact that Walkden residents had 'raised a storm of protest' as the local newspaper described it, against its removal, and a public petition had been

submitted to urge local councillors to 'recognise their responsibility as custodians of the town's amenities.'⁹⁸

The land on which the monument stood still belonged to Bridgewater Estates Ltd. but any contractual or more sensitive links to the Egerton family were effectively severed by the sale of the estates by the 4th Earl in 1923 and so they were not consulted with regard to the future of the monument. During the subsequent council meetings there were heated arguments on both sides. Some councillors argued that it constituted a valuable landmark for the town and that in a practical sense removing it would only make the junction more dangerous with drivers increasing their speed.

Letters to the local newspaper indicated that the residents of the town felt that moving the monument was an assault not just to the physical environment but on their local heritage. Despite the fact that the Egerton family had left the area in 1923 and the New Hall had been demolished in 1946, at least a nominal association with the town had continued through Bridgewater Estates Ltd. and the naming of residential, commercial and civic developments also continued to reflect their place in the town's history. The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial was a substantial reminder of the family who had been responsible for much of the town's industrial growth and for a relatively high standard of living in the town compared to nearby Salford for instance. In addition to providing an iconic landmark in the centre of the town and firmly established as a representation of place, over the years the monument had become important as the focus of a range of rituals, ceremonies and festivities in which the greater majority of the local community participated. The oral history interviews conducted for this thesis reveal the importance of these occasions in the construction of community identity and a sense of place; the monument, in providing the central

⁹⁸ "Walkden Monument To Be Moved," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, November 9 1967.
"Fight to Save the Monument," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, November 23 1967.
"Five Vote Majority Decides Monument Must Be Moved," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 30 1967.
"Monument Will Be On The Move," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal* 1968.

reference point for these events, had also become a powerful focus for the development of social capital.⁹⁹

Despite opposition by several councillors and what appeared to be the majority of Walkden residents, the decision to move the monument was eventually ratified, albeit by only a small majority of five votes. Its new site was to be approximately 500 yards away within the grounds of St. Paul's Infants School, next to St. Paul's Church. George Cox & Son Ltd., a building firm from nearby Bolton, were employed to carry out the task and the dismantling of the monument began on 17 June 1968 with work expected to start on re-erecting it at the new site on 2 July when the schoolchildren would be on holiday.¹⁰⁰ In a conciliatory gesture, the cost of the move, estimated at £800, was to be covered entirely by the Ministry of Transport, although the eventual cost was £3000. The photograph in illustration 19 shows the four allegorical statues having been removed from the monument during its dismantling; even before the beginning of work to re-erect the monument however, a thief had stolen the other four smaller statues of colliers and mill girls that had been situated in the upper niches and these were never recovered.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Home movie footage housed at the North West Film Archive clearly demonstrates the monument's centrality to events such as the Whitsuntide processions, Carnivals and the Rose Queen celebrations. See: "NWFA 915: Walkden Whit Walk," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, c1930).

George Worthington, "NWFA 1348: Anniversary Sermon, Sunday 4 May 1949," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1949, 1951/1952).

———, "NWFA 1350: Walkden Anniversary Sermon and Procession," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1953).

¹⁰⁰ Frank Cox, *Paving The Way: the History and Experiences of 50 Years in the Construction Industry* (Bolton: Frank Cox, 1997). p34-36

"Monument Will Be On The Move."

¹⁰¹ John Ellaby, "The Journal Take A Look Back At The Trials And Tribulations Over Walkden Monument: How it Came and How it Went," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, Friday December 30 1977. p10



Illustration 19: a photograph taken in June 1968 showing the four allegorical statues removed from the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial during its dismantling; from right, Munificence (depicted holding a model of St. Mark's Church), Prudence, Piety and Charity
 © Salford Local History Library

In what must have seemed a striking coincidence for local communities, in February of 1968, the same year that the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial was moved from its prominent position at the centre of the town, Mosley Common, the last of the original Bridgewater collieries in the area was closed 100 years after production had started there in 1868, the very same year in fact that the monument had been erected.¹⁰² Nationalisation of the collieries had occurred on 1 January 1947 and by this date only three of the Bridgewater mines were still producing coal, Mosley Common, Brackley, and Bridgewater (Sandhole); Mosley Common had become a 'show pit' during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The closure of the mine, one of the few remaining vestiges of the industrial infrastructure that the Egerton family had built, and particularly the removal of the monument that was symbolic of their educational, social and welfare reforms, had significant impact on what had become, with an increasing number of incomers from outside the town and growing unemployment, a changing community.

¹⁰² Atkinson, *The Canal Duke's Collieries: Worsley 1760-1900*. p65

The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial was awarded a Grade II listing on 2 September 1987.¹⁰³ It sits on its present site completely detached from what has become the new commercial centre of the town. This new retail complex, built around a Tesco superstore, is west of what used to be the main pedestrian and shopping thoroughfares meaning that there is little footfall past what colloquially had become known simply as *The Monument*. Illustration 20 shows an aerial view of the immediate area; its present location is marked with a red circle. The monument's previous position at the centre of the major junction of the five major roads can also clearly be seen.

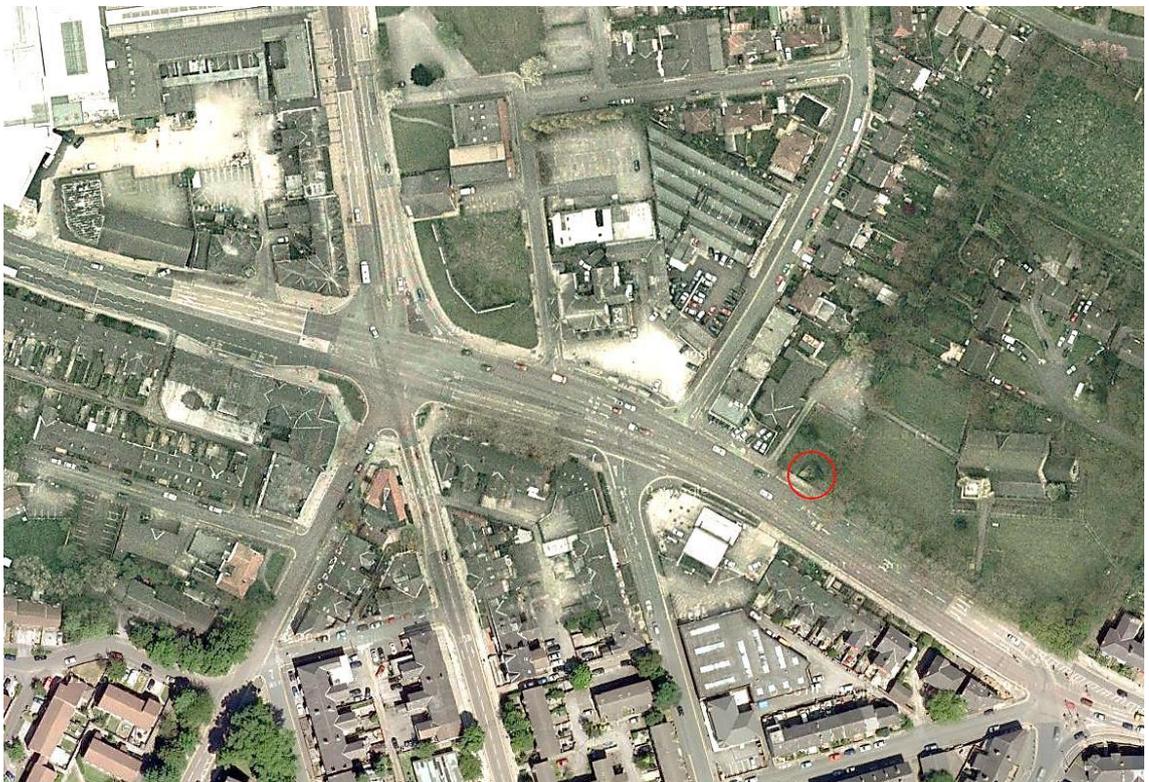


Illustration 20: an aerial view of the centre of Walkden. The present location of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is indicated with a red circle.
Google Map Data: © Digital Globe, Infoterra Ltd. & Bluesky, The Geoinformation Group

Despite the monument's geographical distance from the town's new retail centre and indeed from its more frequented pedestrian thoroughfares, the passage of time does not appear to have diminished the anger and sadness of many Walkden residents at its removal from their everyday visual landscape.

¹⁰³ Buildings or monuments designated by English Heritage with a Grade II listing are considered as 'nationally important and of special interest.' Details of the list entry can be found at: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1067490> Date accessed: 18/10/13.

Since its dismantling in 1968 there have been many calls for its return to a more prominent site in the town, most of them ignored by the council. In 1999 however, Walkden Rotary Club set up an appeal to raise money for the return of the monument to the town centre as a celebration of the Millennium and to create a public garden, 'Millennium Green', around it. Their proposal was to move it adjacent to what is now The Gateway Centre on Bolton Road, opened in 2008.¹⁰⁴ Derek Unsworth, President of the Rotary Club, told the local paper,

People within the town fought to oppose it being moved and petitions were drawn up to no avail. People took pride in it. Everyone knew Walkden by the monument. It was one of those things that if you were planning a route out you would mention it. Every year the churches would congregate around it for the Whit Walks. But... it was moved, tucked away into a little corner.¹⁰⁵

Initially it seemed like the council were supportive of the project and it generated enthusiasm amongst Walkden residents however the council later withdrew their support, perhaps because of potential traffic problems that might be caused by the monument returning to a more prominent site.¹⁰⁶ As a result the money collected through the appeal was eventually used to completely restore and clean the monument which had become coated with thick green moss and lichen. During the restoration much was done to recover the history of the town and to educate both incomers and younger people about its ties with the Egerton family. The project for example was carried out with the involvement of local schoolchildren. Working under the direction of Walkden artist and Vice President of the Rotary Club, Brian Hewitt, they recreated the four small statues that had been stolen during the dismantling of the monument in 1968 and they were installed in the four empty niches.¹⁰⁷

The newly restored monument was unveiled on Wednesday 4 October 2006. The ceremony was led by the Mayor of Salford, Cllr. Bernard Murphy, and, as a way of renewing the ties that the town has with the Egerton family, Francis

¹⁰⁴ "Walkden Millennium Project," ed. Walkden Rotary Club (1999).

¹⁰⁵ "Town Unites For Millennium Monumental Comeback," *Bolton Evening News*, Thursday 29 July 1999 1999.

¹⁰⁶ Reported by Brian Hewitt, restorer of the monument and Vice President of Walkden Rotary Club. 7 October 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Heather McAlpine, "The Walkden Memorial," *LifeTimes Link*, no. 23: May - November (2008). p7

Ronald Egerton the present Earl of Ellesmere and 7th Duke of Sutherland was also in attendance.¹⁰⁸ Summing up the importance of local history in times of change, Salford City Council's lead member for planning, Cllr. Derek Antrobus, told the local newspaper,

I'm delighted to see the Monument restored and showing again the affection in which Lady Harriet was held by local people of the time. Walkden is changing, as is so much of Salford, but we will never forget the contribution made by her family for the good of ordinary local people.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ "Landmark Restored to Former Splendour," *Bolton Evening News*, Thursday October 5 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Salford City Council, "Town's Monument is Restored," (2006), <http://salford.gov.uk/council/pressreleases/pressrelease.htm?id=72045>. Date accessed: 27/08/08.

Chapter two

The Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, Hastings

This chapter provides a historical account of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings. The monument was constructed between 1862 and 1864 at the main crossroads in the centre of the town and was demolished in 1973. The account examines this substantial Gothic Revival monument erected following the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, and describes its role in the production of cultural memory. As such it is designed to prepare the reader for a discussion of communicative memory related to the object as expressed in the oral history interviews and their analyses. The account points to the origins of a sense of community identity and place attachment that is revealed through those narratives. The text is complemented by the research tools provided in Appendices 1 & 2: a relationship chart detailing key family members of the Prince Consort and a timeline of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower set against significant local and national events. The clock tower's construction must be viewed in the context of: the national outpouring of grief following the death of the Prince Consort; the subsequent cult of mourning that caused the National Memorial to be constructed; the countless other monuments and memorial institutions created; and a vast industry in commemorative artefacts manufactured for public consumption. In this sense the impetus for the erection of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower differs significantly from that of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden which commemorates an individual who had a specific and direct impact on both the built environment and the lives of the people in the town where it is situated.

Edward Casey posits that collective memory does not necessarily derive from a shared history or place but is 'brought together only in and by a conjunct remembrance of a certain event, no matter where those who remember are located or how otherwise unrelated they are to each other.'¹ This certainly

¹ Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2004). p22-23

characterises the national impetus for the memorialisation of the Prince Consort and in turn the motivation for the erection of the clock tower in Hastings. The subsequent evolving and increasingly important role of the monument in the everyday lives of the town's residents and visitors however, ensured that in exactly the same way as the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden, it became an integral part of what Casey refers to as *social memory* that has its basis in shared experience, extended kinship ties and a community's geographical proximity to each other. This is in essence what Assmann refers to as communicative memory, that which is expressed in the narratives of the oral history interviews discussed in this thesis.²

Hastings is both a town and a borough in East Sussex; it is also one of the medieval Cinque Ports. It lies on the coast approximately 65.5 miles south east of London. Historically the town was primarily a fishing port and documentary evidence suggests that the industry has existed on the same part of the beach at The Stade for up to 600 years; today it still accommodates Europe's largest beach-based fishing fleet. Originating from one of the largest of the fishing families, a Hastings resident interviewed for this thesis asserts that the fishermen and their extended families still represent the most cohesive community in the town.

Hastings underwent extensive growth as a seaside resort in Victorian times although the first tourist guide to Hastings, written by John Stell, was actually produced in 1794 and the health giving properties of the bracing Hastings air and clean sea were already being extolled as early as 1828.³ Its popularity as a holiday destination and the arrival of the railways with the opening of the Hastings Railway Station in February 1851 also ensured the growth of its

² Ibid. p21-25

Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010).

³ John Stell, *The Hastings Guide: Or, A Description of That Ancient Town and Port, and its Environs* (Circulating Library, Hastings: J. Stell, 1794).

William Harwood, *On the Curative Influence of the Southern Coast of England Especially that of Hastings with Observations on Diseases in which a Residence on the Coast is Most Beneficial* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828).p15

The Royal Institution, "Review of: On the Curative Influence of the Southern Coast of England Especially that of Hastings," *Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and Art*, no. October-December (1828). p85-100

residential population; the 19th century as a whole saw a twenty fold increase. Indeed before she became Queen, Victoria herself holidayed in the town for almost three months during the winter of 1834; she stayed at Crown House, the first residential property built in St. Leonards; this was the first of several visits to the area by the Royal Family. A substantial tourist infrastructure was created in the 19th century including hotels, seafront promenades and the extensive Alexandra Park laid out by the well-known Victorian garden designer Robert Marnock, and opened on June 26 1882 by Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra.⁴

The neighbouring town of St. Leonards on Sea was founded by James Burton who had been the builder of several affluent residential areas in Bloomsbury, St. Johns Wood and around Regents Park. It is said that he had a dream one night of a garden city by the sea and, although already in his 60s, he began building his maritime paradise with the laying of the foundation stone for his Royal Victoria Hotel in 1828. After James Burton's death in 1837, his son Decimus Burton continued with the building programme although he had never truly supported the scheme.⁵ Rivalry between Hastings and St. Leonard's on Sea resulted in competitive residential and tourist developments throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th. The two towns were officially merged in 1875 under the name Hastings and St. Leonards but a continued rivalry even today is noted by some of those interviewed for this thesis.

Following the death of the Prince Consort on 14 December 1861 Hastings was one of countless towns and cities that chose, not only to contribute to the national subscription fund, but also to erect its own material expression of the country's collective grief. The Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was subsequently erected at the major crossroads of the commercial centre of the town. The area was originally known as Priory Meadow due to its links with the medieval Priory of the Holy Trinity who had owned the lands but commercial development and a new road infrastructure had firmly established it as the town

⁴ Robert Marnock (1800-1889) was also responsible for designing Dunorlan Park in Tunbridge Wells and worked on parts of Regents Park in London.

⁵ See: John Manwaring Baines, *Burton's St. Leonards* (Hastings: Hastings Museum, 1956). An excellent history of the development of St. Leonards on Sea can also be found at: <http://www.burtonsstleonardssociety.co.uk/home.html> Date accessed: 19/10/13.

centre a few years before the clock tower was built. The first shop there had in fact been established in October 1850 by a pork butcher named Mr. Polhill.⁶

During his lifetime Prince Albert had never been a particularly popular figure with the general public. There was a general distrust of Germans and as news of his engagement to Queen Victoria emerged, accusations of fortune hunting were aimed at the Prince. Cartoons and sheet music appeared in the newspapers fuelling these prejudices. There were the appropriate national celebrations at the time of the wedding but the media were less than enthusiastic about the Prince.⁷ Not wanting to provoke public opinion further and following advice from the Prime Minister Lord Melbourne, on his marriage Prince Albert did not take what would have been the appropriate title of King Consort. As can be seen in Appendix 1 he was not even given the title of Prince Consort until 1857, and only then after the intervention of Queen Victoria. Nevertheless throughout subsequent years a nationalistic media took every opportunity to humiliate the Prince. During the Crimean War he was widely accused of interfering with British foreign policy in order to avoid conflict with the Russians. Conspiracy theories about the Prince during the conflict in the Crimea were so abundant that a rumour even began to circulate that he had been arrested for treason. So convinced were people of the veracity of this that the government had to issue public statements refuting the story. Again the popular media wilfully encouraged these suspicions with satirical cartoons.⁸ During the twenty-one years of their married life Prince Albert never quite overcame this lack of popularity despite the widespread appreciation of what was to become perhaps his greatest achievement, *The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* at Crystal Palace in 1851. It was not really until the 1930s with the biography of the Prince by Hector Bolitho that his reputation began to be rehabilitated. Writing the biography Bolitho sought, in his words to:

⁶ Rex Marchant, ed., *Priory Meadow and the Town Centre*, 1998 Reprint ed. (Hastings: Hastings Modern History Workshop, 1997). p3

⁷ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His life and work* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1983).p21

See also: "London, Monday, February 10, 1840," *The Times*, Monday, February 10, 1840.

⁸ See cartoon in *Punch*: Charles Keane, "Startling (If True)," *Punch* 26 (1854).

Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort*, 5 vols., vol. 2 (London: Smith & Elder, 1876-1880).p538

Help this generation to understand the devout, unselfish and cultivated man who contributed, more perhaps than the Queen herself, to the growth of this country during the forties and fifties of the last century.⁹

Prince Albert died at Windsor Castle on Saturday 14 December 1861 but the public had neither been informed of the seriousness of his illness nor of his deterioration; indeed the Prince himself was kept in the dark about his condition. In consequence his untimely death came as a great shock to the country.¹⁰ *The Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal* were so appalled at the lack of information that had been given about the Prince's health that both demanded an enquiry.¹¹ Even *The Times*, so often his most severe critic, conceded rather sheepishly:

The nation has just sustained the greatest loss that could possibly have fallen upon it...this man, the very centre of our social system, the pillar of our State, is suddenly snatched from us, without even warning sufficient to prepare us for a blow so abrupt and so terrible...It is not merely a prominent figure that will be missed on all public occasions...it is the loss of a public man whose services to this country, though rendered neither in the field of battle nor in the arena of crowded assemblies, have yet been of inestimable value to this nation...As a foreigner of cultivated taste and clear judgement he saw defects in us which our insular pride probably had prevented us from discerning in ourselves.¹²

The shock of his sudden death, the subsequent impassioned newspaper eulogies and the public panegyric taking place in churches all over the country generated a sense of contrition amongst a large part of the public and the political establishment. Charles Kingsley the novelist and historian expressed common sentiment in a sermon on the eve of Prince Albert's funeral: 'for the truth is, and I think all true Britons feel it this day, that we were not altogether

⁹ Hector Bolitho, *Albert the Good and the Victorian Reign* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1932). p iv. Following Bolitho's book, increasing scholarly interest in the Victorian period over the last forty years has resulted in several important works being written about the Prince; by Daphne Bennett; Robert Rhodes-James; and Stanley Weintraub, for example, and also, about his complex relationship with Queen Victoria, such as those by Joanna Richardson, and by Helen Rappaport.⁹ These detailed studies of his life and times have demonstrated the valuable contribution to the country that Prince Albert in fact made, particularly to the arts and sciences.

¹⁰ William Schupbach, "The Last Moments of H.R.H. The Prince Consort," *Medical History* 26 (1982).p321-322

¹¹ *Ibid.*p323-324

¹² "London, Monday, December 16, 1861," *The Times*, Monday, December 16, 1861. p8

fair to the Prince.¹³ Sentiments of contrition were by no means universal however and many were unappreciative of what was seen by some as an enforced sense of exaggerated loss. Charles Dickens typified the views of many of his contemporaries in several letters. Highly irritated at having to cancel some of his public readings in Liverpool because of intense public mourning for the Prince, Dickens wrote to the cartoonist John Leech, 'the Jack-asses that people are at present making of themselves on that subject!'¹⁴ Several months later he was still complaining to Leech who was then living in Yorkshire:

If you should meet with an inaccessible Cave anywhere in that neighbourhood, to which a hermit could retire from the memory of Prince Albert and testimonials to the same, pray let me know of it. We having nothing solitary and deep enough in this part of England.¹⁵

Indeed earlier that year Dickens had refused a place on the Prince Consort National Memorial Fund Committee, writing to Henry Cole:

I cannot honestly become a Member of the Committee which you do me the honour to ask me to join. The plain truth is, that I have no faith in this kind of "Memorial" in any case. I have never yet observed it to do any good whatsoever, either towards preserving the remembrance of the virtuous Dead, or towards establishing any sort of concord or contentment (as to the accomplishment of the object in hand), among the living. With this heresy in my heart, how can I represent myself as one of the Orthodox!¹⁶

The Prince's funeral took place on 23 December 1861 but Queen Victoria was too grief-stricken to attend. The proceedings were low-key and private at her request, although *The Times* reported that 'Windsor itself wore an aspect of the most profound gloom' and 'on no former occasion have manifestations of deep and sincere public respect and grief been so striking as they were...in London.' The newspaper also reported that in the provinces the funeral had been marked

¹³ Quoted in Joanna Richardson, *Victoria and Albert: A Study of a Marriage* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1977). p228

¹⁴ Charles Dickens, "Letter to John Leech, 18 January 1862," in *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). p15-16

¹⁵ ———, "Letter to John Leech, 5 September 1864," in *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). p425

¹⁶ ———, "Letter to Henry Cole, 10 April 1862." p69

with similar respect including the closure for the day of many factories in the manufacturing districts.¹⁷

Prince Albert's body was placed in the royal vault underneath the Chapel Royal of St. George, Windsor until 18 December 1862 when it was transferred to the newly completed Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore designed by Ludwig Gruner of Dresden. The tomb and recumbent marble effigies of the Prince and Queen Victoria were the work of Baron Carlo Marochetti although Queen Victoria's was not placed in the mausoleum until after her death. Marochetti was later commissioned to sculpt the statue of the Prince for the National Memorial.

The death of Prince Albert sent Queen Victoria into a downward spiral of inconsolable grief that resulted in a complete retreat from society. The cult of mourning that ensued and its resultant enthusiasm for memorialising the Prince gave rise to him becoming one of the most commemorated public figures of the 19th century, probably second only to Queen Victoria herself. Within a year of his death the commemorations had, as historian Chris Brooks puts it, 'taken on all the character of a national movement.'¹⁸ Ironically, the Prince himself was never a great admirer of monuments and even less so about effigies of himself. When it was suggested that a statue of him be included in the monument to the Great Exhibition, he commented to Lord Granville:

I can say, with perfect absence of humbug, that I would rather not be made the prominent feature of such a monument, as it would both disturb my quiet rides in Rotten Row to see my own face staring at me, and if (as is very likely) it became an artistic monstrosity, like most of our monuments, it would upset my equanimity to be permanently ridiculed and laughed at in effigy.¹⁹

Indeed the Prince had previously said to Queen Victoria that if he died before her she should not 'raise even a single marble image' of him.²⁰ In the event, the

¹⁷ "The Funeral of His Late Royal Highness The Prince Consort," *The Times*, 24 December 1861. p6-7

¹⁸ Chris Brooks, "Preface," in *The Albert Memorial: The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, ed. Chris Brooks (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).p9

"Editorial: The Restoration of Albert," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1148 (1998). p723

¹⁹ Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort*, 5 vols., vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton and Compnay, 1879).p435

²⁰ Daphne Bennett, *King Without a Crown: Albert, Prince Consort of England, 1819-1861* (London: Lippincott, 1977).p376

monument to the Great Exhibition, which it had been decided would feature a statue of Queen Victoria, subsequently had that replaced by one of the Prince Consort. It was designed and sculpted by Joseph Durham and inaugurated by Edward, Prince of Wales on 10 June 1863; it was probably the first statue of Prince Albert to be raised after his death.²¹ Despite his stated views to Lord Granville and to Queen Victoria herself, the memorials across the country included a significant number of portrait statues; some of the structures housing the effigies were also highly elaborate such as that in Manchester by Thomas Worthington with a statue of the Prince by Matthew Noble.²²

A month after the death of Prince Albert a public meeting was convened at Mansion House, London to discuss the raising of subscriptions to pay for a permanent national memorial to his memory.²³ Led by the Lord Mayor William Cubitt, the committee called for the formation of similar ones throughout the country tasked with raising funds for the National Memorial. Most proposals for monuments to the Prince Consort were to be paid for by public subscription and in common with many other communities, the notion that any financial contribution provided by Hastings people would go towards the construction of a national monument in London, rather than to some local memorial or charitable purpose, had not been a popular one.²⁴ Civic pride and indeed a growing sense of competition resulted in many towns and cities across the country deciding to focus their attention and their funds on their own particular form of commemoration. Dickens condemned the call for national contributions to a memorial as a 'catch-penny idea' but was equally critical of the competitive zeal in the provinces of 'our active and public-spirited officials Mr. Todger and Major Bodger' to build their own, describing it as 'a pretext for pushing themselves forward in the world', for getting to rub shoulders with a peer, 'Lord Tadpole', for

²¹ Peter Ferriday, "Syllabus in Stone," *The Architectural Review* 135 (1964). p424

²² Thomas Worthington (1826-1909). The memorial was completed by 1867, see: Terry Wyke and Harry Cocks, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester*, Public Sculpture of Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004). p11-16. Matthew Noble (1818-1876) was a very popular Victorian sculptor and made other statues of the Prince Consort including those in Salford, Leeds and Bombay – see: Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculpture 1660 -1851*, New Revised 1968 ed. (London: Oldhams Press Ltd., 1953).p274-275

²³ "Editorial," *The Times*, Wednesday 15 January 1862.p9

²⁴ "The Memorial Fund," *Hastings & St. Leonard's News*, Friday 14 February 1862. p2

making public speeches and, for ensuring that their names subsequently appeared in local newspapers.²⁵

Fearing a lack of available funds for the National Memorial, and asserting that 'all this deep national sentiment should not be scattered into fragments, and frittered away upon comparatively less dignified objects', *The Times* urged local authorities across the country to favour 'casting the local contribution, be it but a mite, into the common treasury.'²⁶ This did nothing however to deter an increasing enthusiasm throughout the country to erect local memorials to the Prince. Many of these tributes were more utilitarian in nature: hospitals, schools, libraries, museums, clock towers and drinking fountains, despite the towns that chose this option being accused of self-interest.²⁷ Some of the institutions built were of significant size and grandeur; an initiative for example by Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, one of the Secretaries for the Great Exhibition and a Devon MP, saw the building of the Devon and Exeter Albert Memorial Institution on Queen Street, Exeter. Designed by the architect John Hayward the foundation stone for the Gothic Revival building was laid in 1865 and it was opened by the Mayor in April 1868. On opening, the building contained a museum and art gallery, a school of science and art and a free public library. It is now known as the Royal Albert Memorial Museum.

Following receipt of the letter from William Cubitt, and the National Memorial Committee appealing for financial contributions to a London monument, Hastings Council considered the request at the beginning of February 1862.²⁸ A public meeting was held a few days later chaired by the Mayor Thomas Ross and supported by Lord Harry Vane and Frederick North, two local MPs. The meeting came to the resolution that it would be more appropriate that the memorial fund be spent locally and that any public monument to the Prince should be visible to residents and visitors alike but also utilitarian in nature. This

²⁵ Charles Dickens, "The Story of the Albert Memorial," *All the Year Round*, no. 1 April (1876). p59

²⁶ "Editorial." p8-9

²⁷ Elisabeth Darby and Nicola Smith, *The Cult of the Prince Consort* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983). p85-92

²⁸ "Memorial to the Late Prince Consort," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 12 February 1862. p2

was also the prevailing sentiment amongst subscribers as evidenced in various letters to the local newspaper, one suggesting:

I do not think I am far wrong in stating my conviction that that there are many who would be willing to pay their mite towards a clock-tower as a local affair, but would refuse to contribute to a [National] Memorial Fund.²⁹

Another argued, probably correctly, that the Prince would himself prefer to see any funds spent on some charitable institution:

The good Prince loved the arts much, but charity and morality more. There are many poor districts without a roof for worship or education; we want more idiot asylums; many infant societies are in want of nurture; the adult blind; the adult deaf and dumb; the hospital for incurables; for the paralytic... and the departed Prince had at heart a reform which he rightly felt to be most important, and designed model dwellings for workmen... Even a small addition to a charitable institution, or a few additional beds to a ward, all to be designated by his name, would be a more appropriate memorial.³⁰

Despite the popularity of that sentiment however it was widely known that Queen Victoria did not approve of such utilitarian tributes and her opinion on the matter was conveyed through *The Times* editorial:

It is Prince Albert we want to hand down to posterity, not Prince Albert of the Museum, Prince Albert of the Arts, Prince Albert of the Baths and Washhouses, Prince Albert of the Model Lodginghouses or the Drainage... Her Majesty has had the courage to declare her strong feeling in favour of a real monument.³¹

A subscription fund was duly set up in Hastings that quickly revealed the well-established rivalry and animosity between the town and its neighbour, St. Leonards on Sea. A meeting on Tuesday 4 March 1862 divulged that very little of the money collected by that date had been given from 'principal residents' of St. Leonards; it was apparent that they were indignant because the memorial would be situated in the town centre of Hastings. Evidence of this animosity was clear in a circular opposing the memorial signed *S. Leonardensis*, the contents of which were read out at the meeting. This caused angry exchanges amongst

²⁹ William Savery, "Letters to the Editor: A Clock-Tower and Illuminated Clock," *Hastings News*, Friday 7 February 1862. p3

³⁰ "To the Editor: The Albert Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 5 March 1862. p3

³¹ "Editorial." p9. See also: Dickens, "The Story of the Albert Memorial." p56

the gathered council members, one suggesting that in America the author of the offending leaflet would be tarred and feathered. The anonymous circular had been widely distributed to visitors and the principal property owners of St. Leonards but the meeting had to concede that there were many gentlemen in 'the western part of the town' that shared the views contained therein.³² Nevertheless the original accounts book for the public subscription to the Hastings fund is reported to contain the names of most of the well-known individuals in the borough such as the Mayor Thomas Ross, Countess Waldegrave and Lady Ashburnham. Even the two rival railway companies, the LB&SCR (London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, known as the Brighton Line or the Brighton Railway), and the SER (South Eastern Railway) each gave two guineas. As evidenced by letters to the local newspapers, a commemorative clock tower was the preferred structure both amongst the general public and the borough councillors. Indeed one subscriber offered a large sum of money only on the condition that a clock tower be constructed. Following subsequent votes amongst subscribers and at several later council meetings, it was duly decided that a clock tower would indeed be the most appropriate memorial for the town.³³ The initial call to the public still failed to raise enough money however and a second appeal had to be made and yet further funds had to be raised at a later date for the installation of the clock.³⁴

Keen to retain the community's approval and a sense of local ownership of the project, in the first instance designs from local architects were considered but in the absence of any acceptable proposals other than one from a Walter Crisford, a national competition was launched in April 1862 with a prize of 10 guineas; the competition attracted 35 submissions. After the designs had been exhibited to the public, two designs were chosen to join Crisford's as the three finalists: 'A Gothic tower (by Mr. E.A. Heffer architect, of 10, St. Bride's Street, Liverpool), of Bath and York stone; height, to top of spire, 65 feet', and, 'An Italian design (by

³² "The Albert Memorial - Meeting at Hastings," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 12 March 1862. p3

³³ *Ibid.* p3

³⁴ "'Let Memorial Stay' Demand Public: 'Observer' Readers' Vote Reflects Town's Opinion," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 9 August 1952.

Mr. Vale, of Liverpool), of stone and brick.³⁵ The three designs were put on display in the Town Hall for a week. The Committee had been careful to stress that they had given local talent 'proper respect' and that the 'result was gratifying' but also pointed out that 'the interests of the subscribers' could not be overlooked in choosing the most accomplished design. In a conciliatory statement they commented that being in the final three Crisford had 'won for himself an honourable distinction.'³⁶

The subscribers and the Committee ultimately chose the design by Edward Arthur Heffer, a previous pupil of John Thomas. Described by Heffer as Gothic architecture of the late period, the design incorporated a 6 foot high portrait sculpted in Portland stone by Edwin Stirling; the Prince is depicted in his robes as a Knight of the Garter. Again to ensure a sense of community ownership, local contractors were also engaged on the project; James Cowley of Hastings was employed as the stonemason and a Mr. Pattenden of Hastings, the builder; the ironwork and lamps were to be supplied by Messrs Hart & Sons of Hastings. The site chosen for the erection of the memorial was the previous location of the old Priory Bridge, at the junction of seven streets. By this time £350 of the estimated £500 cost had already been raised.³⁷

On 10 November 1862, supervised by Edward Heffer, the foundation stone of the 'beautiful Gothic tower' was laid by Thomas Ross, Mayor of Hastings. A silver trowel had been made especially for the occasion. The date was chosen in order to commemorate the 21st birthday of Edward, Prince of Wales. The local newspaper gave a full account of the proceedings. Banners had been hung from various points across the junctions of the surrounding roads creating, the local newspaper said, an 'animated sight' and a 'still more holiday-like appearance.' The members of the council had met the Mayor at his residence

³⁵ "The Albert Memorial - Selection of a Design," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 28 May 1862. p2

³⁶ "The Local Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's News*, Friday 30 May 1862. p2

³⁷ Edward Arthur Heffer (1836-1914) had studied under the architect John Thomas (1813-1862), a prolific sculptor and architect who had been superintendent for the entire stone carving on the Houses of Parliament and who also carved a substantial number of the figures himself. He also carved several statues and busts of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. In 1872 Heffer unsuccessfully submitted designs for the Prince Consort Memorial in Edinburgh. Edwin Stirling (1819-1867) was responsible for the carvings to the front of Horton Hall, Cheshire and for a series of statues at Calderstones Park, Liverpool, see: : Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Liverpool*, Public Sculpture of Britain (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997). p11-13

and marched in procession to the construction site where prayers and speeches were made. Revealing the competitive undercurrent in memorialising the Prince in the provinces Ross commented in his speech that:

He had seen many plans for memorials, in different parts of the country; but according to his taste there was not a more beautiful plan yet brought out than that which Mr. Heffer had designed for this borough, taking into consideration the small amount which would be required to erect it.³⁸

Reverend Dr Crosse, Minister of the Parish subsequently referred to some of the local discussions that had been echoed in many other towns as to the best way to commemorate the Prince:

Some difference of view had existed as to the respective claims of a local and a central memorial... His own feeling was that in small places, where only trifling efforts could be made, it was undesirable to attempt local memorials; but that in larger communities it was, for obvious reasons very desirable that the public should in the future have those memorials perpetually before them, as mementoes of their own past loyalty, and their past appreciation of their royal type of civic merit.³⁹

Whilst commenting on the fact that Hastings like many other towns had decided on a local monument, Crosse also expressed his disappointment that the committee had rejected 'the beautiful idea that had emanated from Her Majesty'; in other words that they had not decided to contribute their funds to the building of the Prince Consort National Memorial. He also expressed his worries that the donations toward the local fund would not be adequate to complete the clock tower. Crosse conceded however that a monument that the local people 'might constantly see...and remind them of their departed friend and benefactor', was perhaps more appropriate for Hastings.⁴⁰

In a cavity in the foundation stone of the clock tower a bottle was placed containing a parchment which read:

³⁸ "The Prince-Consort Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's News*, Friday 14 November 1862.

p3

³⁹ *Ibid.* p3

⁴⁰ "Laying the Foundation Stone of the Prince Consort Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 12 November 1862. p3

Prince Consort Memorial. The foundation stone of this clock tower, erected in commemoration of the esteem and regard entertained by the inhabitants of this borough towards His late Royal Highness, the Prince Consort, was laid by Thomas Ross, Esquire, Mayor of Hastings, on Monday, the tenth day of November 1862. The estimated cost of the Tower is £550, raised by voluntary contributions.⁴¹

Written also on the parchment were the names of the architect, sculptor, the members the building committee, the treasurer, secretary and the various local contractors. After the speeches the large crowd were asked to give three cheers for the Queen, three for the Prince – and one for the Mayor. On the beach nearby a 21 gun royal salute was fired by the 4th Cinque Ports Volunteer Artillery.

Because of the prevailing trend for individual towns and cities such as Hastings to fund their own local commemoration of the Prince, by 25 March 1863 the National Memorial Committee had in fact reported to the Queen that only £60,000 had been raised which forced Parliament to vote in favour of making a grant to support the national fund. Ultimately however, the Prince Consort National Memorial in Kensington Gardens proved to be the greatest physical expression of the various undertakings to memorialise the Prince proliferating throughout the country. It has perhaps also been the most criticised, a distinction that eventually resulted in chronic neglect, the damage from which only addressed by the extensive restoration by English Heritage carried out between 1994 and 1998.⁴²

Queen Victoria had appointed a four-man *Queen's Committee of Advice* chaired by Lord Derby and further comprising Lord Clarendon, William Cubitt and Sir Charles Lock Eastlake RA.⁴³ The committee was to oversee the artistic

⁴¹ Ibid. p3

⁴² The newly restored monument was unveiled on 21 October 1998 by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

⁴³ William Cubitt (1785-1861) was the brother of Thomas Cubitt (1788-1855), who was responsible for the development of Kemp Town in Brighton and Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. Eastlake (1793–1865) was secretary of the Fine Arts Commission (1841) and keeper of the National Gallery (1843-1847). The Fine Arts Commission, with Prince Albert as president, held responsibility for the interior decoration of the new Palace of Westminster, designed by Eastlake's friend Charles Barry. In 1850 Eastlake was elected president of the Royal Academy, a position he held for 15 years, and was a commissioner of the 1851 Great Exhibition. In 1855

development of the National Memorial although greater influence came in reality from the Private Secretary to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Charles Grey, and, from Charles Beaumont Phipps who was Keeper of the Privy Purse. Seven architects were subsequently invited to submit designs for the commission.⁴⁴ Demonstrating her preference for Gothic Revival architecture, Queen Victoria identified those submitted by Philip Charles Hardwick and Sir George Gilbert Scott as those most suitable for the purpose. George Gilbert Scott was already well known to both the Prince and to Queen Victoria and in May 1863 it was announced in *The Builder* that the Queen had approved the Memorial Committee's selection of Scott's design, a design based he had said on 'that of the most touching monuments ever erected in this country to a Royal Consort – the exquisite Eleanor Crosses.'⁴⁵ Heavily influenced by Pugin who was a convert to Roman Catholicism, Scott had emphatically made his preferences for Gothic architecture clear when he designed the Oxford Martyrs' Memorial in 1838 (completed in 1843).⁴⁶ In the rationale for his proposed design for the National Memorial, he in fact claimed to both the memorial committee and the Queen, perhaps somewhat spuriously, that the Prince himself had been enthusiastic about the Gothic style.⁴⁷

A watercolour by Scott of the proposed design can be seen in illustration 21. After he had first presented the watercolour to Queen Victoria, Scott added another tier to the spire and changes were also made to the canopy. A model of the final design was subsequently commissioned from Farmer and Brindley of London and presented to the Queen for approval, Scott commenting that Brindley's soul was 'absorbed and devoted to his art.' A photograph of the

he was appointed the first director of the National Gallery. He was later regarded as the authority on the Gothic Revival style.

⁴⁴ In December 1862 designs were submitted by Charles Barry Jnr (1823–1900) and Edward Middleton Barry (1830–1880), sons of Sir Charles Barry, designer of the Houses of Parliament, Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795–1885), Philip Charles Hardwick (1822-1892), James Pennethorne (1801–1871), George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) and Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820–1877). Robert Smirke (1780-1867) and William Tite (1798-1873) had also been invited to submit designs but declined and were substituted with Charles and Edward Barry.

⁴⁵ "Proposed Memorial of the Late Prince Consort," *The Builder* 21, no. April 18 (1863).p276. "The National Albert Memorial Designs," *The Builder* 21, no. May 2 (1863). p312-313

⁴⁶ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) – English architect and designer who worked on the Palace of Westminster and created the 'Medieval Court' at the Great Exhibition. Scott appears in relief, carved by John Birnie Philip, just behind his mentor Pugin amongst the architects on the Frieze of Parnassus around the podium of the National Memorial.

⁴⁷ Stephen Bayley, *The Albert Memorial: The Monument in its Social and Architectural Context* (London: Scholar Press, 1981). p45

elaborate and beautifully executed model can be seen in illustration 22. The model shows Scott's changes to the design, with the additional tier to the spire.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Emma Hardy, "Farmer and Brindley: Craftsman Sculptors 1850-1930," *Victorian Society Annual* (1993). p8

The model was later exhibited at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1867 and then sent to the South Kensington Museum. Both objects are now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum



Illustration 21: 'Design for the Prince Consort National Memorial', 1863, by George Gilbert Scott. Watercolour and gouache, 35.9cm x 46cm
© Victoria and Albert Museum



Illustration 22: a model of George Gilbert Scott's design for the Prince Consort National Memorial by Farmer and Brindley, 1863. Plaster, coloured, gilded and polished on a metal armature.
203.2cm x 71.2cm x 71.2 cm
© Victoria and Albert Museum

On 1 July 1863, a few weeks after Scott had been chosen as the architect for the National Memorial, the 6 foot high statue of Prince Albert by Edwin Stirling arrived in Hastings from Liverpool and on the following day was placed in the niche on the south side of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower.⁴⁹ Rather unfortunately when the statue was put in place it was noticed that the bead moulding encircling the tower that continued into the niche gave the effect of the Prince seemingly hanging from a rope around his neck; the moulding was hastily removed.⁵⁰ By December 1863 all of the work was complete with the exception of the installation of the clock and dials for which additional funds needed to be raised. The clock was made by the renowned Thwaites and Reed of Clerkenwell and was eventually installed on 10 June 1864 again by a local contractor, Mr John Murray Jnr. of Castle Street, St. Leonards on Sea. It was illuminated by gas and arranged to light automatically at 9pm each evening.⁵¹ The memorial had eventually been completed at a cost of £860.

The *Illustrated London News* carried a description of the completed memorial and an engraving from a photograph by Ayles and Bonniwell of Hastings:

The tower, in the Perpendicular style, rises 65ft. to the vane. The entrance, the door of which is oak, is on the west side. On the east side a massive granite drinking-basin is fixed, and on the north and south sides panels for future inscriptions are left in the basement. In a niche above the gable on the south side is fixed a statue, of Portland stone, representing the good Prince in his robes as K.G, the head of the niche being filled in with tracery. Below the dials are traceried panels, with plain shields, on the north, east and west sides; but on the south side the panelling is filled by the arms and supports of his Royal Highness. Above the clock chamber is an octagonal turret, with pierced quatrefoils of alternate design, for the chimes; and a plain spire, with ornamental terminal and gilded vane, with the letter "A" incised, completes the whole. A lamp is placed upon a large block of York stone at each angle, and between these are four steps of the same material. The diameter at the base of the tower is 15 ft., and at the clock chamber 8 ft. The carvings represent respectively the rose, England; thistle, Scotland; shamrock, Ireland; dragon, Wales; and the capitals to octagon shafts the vine, Joy, &c. Above the doorway the following inscription is cut upon a ribbon and in the spandrels: - "Erected to

⁴⁹ "The Albert Memorial Tower," *Hastings News*, Friday 3 July 1863. p3

⁵⁰ "Hastings: Albert Memorial," *The Builder*, no. 18 July (1863). p513

⁵¹ "The Albert Tower Clock," *Hastings News*, Friday 10 June 1864.

Established in 1740 with antecedents from 1610, Thwaites and Reed are reputedly the oldest clock manufacturers in the world. They have maintained Big Ben in London for over thirty years.

Albert the Good, in the year of our Lord 1862.” In a panel above, the arms of Hastings are cut.⁵²

A Yorkshire stone staircase of 44 steps led up to the turret and the remainder of the structure was constructed in Bath stone. The ‘Perpendicular style’ refers to the late Gothic style that emerged between the mid to late 1300s and the mid-1500s. Unique to England it emphasised vertical lines with square shapes used in both structure and decoration. It was less popular than earlier Gothic, Eastlake commenting in 1872 that it was:

Deficient in many of the characteristic graces of its predecessors, debased in general form, vulgarised in ornamental detail, and degenerate in constructive principles.⁵³

The article commented that the work had been ‘admirably executed, every one working *con amore*.’ Illustration 23 shows an 1863 print of the design by Hastings lithographer, Charles Stevens. It is almost identical to the illustration that appeared alongside the description of the monument in the *Illustrated London News*, and to one that later appeared in *The Builder* of 7 March 1863.

There was no formal inauguration ceremony for the clock tower, in part because the entire structure was complete almost a year before the installation of the clock itself by which time it had already become a well-established feature of the built environment. Illustration 24 shows a photograph of the town centre shortly after the installation of the clock mechanism; the image demonstrates that significant commercial development had taken place in the vicinity since the tower’s construction had begun. In addition, the occasion of laying the foundation stone had been accompanied by such elaborate and lengthy ceremonial that little could have been added to the public rhetoric of that day. The date had been chosen not just because it was the 21st birthday of Edward, Prince of Wales but also because it was the last official act of the retiring Mayor Thomas Ross, a fact specifically noted by him in his speech. Ross was a powerful individual in the town who had founded the Memorial Committee and fund, a project that linked his name with the local commemoration of a national

⁵² "The Albert Memorial, Hastings," *Illustrated London News*, no. 2 January (1864). p13. The eponym ‘Albert the Good’ originates from the dedication from Tennyson’s *Idylls of the King*.

⁵³ J. Mordaunt Crook, ed., *A History of the Gothic Revival by Charles Locke Eastlake* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970). p169

figure as important as Prince Albert for all posterity; consequently it would not have been politic to stage another large ceremonial at the clock tower following his retirement from office.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ As well as being a JP, Alderman and Mayor of Hastings five times, Ross was also the author of several guides to the area.



Illustration 23: an 1863 print by Hastings lithographer, Charles Stevens, of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, designed by Edward Arthur Heffer
© RIBA Library Drawings Collection



Illustration 24: a photograph of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower taken from Robertson Street, Hastings, c1865 © Hastings Reference Library

As construction on the Hastings clock tower was nearing completion, work was just beginning on the foundations of the Prince Consort National Memorial in London. Although work had commenced on 6 May 1864 it was not opened to the public until 3 July 1872. The seated statue by John Henry Foley, depicting the Prince holding the catalogue for the Great Exhibition in his hand, was subsequently installed in 1875. Marochetti had originally been commissioned to create the statue but the task went to Foley after Marochetti became unhappy with his fee and in turn, Scott and the memorial committee unhappy with his designs. In the event Marochetti died in December 1867 effectively resolving

any contentious issues.⁵⁵ Just underneath the vaulting of the memorial is a dedicatory inscription executed in mosaic:

QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER PEOPLE / TO THE MEMORY OF
ALBERT PRINCE CONSORT / AS A TRIBUTE TO THEIR
GRATITUDE / FOR A LIFE DEVOTED TO THE PUBLIC GOOD

A sombre unveiling of the National Memorial by Queen Victoria took place on 9 March 1876. The whole structure had taken almost twelve years to complete. It is perhaps Scott's best known example of the Gothic Revival style and had earned him a Knighthood in 1872 but over the coming years the monument fared little better than the Prince himself in received criticism. By the time it was officially unveiled in 1876 it was already suffering from a national trend away from Gothic Revival architecture, the beginnings of which had coincided with its very construction.⁵⁶ Even architects who had been pupils of Scott, such as Thomas Graham Jackson who had designed the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in a similar style ten years earlier, were now some of its most vociferous critics.⁵⁷ The popular media of the day was also ambivalent. Only a few weeks after the unveiling of the monument by Queen Victoria, Charles Dickens was particularly scathing in his weekly journal *All The Year Round*, decrying the monument as a 'monstrosity' that 'description fails to convey any idea of the frightful reality'; he describes the gilded statue of the Prince as of 'barbaresque ugliness.' Ironically these are the precise sentiments that Prince Albert had expressed about the prospect of statues of himself when talking to Lord Granville a few years earlier.⁵⁸ Scott had not in fact been the first to utilise the Gothic Revival architectural style in the design of a memorial to the Prince. Indeed Scott's claim of originality in his designs for the National Memorial

⁵⁵ John Henry Foley (1818-1874) – Foley also died before the statue could be installed but it was sculpturally complete – the gilding was added when the statue was in situ.

⁵⁶ Henry Cole, instrumental in the development of the Victoria and Albert Museum was probably one of its first critics even before the memorial was built. Cole challenged Scott's assertion that the design was based on an Eleanor Cross because it had an open ciborium and did not therefore rise as one solid structure; this was a design feature essential Cole felt if it referred to an Eleanor Cross. It is clear however that this amounted to no more than a personal attack on Scott and, on behalf of the Queen, he was eventually silenced by the Equerry Sir Charles Phipps who suggested that his comments arose out of jealousy and a desire to create controversy. See: Bayley, *The Albert Memorial: The Monument in its Social and Architectural Context*. p46-51

⁵⁷ Thomas Graham Jackson, *Modern Gothic Architecture* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873).

⁵⁸ Dickens, "The Story of the Albert Memorial." p61

Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort*. p435

caused some controversy.⁵⁹ The design for the Manchester memorial by the Salford born architect, Thomas Worthington, had already appeared in *The Builder* in November 1862 although it was not completed until 1867; the design featured an elaborate ciborium covering a statue of the Prince by Matthew Noble.⁶⁰ In actuality although unusual, the stylistic elements of both monuments had been established some twenty years earlier with the monument to Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh by George Meikle Kemp.⁶¹

With the passage of time the negative critical appraisal of the National Memorial did not become any less emphatic; referencing the High Church associations that the Gothic Revival style embodied, Kenneth Clark famously wrote in 1928:

It was intended to have, and certainly achieved, a popular success, whereas the true Revival appealed to men with ideals, either esthetic or religious. Of course the philistine is always compelled to borrow a pinch of ideals in order to make his lump rise... But for the most part the Albert Memorial is the expression of pure philistinism, and as such is not a document of much value to the student of taste... the Albert Memorial has always appealed in the same degree to the same class of people — the people who like a monument to be large and expensive-looking, and to show much easily understood sculpture, preferably of animals.⁶²

In later years Clark did temper his judgement however; in a 1950 edition of his book he comments in a footnote:

Untrue and the arguments which follow unconvincing. But arguable that the Albert Memorial is a document for the study of mid-Victorian taste rather than of the Gothic Revival.⁶³

The almost constant unrestrained criticism of the Prince Consort National Memorial resulted in over a century of neglect until an extensive restoration was

⁵⁹ Nicola C. Smith, "Imitation and Invention in Two Albert Memorials," *The Burlington Magazine* 123, no. April: 937 (1981). p235

⁶⁰ "Design for the Manchester Albert Memorial," *The Builder*, no. 8 November (1862).

⁶¹ George Meikle Kemp (1795-1844) – when Kemp first submitted his designs for the memorial, he was actually placed third but the committee could not agree and therefore requested refined proposals. Kemp's final designs, based on the architecture of Melrose Abbey, were selected in March 1838. He would not see the memorial completed however as he drowned in the Union Canal in March 1844. With a statue by John Robert Steell (1804-1891), the memorial was unveiled in August 1846.

⁶² Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1928). p189

⁶³ ———, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1950).p260

instigated by Prince Charles and carried out by English Heritage between 1994 and 1998. The project, said to be one of the most complex undertaken anywhere in the world, cost £11m although it came in £3m under budget and a year ahead of schedule. The newly restored monument was unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II on 21 October 1998.⁶⁴

Commemorative clock towers had proved a popular choice of memorial to Prince Albert and similar structures to that erected in Hastings can be found in several towns. They were erected for example in Barnstaple and in Belfast; the latter was designed by W.J. Barre with a statue of the Prince, again in Garter robes, by S.F. Lynn. The Barnstaple tower was constructed in 1862 before the Hastings memorial and was fully restored in 2009. Such large scale statues and monuments were not the only way that the general public sought to remember the Prince however. A vast array of smaller commemorative objects were produced; manufactured so as to be affordable to the general public these included various china objects, glassware, silk items, tins and containers, and a large number of photographs reproduced as memorial prints and postcards. Many of these objects were authorised or commissioned by Queen Victoria herself but inevitably with the increasing impetus to commemorate, or to profit from the commemoration of the Prince, many others were not. The well-known painting from 1861 for example seen in illustration 25, is said to be by a painter possibly named Oakley and working under the pseudonym of Le Port. As very few details of the Prince's death were released into the public domain the image is entirely fanciful. In 1869 lithographs of the work along with another depicting the Prince's marriage to Queen Victoria were put on sale by the Art Union for one guinea a pair, with the additional attraction that each purchaser would be entered into a raffle for the actual paintings. Illustration 26 shows the original advertisement for the sale of these lithographs. The Queen was understandably horrified both by the painting itself and by the proliferation of attempts to commercially exploit the Prince's death; she even considered purchasing it so that it could be destroyed.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Deborah Collcutt, "Queen Revives Golden Age of Albert," *The Times*, 22 October 1998. p1

⁶⁵ Darby and Smith, *The Cult of the Prince Consort*. p94-96. The painting survived and was purchased in 1924 for the Wellcome Collection.

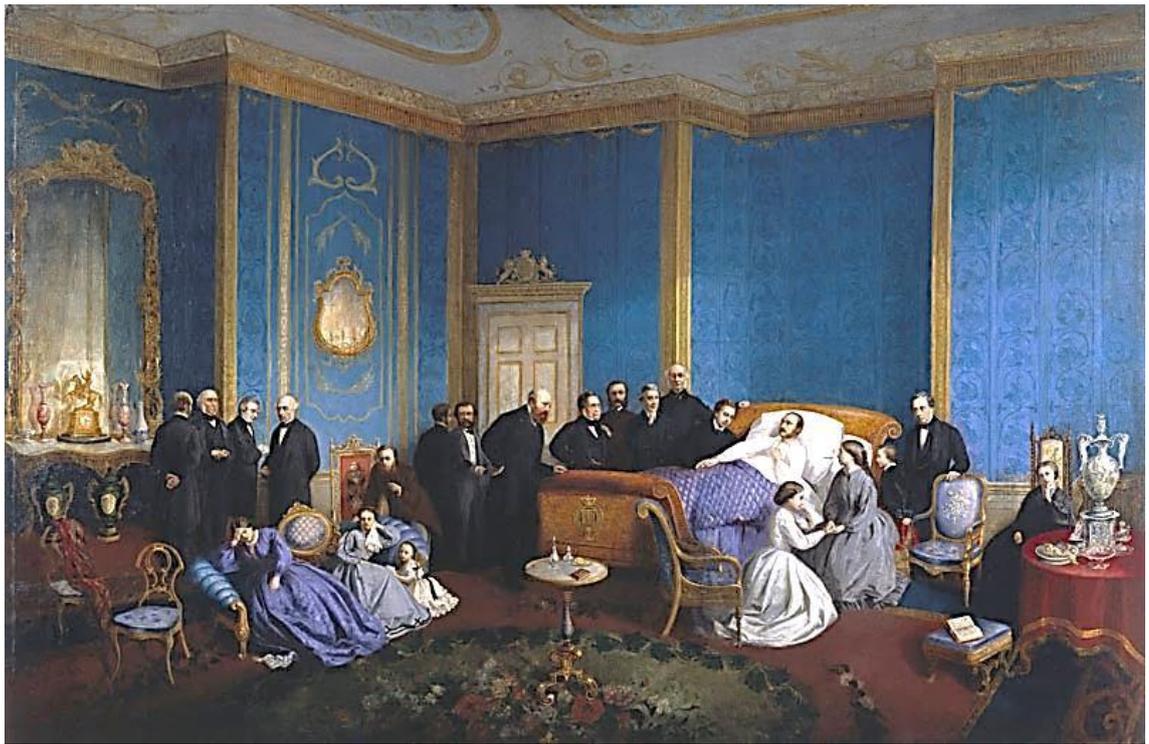


Illustration 25: 'The Last Moments of HRH the Prince Consort', 1861, by Oakley, under the pseudonym, Le Port. Oil on canvas, 123cm x 183cm. © The Wellcome Collection



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- 10 Pr. Fred. Wm. Prussia (Pr. Royal)
- 11 Duke of Cambridge
- 12 Pr. Fred. Wm. Prussia
- 13 Prince Louis of Hesse
- 14 Pr. Louis of Hesse (Princess Alice)
- 15 Princess Helena
- 16 Prince Leopold
- 17 Princess Louise
- 18 Prince Wm. of Prussia
- 19 Duchess of Wellington
- 20 Lord Chancellor
- 21 Lady Jocelyn
- 22 Marchioness of Ely
- 23 Benjamin Disraeli
- 24 Colonel Philip, The late Lord George Lambton
- 25 Usher of the Black Rod
- 26 W. C. Gladstone
- 27 The Bridesmaids
- 28 Major du Plat
- 29 Lord Alfred Paget
- 30 Major Trenchard
- 31 Honorable Sir Edward Cust
- 32 Viscountess Bury
- 33 Lady Peel
- 34 Lord Peel
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- 36 Lady Camberlane
- 37 Lord Harris
- 38 Prince Leiningen



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- 50 Prince William of Denmark
- 51 Count of Flandres
- 52 Princess Dagmar
- 53 Prince Frederik of Denmark
- 54 Princess Christiane of Denmark
- 55 The Maharajah
- 56 Baron Brunow (Russ. Ambass.)
- 57 Baron Gros (French do.)
- 58 Monsieur C. Bey (Turkish do.)
- 59 Ambassadors, Members of the Corps Diplomatique, and Members of the Danish Royal Household

KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER.

- 63 Earl Clarendon
- 64 Earl Russell
- 65 Duke of Newcastle
- 66 Earl Grosvenor
- 67 Viscount Palmerston, The late
- 68 Viscountess Palmerston
- 69 Duke of Devonshire
- 70 Marquis of Northampton
- 71 Duke of Buccleugh
- 72 Marquis of Salisbury
- 73 Duke of Athol
- 74 Duke of Argyll
- 75 Duke of St. Albans
- 76 Earl of Harrowby

IN COLORS, FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL PAINTINGS, THE PAIR, £1 11s. 6d.

Right-hand side of Picture—

- 1 Prince of Wales
- 2 General Bruce
- 3 Dean of Windsor
- 4 Major du Plat
- 5 General Denton
- 6 Duke of Cambridge
- 7 Lord Alfred Paget
- 8 Major Trenchard
- 9 Prince Leiningen
- 10 Four Physicians—Dr. Ferguson, Jenner, Clark, and Watson
- 11 Princess Louise, Princess Helena and Members of Court

Left-hand side of Picture—

- 1 Princess Louise
- 2 Colonel Philip, The late
- 3 Prince Arthur
- 4 His Majesty
- 5 Princess Alice



KEY TO THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

SIZE OF PICTURE 11" x 15"

Extract from the "Civil Service Gazette."

"The public have now the opportunity of inspecting a very splendid picture, painted by Mr. W. Holyoke of the Marriage of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, solemnized in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 10th of March, 1840. Having minutely examined the work, we do not hesitate to say that it will bear favorable comparison as to composition, coloring, and accuracy with that which, painted by Mr. Trinch, and executed by Royal command, formed the popular attraction of the last exhibition of the Royal Academy. Indeed, we make bold to affirm, that for general composition, correctness of perspective, due proportion of figures, and truthful details of the chapel, its furniture, and the brilliant surroundings crowded beneath its roof during this most interesting ceremony, Mr. Holyoke has painted the gorgeous scene possibly as it occurred, without bringing any personage to group into undue prominence, or in any way altering the aspect of the chapel or its occupants; and he has executed his task with admirable fidelity and rare ability. Nearly a hundred figures are crowded into his canvas, all the principal ones being good, and many striking likenesses; and the scenes are represented with some degree of correctness and unending splendour of color and richness. There is, in short, in this fine picture, no exaggeration, and no deficiency; the whole scene is beautifully depicted, and the just proportions of St. George's Chapel and the magnificent surroundings are represented with marvellous fidelity. We feel sure that the public will fully our judgment, and that Mr. Holyoke's great picture of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales will be pronounced a chief of ever worthy of high art and of the grand event it commemorates."

Sir, I beg to enclose _____ Guinea for _____ Pair of Pictures, "Marriage of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales" and "Last Moments of the Prince Consort," as stated in your Prospectus.

Name, _____

Address in full _____

Illustration 26: an advertisement produced by the Art Union in 1869 offering for sale two lithographs depicting Prince Albert's marriage and his deathbed scene.

© National Portrait Gallery

The Royal Family had been the stimulus for a growing interest in photography, in part through the publication of their own family photographs taken by the well-known photographer John Jabez Edwin Mayall. *The Athenaeum* commented that 'these exquisite studies' were reproduced 'with a homely truth, far more precious to the historian than any effort of a flattering court artist, the lineaments of the royal race.'⁶⁶ The *carte de visite* had already been popular in Paris for some three years before its introduction to England in 1857. The subsequent cost of producing family photographs was significantly reduced enabling, *The Athenaeum* noted, 'all the better middle classes to have their portraits; and by the system of exchange, forty of their friends (happy delusion) for two guineas!' Images of notable personages were also sold to the general public from the shops of well-known photographers. *The Athenaeum* went on to say that it was 'a wholesale trade' that had 'sprung up with amazing rapidity.'⁶⁷ For a time its popularity was such that it virtually eradicated all demand for other sized photographic portraits. The images could also be taken as a stereoscopic pair of separate images so that they could be viewed in stereoscope using an appropriate viewer.

Following Prince Albert's death most of the photographs made available to the public had been authorised by Queen Victoria along with commemorative prints and a range of other items containing his likeness. Illustration 27 shows a memorial print of Prince Albert published with the Queen's permission in 1861; it was made from a photograph taken by Frances Sally Day. Illustration 28 shows an example of the ubiquitous cartes de visite created after the Prince's death; in this case it is from a photograph taken by Camille Silvy. Memorial cartes de visite of Prince Albert became an important aspect of the material culture generated by the national outpouring of grief in response to his death; they became so popular that within a week more than 70,000 had been ordered from the London firm of Marion & Co., the largest dealer of cartes de visite in the country.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ "Our Weekly Gossip," *The Athenaeum*, no. August 18 (1860). p230

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p230

⁶⁸ Andrew Wynter, "Cartes de Visite," *Photographic News*, no. 28 February (1862). p104-105

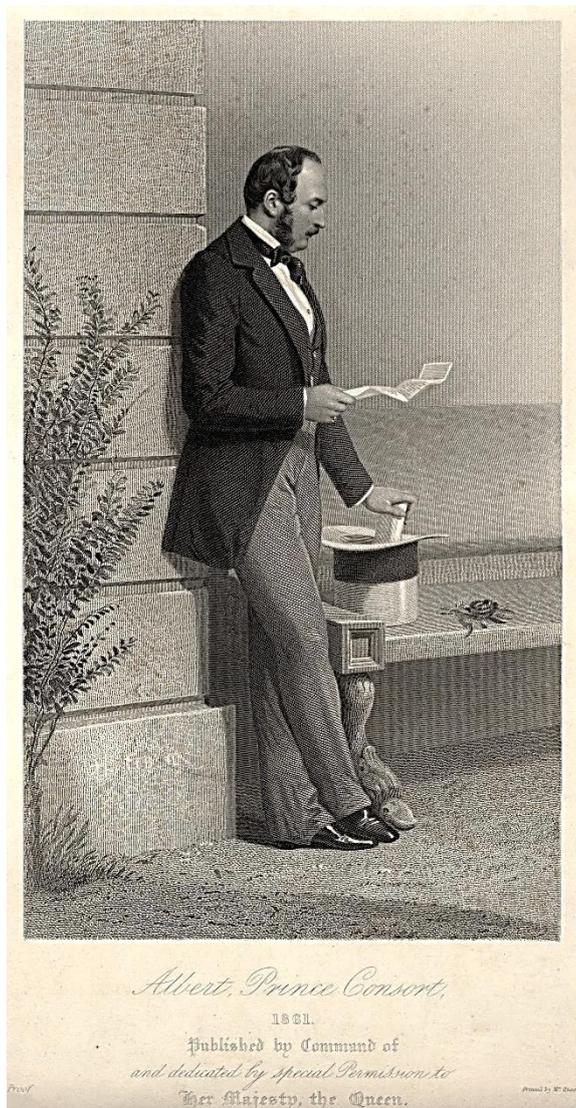


Illustration 27: a stipple and line engraving of Prince Albert by Edward Henry Corbould; after a photograph by Frances Sally Day. Published 1 July 1862 © National Portrait Gallery



Illustration 28: a memorial carte de visite of Prince Albert. Albumen print after Camille Silvy, early 1860s. © National Portrait Gallery

The Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings began as a collective tribute to the Prince Consort but very quickly after its erection it came to signify not only the geographical centre of the town but it also became a utilitarian object within the built environment around which the everyday lives of residents and visitors were focused. Despite this, just over ten years after its erection there was the first attempt of many in its one hundred year history to have the tower moved to another site; in 1876 the *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer* was asserting that something needed to be done about traffic around the memorial following a fatal accident. The growth of Hastings as a seaside resort had contributed to a gradual but significant increase in public transport, commercial and private vehicles through the town centre and by the early 1920s there were already calls for the clock tower's demolition. It was only after the Second World War however that substantive plans were considered for addressing the worsening congestion. Hastings had suffered significant bomb damage and in 1946, taking the opportunity presented by the necessity for rebuilding, the council were considering a major regeneration of the town centre.

Hastings Borough Council had appointed Sidney Little as the Borough Engineer in 1926. Subsequently known as the 'Concrete King', on taking up post Little had described the town as being 'like some beauty-queen in decrepitude.'⁶⁹ The forward-thinking Little served as the Borough Engineer for twenty four years and was ultimately responsible for several innovative developments in Hastings & St. Leonards; these included the first underground car parks in the UK, opened in 1931, and, the Olympic sized St. Leonard's Bathing Pool opened in 1933. He was also passionate about recycling, and in addition to using the old Hastings tramlines in the construction of the underground car parks, he created 'Bottle Alley'. Opened in 1934 it is an extensive covered promenade on Hastings seafront utilising a mosaic of bottle fragments sourced from the local refuse tip. During the Second World War his expertise in the use of concrete was also employed by the Ministry of Defence to help construct the Mulberry Harbours.

⁶⁹ Sidney Little was later granted the Freedom of the Borough of Hastings in 1960. For a detailed history of his career in Hastings, see: Richard Pollard, *Hastings Looking Back to the Future: A Tribute to Sidney Little, Borough Engineer and Water Engineer 1926-1950* (Hastings: Richard Pollard, 2011).

Aware of how the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower had become emblematic of the town and for many residents symbolic of their community identity, in 1946 Little proposed the creation of what he termed a 'double-decker town.' His plans suggested completely modernising Hastings, easing traffic flow along the seven major roads and streets converging at the clock tower but at the same time preserving the monument as the central focus of the town centre. The road system would circumnavigate the memorial providing a public transport hub, shops and subways underground and a road on the upper level. Nationally the plans were regarded as so innovative that British Pathé made a film about the project. Illustration 29 shows a still from the film with Sidney Little in the centre of the group of three officials explaining his town model; illustration 30 shows a detail shot of the model of the clock tower as the centrepiece of the development and the photograph seen in illustration 31 shows the complete model for Little's *Double Decker Dream Town*. The plans were hailed as revolutionary and the narrator extolled Hastings as 'a place where vision and the planners have worked together, where the result is pleasing, futuristic, and safe...A town with a dream of the future.' Little's plans were eventually deemed by the borough council as too costly to implement however.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ "Britain's First Double Decker Dream Town," in *Pathe News* (British Pathe, 10 October 1946).



Illustration 29: a still from the 1946 *Pathé News* film, 'Britain's First Double Decker Dream Town', showing Sidney Little at centre with his model for the proposed town centre development.
©British Pathé



Illustration 30: a still from the 1946 *Pathé News* film, 'Britain's First Double Decker Dream Town', showing in detail the model of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower as centrepiece of the proposed town centre development.
©British Pathé

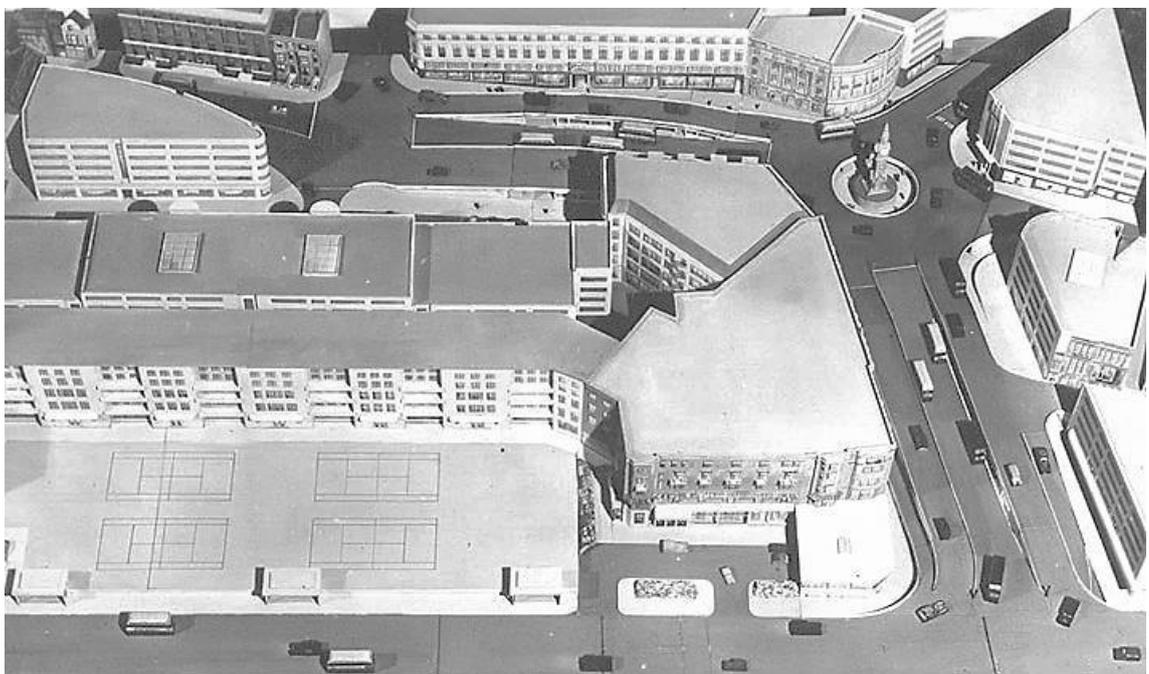


Illustration 31: a photograph of Sidney Little's large scale model of his proposals for the redevelopment of Hastings town centre, as seen in the 1946 *Pathé News* film, 'Britain's First Double Decker Dream Town'
© Geoff Woolf, 1066 Online

In contrast to Sidney Little's innovative proposals, a new scheme for the redevelopment of the town centre in 1952 suggested a complete demolition of the clock tower. In response, during August of that year, the *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer* printed a voting form in the newspaper to canvass the views of local people; the form can be seen in illustration 32. By the time the poll had closed two weeks later there had been 2,554 written responses with 2,503 stating that they wished the memorial to be left as it was; 34 people said that they would agree to the memorial being re-sited and only 17 agreed with its demolition. Letters had also been received not just from Hastings residents but also from expatriates and visitors to the town from other parts of the United Kingdom and from other countries including New Zealand, Ceylon, Switzerland and Holland. The story even reached *The Times*.⁷¹ Even after the poll had closed voting forms continued to arrive at the newspaper offices and it was reported that they had received more correspondence about the matter than any other in recent years. The paper declared that the letters received about the proposed removal demonstrated that 'Hastings without the Memorial would be Hastings no longer.'⁷²

What Do the Public Think?

WHAT do the public think about the future of the Memorial clock tower? The "Observer" invites all its readers to express their preference on the alternatives set out in this panel and, having done so, to cut it out and send it to the "Observer" Office, Cambridge-road, Hastings, at their earliest convenience. In an unsealed envelope, the cutting may be sent at a postage of 1½d.

Please place a cross against the proposal which you think should be adopted:

1. The Memorial should be removed completely.....
2. The Memorial should be left untouched.....
3. The Memorial should, if possible, be moved to a better site in the area in which it now stands

Signed

Address

.....

[These details are for the Editor's information only]

Illustration 32: a voting form on the future of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower from the front page of the *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 2 August 1952 © Johnston Press plc

⁷¹ "Memorial Removal to Ease Traffic Jams?: Council Defers Decision to Test Public Opinion ", *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 2 August 1952.

"Let Memorial Stay' Demand Public: 'Observer' Readers' Vote Reflects Town's Opinion."

"Wide Opposition to Memorial Move," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 16 August 1952. p1

"Storm Over Albert Clock Tower," *The Times*, Tuesday 12 August 1952.

⁷² "The Public and the Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 9 August 1952.

In the face of such widespread objection from the public, Hastings Council abandoned its decision to move the monument three months later. In 1957 however Hastings Highways Committee once again recommended that the tower be demolished as it was 'the chief cause of obstruction' to traffic converging in the town centre. On this occasion the Ministry of Transport were approached to provide funds for its re-siting some forty feet away but they refused and as a consequence the clock once again escaped destruction. Over the next decade, with repeated proposals for its demolition, tensions between the council and local residents over the issue continued to increase and it seemed only a matter of time before the monument met its fate.⁷³

In the early hours of Saturday 28 April 1973 arsonists set fire to the clock's woodwork resulting in both damage to the clock and splitting of the surrounding stone. A significant proportion of the town's residents were convinced that the council had deliberately caused the blaze in order to justify its demolition as council workers had been seen placing flammable liquid, purporting to be wood preserver, in the tower the previous day. A Police witness also reported that unusually the door to the tower had been left open allowing free access.⁷⁴ As evidenced in the oral history interviews undertaken for this thesis, suspicions over the role of the council in the fire are still expressed by many local people today.

Whilst discussions were ongoing about what action should or should not be taken to repair the tower, on Monday 18 June 1973 another smaller fire broke out causing further damage. Not, some interviewees say by coincidence, in the August of that year the borough council had unveiled its new plan for the complete regeneration of the town centre area. After the second fire it was asserted by the council that serious faults were discovered to the structure of the clock tower and at a meeting on Tuesday 9 October 1973 the final decision was taken to demolish it as soon as possible; only four council members opposed the decision. Even at that meeting however, suggestions were already

⁷³ "Are the Times Too Fast for the 1863 Town Clock?," *London Evening Standard*, 5 August 1957.

⁷⁴ David William Thornton, *Hastings: A Living History* (Hastings: The Hastings Publishing Company, 1987). p112

being made that there should be a competition to design a replacement clock tower.⁷⁵

The demolition began on Sunday 17 November 1973 and took two weeks to complete. Unfortunately the contractors broke the bottle that had been placed inside the foundation stone; they did not understand the importance of the parchment contained inside and threw it away. Many onlookers watching the removal of their clock tower were both saddened and angry; the contractors reported that several people had also asked for pieces of the masonry to keep as souvenirs. At the last moment the statue of Prince Albert by Edwin Stirling was saved from destruction by a local resident, a Miss Edith Skelton, who paid £50 for it. She later donated the 5 cwt. statue to the borough council in the hope that it would be displayed in the town's museum where it was initially stored. She is quoted as saying, 'it is something that is of great sentimental value to local residents but nothing was being done about it, so I made an offer for it.' The *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer* demanded to know from the Chief Architect George Adams, why the statue, one of the key elements of the clock tower had not been saved along with other parts salvaged by the council but he refused to comment.⁷⁶ Ultimately the statue was never exhibited at the Museum but was retained in what became known as the *Albert House*, one of the large Victorian greenhouses in Alexandra Park. The statue was surrounded by ornamental and tropical plants and continued to be a visitor attraction for several years.⁷⁷

The tropical plant house in which the statue of Prince Albert was displayed was eventually closed to the public and its condition deteriorated over time. The glass was subsequently removed and the statue was thereby exposed to inclement weather; it is now in very poor condition. Illustration 33 shows a photograph of the statue of Prince Albert taken by the author in 2012. As can be

⁷⁵ "Time Runs Out For Albert: Goodbye to 90-Year-Old Landmark," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 13 October 1973.

⁷⁶ "Memorial Souvenir Bid: £50 Offer and Albert is Saved," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 24 November 1973. p1

The demolition contractors employed were Godfrey Dicker Ltd. of Rock Lane, Hastings but they sub-contracted the work to Boorman and Gower of Tonbridge.

⁷⁷ See: *Alexandra Park Centenary 1882-1982*, (Hastings: Hastings Borough Council, Tourism and Recreation Depart, 1982).

seen the greenhouse is substantially overgrown and open to the elements. Despite being covered by a tarpaulin, the Portland Stone statue of the Prince Consort has suffered severe erosion. Few other elements of the clock tower's stonework remain extant but two of the large metal lamps were sited at the entrance to Hastings Museum and Art Gallery and the council has also placed in storage the red granite drinking fountain bowl, the weather vane, some clock workings, and the wooden door.⁷⁸

A recent newspaper article from 2009 criticised the fact that the statue of the Prince was 'locked away in a council-owned building despite being an important feature of Hastings' history', and that it was not displayed in a more appropriate setting. Raising a frequently quoted argument, Brian Lawes of the Hastings Local History Group pointed out in the article that the memorial and statue had been paid for by public subscription and so the council retain a responsibility to make the statue more accessible to current residents.⁷⁹ In an attempt to reclaim this part of the clock tower's history, in late 2012 an action group was set up through the Friends of Alexandra Park with the aim of restoring the greenhouse as a visitor attraction and community resource positioning the statue as a key feature. It is intended that this initiative will help to preserve the statue for future generations and make it once more accessible to the public.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Jennifer Dinsmore, "Statues and Memorials in Hastings and St. Leonards: a Report on Condition and Conservation Options," (Hastings: Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, 1997).p33

⁷⁹ Emily Eldridge, "Town's Tribute to Prince Albert is Locked Away," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Friday 22 May 2009. p9

⁸⁰ "Revamped Glasshouse Could Be Valuable Community Resource," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, 4 May 2013.



Illustration 33: a photograph taken in 2012 of the statue of Prince Albert by Edwin Stirling. The statue was removed from the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower during demolition.

© Author

Almost immediately following the two fires in the clock tower, and more vociferously after it had been demolished, there had been calls for the memorial to be restored, rebuilt or replaced by another equally substantial. Hastings Young Socialists for example quickly called for it to be replaced with a memorial to Robert Tressell, the Irish Socialist writer who had lived in the town for several years, and in 1978 an Old Town architect named Ralph Wood designed a sixty foot glass fibre tower that was considered by the borough council.⁸¹ Over subsequent years many other proposals have been made and debate about the clock tower has continued to appear with regularity in the local media. It has been particularly referenced in terms of how it embodied the town's identity. In 1983 the *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer* marked the anniversary stating 'ten years ago this month, Hastings lost its town centre identity' and adding that it had been demolished with 'uncharacteristic despatch' by the borough council. Emphasising the monument's links with the construction of the Prince Consort National Memorial in London, it refers to the clock tower as one of 'the famous London Albert Memorial's many country cousins.' The article concludes that 'Hastings remains one of the very few towns its size without any visual focus to its town centre.'⁸²

A few years later, in January 1989, Councillor Graeme White launched a campaign to restore the memorial forming a working party with the then Mayor to examine the possible options. At a subsequent meeting an estimate was even obtained for rebuilding the clock tower in accordance with the original drawings and a possible start date for the work decided on. The estimated cost was close to £1,000,000 and just as in the case of the original clock tower a public subscription fund was proposed to raise the money.⁸³ A survey by the *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer* had reported that 95% of local people were in favour of a new memorial structure, the most popular suggestion being for another clock tower. The survey referred to the town's need for a 'centre-piece'

⁸¹ "The Memorial - in Loving Memory," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 29 October 1983.

"Tressell Monument to Replace Memorial?," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 15 September 1973. p9. Robert Tressell (1870-1911 – real name Robert Noonan) was author of the book, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (published 1914)

⁸² "The Memorial - in Loving Memory."

⁸³ Hastings Borough Council, "Minutes from the Memorial Working Party," (Hastings: Policy and Finance Committee, 25 May 1989).

but there were conflicting views amongst those people asked as to whether it should be rebuilt in its original form and as to whether public funds should pay for it.⁸⁴ Ultimately, Councillor White's campaign made no further headway and plans to replace the clock tower were again shelved. Several other campaigns followed to have the clock tower rebuilt; after the death of Diana Princess of Wales in 1997 for example there were calls for the monument to be rebuilt and dedicated to her memory. More recently, in 2004 the then Deputy Mayor Maureen Charlesworth once again called for the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower to be rebuilt to its original designs. She had observed whilst out canvassing that it was something that older residents in particular continually referred to and lamented its loss. The idea received little support at council meetings however and reflecting on similar proposals in the past it was argued that the cost would be prohibitive.⁸⁵ The clock tower continues to feature heavily in the Hastings media however, and periodically a new campaign to have it restored is begun; these seem unlikely to abate, at the very least until all of those in whose living memory the clock tower figures are no longer present.

The Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower stood at what had become the geographical centre of Hastings for just over a hundred years and survived extensive bombing during the Second World War and countless town centre floods caused by a combination of high tides and storms. As a public transport hub it became a central meeting place for almost every resident and visitor and provided a directional marker that contributed to the town's legibility. Surrounded by the most prominent shops and department stores it also became an indicator of the prime commercial centre of the town. Its growing status as an iconic landmark, imparting a local distinctiveness, firmly established it as an emblematic representation of the town and its communities of residents and visitors alike. Over the years the clock tower also became important as the focus of a range of rituals, ceremonials and festivities in which the greater majority of the local community participated. The oral history interviews undertaken for this thesis reveal the importance of these events, how the

⁸⁴ "The Memorial: Do You Want it Back? (and would you pay for it?)," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Thursday 12 January 1989. p6

⁸⁵ "New Call to Rebuild Memorial Clock Tower - But at What Cost?," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Friday 6 August 2004. p15

memorial provided a central reference point for them, and how those occasions also provided a powerful focus for the development of social capital.

The histories of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings and that of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden are interwoven through the collective memory of the two respective towns. As well as providing a historical account of each monument, these two chapters have shown how the dynamics of power and community inhabit space in tangible ways and how the two monuments had a particularly potent place in this relation. The following chapters, through an analysis of the oral history interviews, explore how this potency and significance survived each monument's removal.

Chapter three

The physical: mapping and navigating the landscape

This chapter examines the physical aspects of the two monuments, how that physicality is referenced in the interviewee narratives, and the ways in which the objects became established as functional markers within the built environment. This physicality is examined in the context of the developing geographical centres of the two towns in which they were erected. The monuments' everyday functionality as familiar directional markers on the landscape, as important meeting places, and as platforms for the staging of a whole range of rituals, ceremonials and festivities became equally as important as their original commemorative intent and historical significance. For the people of Walkden and Hastings the additional roles that the two monuments developed over time fostered the construction of a sense of place, strengthened community identity and contributed to the development of social capital. An analysis of the oral history interviews reveals how their placement at the centre of the historic built environment of the two towns also facilitated a transition from commemorative public monuments to emblematic structures that embodied a range of symbolic meanings in addition to their physical function.

Both monuments were created as memorials to specific individuals but, emphasising their broader significance to the local communities, the oral history interviews evidence that in everyday speech any reference to the subject of the original commemoration was dropped. Requiring no additional identifier the structures became known as simply, 'the Monument' in Walkden; and 'the Memorial' in Hastings. These terms will be used when discussing the two monuments from this point onwards in this thesis.

Following their erection, the geographical centrality of the two objects had a significant impact on the development of the surrounding neighbourhoods and on how the towns were mapped and navigated. To accommodate the changing infrastructure of the towns over time, the footprint of both structures was in fact

adapted on several occasions. Nevertheless, the pressures of increasing traffic in town centres and the post-war nationwide trend for modernisation of the urban environment eventually held sway over considerations of local heritage, and of the objects' emblematic significance to the everyday lives of local communities. The two monuments had contributed to providing the local community with a sense of identity and held a significant place in the phenomenological aspects of their lives but despite, or precisely because of their physicality, one was moved and the other was demolished entirely.

When both monuments were erected, local newspaper reports of the accompanying ceremonials suggest that the structures were regarded as having the attribute of permanence, both as reifications of the memory of two specific individuals and, as substantive landmarks for the towns. The very size of the objects (the Walkden Monument is fifty feet high and the Hastings Memorial was sixty five feet high) constituted a significant visual presence, providing a high degree of local distinctiveness within the broader geographical area. As has been discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, local distinctiveness is one of the factors linking sense of place with community identity and the development of social capital.¹

At the inauguration of the Countess of Ellesmere Monument on 26 July 1869, Harrison Blair who gave one of the key speeches, asserted that it was 'at once elegant in design and likely to be lasting' and would 'remind future generations of the good lady who had passed away' and, that it would also 'be an ornament' to what he hoped would become 'a large and populous city.'² Similarly when the foundation stone of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was laid on 10

¹ English Heritage, "Heritage Counts 2009: England," (London: English Heritage, 2009). Department for Transport and Department for Communities and Local Government, "Manual for Streets," (London: 2007).

Mary Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets," (London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011).

² "Inauguration Of The Ellesmere Memorial," *Farnworth Observer*, July 31 1869.

Blair was one of the founders of Harrison Blair & Co. Ltd. of Kearsley and Farnworth, Manufacturing Chemist. Founded in 1870 through a partnership between chemists Robert Harrison, James Warburton and Thomas Chester Ansdell Harrison, the chemical works was a significant local employer. They manufactured alkalis, chloride of lime, soda ash and sulphuric acid. The large chemical waste heaps from the company were known locally as 'stinkbomb hill' and were a popular attraction as the pungent fumes were considered to both ward off and cure illness.

November 1862, the Reverend Dr Grosse referred to the Memorial as something that the local community 'might constantly see and which would among their daily cares remind them of their departed friend and benefactor.'³ In both cases, in addition to being public works of art, it is clear that the intention was to create structures that were expected to survive changes to the surrounding roads and architecture for generations to come. They were erected as markers of aspiration, of bridging the past, present and future; the commemorative function and meaning of both monuments was also unambiguous.⁴ The interviews reveal however that they became equally valued for bringing a sense of legibility to the towns, as central landmarks providing a local distinctiveness and, in the case of the Hastings monument, in providing the added utility of a timepiece.

In Walkden, the Monument was erected at what was already regarded as the centre of a very small yet developing industrial town although at that time, little ribbon development had taken place. The photograph in illustration 34 was taken in 1869 soon after the Monument was built. The new Bridgewater Offices, constructed the previous year, can be seen in the background on the left; it was one of the few buildings existing at that time and the main road is little more than a rough track despite it being a major turnpike road. In Hastings, despite there being a pre-existing road infrastructure at the site chosen for the clock tower, prior to its erection the Old Town area was very much seen as the hub of the town, partly because it was the location of the large fishing fleet that represented the town's main industry. The photograph in illustration 35 shows one of the earliest photographs of the Memorial. Taken in 1864, as is clearly visible, the clock mechanism had yet to be installed. Although the area around the Memorial appears sparsely populated, it is apparent that it has already seen significant commercial and residential development, albeit this had only taken place in the preceding few years. Sited at the convergence of the most important highways and contributing to the definition of their geographical

³ "Laying the Foundation Stone of the Prince Consort Memorial," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, 12 November 1862. p3

⁴ See: Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development," in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Nicholas Stanley Price, Mansfield Kirby Talley, and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, *Readings in Conservation* (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Trust, 1996). p77

centres, the two monuments impacted on the legibility and the navigation of the two towns for the next hundred years.

The importance of the role that the Memorial played in bringing a sense of cohesion to the extended residential community in Hastings is mentioned by several interviewees who comment on the fact that the town was, and still is in effect, a composite of several distinct areas. Two interviewees explain:

Hastings was very much, there were *parts* of Hastings, it was more parochial, if that's the right word, than it is now, because you didn't, you didn't go as far as you do now, nobody had cars, we walked or had a bus, or in those days a trolley-bus, and so you had Hollington and Silverhill, and Ore, and even Bohemia, they were all little, St. Leonard's, they were all little areas.⁵

I should imagine pretty insular really [Hastings when she was a child], because we, we didn't seem to mix outside our very local area. I suppose a lot of that was to do with transport, we didn't have transport, we walked everywhere.⁶

After its construction, the Memorial became the terminus for all of the town's public transportation systems which reinforced its position as its geographical centre. As such it came to provide a particular and central point of orientation for these outlying communities.⁷

In the years immediately following the erection of both monuments, a continued and substantial development of the surrounding roads and streets took place. The structures were a dominant physical presence at what became the location of the key political, financial and commercial institutions of the community and they affected the very nature of how those areas were perceived and experienced.

⁵ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78, (Hastings: 17 March 2009). 00:03:28

⁶ Interview with Doreen C. Aged 79, (St. Leonards on Sea: 30 March 2009). 00:06:19

⁷ See Rykwert's discussion on the importance of these 'identity points' to a community's understanding and navigation of their environment: Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: the City in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 2000). p133



Illustration 34: a photograph showing the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial just after its erection in 1869. © Salford Local History Library



Illustration 35: a photograph of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower taken in 1864 shortly before the installation of the clock mechanism.
© Brian Lawes, Hastings Local History Group.

The significance of the location of the two monuments at the geographical centres of Walkden and Hastings is reflected in current thinking with regard to urban planning. Written in 2007, the Government publication *Manual for Streets*, asserts that 'in human terms...the most important places will usually be near the centre of any settlement or built-up area.'⁸ The centrality of the two monuments is in fact specifically mentioned a total of 55 times in the oral history interviews used in this thesis. The term *focal point* or *focus* is also frequently used: some 18 times across the interviews. One Hastings interviewee describes the emphatic presence that the Memorial had and its importance as the central focus of the town:

'Cause it was the centre pivot of it all, it was the focal point...it sort of designated *there*, you couldn't argue with it, you couldn't define it, couldn't define this, this thing as being a, that significant in your mind.⁹

Reflecting on its loss, the interviewee goes on to use the analogy of a wheel to further elaborate on the Memorial's position as a marker at the centre of the town, an analogy that is also used by other interviewees, particularly with reference to its function as a meeting place:

It's, it's like a wheel, a wheel is a wheel, if you take the hub out and throw it away, it's no longer a wheel, it's still the same shape, but it has no, it's not the same thing, it can't be a wheel anymore. And that's the feeling when you go there and you see this Memorial gone, it's broken the whole place up, you know...everything radiated from there, you know.¹⁰

When you were going to Hastings, the place you went to was the Memorial, which was the town centre Memorial to Prince Albert, which was a clock, a clock tower right in the centre of the town. It was sort of, the centre of town was like a hub and that was in the middle; that was like the hub-cap in the middle of the wheel, sort of thing.¹¹

Over time in Hastings this physical centrality was perceived as extending far beyond the actual footprint of the structure. Ignoring nearby street names, in

⁸ Department for Transport and Department for Communities and Local Government, "Manual for Streets." p18

⁹ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009.). 00:41:02

¹⁰ Ibid. 00:42:33

¹¹ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:04:55

popular usage the term *The Memorial* was considered to encompass a broad area around the site. Two Hastings interviewees comment on this phenomenon:

The Memorial wasn't to us though; the Memorial just wasn't that one monument, it embraced the whole of Trinity, the library, Wisdens¹², all 'round there. In our minds you would probably draw a circle 'round to...was it the Ritz Cinema, the Gaiety, out to Wellington Square, along 'round Plummer Roddis, Robinson Street, and that sort of circle, that was the Memorial, that. It's funny isn't it...when you thought of it, you didn't think of the actual, just the monument, the Memorial was an area, in fact they, they could have put a zone around it and called it the Memorial. People would know exactly what we meant.¹³

From then on, you always, you didn't, you didn't always say you were going to the town, you just said you were going to the Memorial, if you arranged to meet people; all through my school days, you met them at the Memorial. If you wanted a bus ticket, wherever you got on the bus you asked for a ticket to the Memorial. It was very much the centre of the town, and it was never referred to, as far as I know, by local people, as the clock tower, or anything, Prince Albert Memorial, anything else in any other way, just the Memorial, and that's how it was.¹⁴

Even though the clock tower was demolished in 1973, the general area where the clock tower stood is in fact still referred to as the Memorial by the majority of people old enough to recall its existence. Compensating absence with memory, in this sense the actual monument is still very much present in the minds of a great many local people despite it being demolished almost forty years ago. This on-going practice was specifically raised by almost 50% of the Hastings interviewees; several of them making the same assertions:

Everybody still, well, the ones that've been here a long time, still refer to that area as the Memorial, even though it's not there.¹⁵

I think it had an effect in that there wasn't any longer a focal point, but there was for us because we still said the Memorial.¹⁶

¹² Wisdens Ltd., 1-2 Trinity Street, a sports shop still trading today

¹³ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:38:48

¹⁴ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:05:16

¹⁵ Interview with Peter B. Aged 84, (St. Leonards on Sea: 7 April 2009). 00:17:11

¹⁶ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:52:46

The interviewees also comment on the fact that people who do not remember the actual physical Memorial would be unlikely to understand this reference to the area. There is a suggestion of the existence two different communities, those people belonging to a time before it was demolished and those belonging to a time after:

We used to call that part of the town, the Memorial. If I was to say to any of the younger people here, "I'm just gonna pop down to the Memorial", they'd wonder where I was goin', no one knows the name o' the, only the old people, know the name, "I'm gonna pop to the Memorial", which is now down in the town centre where all the shops are.¹⁷

Sometimes, when I get on the bus, an' I say to the driver, drop me off at the Memorial, and he doesn't know what I'm talkin' about. If you say town centre, it's different. I'm not jokin', I say that often, but, course, these new bus drivers they don't know what we're talkin' about.¹⁸

In Walkden the commemorative aspect of the Monument was extended beyond its actual footprint through the naming of streets and roads leading up to it. This fact is mentioned by some of the Walkden interviewees. Bridgewater Road had already been named after the Duke of Bridgewater and was the location of the Bridgewater Offices. Following the erection of the Monument, Memorial Road and Harriet Street were built, feeding onto the central crossroads. Reinforcing the embodied meanings of the Monument and referencing the industrial development of the town, many examples can be found nearby of streets and roads commemorating people associated with Walkden's industrial heritage, including: Egerton Road, Ellesmere Street, Brackley Street, Granville Street, Fereday Street, and Brindley Street. In addition, the names used for recent commercial developments continue to reference the Egerton family; the central shopping area is now called the Ellesmere Centre and inside, one of the new major walkways has recently been named Lady Harriet Walk. Cultural geographer Maoz Azaryahu has written extensively on the semiotics of the naming and re-naming of streets. Asserting that street names are an example of Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, Azaryahu argues that along with the erection of monuments, although it primarily serves to improve the legibility of a town or

¹⁷ Interview with Joyce R. Aged 82, (St. Leonards on Sea: 20 April 2009). 00:11:10

¹⁸ Interview with John H. Aged 75, (St. Leonards on Sea: 30 March 2009).

city, the naming of roads and streets after historical figures by those in a town's hierarchies of power are processes that are also aimed at creating what he terms 'geographies of public memory', contributing to an ongoing reaffirmation of a town's history.¹⁹

The road infrastructure immediately around the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings had been established before the monument's erection but similarly, it evidences the process of naming roads and streets after local politicians and national heroes. Robertson Street for example was named after the local Conservative M.P. responsible for developing that area of the town in 1850; Pelham Place was named after Thomas Pelham 2nd Earl of Chichester who developed that area in 1818 and was also owner of Hastings Castle; Havelock Road was named after General Havelock in 1849, a hero of the Indian Mutiny and Wellington Square was named after the 1st Duke of Wellington in 1818.²⁰

It is evidenced in the interviewee narratives that both monuments had become powerful points of orientation that had evolved into a significantly larger area than the objects' immediate footprint and that their subsequent removal therefore constituted a perceived reduction in the legibility of the extended centres of the two towns. This legibility that facilitates a community's understanding of their village, town or city is one of the fundamental principles of urban design.²¹ Although ostensibly merely topographic in nature, a growing familiarity and reliance on these points of orientation not only aids legibility but contributes to a developing subjective connection that turns space into place. In one interview with an officer of Hastings Borough Council who is involved with

¹⁹ Maoz Azaryahu, "The Critical Turn and Beyond: The Case of Commemorative Street Naming," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 10, no. 1 (2011). p28

²⁰ The Pelham family owned Hastings Castle from 1591 until 1951 when Hastings Corporation purchased the site. In 2000, the statue of General Havelock in Trafalgar Square, London was one of two statues that Mayor Ken Livingstone campaigned to have removed; arguing that nobody knew who they were. Wellington Square in Hastings was originally named Waterloo Square.

²¹ Department for Transport and Department for Communities and Local Government, "Manual for Streets."

See also: Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: the City in the Twenty-First Century*. Commission for Architecture & the Built Environment, "By Design: Urban Design in the Planning System: Towards Better Practice," (London: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000).

public arts development, he acknowledges that since the removal of the Memorial there has been the clear need for a new piece of sculpture to signify what was previously identified by the local community as the town's geographical centre. His references to the need for something new that relates to the history of the town and its identity are echoed ironically in the other Hastings interviewees' assertions that the original Memorial captured that very essence:

In my opinion there should be something in that site, I don't think a memorial should be in the same place, but there would be a classic example, my [preferred] scheme [would be] to have [some modern representation of] Harold there, a Harold for Hastings because there isn't a Harold in Hastings, and I think that would be quite a nice example... that first of all it would make a kind of centrepiece in Hastings town [centre], a meeting place...it's about pride, about being known nationally, there's a potential national story [about local identity]... you could get quite [important] artists to submit [ideas for the commission]²²

Situated at a major crossroads, both monuments were demonstrably useful directional markers, but the additional functionality of the Hastings Memorial, being a clock on each of the four sides, is also described as important by several interviewees:

In those days very few people had watches so when you arrived you were always looking at that clock and see you were on time, and so on.²³

It not only was useful for telling the time for a large area... (now we have a silly little clock on the side of the town hall which many people don't know about). I know you may say people have watches now, but that is a man's answer, if you are carrying shopping, a child or pushing a pram it is better to see the time and know it is right, as it always was.²⁴

²² Interview with Michael H. Aged 54, (St. Leonards on Sea: 3 March 2009). 00:16:06.

Transcription edited by interviewee – his additions to the text are set within square brackets

²³ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:00:08

²⁴ Deirdre D, Letter to Anthony McIntosh, 11 May 2009. p1. Hastings Council erected two small clocks on the north-west corner of the Town Hall in 1997 when the Priory Meadow Shopping Centre opened. These were removed in late 2012 however as they had been broken for some time and their future is unclear.

Well, it was a focal point...an' I think people would use the clock, yeah, it's a timepiece, you like to see clocks, I do, I like to see clocks when I'm walking around.²⁵

Even the sound of the striking hours were a friendly sound for a large area, you could see the time too from all the roads around it.²⁶

As a public utility, the addition of the clock ensured that the Memorial was firmly situated within the quotidian lives of Hastings residents and it also attracted the visual and auditory attention of visitors to the town. Examples of this particular means of augmenting the function of a public monument can be seen in a large number of towns; there are several clock towers in fact commemorating the Prince Consort, such as those erected in Belfast and Barnstaple. Other examples are dedicated to local historical figures, that in Leicester for example, or more commonly they commemorate the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of Queen Victoria, those in Margate, Brighton and Stratford upon Avon (all Golden Jubilee), or Maidenhead (Diamond Jubilee) for instance. The added utility of clock towers also serves to appease those who, at the time of planning, argue against purely symbolic structures, as many subscribers to the memorial fund in Hastings had done.²⁷ The unveiling ceremony in 2009 for the restored Barnstaple clock tower was led by the Mayor of the town. Interestingly there are commonalities between his assertions about the town's memorial clock tower to Prince Albert and those expressed by the Hastings interviewees about the Memorial. The local newspaper reports him as saying, 'this is so very important for Barnstaple. Albert Clock is an iconic element within the skyline and of the heritage of our town.' His references to the expected permanency of the structure also have resonance with the rhetoric surrounding the erection of the Memorial in Hastings and indeed the Monument in Walkden, 'it has stood the test of time and now, having been fully restored, it will still be a focal point for the town for years to come.'²⁸

²⁵ Interview with Doreen C. Aged 79. 00:13:20

²⁶ Deirdre D, Letter to Anthony McIntosh, 27 June 2012. p1

²⁷ See Chapter two for details about the public debate on this matter regarding the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings.

²⁸ "Albert Memorial Clock Chimes Once Again," *Exeter Express & Echo*, Thursday 3 September 2009. The unveiling on Saturday 28 August 2009 was accompanied by a Mayoral Procession led by the town's Youth Marching Band. The tower's 'iconic' status is also reflected by it being depicted on the front cover of the town's heritage trail booklets.

In time the centrality of the Monument in Walkden and the Memorial in Hastings inevitably meant that they became the locus for much of the through-flow of traffic in both towns, an aspect of their location that would eventually lead to their removal. In addition to private and commercial vehicles, the introduction of tramcars in the early 1900s signalled the beginning of a proliferation of those providing public transport. Key dates in the development of the public transport systems in both towns are detailed in the timelines available in Appendix 2. In Hastings the Memorial became the major public transport hub for the entire area which created even more congestion. The particular association that the clock tower had with the town's public transport system is revealed by the fact that 75% of the Hastings interviewees describe its development in detail. Some recounted its history from the introduction of trolley buses and trams through to the arrival of coach and bus companies in the town from outside of the area. Several interviewees refer to the growing problems of increasing traffic in the area before the removal of the Memorial:

So you can see there was a lot of traffic 'round the Memorial, it was not a place you could just wander across the road, even as a child, it was that busy. There would be as many as, say, six trolleys arriving, there could be four or five double decker buses, East Kent, you'd get the Dengate buses running through and of course just after the war, as I say, there wasn't so many cars as public vehicles like that, and delivery vehicles. But it was always busy, always busy.²⁹

They really removed it because they wer' modernisin' all the road system you see an' it was in the way, but it was, erm, lookin' back now because, you know, every road, erm, Robertson Street was traffic right through, erm, but all the Memorial is pedestrianized now, where there was traffic going 'round all the time.³⁰

Similarly, in Walkden the traffic flow began to increase around the Monument as modes of public and private transport developed necessitating frequent adaptations over the years to its footprint. These changes to its overall appearance, even to accommodate public transport, were not always welcomed by local people. As early as 1927 for example proposals for a new tram timekeeper's hut next to the Monument caused a large number of complaints

²⁹ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:18:57

³⁰ Interview with Peter H. Aged 75, (St. Leonards on Sea: 30 March 2009). 00:28:54

from the public. Although the 4th Earl had sold the Worsley estates in 1923 and had thereby severed the family's direct connections to the area, there were of course many residents at that time for whom the long history of the family's presence in the town was still within living memory. Indeed in May 1951 the local newspaper featured an article about one elderly resident of the town who had actually witnessed the construction of the Monument.³¹ In 1927 when the council had proposed the erection of the tram timekeeper's hut, the local newspaper had called the suggestion 'an insult to the Earl.'³² When the new shelter was eventually placed there in 1928, the local paper showed a photograph of it next to the Monument with the headline, 'Dignity and Impudence' and went on to say, 'there is a consensus of opinion that such a structure ought never to have been placed where it is.'³³ Whilst the newspaper editorial and the discontent evidenced in readers' letters reflected the respect that the Monument and the memory of the Earl and Countess fostered amongst local people, controversy over the timekeeper's hut marked the beginning of repeated discussions about the Monument's position at the junction and the increasing need for an easier flow of traffic through the town centre. With the subsequent introduction of trolley buses, by the early 1950s traffic had become even heavier with a continued growth in the number of cars and commercial vehicles circling the structure.³⁴ Referencing the earlier objections to the timekeeper's hut in 1928, a 1952 article in the local paper lamented:

How much greater the insult to the monument and to the town-centre is the present chaos of posts and wires which surround it? It is doubtful if such a 'post and wirescape' would be tolerated in other towns.³⁵

Amongst the majority of interviewees from both Walkden and Hastings there is certainly a general acceptance that because of increasing traffic there was an undisputable need for some modification to road layouts. In Walkden, this acceptance is tempered by the fact that some interviewees argue that the

³¹ "Saw Walkden Monument Built," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, May 4 1951.

³² "Insult to the Earl," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, March 25 1927.

³³ "Dignity and Impudence," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 7 1928.

³⁴ Lancashire United Transport Company began a circuitous route through Atherton Depot, Mosley Common, Worsley, Swinton and Walkden.

³⁵ Herbert Clegg and Frank Mullineux, "A New History of the Walkden Monument (1)," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, Friday October 17 1952.p6

Monument had a traffic calming effect, making the junction much safer for pedestrians than after its removal. In Hastings there is some frustration expressed by the interviewees that the Memorial was demolished to allow a better flow of traffic along roads that are now in fact pedestrianised. Two Walkden interviewees comment on the effect that the removal of the Monument had on road safety:

It was just that it was...much safer in my opinion than traffic lights...Well, it gets so congested now, because o't' traffic lights...you get a bit timid at crossing the roads now whereas you didn't when the Monument was there, because you knew which way the traffic was going; it was all one way, keep left, keep left...you've got traffic comin' from five directions now.³⁶

This rather attractive Monument, one has to say, in the centre was a very effective traffic calming measure, right in the centre of the crossroads of Bolton Road, Manchester Road, Memorial Road, er, Bridgewater Road.³⁷

At the time when plans were originally discussed for its removal, several local councillors also expressed concern about road safety and about changes to the town merely to accommodate the needs of traffic. It was reported in the local newspaper that:

Counc J. Bingham...expressed the council's concern for the "free flow of vehicles and pedestrians...My contention is that we are introducing a traffic scheme to speed up the flow of traffic. This will increase the dangers to individuals. We already have difficulty in getting children safely across the A6"...Counc. J.E. Stell also opposed...He was against any further desecration of Worsley. "Too much is being sacrificed for the sake of roads," he said.³⁸

Research carried out in preparation for the production of the Government's 2007 *Manual for Streets* support these arguments. Whilst also acknowledging that town planning had in the past focused too much on the movement of traffic, the report states that, 'when long forward visibility is provided and generous carriageway width is specified, driving speeds tend to increase.'³⁹

³⁶ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85, (Walkden: 5 June 2008). 00:03:54

³⁷ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71, (Walkden: 21 November 2011). 00:07:41

³⁸ "Five Vote Majority Decides Monument Must Be Moved," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 30 1967.

³⁹ Department for Transport and Department for Communities and Local Government, "Manual for Streets." p7

The slowing down of traffic as vehicles navigated the roundabout also meant that the long straight stretch of wide dual carriageway, Manchester Road, was interrupted by this iconic landmark of the town. The effect of this punctuation in the journey was that people understood that they had arrived at a key location, an identity point in a large urban conurbation, whether familiar with the area or not. Since the removal of the Monument it is easy to pass through Walkden at relatively high speed without actually noting the fact that the boundaries between one town and another have been crossed. Once the East Lancashire Road and the motorway had been built, thus easing the flow of traffic through the town centre, many in Walkden, perhaps naively, thought the Monument would be returned to its former site. One interviewee notes:

We knew the motorways were coming, and we knew that all the traffic went through Walkden, so, we thought that, when the motorways come, you know, that's going to free Walkden again an' the Monument will be moved back again but it never was. But the excuse was, with all this traffic, the Police got upset...you know, because of all the traffic coming through.⁴⁰

In addition to changes in the road layout, and to the monuments themselves that had become the key landmarks and identity points of the commercial centres, various regeneration schemes have also left their mark on the success and navigation of the retail areas of Walkden and Hastings. Consecutive governments have looked at a wide range of initiatives to stem what is perceived as a gradual destruction of the high streets of our towns and cities. As has been noted in the Introduction of this thesis, one of the most recent, from 2011, has seen the retail and marketing expert Mary Portas tasked by the Government to form a series of recommendations that it is hoped will help to secure the future of the British high street. Criticising large commercial developments linked to regeneration schemes and arguing that high streets are *the heart* of communities, in her report Portas asserts that 'once we invest in and create social capital in the heart of our communities, the economic capital will follow.'⁴¹

⁴⁰ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77, (Walkden: 14 August 2009). 00:14:31

⁴¹ Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets." p3

The interviewees of both towns express strong opinions about the regeneration schemes and commercial developments that have taken place or are ongoing in their town centres. Almost all of the Walkden interviewees comment on what they see as the negative changes to Bolton Road that was once the main shopping thoroughfare leading north from the original site of the Monument. In 2009, retail research firm Experian reported that 60% of the retail premises in Walkden were empty.⁴² One Walkden interviewee comments:

There was shops right the way down both sides of Bolton Road, as far as Hill Top, right down as far as the station...there wer' a lot of businesses...there was two cinemas, pubs, Labour Clubs, it was a bustlin' community really.⁴³

An open-air shopping centre had been built in Walkden in 1965 that successfully provided an adjunct to the thriving shops on Bolton Road; it also contained an indoor market. In 1977 however, a few years after the Monument was removed from the town centre, Tesco opened a large supermarket that has been extended several times; the most recent phase opened in September 2010 making it one of the largest in England and the dominant feature of the town centre area. It had the effect of shifting the shopping thoroughfares substantially west of Bolton Road in order to provide for its extensive car park. Despite the hopes expressed by local councillors that the new megastore will revitalise the town, many of the Walkden interviewees passionately disagree and blame the arrival of Tesco for the loss of the distinct and varied Bolton Road traders:

The town I think has lost its heart because, Tesco's has built this huge supermarket, erm, they've built with it, or are still building a huge, erm, shopping complex, much of which is empty. As a result of all that, all the small family businesses which used to be a feature of Walkden...up an' down Bolton Road, have now disappeared. So, you know, it's almost Tescotown these days rather than Walkden.⁴⁴

⁴² Ruth Mitchell, "Gateshead High Street 'Worst Hit by Recession'," *Business News Daily*, no. 24 June (2009), <http://bdaily.co.uk/business/24-06-2009/gateshead-high-street-worst-hit-by-recession/>.

⁴³ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75, (Walkden: 22 November 2011). 00:13:05

⁴⁴ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:03:52

There are great plans to, to make that Tesco the size of New York eventually, if you go, if you go in the shopping centre there, there are plans up all over the place for enlargement.⁴⁵

It's run down [Walkden] an' it should be called Tesco City, that's what people say to me.⁴⁶

Commercial regeneration of the town centre of Hastings has also proved problematic since the demolition of the Memorial. This is particularly unfortunate as during the interwar years, Hastings boasted some of the most innovative architectural and urban planning schemes in the country.⁴⁷ Both locally and nationally, Sidney Little, the Borough Engineer for twenty four years, was considered a true visionary. As detailed in Chapter two of this thesis Sidney Little was acutely aware of the importance of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower to the people of Hastings and in 1946 put forward a range of plans to modernise the town's commercial centre and improve the flow of traffic without damaging this iconic structure. The plans proved costly to implement and Little did not receive the support of the council so they were shelved. Despite the inter-war and post-war innovations that Little brought to the development of the town however, many of the Hastings interviewees expressed the feeling that the town centre area has suffered from a lack of imagination in terms of regeneration, particularly over the past few decades. One interviewee comments:

But really, the fifties and the sixties were not times of great progress in Hastings, it still seemed to be going downhill a bit, it never, it never really, erm, what shall I say, it, it never got back to where it was before the war and for a long time it just seemed to be a downward path,...certainly the town didn't seem to have very much vision.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57, (Walkden: 7 October 2008). 00:12:12. The shopping centre is to undergo further expansion in Autumn 2013. See:

<http://www.theellesmerecentre.co.uk/development/> Date accessed: 20/10/13.

⁴⁶ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:30:52

⁴⁷ Richard Pollard, *Hastings Looking Back to the Future: A Tribute to Sidney Little, Borough Engineer and Water Engineer 1926-1950* (Hastings: Richard Pollard, 2011).

⁴⁸ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:37:57. Despite referencing Little's innovative work before the war, including the opening of Bottle Alley, the underground car parks, the bathing pool etc., Margaret does not recall any of the innovative regeneration ideas proposed or carried out after the war, the 1946 proposals for around the Memorial for example.

Once the Memorial was demolished in 1973, the Old Town area of Hastings, to the east of the town centre, began to reassert its position as a focal point and for many years it has been the centre of much of the borough council's financial investment in tourism and leisure and in the preservation of the historical built environment. As a consequence it now tends to be the area that most attracts holidaymakers, indeed many day-trippers would perhaps be unfamiliar with the area that was previously regarded as the social and commercial centre of the town. The Old Town also houses a growing arts community bolstered by the fact that in 2012 a new gallery was opened there by the Jerwood Foundation. Talking about this shift in focus, the previous interviewee goes on to say, 'I think it has changed, I think the emphasis now, really a lot of the emphasis is on the Old Town, because of the historical connections and the fact that, it's [the centre] sort of moved further along that way.'⁴⁹

The borough council's financial investment, the conservation of its historic built environment, and the marketing of the Old Town area as having the main Hastings visitor attractions, has all helped to retain a strong sense of identity within its community; one that was originally sustained by the close-knit fishing families whose fleet is still based in that part of the town. The Hastings Arts Development Officer explains that, 'interestingly, the Old Town has really, if you like, maintained its own autonomy as a community which is fiercely proud of their background.'⁵⁰ Another Hastings interviewee comments:

That's all changed, the Old Town, you know, completely, over the years...Now, one, one good thing is that, it's improved, that you get people coming to Hastings right throughout the year, you get a lovely Sunday and they say, might ring up friends and say what it's like in Hastings, and they all come down, because in their local paper, the Old Town is like, erm, say, Notting Hill, there was an article about it. A lot of people come down from, erm, London, to the Old Town, 'cause there's a lot of, erm, antique shops, the old fashioned dress shops, retro furniture and all things like that, they all do come down now, it has improved.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid.00:54:40

⁵⁰ Interview with Michael H. Aged 54. 00:04:58

⁵¹ Interview with Peter H. Aged 75. 00:50:47

In a long anticipated attempt to revitalise the main retail area of the town and the previous site of the Memorial, the Priory Meadow Shopping Centre was built in 1997. In common with the Walkden commercial development that is dominated by a Tesco store, this is regarded with equal ambivalence by the Hastings interviewees. Reflecting on the loss of the Memorial and the building of the shopping centre, one Hastings interviewee asserts, 'now we have an ugly town centre with no heart.'⁵² Two others comment:

Well it, to me, it's just like all the other town centres, you know, that, a lot of towns are doing this, aren't they, making walk-in precincts, it takes away the character.⁵³

I would say Hastings now is a, what we used to say in a derogatory voice, like Margate.⁵⁴

In common with Hastings, Margate has high levels of multiple deprivation and it was one of the initial twelve 'pilot towns' to receive public funds from the Government to help with regeneration of their high streets following the Portas Review.⁵⁵ The town of St. Leonard's also bid for the funds but was unsuccessful. Portas, in fact, has little positive to say about the large-scale commercial centres of the kind found in Walkden and Hastings and echoes many of the assertions found in the interviewee narratives, she writes in her report:

I believe that our high streets are a really important part of building communities and pulling people together in a way that a supermarket or shopping mall, however convenient, however entertaining and however slick, just never can. I want to put the heart back into our high streets, re-imagined as destinations for socialising, culture, health, well-being, creativity and learning...High streets of the future must be a hub of the community that local people are proud of and want to protect.⁵⁶

⁵² Deirdre D. p3

⁵³ Interview with Kathleen U. Aged 82, (St. Leonards on Sea: 7 April 2009). 00:38:37

⁵⁴ Interview with Phyllis W. Aged 97, (St. Leonards on Sea: 15 May 2009). 00:32:57.

⁵⁵ Kent County Council, "The Indices of Deprivation 2010: Detailed Findings for Kent," ed. Business Strategy & Support Research & Evaluation (Maidstone: Kent County Council, July 2011).

⁵⁶ Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets." p14

See the Government website for more details about the pilot towns:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/improving-high-streets-and-town-centres> Date accessed: 20/10/13.

What is notably lacking in the Portas Review however, is any acknowledgement of the importance of the historic built environment in and around our high streets. It is that very aspect that will often create the local distinctiveness to which she refers throughout her report and that generates a powerful sense of place. In addition, her references to social capital ignore any of the research carried out in important studies, such as that by Newcastle University in 2009, that suggest strong links between the historic built environment and social capital.⁵⁷

Examining the physical evidence and analysing the interviews suggests that in both Walkden and Hastings the removal of the monuments appears to have affected the legibility of the towns to such an extent that it resulted in, or at the very least appears to be a significant contribution to a shift, both physically and psychologically, of the town centre. The interviewees link this change in the geography of the area, brought about by the demolition or removal of their monument, with the decline of the structure of the two town centres. One Hastings interviewee comments:

It was just like you'd grown up with it, it was there, and then when it'd gone, you suddenly realised, oh my word, what've they done? And it seemed to break down the whole structure for people of that area, the Memorial area; it was taken away by that one monument being pulled out.⁵⁸

This particular interviewee had spent some time away from the town for reasons of employment and the Memorial had been demolished during his absence. At the very beginning of the interview he compares the importance of the Memorial with Hastings Castle and expresses his reaction when he returned to the town on discovering the clock tower had been removed:

When I came back to Hastings, I was shocked and stunned to see that this central figure of a monument had been taken away, I couldn't believe it, I found it, well, it's like taking a main part of the town away, it was more important than the castle, they could have

⁵⁷ David Bradley et al., "Sense of Place and Social Capital and the Historic Built Environment: Report of Research for English Heritage " (Newcastle: Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University and Bradley Research and Consulting, 2009).

⁵⁸ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:41:02

taken the castle away...but the Memorial, that was the focal point...it's lost everything.⁵⁹

In other interviews and indeed in frequent letters to the local newspaper, the now pedestrianized area with its ubiquitous shopping centre is criticised for having no *heart*:

I feel very sad that my town has lost its heart in sight and sound; there is nothing there now but a dead area with no heart.⁶⁰

For years I have been trying to get the council to realise what a desert the town centre is since they demolished the memorial since when Hastings has lacked any heart, made all the more apparent by the pedestrianisation which is really soulless.⁶¹

One Hastings interviewee, addressing his wife, talks about how this sentiment was echoed by his parents and in-laws:

Your mum and dad were both annoyed that it'd gone...My father, I think it was my father or might have been my brother, they couldn't understand what they were doing, they said "That is Hastings"...my father, he said, he couldn't understand how you could take the heart out of the town⁶²

Twenty percent of the interviewees across both towns use a specific metaphor of *the heart*, to describe the two monuments. This recurrent reference to Hastings having *lost its heart* was also echoed in a poem published in a supplement to the local newspaper in 1992, by the writer and BBC broadcaster Margaret Rose. This section from the supplement can be seen in illustration 36. The poem is also notable because it references the fact that the area is still referred to as *the Memorial* even though the structure itself is no longer there.⁶³ Although published in 1992, the supplement purported to be written in May 1995, three years into the future. It was an exercise in looking at what developments might take place in Hastings just before the Millennium. The Memorial featured heavily in the supplement, with a manipulated photograph on

⁵⁹ Ibid. 00:00:08

⁶⁰ Deirdre D. p2.

⁶¹ "Memorial Clock Views," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Friday 27 August 2004. p6

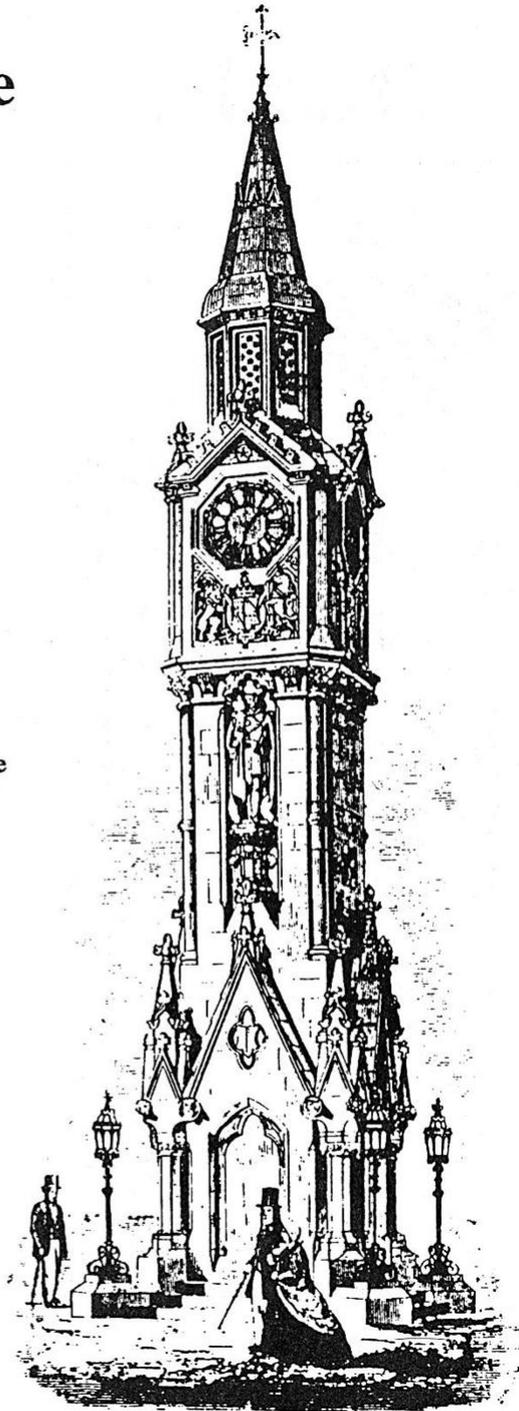
⁶² Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:45:24

⁶³ Margaret E. Rose, "Town With a Hole in the Heart," in *Towards Hastings 2000* (Hastings: Hastings Trust, 1992).

the front page supposedly featuring a new memorial to replace that lost, covered in hoarding and awaiting the unveiling. The design of the new structure, as with the original, had supposedly been chosen through an open submission. The exercise reflects the popular hope expressed amongst the Hastings interviewees and in frequent letters to the local press that at some stage in the future, the Memorial, or some other appropriate structure, will be built on the same site as the original clock tower.

Town with a hole in the heart

Meet me at the Memorial, she said.
Where is it?
Can you help me please -
I'm a stranger – here on a visit.
 The eyes of the traffic god flick,
 cars freeze and people flow,
 flick green, flick red, flick green,
 stop go, stop go
The memorial – yes, it's here.
Memorial? Where?
Here, where you're standing.
What – this space? this empty air?
 The green man walks in the eye of the
 god,
 his apple green eye.
 No Memorial, says the traffic god,
 walk on – pass by.
“And some there be who have no
memorial...”
What's that you said?
“They too were merciful men...”
Eh? Just Bible words in the head.
 There was something here once, I
 believe...
 some tower....with a clock on top...
 The god's red eye looks angry.
 Why has everyone come to a stop?



Margaret E. Rose, Hastings, 1992

The Hastings Albert Memorial

Illustration 36: 'Town with a hole in the heart'. A poem by Margaret E Rose as it appeared in *Towards Hastings 2000*, published by Hastings Trust in 1992 © Hastings Trust

Several Walkden interviewees also assert that before its removal the Monument was *the heart* of the town. Although the Monument is extant the interviewees almost unanimously assert that in its current location it is positioned away from the most frequented pedestrian thoroughfares and outside of the everyday visual landscape of the local community. Now sited in the grounds of the parish church it faces a busy section of the main road to Manchester, far removed from the location of the shops, banks, Post Office, library and other local amenities:

No, it isn't noticed at all. Not where it is, it's in the, as I say', in the front grounds of the parish church. More or less on the main road, it's on the main road, but people don't go that way because the shops are not that way, they're the opposite way, so it isn't noticed the same.⁶⁴

Well, it's not a visible place, it's not, no and even now it's floodlit at night, it's, you've sort of passed it before you realise you've seen it, you really are, because, you know, the garage sort of shields it, as I say you've passed it before you realise it.⁶⁵

So it was heart rendering [sic] when they decided to move it and I hope that they can put it back, you know, like it's suggested, on the site that's suggested⁶⁶, because, and I just hope that people respect it, because, I mean, it was so well thought of by people in this area and it'd be sad to see anything 'appen to it; and where it is now it's, you don't really see it because you're just going by, aren't you, it's tucked away there; you're going by on buses and that.⁶⁷

Since the re-siting of the Walkden Monument and the demolition of the Hastings Memorial, the interviewees in both towns reference the fact that there have been many public debates and initiatives focused on the restoration of the two objects to their former sites. Over the years, the new location of the Walkden Monument, away from public gaze, contributed to its general deterioration in condition. Despite several attempts, it was not until a Millennium initiative, supported by the Rotary Club of Walkden and the local council, that a restoration was commissioned. The Hon. Secretary of the Rotary Club recounts:

⁶⁴ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:12:55

⁶⁵ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64, (Walkden: 30 October 2009). 00:18:14

⁶⁶ The interviewee is referring to the original proposal by the Walkden Rotary Club to raise funds to pressure the council to replace it in its original site. The money raised later went towards the restoration.

⁶⁷ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76, (Salford: LifeTimes Oral History Archive, 27 October 2000). 01:11:49

We had the Millennium coming up...one or two of our members who were local men, born and bred, felt they should do something...but by this time the Monument had been stuck in St. Paul's Churchyard for like forty years, thirty odd years, and had disappeared almost behind a, erm, a pile of foliage and trees, overhanging trees, it was covered in mildew...it was damaged, in some parts, erm, the statues were still missing, and it was in a sad state, and we felt, that was when the idea, let's see if we can move the Monument back to where it should be, or at least on the corner.⁶⁸

The initial aim of the project had in fact been to restore the Monument close to its original position at the main crossroads but costs and planning impracticalities made this option untenable:

Originally...we wanted to move the Monument back, not right in the centre of the road, because they wouldn't have allowed that, but, you will recall on the bottom of Bolton Road, as you turn left to go to Manchester, there's sort of green area, and we had thoughts of moving it and putting it there, almost back in its original position and certainly in a central, position, but that, the cost of that was, out of the planet, so, that never happened, but we restored it.⁶⁹

An extensive restoration was subsequently carried out and a grand unveiling took place on 4 October 2006. As a specific reference to the original commemorative purpose of the Monument it was unveiled in the presence of the 6th Earl of Ellesmere.⁷⁰

Although the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings was demolished, there have been many calls for it to be rebuilt on the original site. Some of these have originated from the general public but others have come from council officials. In 1996 Councillor Graeme White unsuccessfully tried to start an appeal for funds to rebuild the Memorial. More recently in 2004 at a full council meeting, the Deputy Mayor Maureen Charlesworth proposed a complete rebuild in the image of the original. She did not receive the council's support for the idea but once again, amongst local residents it prompted calls for the Memorial to be reconstructed. Letters appeared in the local newspaper echoing her

⁶⁸ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:25:04

⁶⁹ Ibid. 00:10:01

⁷⁰ "Landmark Restored to Former Splendour," *Bolton Evening News*, Thursday October 5 2006. See the relationship chart for the Egerton family in Appendix 1 for details of the 6th Earl.

sentiments, one commenting 'there's no need to bring in an architect to produce a special design...just build it like the original 19th century one.'⁷¹

Proposals for other commemorative monuments and structures on the same site to replace the original clock tower have also been frequent and varied. Some suggestions have been more outlandish than others, an irony not lost on local newspapers as can be seen in a 1992 cartoon seen in illustration 37.⁷²

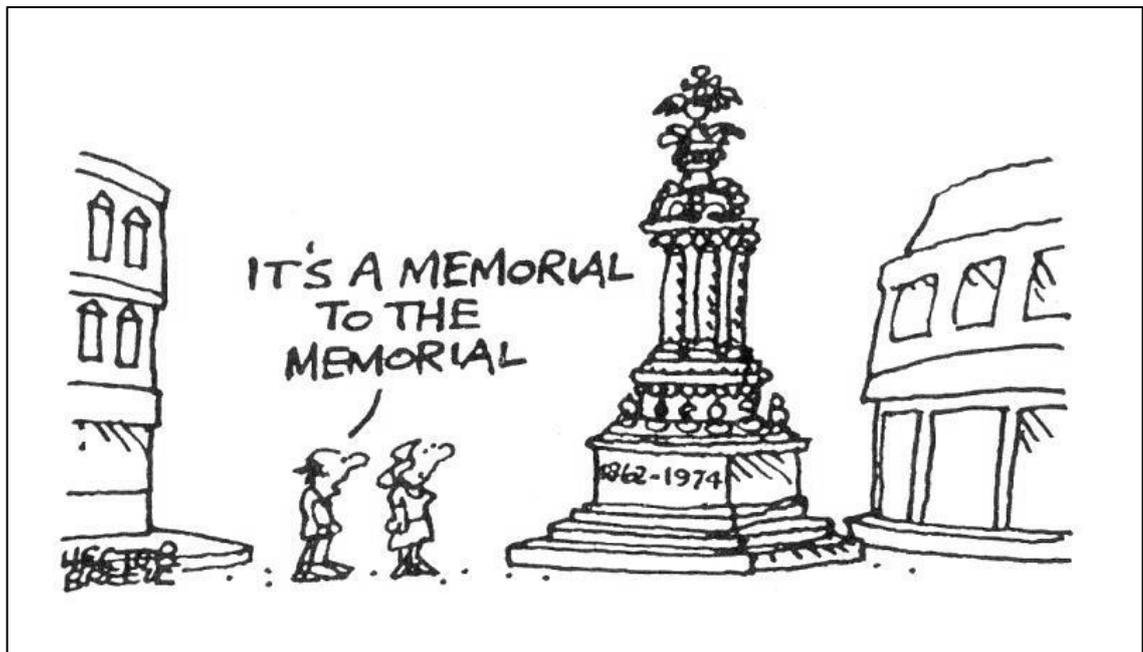


Illustration 37: 'It's a Memorial to the Memorial'. A cartoon from the front page of *Towards Hastings 2000*, published by Hastings Trust in 1992. © Hastings Trust

These repeated calls for the restoration, re-siting and rebuilding of the two structures provide contributory evidence of the two monuments' function as powerful symbols of the two towns. When the demolition of the Hastings Memorial was proposed in 1973, Alderman Nye suggested that it was as representative of the town's identity 'as much as Eros was to Piccadilly and the Eiffel Tower was to Paris'; local people echoed the sentiment in the newspaper:

⁷¹ "Letters to the Editor: Build it Like it Was," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Friday 20 August 2004. p6

"New Call to Rebuild Memorial Clock Tower - But at What Cost?," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Friday 6 August 2004. p15

⁷² Hector Breeze, "It's a Memorial to the Memorial," in *Towards Hastings 2000* (Hastings: Hastings Trust, 1992). p1

'the removal of the Albert Memorial would be proportionately as de-facing for Hastings as the removal of the Nelson Column...would be for London.'⁷³

The two monuments provided the architectural distinctiveness that, writing in 1998, Yi-Fu Tuan asserts is important in creating a sense of place and community identity. Indeed the monuments are specifically cited as landmarks differentiating the town from others or in some way iconic of the town in 50% of the interviews and a correlation between the physical landmark and the towns' identity is posited by almost all of the interviewees.⁷⁴ A sense that the two monuments projected this identity outside of their geographical location is also implied. The Walkden Monument was originally situated on a roundabout at the centre of a major trunk road and was therefore well known by many who travelled to other parts of Lancashire and beyond, particularly before the building of the A580 East Lancashire Road in 1934. One Walkden interviewee recounts a story demonstrating the familiarity that others had with it even in more rural settings:

I remember, in later years, travelling, going to, through Lancaster in a car, and er, with my husband, and he pulled up at a, just a small family garage, out in the countryside, and this man who owned the garage said to him, "I bet ah know where you come from", so he says, "Oh, how do you know that?", so he looked at his number, he was goin' off his number plate for one thing. So he told him, he said, "A bet you come from Bolton area, don't you?", an' he says, "Yes, as a matter of fact, but not quite in Bolton", "der yer live in Bolton?", and he said, "No, actually, Walkden", he says, "Oh, der yer", he says, "oh", he says, "that's that place where they have the monument i'n't it", he said, an' he says, "yes, that's right". He says, "Oh", he says, "it's a lovely place, a lovely place that", he said, "it's a magnificent monument". And so, so far away people knew, you see, about the monument. It was a landmark, yeah.⁷⁵

Another Walkden interviewee comments on the familiarity that people had with the Monument, both due to it being an important marker on the journey, and a

⁷³ "Time Runs Out For Albert: Goodbye to 90-Year-Old Landmark," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 13 October 1973. p1

"Public and Future of the Memorial: More Opinions From 'Observer' Readers," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 16 August 1952. p7

⁷⁴ For a fuller discussion on the role that public monuments play in this relationship, see: Yi-Fu Tuan, *Escapism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

⁷⁵ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76. 01:11:49.

point of traffic congestion on the holiday route to Blackpool and the Lake District prior to the building of the A580 and the motorways:

It had to go I understand because the A6, pre-motorway days, was the main route up to Blackpool, and the Lake District, and...before the motorway wer' built, in the summer, the queues along the A6 heading for Blackpool from Manchester and Sheffield indeed before the motorways were built, were, er, huge, and, and, people from other parts of Manchester say "Oh, I know Walkden, that's, that's where that monument was when wi used t' go t' Blackpool", and they always knew where they were when they passed the Monument on their way to Blackpool.⁷⁶

These issues were also raised during local council discussions about the removal of the Monument. Councillor Mrs M. Wood is reported in the local newspaper as asserting, 'I have no sentiments about the Monument...but it is useful as a landmark for people who have travelled long distances and who may not know the district.'⁷⁷ The interviewees' comments reveal that the Monument was perceived as setting apart the town from others, not just locally but throughout and beyond the county. They support Poplin's theories of the territorial variable in community building and suggest that this element of architectural distinctiveness contributed to a sense of belonging by emphasising a notion of *us and them*. Another interviewee echoes the suggestion that moving the Monument away from this central point in the major road network took away the sense of identity that the town had with regard to those outside the local community:

I don't think they really bothered about where it went, it was the fact that it was being moved, because it did give us our identity. Because wherever you went in Lancashire, "Oh, Wogden⁷⁸, aye that's where 't Monument is, i'n' it?", you know, we no longer had our identity. I really don't think people were too bothered where it went.⁷⁹

This architectural distinctiveness is also remarked upon in the context of neighbouring towns and again suggests that the loss of the Monument from its original location has somehow diminished the way that the town is seen as special in comparison to those nearby:

⁷⁶ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:07:41

⁷⁷ "Walkden Monument To Be Moved," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, November 9 1967.

⁷⁸ Local dialect for Walkden.

⁷⁹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:18:14

I mean, there's Farnworth near me but they have nothing as I know of, and Swinton's the next one, there's nothing there in the centre of the town...And Little Hulton 'ave nothing. That was the only centrepiece that I knew of, our Monument, an' it's gone.⁸⁰

'cause there isn't really anything now, to distinguish it [the town centre] from anything else.⁸¹

Similar comments are made by the Hastings interviewees about the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, both with regard to its importance as a landmark and in providing the town and the local community with a sense of identity. Several comment on the loss of that identity when the Memorial was removed, one noting 'I think the town did suffer from that particular identity went [sic], and there has never ever been, I don't think, a focal thing to take it over.'⁸²

Even as several councillors in the Hastings Highways and Works Committee were pushing for the removal of the Memorial in 1952, the local newspaper reported that during discussions the Committee were forced to concede that 'since 1863 [the Memorial] has been the chief landmark in modern Hastings', and the newspaper editorial asserted that the clock tower was 'a feature round which so much of the life of the borough has revolved during the greater part of a century.'⁸³ The comment once again echoes the idea of the Memorial being a central reference point for the everyday activities of the town.

The emphatic physical presence that the monuments exerted on the road infrastructure and visual landscape in Walkden and Hastings, the points of orientation that they provided for both the social and commercial legibility of the towns, and the architectural distinctiveness that they gave to the localities, all contributes to their importance within the fabric of everyday community life in the two towns. The transition from their original commemorative intent to powerful representations of place and emblems of community identity is revealed both in the oral history interviews and also in the manner in which the image or form of the two objects is used.

⁸⁰ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:18:02

⁸¹ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:28:17

⁸² Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:54:03

⁸³ "Future of Memorial Clock Tower," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 2 August 1952. p4

In Hastings for example, the notion of the Memorial representing the centrality of community life was reflected in its use for many years as the banner emblem for a local newspaper column that contained detailed information about community events, gossip and other such matters. Illustration 38 shows three examples of the banner, changing stylistically over the decades but always depicting the Memorial as its central motif. A Hastings interviewee describes the contents of that section in the newspaper:

A chat, a chat column, I mean, and we always read that because there were interesting bits in there, '*Round the Memorial*, and I think it was written by the editor, wasn't it? I'm not sure...I'm not sure who wrote it...but '*Round the Memorial* was always picking up sort of chatty news about the town...it might be about personal, about people, it might've been about places, it might've been reminiscing things but it was always, it was, that's what it was called, '*Round the Memorial*, and it was always there. When one of the new Ministers was coming or leaving or something, that was the sort of thing that might have been picked up in it...it was community news really.⁸⁴

The Memorial was also depicted in the banner of the *Hastings and St. Leonards Pictorial Advertiser and List of Visitors*, associating the monument not only with the lives of local people but also suggesting its perceived importance to visitors to the town as a tourist attraction. Illustration 39 shows the banner from an issue of the publication dated 5 June 1913.

Interestingly in Walkden, an image of the Monument was used in their local newspaper for precisely the same purpose; illustration 40 shows a banner from a 1946 edition of the *Farnworth Weekly Journal*. The banner uses the word *chat* to imply the colloquial nature of its content; the same descriptive word was used by the Hastings interviewee when talking about the content of the similar column in the Hastings newspaper. The image of the Monument is accompanied by an image of Farnworth Town Hall revealing that the column also included news about civic events and views expressed about local council activity.

⁸⁴ ———. 00:45:03

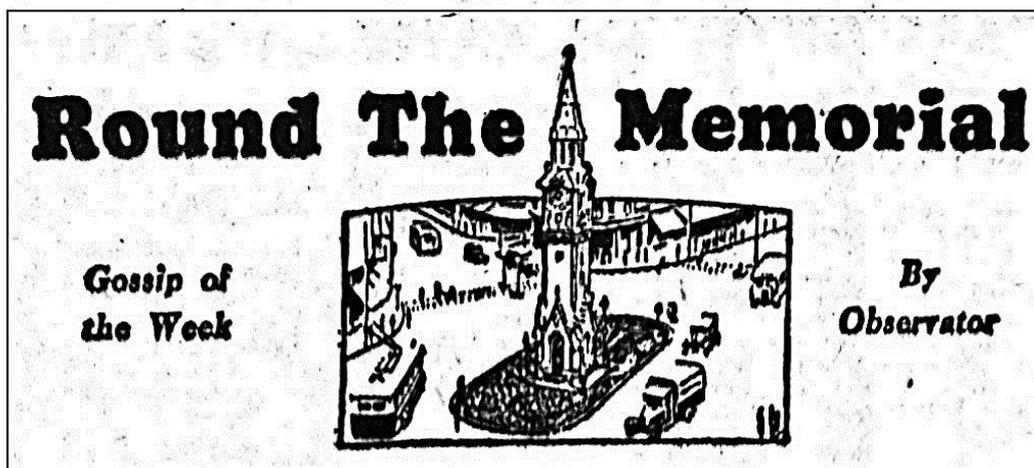
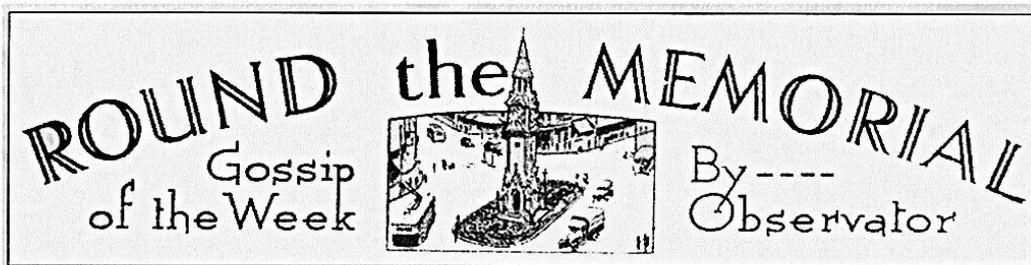


Illustration 38: banners from the community news and gossip section of the *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer* dating from, top to bottom, the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s.
© Johnson Press plc



Illustration 39: a banner illustration from the *Hastings & St. Leonards Pictorial Advertiser and List of Visitors* from an issue dated 5 June 1913.



Illustration 40: a banner from the community news and gossip section of an October 1946 edition of the *Farnworth Weekly Journal*, at that time the Walkden local newspaper.

The community pages of local newspapers are not the only places where evidence can be found of the two monuments' role as emblems of the respective towns, and of their contribution to a sense of community identity. Images of both monuments have been used on a wide range of ephemera, souvenirs, in corporate logos, and on postcards. Described as *the universal souvenir*, outside of the history books, archive and museum, the postcard is perhaps where images of the two monuments can most frequently, and easily be found.⁸⁵

As a seaside resort Hastings has a particular market for the pictorial postcard and hundreds of different examples have been produced. The town still boasts its own local postcard company, Judges Postcards, that originally produced many of the photographic postcards that featured the Memorial.⁸⁶ In his book, *Designing the Seaside*, Fred Gray asserts that:

Although often derided as an unsubstantial piece of ephemera, the picture postcard...was the single most important way of representing the twentieth-century Western seaside, its use and users and its architecture.⁸⁷

Gray also asserts that it was the purchasers and consumers of postcards that determined which subjects were popular and which were abandoned by manufacturers. In common with those featuring the Memorial, the iconic status of the Monument in Walkden, a small industrial town rather than a seaside resort, is also demonstrated by the many postcards produced in which it forms the central focus. Gray posits that postcards 'were particularly significant in establishing and developing the image of a place' and that their senders helped to 'shape representations and understandings' of those places.

⁸⁵ Beverly Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary," *Journal of Popular Culture* 20, no. 3: Winter (1986). p140

Once thought to be a later German invention, the first pictorial postcard was in fact sent to the Victorian eccentric, Theodore Hook of Fulham, England in 1840. It is thought to have been designed by Hook and sent to himself.

⁸⁶ Judge's Photo Stores was founded in 1902 by Fred Judge, a photographer originally from Yorkshire. In 1927 they moved from Hastings town centre and built the factory in St. Leonards on Sea where the company still trades as Judges Postcards today.

⁸⁷ Fred Gray, *Designing the Seaside: a Social and Architectural History of the Seaside Resort* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2006). p83-84

On 1 September 1894 the Post Office removed its restrictions on the production of postcards and as a result the first pictorial examples in the UK were produced by commercial manufacturers. The first British picture postcard featured a view of Scarborough. The subsequent popularity of pictorial postcards was fuelled by the expansion of the railways facilitating travel to the various seaside resorts around the country.

Illustrations 41 & 42 show two multi-view postcards, one from Walkden and another from Hastings. Regardless of the clear focus on seaside imagery in the Hastings version, the two postcards show remarkable similarities in design. Both have five images with the central focus on the respective monument embellished with banner headings. Although publishers had a set of framing conventions, both the Walkden postcard's banner font and the wording, *Greetings from*, are more suggestive of a holiday destination as opposed to an industrial town, indicating the civic pride with which the Monument was viewed. As can be seen from illustrations 43 & 44, the two monuments also featured as the individual subject of some pictorial postcards, many of them in colour. Both of these images, taken in the inter-war period, show trams moving along the main shopping thoroughfares leading up to the monuments at the major crossroads. In the Hastings postcard, although the tramlines are visible around the Memorial, it is also worth noting that at this time traffic was not significant enough to prevent walking, meeting and conversing in close proximity to the Memorial.

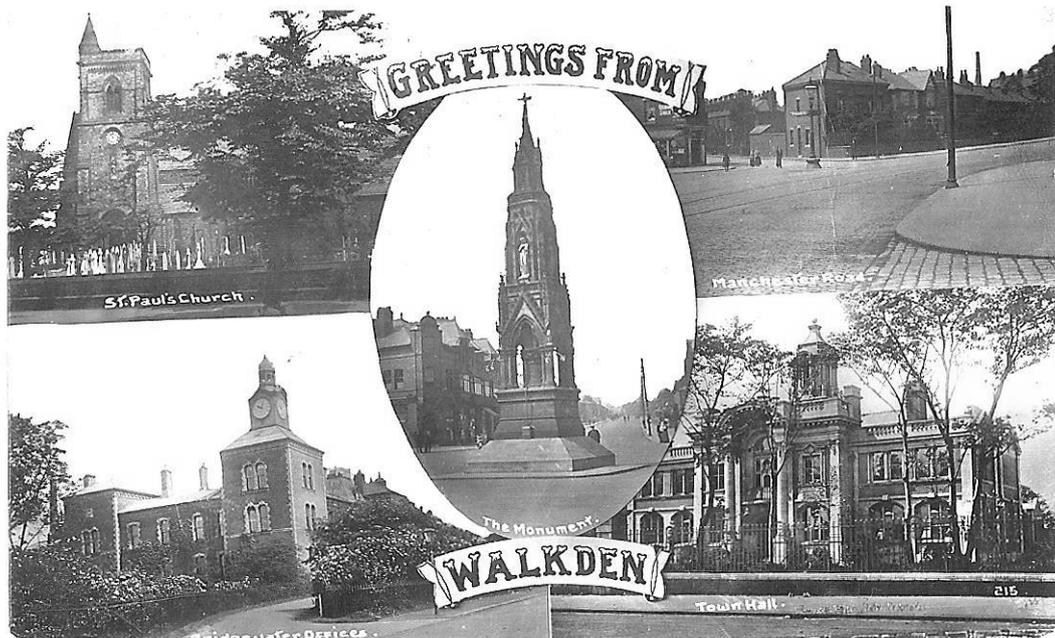


Illustration 41: a multi-view pictorial postcard of Walkden, c1930s.



Illustration 42: a multi-view pictorial postcard of Hastings, c1956.

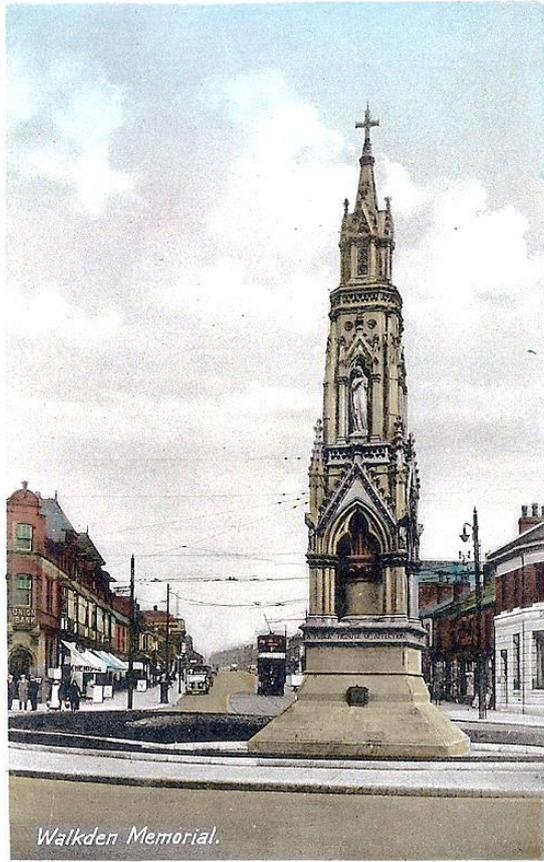


Illustration 43: a postcard of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden, early 1900s.

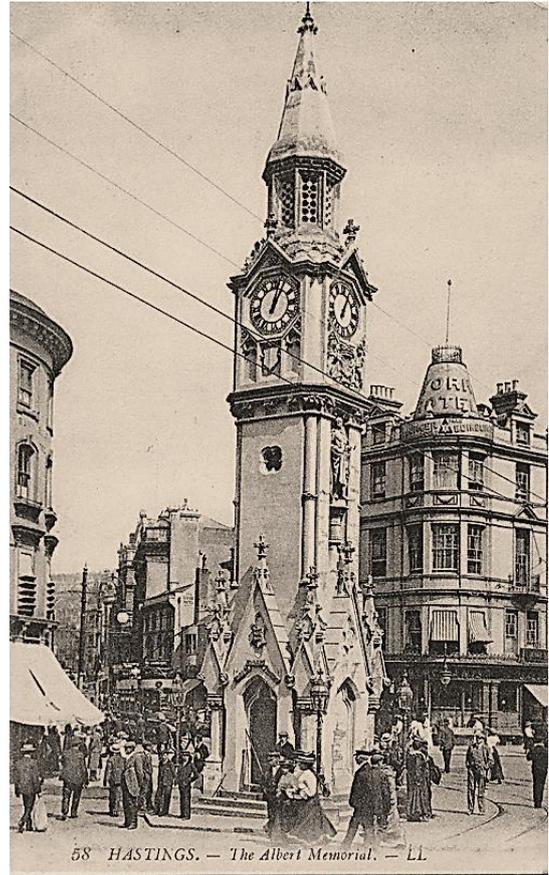


Illustration 44: a postcard of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, Hastings by Louis Levy, c1908.

As Hastings was a fashionable holiday destination, postcards were not the only souvenirs to feature the Memorial. A range of china objects were popular, particularly small crested china models of the clock tower; these were first made available in the late 1800s by manufacturers such as W.H. Goss, Carlton Ware and Willow Art.⁸⁸ Discussing the demolition of the Memorial and her disdain for the current condition of Hastings town centre, one interviewee recounts,

It [the Memorial] was used as a souvenir of the town for visitors to take home, I have two small china memorials and a plate (1920-1930) showing it...Buying models of our clock was as popular as

⁸⁸ Crested chinaware became popular as souvenirs with the growth of the railways which enabled large numbers of people to visit seaside resorts. Located in Stoke on Trent, the firm of W.H. Goss was perhaps the most famous manufacturer but several others in the area produced similar china figures including Willow Art who specialised in figures of monuments. See: Sandy Andrews, *Crested China: The History of Heraldic Souvenir Ware* (Horndean: Milestone Publications, 1980). Lynda Pine, *Goss and Souvenir Heraldic China* (Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd., 2005).

seaside post cards, I still have one, we hardly need a postcard of our town centre today.⁸⁹

The small model of the clock tower was a rather low budget souvenir of a visit to the town but there were other, more expensive china objects also available such as the plate referred to by the interviewee and chinaware made in Germany. Illustration 45 shows two examples of the small china models of the Memorial by Carlton Ware and Willow Art, and one of the German-made pieces of porcelain, in this case a lidded sugar bowl. All three pieces are decorated with gilt and ceramic transfers but the sugar bowl was intended for a more affluent traveller with more ornate and gilt scrollwork and a high quality pictorial transfer. The image on the sugar bowl, probably taken from an 1860 engraving by Newman & Co., features the Memorial in front of the ornate Queens Hotel (built in 1862), with the text *The Albert Memorial & Queens Hotel Hastings*.⁹⁰

In research relating to the buying, function and meanings of souvenirs, these types of objects have been described as communicating a conspicuous authenticity; in other words they present an obvious meaning to the viewer as representations of the place visited.⁹¹ The meanings of such pieces can change over time however. The souvenirs of the Hastings clock tower, bought originally as a memento providing public evidence of having travelled to the extant monument, have now become representations of its absence. This is perhaps no more visible than in a shop window in the Old Town area that has a commemorative display dedicated as a 'Memorial to "The Memorial"'. In the photograph of the window in illustration 46, one of the small china models of the clock tower can be seen to function as the centrepiece of the display and is flanked by a series of postcards showing images of the Memorial.

In addition to these overt representations of place, there are also mementos or souvenirs that demonstrate an idiosyncratic authenticity; these are objects collected where the reference to place is not immediately recognisable to

⁸⁹ Deirdre D. p3

⁹⁰ The Queens Hotel was damaged in the hurricane of 1987 and after remaining closed for several years it now houses luxury apartments.

⁹¹ Lisa L. Love and Peter S. Sheldon, "Souvenirs: Messengers of Meaning," *NA - Advances in Consumer Research* 25 (1998).

See also: Hugh Wilkins, "Souvenirs: What and Why We Buy," *Journal of Travel Research* 50, no. 3: May (2011).

others. These might include souvenirs such as pieces of rock, plants and other natural elements.⁹² Such mementoes have also been sold commercially; examples include turf from the old Wembley Stadium, objects containing steel from the fallen World Trade Centre, and debris from the Statue of Liberty during its restoration in 1985. This desire to hold on to often an unrecognisable fragment of the whole was also evident during the demolition of the Prince Albert Memorial in Hastings and the re-siting of the Countess of Ellesmere Monument in Walkden. The local newspaper in Hastings reported that the contractor carrying out the demolition had said that 'many people had been asking for pieces of the masonry to keep as souvenirs.'⁹³ Similarly, as has been noted in Chapter one of this thesis, when the Countess of Ellesmere Monument had been dismantled and was awaiting rebuilding on the new site, the four small statuettes from the corners of the structure were stolen and were never recovered.⁹⁴

⁹² Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary."

⁹³ "Memorial Souvenir Bid: £50 Offer and Albert is Saved," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 24 November 1973. p1

⁹⁴ "Monument Memories," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, 25 July 1968. The statues depicted a collier, a Lancashire cotton operative and two factory girls. They were not replaced until the restoration of the Monument in 2006.



Illustration 45: two porcelain, crested models of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower by Carlton Ware (left, 12.5cm high) and Willow Art (centre, 17cm high), and a souvenir porcelain sugar bowl, manufactured in Germany with a transfer image of the clock tower and the Queens Hotel. © Author



Illustration 46: a display commemorating the Memorial inside the window of Reeves & Son, a second-hand shop on High Street in the Old Town area of Hastings. © Author

The use of the Walkden Monument as an emblem for the town has continued long after its removal to another site, particularly where there is a strong connection to local industry. It can be seen for example on a badge produced locally by the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign. The organisation was set up in 1985 during the Labour Party Conference. During the 1984/1985 miners' strikes many workshops and collieries produced NUM badges both to show loyalty to the striking miners and to be sold in order to raise funds for the campaigns, the miners and their families. The badges were eventually created in many hundreds of designs and have become collectors' items. The Walkden Workshops badge, seen in illustration 47, was designed by Rick Sumner to raise funds for the North West Miners Defence Campaign. The design shows the Monument surrounded by railings with the letters NUM emphasised in the text of 'MONUMENT'. The banner underneath is embossed with the text, 'Bridgewater Collieries'. The last of the Bridgewater Collieries, Mosley Common, had in fact closed the same year that the Monument had been moved, although Walkden Workshops remained open until 1986.⁹⁵

The importance of the symbolic nature of the Monument to the town is also reflected in the comments of one interviewee who is Secretary of the local Rotary Club. Through the Rotary Club, the Monument continues to be used as a visual reference to the town nationally and internationally:

Well, I think it was a, it was, well it was to Walkden, if you like, what Blackpool Tower is to Blackpool, and, you know, Big Ben is to London, it was the symbol, which is why we use it on our, on our club bannerette, er, it's our club emblem.⁹⁶

What, what is common amongst Rotary Clubs is, if you, particularly if you travel abroad, or go to visit clubs in other parts of the country, it's quite common to exchange these things with your host club, and that is ours...We used to have a club magazine...and it was called *The Monument*, and that appeared on the front of it.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ See: Brian Witts, *Enamel Badges of the National Union of Mineworkers* (Leominster: Savage Pen, 2008). p51 & 54. See also: <http://www.justiceformineworkers.org.uk/>

⁹⁶ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:15:54

⁹⁷ Ibid. 00:37:39 – the interviewee is referring to the banner of Walkden Rotary Club

Illustration 48 shows a Rotary Club of Walkden banner. As the previous quote explains, these banners are exchanged with other Rotary Clubs throughout the world when official visits are made or when clubs engage in joint charitable ventures.



Illustration 47: a Walkden Yard Workshops NUM badge, designed by Rick Sumner during the 1984/1985 miners' strikes.
© Author

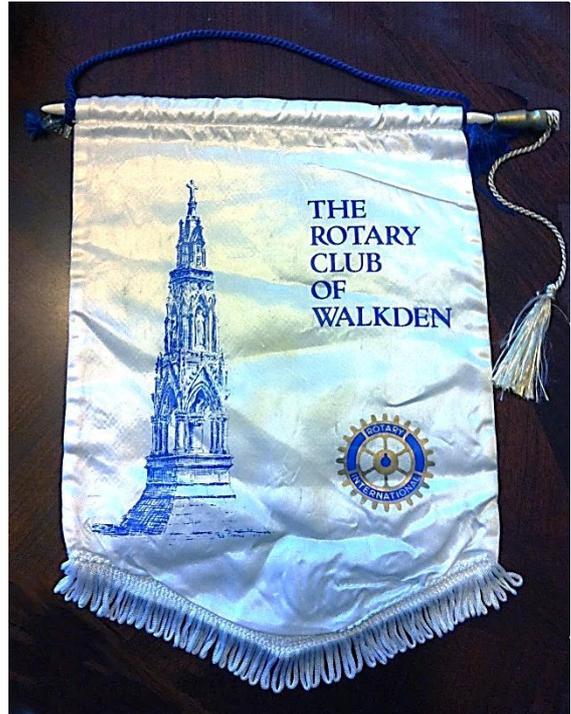


Illustration 48: a banner of the Rotary Club of Walkden.
© Author

In addition to demonstrating the importance of the monuments as centrally located iconic landmarks, as emblems of the two towns and in contributing to community identity, their significance as meeting places is also referenced repeatedly by the interviewees. The Hastings Memorial additionally so because, as has been previously noted, it had provided a hub for public transport:

Everyone, when you went to Hastings, you know Wellington Square, well there, with the big Castle Hotel, and that's where all the country buses came in and parked there, on that slope, an' if we were meeting anyone, you'd see them at Wellington Square where the buses are, or 'round the Memorial, that's when you went to Hastings an' you said you'd meet anyone, you'd be 'round the Memorial somewhere.⁹⁸

It was a hub of the town because all the trolleybuses would arrive there, we would sort of probably meet there to go to shops, cafes,...we'd meet up, we'd meet the girls, us boys, sort of try and impress them in the usual way, but it was again, that was a focal point, that sort of part of the Memorial. If you bought clothes, you always went to Ward's⁹⁹, places like that, again in the Memorial so it was a very central place to us...that was probably our, our focal point for everything that was sort of central to us, whether you were meeting people from the other end of the town, we always met at the Memorial. If we were going out to the cinema in the evenings, again we would always meet at the Memorial and head off from there.¹⁰⁰

Asserting that this had also been the case for earlier generations of local people, this latter interviewee goes on to say:

I think if you went to our parents, if they were still alive, they would be telling you exactly the same thing, they all met at the Memorial... It doesn't matter where you came from...it doesn't matter where they came from, the Memorial was the, it was the focal point.¹⁰¹

As a meeting place for most of those working in the town centre area, having resonance with the newspaper column *Round the Memorial*, several interviewees identify that the Memorial also provided a means of catching up

⁹⁸ Interview with Peter H. Aged 75. 00:30:17

⁹⁹ J.B. Ward & Co Ltd., 1 Queens Road; a large shop near the Memorial, they supplied school uniforms for all the local schools.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:00:08

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 00:25:18

with local gossip and news through chatting to friends or through the casual encounter before and after a day at work:

Like with boyfriends and girlfriends...you could stand at the bus stops, and, you'd know who the boys were, I mean. you know, they'd say, "You're not going out with him, are you? He's going out with so and so"... Yes, so, it was, it, that's what it was really. It was a little, it was the meeting place, and of course everyone knew everyone else. See, that's the thing, because you were all seen 'round there. She works at so and so, my friend worked at , the chemist, as I say, I worked where I did, and, my friend worked in the tax office, but, you'd all meet, say hello, and all go off to your jobs, and then meet again at night, and on the bus coming home again.¹⁰²

The Walkden Monument had also been important as a casual meeting place. As previously noted, its physical footprint was modified many times over the approximate one hundred years of its presence at the centre of the major crossroads of the town. At one stage, following the removal of the original iron railings encircling it, benches were placed at each side of the square base. One interviewee notes, 'it had forms 'round it where we used to sit on... all forms facing north, south, east and west.'¹⁰³ These benches provided a place to meet and being at this central point ensured that any period of time spent sitting there would ensure contact with a substantial number of other people in the community:

Well, like I say, because everybody used t' amalgamate there, you know, and, I mean, ev..., we'll say, a sunny day like this, you'd go and sit on the form near the monument watchin' traffic and people go by, like, have a chat with people you know, passin' and that, you know, it was quite a popular thing to sit 'round the monument, 'cause there wasn't forms anywhere else, to sit on, on the road, sort o' thing, there was no forms there, they was just 'round the monument and people used to, like a say, sit on the monument, an', people passin', crossin' the road, an' stop an' 'ave a chat an', but all that's gone now.¹⁰⁴

In addition to being a casual meeting place for the local community the two monuments also provided the platform for the staging of larger formal and

¹⁰² Interview with Jan D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009). 00:29:47

¹⁰³ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:04:43

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76. 00:14:27

informal gatherings. The next chapter examines the significance of the monuments as meeting places and how, through local traditions, festivities, ceremonials, rituals and the everyday casual encounter, the objects became a specific focus for the development of bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

Chapter four

The social: meetings facilitated by events

This chapter examines how the Monument in Walkden and the Memorial in Hastings provided a central locus for an array of community rituals, ceremonials and festivities, and thereby facilitated the development of what Robert Putnam, writing in 2000, refers to as 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital, and additionally what Michael Woolcock, writing in 2001, describes as 'linking' social capital.¹ The formal and informal social networks constructed and developed through these events, interwoven with relationships of trust and mutual benefit, strengthened the sense of community identity in each town.

The role held by the two monuments as a significant meeting or gathering place is embedded in the interviewee narratives. This function is expressed through descriptions of how the local communities organised and performed a range of rituals and ceremonials in which the monuments served as integral points of reference. Across the 25 interviews, the monuments are specifically referred to as an important meeting or gathering place a total of 38 times. Their substantial size and their position at what was, or what subsequently became, the nucleus of each of the two towns reinforced their importance to community events; indeed their original sites are referred to metaphorically by 20% of the interviewees as the *heart* of the town. Demonstrating this physical centrality, frequently dressed with bunting and adorned with flowers, the two monuments were usually the place at which people gathered during these events as one large potent body before dispersing homeward or along prescribed routes. The centrality is reinforced repeatedly by the interviewees in the use of phrases such as, 'round the monument', or 'round the memorial', when describing a wide range of formal and informal gatherings.

¹ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000). p22-23.

Michael Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes," *ISUMA: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2, no. 1 (2001). p13-14

For a more detailed overview of the development of these terms please refer to the Introduction

Writing in 1978 Steven Lukes described ritual as 'rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance.'² Ritual based community events in Walkden and Hastings that centred upon the two public monuments reinforced the meanings, importance and value of those objects to the local community and fostered a sense of place through the construction of collective memory. The interviewee narratives in fact reveal that the regard in which the two monuments are held arises as much from the role each played in public events as from their local historical significance and original meanings. The important relationship between these rituals and events and the physical space in which they are performed is referenced throughout the interviewee narratives. Writing in 1989 Connerton suggests that Halbwachs, in his treatise on collective memory, had underestimated the importance of its relationship to place.³

In addition to providing a physical reference point for community events and for the localisation of public and individual memory, the two monuments also provided a focus for the development of social capital. The monument-centred ceremonials and festivities facilitated the development of bonding social capital by creating opportunities for close family and friends to participate in, or observe those public events. These same occasions facilitated the development of bridging social capital by providing opportunities to meet with work colleagues and to extend formal networks and wider friendships. By providing forums where people could commune with those belonging to the towns' hierarchies of power, these events also provided an opportunity for the development of linking social capital.

The rituals, ceremonials and festivities were a mixture of ecclesiastical and secular, large and small scale, formal and informal, as well as serving to mark a range of junctures in the liturgical year. They were also organised to formally celebrate civic occasions, visits by the Royal Family, for memorial services, or

² Steven Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," in *Essays in Social Theory* (London & Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1978). p54

³ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

for protests and demonstrations. In addition they manifested as spontaneous informal gatherings, on New Year's Eve for example, or during ad hoc celebrations such as those that took place on Victory in Europe Day.⁴ Through such events, memories were localised at the two monuments which fostered a strong sense of place and community identity. The proceedings often demonstrated a comparable structure that frequently included a large procession, and were organised by similar sections of the local community in both towns. These occasions served to bring together the majority of the community in a collective expression of apparent value consensus. As Connerton asserts, 'to enact a rite is always, in some sense, to assent to its meaning.'⁵ Steeped in local tradition the two monuments came to signify much of that consensus in material form. They each stood for some one hundred years at the centre of the built environment and of community life, so much so that the loss of the monuments in the two towns heralded the end of many of the associated ceremonials and festivities.

As is the case in many communities, the staging of major events on the religious and secular calendars served to mark the passage of time in the two towns. These calendars provided a sense of continuity and cohesion to the life patterns of the local population and an opportunity to reaffirm local traditions and ideologies. Marking the merger of pre and post-industrial culture and a shift in memory practices, the calendar could also serve to structure the year around the working patterns of local industries. In Walkden and much of the industrialised north for instance, significant festivities were organised during the factory holiday periods of Whitsuntide and the annual Wakes weeks; in the country's holiday resorts such as Hastings these were equally important dates for the tourist industry.⁶ Many of the processions had a religious emphasis, taking place at specific times of the liturgical year and often extending over

⁴ Most of the country knew that Germany had in fact surrendered on the previous day but Churchill made the official public announcement on 8 May 1945, with that and the following day designated as public holidays in celebration. The end of the war in Europe was celebrated all over the country with large organised events such as street parties and widespread spontaneous partying.

⁵ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. p44

⁶ For a comprehensive study of the calendar of customs and festivals throughout the country, see: Steve Roud, *The English Year: A Month-by-Month Guide to the Nation's Customs and Festivals, from May Day to Mischief Night* (London: Penguin Books, 2006). See also: Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). p150

several weeks. The Sermons processions in Walkden for example, were associated with the Sunday school movement and in addition were generally designed to celebrate the anniversary of the churches involved.⁷ As such these processions were also regarded as a public acknowledgement and celebration of previous generations of worshippers and of the history of the parish as a whole. Marking the transition between spring and summer, they commenced at the beginning of May, occurring each Sunday through to the end of July and provided a weekly spectacle for local congregations. Two Walkden interviewees comment on their frequency and regularity:

Each church had its own Sermons...an' the Sermons wer' different Sundays for each church, so you could be all the summertime goin' to a different church, their Sermons.⁸

I was a Sermons girl, used to have white dress, white frilly hat, black patent leather shoes, white socks...They used to walk from the junior school at, er, St. Paul's, used to walk out onto the main road an'...into the church, an' we used to sing for all the congregation, er, an' people used to line the streets then to watch the Sermons girls, 'cause every church had somethin' goin' on like that, er, an' it was a big occasion.⁹

Most of the larger events in the two towns were organised by those in positions of power in the local church, the town council, the trades unions or any combination of these, and they exerted that power partly through their voluntary and charitable activities. They directed the rhetoric surrounding the events and dictated the rules by which they were conducted and in that sense reinforced the importance of various rituals and objects associated with the performance such as the participants' dress, the music, the banners and the two monuments themselves. Discussing the organisation of the events in Walkden, one interviewee recalls, 'it was a local group of, for want of a better word, the great

⁷ The Sunday school movement is reputed to have been founded by Gloucester newspaper owner Robert Raikes (1736-1811). It was particularly strong in Lancashire and until the late nineteenth century was the primary source of educational provision to children and adolescents in the county, Sunday often being the only day that they were not at work in factories and mines. Unlike many other areas of the country, in Lancashire children continued to attend well into their teens. All denominations established Sunday schools but the movement was primarily Church of England led. See: Keith D.M. Snell, "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture," *Past & Present*, no. 164: August (1999).

⁸ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77, (Walkden: 14 August 2009). 00:12:54

⁹ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75, (Walkden: 22 November 2011). 00:17:36

and the good.’¹⁰ He states that the main organiser was the wife of a local councillor and demonstrating her key role in the proceedings, the same lady is in fact mentioned by name in several other Walkden interviews.

Susan Davis writing in 1986 argues that, even when broadly inclusive, large public events are ‘both shaped by the field of power relations in which they take place, and are attempts to act on and influence those relations.’ She also asserts that the social relationships of those involved are ‘filtered through a complex process of inclusion, exclusion, influence, and planning.’¹¹ In many ways this is certainly true in both Walkden and Hastings. Participation in the various formal events bestowed a sense of respectability with some roles carrying more importance than others. Even those families who could afford the various trappings involved in taking part usually had to be interviewed by the organisers before being accepted. One Walkden interviewee talks about his family having to meet with the organisers before being allowed to take part in the carnival parade:

Yeah, I was in the carnival, I ‘ad a kilt, an’ we wer’ picked from the school, we wer’ so many children an’ then they, there wer’ so many interviewed, an’ I was interviewed with my family, an’ mi mother said “yeh, go on, we’ll let ‘im ‘ave it”, so I was a page boy, an’ I ‘ad a kilt on, an’ a red thing, a sporran, an it wer’ expensive, an’ somebody in charge in Walkden, did all the organisation, oh, a lady called Mrs Pennington, she did all the organisin’ of it, financier, an her husband wer’ a councillor so they made a bit o’ money, but I think, I think that was a lot of work in this involved ‘cause, ooh it very, very attractive when it came, open Landaus, yer know, like the Queen, an’ everybody bowing and things like that, an’ they had their train hangin’ over the, over t’ back of it, it was very dignified, an’...brass bands playin’ at night, fer, sort of, finish it off.¹²

Nevertheless, in both towns these events involved the entire community in one way or another, through aspects of organisation, participation or at the very

¹⁰ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64, (Walkden: 30 October 2009). 00:13:39. The interviewee is referring to the wife of Councillor Joseph Pennington, one time Mayor of Walkden, whose son was also elected to Worsley Urban District Council in 1962 and became Mayor of Salford in 1999.

¹¹ Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986). p5-6
See also: Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*. p150 & p183-185

_____, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003). p162-163

¹² Interview with John D. Aged 87, (Walkden: 28 April 2010). 00:16:45

least, observation, regardless of their social standing. Davis herself concedes that although parades are a ‘technique of the powerful’, they are not ‘inaccessible to less powerful citizens.’ Church and civic dignitaries, friendly societies, trades guilds and workers groups, employers and their employees, adults and children all had their roles to play. Even in itself, the inclusivity and collaboration of this formal and informal interaction provided the foundation for a strengthening of social capital in all its forms. A Walkden interviewee also notes the involvement of local employers and stresses the voluntary and inclusive nature of the events:

The National Coal Board and Hipwood and Grundy took it in turns to supply the float...and then there were various other local haulage contractors supplied a wagon...They were heavily decorated floats, and then of course the trade floats as well. But no, it was not a civic event, it was a community event in the fullest sense of the word...they were entirely voluntary.¹³

All of the more formal community events generally featured a parade or procession. These processions brought together representatives from all classes and walks of life in the two towns and provided a range of opportunities for social interaction. The importance of the events is reflected in the size of the crowds present on such occasions and in them claiming possession of the area around the two monuments for the day, in other words the most significant thoroughfares of the town which were the location of the main financial, commercial and religious institutions. As was observed in Chapter one of this thesis, on each corner of the roads radiating out from the Walkden Monument there stood a major bank; equally the Memorial in Hastings was surrounded by the largest and economically most successful retail outlets in the town.

Providing a controlled, rule-based setting for the representation of divisions between rival groups, church or otherwise, the processions offered a safe forum through the various competitive elements for expressing those differences. Centred on the two monuments, the overarching effect of these processions however was the reaffirmation of the collective values of certainly the majority of the local community and, in frequently suspending the usual activities of the

¹³ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:13:39. Hipwood and Grundy were a local hauliers.

towns, the place and time of these events was thus set apart from everyday life.¹⁴ In consequence the two monuments were also accorded special significance within the historic built environment. Patrick Joyce asserts that during such rituals:

The identities of class and nation often flowed through the conduit of the town, just as the town sometimes acted not so much as the subject of public ritual as the venue for the expression of the institutional loyalties existing *within* towns...when inclusion was duly accorded and popular institutions were integrated in these rituals, then working people seem to have shared with others the view that the town itself had interests and an identity that transcended the divisions of urban life.¹⁵

In both towns, but particularly in Walkden, large and frequently elaborate banners featured heavily in most of the important community processions, whether they were of an ecclesiastical or secular nature. Carrying a range of motifs, mottoes, and often detailed images, each banner represented an individual church, Sunday school, friendly society, political faction, community or workers' group. Membership might vary in terms of numbers but the banners, when carried in procession, and usually proceeded by a loud brass band, served as a proclamation of allegiance to specific groups and ideologies. The banners emphasised the presence of these groups in the town, acted as rallying points and informed spectators of a group's imminent arrival even from a substantial distance away. When not being used in a procession they often served as emblematic adornments to the naves of the respective churches, community halls and trades union committee rooms.

In some instances the banners had been created to commemorate the original foundation of a church or other group and might therefore be of great age, thus specifically referencing that group's longevity within the community. The banners have a commonality with the two monuments under discussion inasmuch as members of these organisations regarded their banners with great esteem as symbolic objects in which was encoded cultural memory, the group's

¹⁴ See: P. G. Goheen, "The Ritual of the Streets in Mid-19th-Century Toronto," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11, no. 2 (1993).

¹⁵ Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*. p183-184.

shared identity and a sense of place. Having some resonance with a public monument's inauguration ceremony, elaborate rituals were often performed for the dedication of a banner followed by a church blessing during its first unfurling. The banners must therefore be regarded as *lieux de mémoire*, in Nora's words a 'significant entity which by...the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.'¹⁶

The banners were an important aspect of the spectacle and pageantry provided by the processions, not only as a means of communication but also in focusing the emotive responses, whether of reverence or acrimony, of both participants and observers. Writing about the use and design of banners in 1909, Mary Lowndes, the stained-glass artist and chair of the Artists' Suffrage League asserted:

A banner is not a literary affair, it is not a placard...A banner is a thing to float in the wind, to flicker in the breeze, to flirt its colours for your pleasure, to half show and half conceal a device you long to unravel: you do not want to read it, you want to worship it.¹⁷

Holding such an important practical and symbolic role, it was therefore regarded as a great honour to carry the banner in procession or to even hold the ribbons attached to it. Indeed, one Walkden interviewee comments 'an' if you were lucky enough to carry the banner, or ribbon the banner, well, you wer' ev'rythin' were'nt you.'¹⁸ Illustration 49 shows one of several large banners carried by St. Paul's Church and School in Walkden. The banner is one of a pair depicting St. Paul which still hang amongst other smaller examples in the nave of the church. The design is in the traditional style of such large banners with a central, highly detailed image flanked by panels of medieval style scroll work or containing a floral motif. This is a standard design that was established throughout the country by the famous banner maker George Tutill Ltd. who founded his

¹⁶ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). pxvii.

See also: Nicholas Mansfield, "Radical Banners as Sites of Memory: The National Banner Survey," in *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, ed. Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004). p81

¹⁷ Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign* (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd., 1987). p262

¹⁸ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:17:21.

company in 1837.¹⁹ The designs are rooted in those used for the travelling fairgrounds where Tutill had spent his early working life. In common with fairground banners they were designed to be striking, convey information easily and generate excitement and anticipation amongst the crowds, their size ensuring that they could be seen from a substantial distance. Like most of the larger banners the example illustrated is made of heavy, richly embroidered silk, velvet and brocade, clearly demonstrating the need for several banner bearers because of the considerable weight.

Professionally produced banners of this kind were of course extremely expensive, usually purchased only after building up a substantial fund over many years. Where a group were unlikely to raise the required funds, smaller banners were made by its members; these were generally embroidered or appliquéd with text in contrast to the large, pictorial, painted silk examples from manufacturers such as Tutill. The photograph in illustration 50 shows a banner that was made in 1886 by a Sarah Smith and her daughter for the founding of the Walkden branch of the Womens' Temperance Association. It was carried by them in the Whitsuntide procession from Tyldesley to Walkden with younger members of the group holding the attached ribbons.

¹⁹ The company is still trading today, see: <http://www.flags-tutill.co.uk/> Date accessed: 21/10/13.



Illustration 49: one of several banners that hang in the nave of St. Paul's Church, Walkden. It was once used in the Whitsuntide and other processions. Size approximately 10 x 7 feet. © Author



Illustration 50: a banner from 1886, handmade for the Northern Branch of the Womens' Temperance Association and carried in procession during the Walkden Whitsuntide celebrations. 107cm x 147.5cm. White satin background with hand embroidered and appliqué gold design and lettering. © National Banner Survey, People's History Museum

In most Walkden processions the banner bearers, leading the smaller groups from each individual church and school, navigated various routes around the town and then everyone gathered together in one concentrated spectacle at the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial. Illustration 51 shows several different groups beginning to gather at the Monument that has been dressed with bunting for a Whitsuntide procession; a number of large and elaborate church banners have already arrived and a band is playing. Loudspeakers have been attached to telegraph poles in all directions so that the prayers and speeches can be heard by spectators on all of the main thoroughfares leading to the centre of the town. The image suggests a notion of the material culture of identity, represented as

ostensibly immovable in the Monument, juxtaposed with the movable in the form of the banner, both objects acting as constituent elements in the production of cultural memory.

Banners were not only an important feature of celebratory events but were also carried during protests and demonstrations as identifiers of allegiance to trades unions or to a range of political and social movements. Indeed, in its first hundred years of business, the vast majority of orders taken by the George Tutill company were from miners' lodges.²⁰ Reiterating the significance of who carried the banner, in the case of protest marches Glynn Williams writes that bearing a trades union banner could mark a man for years, 'it was remembered in court record and obituary.'²¹

The Walkden Monument was the site of a number of large rallies from the earliest of the miners' strikes, and indeed of many other political gatherings. Keir Hardie addressed a large open air meeting at the Monument as early as 1896 for example and a letter to the local newspaper during the time when it was being dismantled asserts that 'before the Emlyn Hall was built, meetings of the Labour Party, organised by the local pioneers of the Movement, were always held around the Memorial.'²² Individual collieries prized their own banners and these would take their place at the Monument prior to the speeches. In one of the earliest photographs of a Walkden miners' rally, taken in 1885 and shown in illustration 52, having gathered at the Monument the procession can be seen making its way up Bolton Road, the main commercial thoroughfare. The miners are again led by a large, elaborate banner. The use of a procession by strikers and protest groups, with their associated banners and occasionally a band, is a way for the participants to demonstrate not only their solidarity as a group but also to present themselves as dignified and

²⁰ An overview of the history of the company can be found in: Hazel Edwards, *Follow the Banner* (Manchester: Carcanet Press Ltd., 1997).

The People's History Museum in Manchester holds the largest collection of political and trades union banners in the world and is also the home of the National Banner Survey which has recorded over two and a half thousand banners held in various collections in Britain. Trades union banners are still a predominant feature of many large gatherings in the north of England such as the annual Durham Miners Rally. For the seminal text on trades union banners, see: John Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of Trade Union Banners* (Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1986).

²¹ ———, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of Trade Union Banners*. p13

²² "Monument Memories," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, 25 July 1968.

respectable, even while at the same time challenging the authority of the town's hierarchies of power.²³ Protest groups, using banners, bands and processions, asserted this sense of respectability whilst expressing their grievances by replicating the structure and rhetoric of the annual ecclesiastical and secular festivities. Again they utilised the Monument as a central platform to communicate their message to the local community. Using this mode of protest, despite them taking possession of the streets, it was difficult for local authorities and the police to find cause to intervene because they were usually well dressed and orderly, as is clearly the case in the photograph of the Walkden miners' rally.

In her study of the imagery used during the suffrage campaign in Britain, Lisa Tickner comments on the fact that many women involved in the protest marches felt distaste for such public display but that the spectacle and camaraderie of the organised and orderly procession lent dignity, determination and a respectability to the proceedings that was defended even in the media. She also comments on the 'collective rhetoric' of the banner and its role in processions to unite those of diverse occupation and class in a common cause.²⁴

²³ See: Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. p137-152

²⁴ Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign*. p66-88



Illustration 51: a photograph taken in the 1950s showing the crowds and church banners beginning to assemble at the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden, during the Whitsuntide procession.
© Salford LifeTimes Collection



Illustration 52: a photograph taken in 1885 showing a miners' procession, heralded by banners, proceeding through the commercial centre of the town after assembling at the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden
© Salford Local History Library

In both Walkden and Hastings, on the same day as celebratory and commemorative parades took place and after the participants had been rallied at the two monuments, fairs, dances, formal teas and other events were often held at nearby recreation grounds and community halls. These post-procession festivities provided relatively easy access to both church and civic officials and also did much to raise funds for local charitable concerns. In offering this further opportunity for meeting on both formal and informal levels, an additional mechanism was available for the development of linking social capital.

Whitsuntide is one of the main festivals in the liturgical calendar. Up until the late 1960s Whit was celebrated in Walkden with by far the town's largest annual procession. Formally called a Procession of Witness it was colloquially referred to as simply the Whit Walks. Originating once again from the Sunday school tradition in the industrial towns of the north of England, Whit Walks have remained culturally significant there.²⁵ Reflecting their place in the everyday life of Lancashire people, they are frequently seen depicted in the work of urban landscape artists such as Roger Hampson, Helen Bradley and of course, L.S. Lowry, who captured the Whitsuntide scene and other local processions in many paintings and drawings now in both public and private collections.

²⁵ Whitsun or Pentecost occurs on the seventh Sunday after Easter, between mid-May and mid-June. Whit Monday was originally a public holiday in the UK but in 1971 this was changed to the Spring Bank Holiday Monday. Although some Whit Walks took place in other parts of the country they were, and still are, predominantly found in the north of England. The first Anglican Whit Walk in the country took place in Manchester in 1801 and the first Catholic one in 1844. As well as the Whit processions themselves, celebrations often also included travelling funfairs and bonfires. Whitsuntide was celebrated in the south of England mainly with Morris dancing, pageants and fairs. A number of towns in the north west of England continue to have annual Whit Walks and there is evidence of a re-emergence of their popularity; those in Chesterfield are now said to be the largest. See: Roud, *The English Year: A Month-by-Month Guide to the Nation's Customs and Festivals, from May Day to Mischief Night*. p266-269



Illustration 53: 'The Procession', (1927), by Laurence Stephen Lowry (1887-1976). Oil on canvas, 39.5 x 59 cm. © Gallery Oldham

Illustration 53 shows one of Lowry's paintings of the subject entitled *The Procession*. The painting conveys a strong sense of anticipation as the crowds and banners gather, either before or after the Whit Walks, in central Swinton, a town only a few miles east of Walkden.²⁶ The painting was featured in a major exhibition of his work at Tate Britain between June and October 2013; the first show in a public gallery in London since his death. Timothy Clark and Anne Wagner, the authors of the catalogue, comment on Lowry's ability to accurately depict 'the life of Lancashire', and assert that his paintings 'comprise a familiar calendar of working-class experience' that 'speak to ordinary routines...and thus to the passage of time.'²⁷

²⁶ This painting is an almost identical copy of Lowry's 1921 painting, *Whit Week Procession at Swinton* which thereby confirms the location and occasion of this 1927 work. Swinton Art Gallery have also recently acquired another Lowry painting from a private collection that features a procession with several banners being carried aloft: 'A Procession', 1929, oil on panel, 35.5 x 50.7cm.

See also: Michael Leber and Judith Sandling, eds., *L.S. Lowry* (Salford: Phaidon Press Ltd. and Salford Art Gallery, 1987). p31 & 115

²⁷ Timothy James Clark and Anne M. Wagner, *Lowry and the Painting of Modern Life* (London: Tate 2013). p73-78

See also: Chris Waters, "Representations of Everyday Life: L.S. Lowry and the Landscape of Memory in Postwar Britain," *Representations* 65, no. Winter: New Perspectives in British Studies (1999).

Interest continues in the theme: as recently as 2009 the winner of the 2004 Turner Prize, Jeremy Deller, organised a procession through the streets of Manchester to represent the city, celebrate aspects of the local culture and reference the parade tradition of the Whit Walks and carnivals. The parade included floats carrying past and present Rose Queens and Carnival Queens, with other less traditional groups also represented such as Big Issue sellers, ramblers associations and fish & chip shops. The procession was replete with a wide variety of large banners representing the different groups, mainly created by the well-known contemporary banner maker Ed Hall, with one designed by David Hockney.²⁸

In Hastings, as in other parts of the south of England, Whitsuntide became the traditional time for the friendly societies to have their annual parades and dinners, as opposed to the church and Sunday school celebrations found in the north of England. The first of many such societies in the town, the Hastings Friendly Society, was founded in 1815. Already by the late 1800s however, the size of the friendly societies' parade in Hastings had significantly diminished.²⁹ As Hastings is a seaside resort, Whitsuntide became more important to the town as the beginning of the main tourist season rather than as a religious festival, and festivities were geared towards its visitors that, with the development of the railways, were increasing annually in number. In 1871 the *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer* commented that:

It was truly an enjoyable sight to stand near the Memorial and watch the streams of strangers pouring in from the railway station. Train after train discharged its living freight, and our visitors had to be counted by thousands. Who would do away with Whit Monday and its festivities? Here, besides our own standing population of nearly thirty thousand, some six thousand more came to participate in the pleasures we offered them.³⁰

Reflecting their cultural significance in Walkden however, the annual Whit Walks are referenced frequently throughout the oral history interviews undertaken for this thesis, and always within the context of the Monument. This

²⁸ Jeremy Deller, *Procession* (Manchester: Cornerhouse Publications and Manchester International Festival, 2010).

²⁹ "Whitsuntide Festivities," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, Saturday 3 June 1871. p3
"The Whitsuntide Holiday at Hastings," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Chronicle*, Saturday 22 May 1880. p3

³⁰ "Whitsuntide Festivities." p3

annual, formal ceremonial involved the vast majority of the town's population either as participant or observer. It provided an opportunity for the many different churches, civic societies and amenity groups to rally their supporters and vie for a dominant position in what was seen as one of the major religious celebrations in the calendar.³¹ The Whit Walks first took place in the Worsley area in 1822. Until 1897 however, when the first unified procession of several Anglican church groups was staged, they were independently organised by each individual church or school. Subsequently, even by the early 1900s the processions comprised very large numbers of participants as can be seen in the photograph shown in illustration 54; taken c1900/1905 it shows one of the early joint processions. In the photograph the first of several large church groups, including the nearby St. Paul's, can be seen at the Monument which is again dressed with bunting; the elaborate banners are accompanied by a band just visible at the bottom left corner of the image. The crowds are clearly waiting for another section of the procession to arrive from Manchester Road, to the right in the image, and fill the next allocated space around the Monument.

As the years passed almost the entire population of the town amassed for the annual event. Even in 1946 when the festivities had just been re-established after the end of the Second World War, the local newspaper comments that despite being an 'austerity affair', large crowds assembled. The photograph seen in illustration 55 accompanied the newspaper report and despite it being described as austere, clearly the procession was still of substantial size.³²

By the 1950s participants and spectators at the Whit Walks in Walkden filled every one of the five main roads leading to the central gathering point at the Monument. The crowds, colourful banners and richly decorated floats were accompanied by a cacophony of sound as each church or other body hired its own brass band, each competing with their chosen music. One Walkden interviewee comments:

³¹ Steve Fielding asserts that in Lancashire and Yorkshire, Whitsuntide as a holiday had equal status with Christmas, see: Steve Fielding, "The Catholic Whit-Walk in Manchester and Salford 1890-1939," *Manchester Region History Review* 1, no. 1 (1987). p3.

³² "Sunday Schools' Parade: Walkden Whitsuntide Procession of Witness: Austerity Still Rules," *Farnworth Weekly Journal* 1946. p2 & 6.

I mean, if you can think about it, there were something like eleven or twelve places of worship in the procession, each one with their own brass band. Oh they were full bands, I mean Walkden Band had something like thirty members, and of course each church was faithful to their own band.³³

Illustration 56 shows a photograph of Walkden Band taken c1907, comprising at that time twenty six members. The photograph demonstrates that even in the early years of the 20th century such organisations attracted a significant number of members and from across a range of ages. The seated bugler in the front row is clearly only a child and is juxtaposed on the other side of the base drum with someone much older. The band is a civic example but churches, political and associational groups would often have their own. These types of associations, involving different age groups, fostered precisely the sort of milieu in which, as Putnam argues, social capital is constructed.

³³ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:09:45
Walkden Band is still active but merged with Farnworth band in 2004.



Illustration 54: a postcard showing the Whit Walks procession in Walkden, c1900/1905. Different church groups can be seen beginning to assemble around the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial.

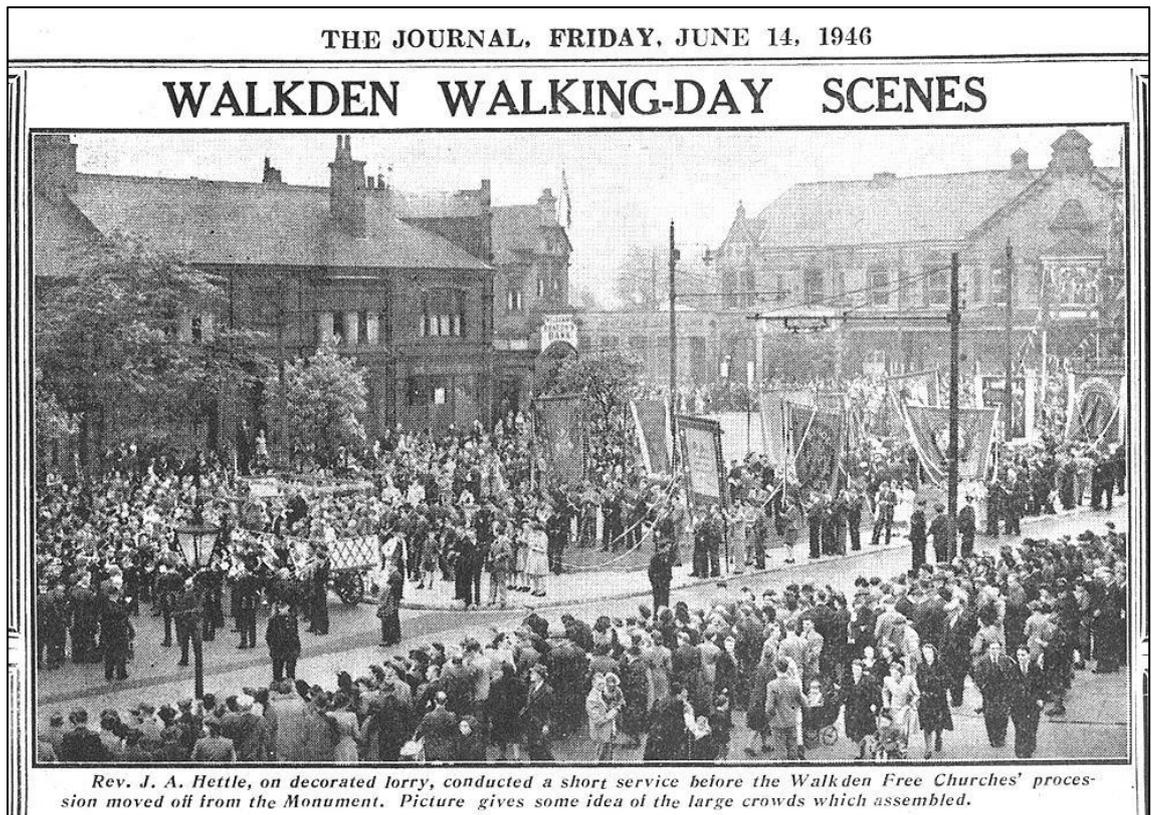


Illustration 55: a photograph featured in the *Farnworth Weekly Journal* in 1946 showing large crowds at the first Whit Walks to take place after the end of the Second World War.



Illustration 56: a photograph of Walkden Band, c1907. © Salford Museum and Art Gallery

The bands, and the banner bearers, led each individual group from all parts of the parish to the marshalling point at the Monument where hymns were sung, prayers offered, and speeches made. Usually at the head of the procession were church, school and civic dignitaries in ceremonial robes. Children featured highly, the girls dressed generally in the white dresses and hats they had worn for the Sermons procession and the boys dressed in white suits. Members of the various civic, amenity and voluntary groups wore their respective official dress. A Walkden interviewee lists some of the various participants:

The schools used to send the children from the schools 'cause if you went to the parish school you used to go to church so obviously you took part. There'd be the Scouts, Cubs, Guides, Sermons girls, the Boy's Brigade, er, Mother's Union, an' then just, er, worshippers really, followers of the church that used to walk behind, just to make the procession up, to show that you were part, belonged to the church.³⁴

Reinforcing a sense of place and particular community identity, each section of the procession walked to each part of the parish boundary before returning to the Monument. This reinforced the geographical placement of the local community and reaffirmed their sense of separateness from neighbouring

³⁴ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:20:16

parishes. This ritual has a strong resonance with 'beating the bounds' at Rogationtide, one of the oldest annual festivals in England but nowadays rarely seen. The importance of banners in these types of rituals is further referenced in some localities where the 'beating the bounds' was also known as 'bannering'.³⁵ During the Rogationtide festival, in common with the Walkden Whit Walks, various ceremonials were carried out at the parish boundary markers. The markers were often literally 'beaten' with sticks and as late as the 19th century young boys were still commonly held upside down and their heads knocked against boundary stones or posts in an attempt to 'fix' the markers and locations in their memory. Similarly, by leading the Whit processions to the outer boundaries of Walkden parish and carrying out various ceremonial acts, it was a way of passing on knowledge of the territorial extent of the community in a very physical sense, particularly in earlier times when maps were scarce and illiteracy levels were high. In the late 1970s in his seminal text on communities, Dennis Poplin cites territoriality as one of the fundamental variables in any definition of the term.³⁶ In Walkden the territoriality of the community was further reinforced by each parish having its own Whitsuntide procession, usually held on a different Saturday to its neighbour. The marking of the parish boundaries during the Whit Walks is recalled by several Walkden interviewees:

They all used to congregate, an' then you used to go to each area of the end of the parish, Walkden parish...you went to ev'ry boundary.³⁷

An' we used to walk, on the boundary of the parish, on Walkin' Day with the banner, an' we'd go up as far as Suez Mill, up 'ere, because that was the boundary, an' we'd er, we'd have hymns there, then we'd turn 'round an' come back,...with the procession, with the banner, an' we're passing other denominations, on the road, yer know, we're goin' one way, they're goin' the other, an'

³⁵ The festival takes place on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday immediately preceding Ascension Day which occurs forty days after Easter Sunday. It therefore usually takes place in May. Although the festival also included a blessing of the fields and crops by local clergy it has both secular and religious origins. An annual ecumenical service, the Blessing of the Sea, still takes place on the beaches in Hastings around the time of the Rogationtide festival.

³⁶ Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*, 2nd. ed. (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979). p5-9

³⁷ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:20:16

then we'd walk as far as what was, erm, Little Hulton station...an' we'd sing hymns there, an' then we'd walk back.³⁸

You were each, you know, like a, a clock, all around a circle in your lines, an' then they used to sing a hymn and say prayers, before they set off, an' then you used to come back your separate ways to wherever you belonged, it was a good day.³⁹

Each parish was highly competitive in wanting to stage the grandest spectacle. The cost therefore of participating in these large scale public events was substantial both for groups and for individual families. The desire to show respectability and commitment to the event was acute and the interviewee narratives suggest that there was often a fear that commitment might be measured by how much money had been spent. Even the bands were judged on this basis, one interviewee commenting 'the brass bands were really good, an' it depended, I suppose, how much money you had, what kind of band you had, you know.'⁴⁰ In some areas in fact, it became customary to hold brass band competitions at the time of the Whit Walks and brass bands remain one of the key features of the musical culture of the North West. The first large scale brass band contest in Manchester took place at Belle Vue on 5 September 1853 and today they still feature as part of the Whit celebrations in several northern towns. The town of Saddleworth, for example, holds an annual brass band competition that regularly features over one hundred bands; the competition is held on the afternoon of Whit Friday following the morning's Whit procession.⁴¹

Costumes in particular, for the church Sermons, Whit Walks, carnivals and other events, represented a significant financial burden on poorer families. They were usually elaborate affairs and made to measure through arrangements with members of the organising committees. If a family was able to make the costumes themselves then this would alleviate the extent of the financial outlay and ensure that the costumes could later be altered for everyday use. It was customary however for the material to be bought and for costumes to be made through the organising committees. One Walkden interviewee notes, 'and being

³⁸ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76, (Salford: LifeTimes Oral History Archive, 27 October 2000). 00:20:15

³⁹ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:22:17

⁴⁰ Ibid. 00:20:16

⁴¹ See: <http://www.whitfriday.brassbands.saddleworth.org/intro.html> Date accessed: 21/10/13.

chosen as the Rose Queen was the direct route to bankruptcy for her parents, because she had to have you know, the posh dress and all the gear.⁴² Once events such as the Whit Walks were over many families were forced to take the new clothes to the pawn shop in an attempt to recoup some of their money.⁴³ Even for those not taking part in the Whitsuntide processions it was the traditional time on the calendar for purchasing new clothes, particularly for children who would tour the streets showcasing the new items to the rest of the community and members of their extended family. The children would usually receive small amounts of money from relatives and friends on such tours of the neighbourhood.⁴⁴ One of the Walkden interviewees reflects upon the financial burden placed on families during the Whit Walks and is therefore ambivalent about the decline of the annual event:

But now that I'm older, I'm not so sure about Walking Day, you know, I don't regret it stopping...I think it's because,...ther' was all this about pretty dresses, an' if some little child wanted to walk an' di'n't have a pretty dress, they wouldn't be able to walk. It was that sort of thing goin' on. An' in the back of my mind I used to think, you know, it's not fair this sort of thing, my mother was a dressmaker so I always had a nice dress.⁴⁵

Most working-class women in Lancashire in fact had a sewing machine and many were highly skilled in making clothes, knitting and crocheting. It was also important to most families who participated in the Whit Walks to demonstrate their financial outlay to the rest of the community through these highly elaborate and fine detailed garments. This is echoed in research focusing on the Manchester Whit Walks by Steve Fielding:

Ordinarily the type of clothes worn by an individual was the most obvious and sensitive indication of his position within society...Whit made the possession of decent clothes even more crucial to participation in the mainstream of working-class life.⁴⁶

⁴² Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:13:39

⁴³ Fielding, "The Catholic Whit-Walk in Manchester and Salford 1890-1939." p24

⁴⁴ There is evidence of this custom dating back as early as 1626 and from as late as 1985. See: Iona Opie and Moira Tatem, eds., *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). p445

⁴⁵ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:10:26

⁴⁶ Fielding, "The Catholic Whit-Walk in Manchester and Salford 1890-1939." p5-6

One of the Walkden interviewees generously provided photographs showing some of the costumes she or her mother made by hand, specifically for the Whit Walks, carnival and Rose Queen celebrations. These photographs, seen in illustrations 57-59, demonstrate the highly elaborate and theatrical nature of the costumes. The use of heavy velvet, lace, tartan and braiding is indicative of the significant cost of making the clothes, although if the family had the requisite skills usually the costumes would later be adapted and re-cut for use by all members of the family or altered substantially in design to serve as a costume for the following year.⁴⁷

Carnival organisers arranged for studio photographs to be taken that families could subsequently purchase at low cost. Although families were often substantially poor, many saved sufficient funds during the year to purchase these photographs, indeed they were often the only ones of their children that they possessed. Illustration 60 shows a studio photograph taken by Harrison Photographers on Bolton Road in Walkden. Once again, the highly elaborate nature and theatricality of the costume is clearly visible in this image of the Rose Queen of 1913. Usually by the early 1900s at least one professional photographer, and frequently several, had set up a studio on the high streets of most towns and certainly by the 1950s, the popularity and low cost of the Box Brownie camera had brought the possibility of relatively cheap family photographs to most homes. As opposed to the studio photographs, the photograph in illustration 59 from the 1950s for example was taken by a relative or friend of the family.

⁴⁷ See also: Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford & New York: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd., 1984). p161-162



Illustration 57: Walkden interviewee, Ethel A (centre) with her sister and brother, in clothes made by her mother specifically for the Whit Walks, c1927. © Author



Illustration 58: Walkden interviewee, Ethel A, in a costume made by her mother specifically for her role as train bearer for the Rose Queen during the Carnival celebrations of 1937. Taken by J.Dewhurst, Photographers, Farnworth. © Author



Illustration 59: a photograph of the son (right) of Walkden interviewee, Ethel A, in a costume made by her specifically for his role as train bearer for the Rose Queen's Maid of Honour (left). Rose Queen and Carnival celebrations, c1956. © Author



Illustration 60: a studio photograph of Miss May Wootton, Walkden Rose Queen of 1913. Taken by Harrison Photographers, Bolton Road, Walkden.

Mass gatherings of people from different churches and from other community groups inevitably generated a strong sense of rivalry. Positions at the head of the procession were contested and assertions of power and influence in the towns challenged. For many years the Walkden Whit Walks saw much argument as to the role that each group should play in the procession and about who should lead the ceremonial elements at the Monument. In the early years these arguments occasionally resulted in physical violence. This interesting account by one Walkden interviewee for example illustrates the rivalry between the various churches and bands:

Each and every place of worship ploughed their own furrow, they all designed their own route and of course they all ended up in a collision at the Monument. Now ther' were literally blood and snot down t' Monument, they were fightin', because, "we're comin' through", "no yer not", "yes, we are", and to me the highlight was the, I think it was the Irwell Bank Brass Band, this is in the 1890s, actually put an advert in the *Journal*, that their drum major, who's six foot four and eighteen stone, will guarantee to break through any other procession. And then, eventually, the non-conformists saw sense, you know, this is getting' silly, there's people being hurt, we'll all meet at the Monument, sing a hymn as one, we'll take it in turns to lead the procession 'round. Of course the church didn't wanna play, the parish church didn't wanna play. But this fell flat because, what hymn shall we sing? They fell out over that. Who's gonna lead up? We will draw for it, "oh we can't do that, that's gambling". So they carried on feighting for a few ye'r. An' eventually sense prevailed and they said, "stuff this singing of hymns, we'll sing the national anthem instead". And thereafter they all formed one big procession, all the non-conformists, and walked 'round, and t' parish church eventually saw sense and joined them.⁴⁸

On the whole however, the rivalry and occasional fracas appear to have been accepted by the community as part of the inevitable consequences of

⁴⁸ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:03:34

organising such a large gathering of townspeople. In many ways this annual opportunity to express rivalry acted as a controlled environment for the resolution of inter-group tensions. As Poplin has posited, this competition and conflict is an integral part of community building and whilst generating more cohesive bonds within rival groups, it also generates a dynamic community that is strengthened rather than weakened by disagreement.⁴⁹

Although in later years violent clashes no longer occurred, another interviewee asserts that the Whit Walks continued to highlight divisions not only amongst the various Anglican church groups but also between Catholic and Protestant sides of the local community. Although less overt, she objects to the animosity because of her view that it was not in keeping with the procession's Christian ethos:

But, you know, there were certain things then, "oh, we should be leading this year", you know, "St. Paul's shouldn't be 'avin' this, you know, monopoly every other year", which is another sore point i'n't it. An' then you'd get this St. John's not walkin' with us because they wer' Little Hulton, but their church council probably had the right idea, they wer' goin' over the area that they covered... Ther' was all this back-bitin' goin' on, you know, an' apparently they used t' 'ave, er, upsettin' experiences about which hymns they chose...there was a committee, er, a Walkin' Day Committee, you know, there had to be so many Methodist hymns or, so many Church of England ones,...the Catholics never walked with us, they 'ad their own, on a Sunday in July...and they used to walk to Walkden because they considered that the whole area was theirs.⁵⁰

Religious sectarianism in the locality should not be overstated however. Such conflict, violent or otherwise, was never as overt there as it was in Liverpool, Glasgow or indeed in Northern Ireland where the parading season continues to cause extreme tension and controversy.⁵¹ Overall Lancashire evidences a

⁴⁹ See: Dennis E. Poplin, "Community Conflict," in *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research* (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979), Goheen, "The Ritual of the Streets in Mid-19th-Century Toronto."

⁵⁰ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:11:23

⁵¹ See: Fielding, "The Catholic Whit-Walk in Manchester and Salford 1890-1939."

In 2011 the Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure, produced an interesting report on marching bands and their community impact in the province:

Bernard Marr, Jackie Witheroe, and The Confederation of Ulster Bands, "Marching Bands in Northern Ireland," (Belfast: Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure, 2011).

significant cultural homogeneity; an independent working class culture with an overarching work ethic, accompanied by strong ties of kinship and tradition, has generally outweighed any religious differences. In Walkden this is despite the fact that it is situated in the overlap between the Roman Catholic strongholds in the south west of Lancashire and the Protestant and non-conformist bastions in the south east. Church attendance was always limited in Lancashire in any case and the influence of organised religion weaker than in other parts of the country. In 1851 for example the census shows only five English counties with less church attendance than Lancashire although Catholic attendance was high, particularly around towns with a significant Irish presence such as Liverpool.⁵² This prevailing religious tolerance in Lancashire, certainly amongst the general population, is also highlighted by the oral history work of Elizabeth Roberts in 1984, quoting one of her interviewees,

They were neighbours and that was all. Religion didn't come into it, because there were quite a few Catholics round us and I played with some of the Catholics. It never came into discussion or anything. They were your neighbours and they were your friends and that was all there was to it.⁵³

In Walkden, Protestant, Catholic and non-conformist churches eventually did march together in the Whit Walks and after separate ceremonies with their own congregations at the parish boundaries, they would unite at the Monument in one ecumenical body of people to sing the hymns agreed by the joint committee and hear speeches. Following these joint ceremonies at the Monument each

⁵² As a result of very large parishes, many remote and therefore difficult to control, Roman Catholics in Lancashire survived the reign of Elizabeth I in significant numbers and under the Stuarts became even more visible and powerful. The Catholic presence, with Irish immigration, became particularly strong in the south west of Lancashire particularly around Liverpool whilst radical Protestant groups had their strongholds in the south east textile districts and around Manchester. In the late eighteenth century Lancashire accounted for approximately 25% of the country's Catholics with an equivalent number of Protestant dissenters and increasing numbers of Methodists. Irish immigration continued to swell the ranks of the Catholic population but the Irish were more culturally disparate and violent conflict was prevalent not only between them and the indigenous population but also amongst themselves, particularly in Liverpool. Statistics from 2004 still cited Liverpool as having the highest percentage (46.03%) of Roman Catholics in the whole of the country, see: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/country/scgb1.html> Date accessed: 21/10/13. Not all Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic of course, in fact by the mid-1800s, the Protestant Orange Order had a relatively significant presence in Manchester and still have several lodges there, see: <http://www.manchesterorange.co.uk/> Date accessed: 21/10/13. For a detailed account of the development of organised religion in Lancashire see also: John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1988).

⁵³ Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940*. p185

group in the procession would make its way back to its base where the festivities would ensue with refreshments, games, sports and bonfires. Several Walkden interviewees recall how enjoyable these entertainments were after the long procession around the parish boundaries. These gatherings provided further opportunities for the development of social capital and the reinforcement of a sense of identity within the individual group and within the broader community. Several interviewees comment on the festivities organised after the main procession, one recalls:

And there, they'd be waitin', the ladies of the church with, what they referred to in those days as, bun and coffee, for everybody that had walked you see...We'd have our bun and coffee there an' then we'd all 'ave to come over 'ere for what they called field day, after tea...an' they'd have a stall for the children, with, erm, toffees, an' pop...an' they used to have these, er, sweet stalls...The band that had led up the procession, 'cause every church hired a band, a brass band, the band would play on the field, wherever the place was, an' they'd be playin', you know, durin' the evenin' like, an' then there'd be games would be organised, an' things like that went on, you see, an' that was a good day.⁵⁴

Both the procession itself and the subsequent festivities were also very much an opportunity to strengthen family ties, and therefore bonding social capital. In the busy working lives of many of the town's inhabitants, with few holidays, opportunities to gather together in large family groups were sparse. These events facilitated contact and social interaction with extended families and frequently the interviewee narratives comment on how traditions and key roles in the procession were handed down through generations of the family:

I did carry the banner twice, for Little Brook Methodists, yes. I've got a few photographs, me on one pole an' my dad on t' other, you know... My great uncle... was Chief Marshall for about twenty years.⁵⁵

And that saved for the generation, not just them...they wer' all there...an' they all had the respect of all those people, over the years...An' they were all there, with the generations of the children and the grandparents an' everybody.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76. 00:20:15

⁵⁵ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:11:41

⁵⁶ Interview with John D. Aged 87. 00:07:34

We used to walk with the primary [school], first of all, holding a ribbon, and then, when we got to the Monument, everybody congregated there for a service, and that went right through until, oh, when it finished completely, now I had my sons, and my husband used to walk as well...so we've been right through, you know, with mi sisters, wi our own children, and mi husband takin' part.⁵⁷

In many ways the multi-generational nature of the processions was a further expression of value consensus in Walkden. The working patterns of most families meant that grandparents and great-grandparents were the only available child-minders whilst parents and older siblings worked long hours in the factories and mines. This facilitated the handing down of local culture, traditions and values to younger relatives. Many generations of one family would often work in trades such as mining and cotton weaving and belong to the same church, holding similar if not identical political and religious views.⁵⁸

Even where ideologies embodied in the town's rituals and commemorative events were not necessarily shared or understood by all spectators, or even participants, these events at the very least provided important and pleasurable social occasions for the whole town. The majority of Walkden interviewees for example describe the Whit Walks less as a religious occasion but more often simply as a highly enjoyable experience for the whole community.⁵⁹ The accounts of the day are animated and almost all express regret that this annual ritual no longer takes place in the town:

We just used t' enjoy it, we used to look forward to it. It was a big occasion... they had banners, you know presenting the church...and it used to be tough if it was windy because they couldn't control the banners sort o' thing, you know...it was quite jolly the music, it wer' quite jolly, and the marches, you know, the, the, it was really nice, and I'm only too sorry that it's all finished now...Oh, yes, the streets used t' be lined, everybody used t' be lined along the streets waitin' of 'em comin'...it was a lovely occasion and I'm only sorry as it's all faded out.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:08:02

⁵⁸ Citing the work of French historian Marc Bloch, Connerton also discusses this process of handing down culture, traditions and values, see: Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. p39

⁵⁹ The same point is made in: Lily Kong and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, "The Construction of National Identity Through the Production of Ritual and Spectacle," *Political Geography* 16, no. 3 (1997). p235-236

⁶⁰ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85, (Walkden: 5 June 2008). 00:10:52.

It, it was a social occasion. By the time I sort of fully remember it, I mean the mid-fifties, perhaps a little bit earlier than that...I mean it was a major social occasion.⁶¹

Children in particular enjoyed the day, partly for the general spectacle but also, as several interviewees recount, because spectators would give them money as they marched along the route:

They congregated in one mass around the Memorial in Walkden, er, there were hundreds and hundreds of people linin' the streets, an' people used to run out of the crowd, if they recognised you, give you pennies, I mean that's probably why most o' the kids went on the Walks, 'cause they got money, di'n't they, but, an' then you used to, everybody was absolutely jiggered, 'cause when I was young it used to be a long, long walk, but then they cut it down gradually over the years, then you used to go back to the parish, well, it was the infants school where they used to set up, er, a meal, you know, picnic, at night, erm, an' everybody thought it was wonderful.⁶²

Because when you were walkin' along, in the procession, relatives and friends would run out from the road, er, from the edge of the road, an' give the children that they knew, pennies, you see, an' so, dependin' on how much money you'd had given you, in the procession, you had that to spend on the fields you see.⁶³

According to the Christian Research Organisation, after a sustained growth in church attendance until 1930, numbers across England began to decline and by the 1950s both Anglican and Roman Catholic congregations were in free-fall. Between 1950 and 1980 attendance actually halved.⁶⁴ This may account for what is perceived as a shift of emphasis from the religious to the festive nature of the Whit Walks by many of the participants and observers. These changing attitudes were resented by some of those who felt the religious elements of the procession were being sacrificed to a carnival-like atmosphere:

I think it's because, when yer marched past the pubs, like, all t' fellas wer' outside drinking an' whatnot, an' makin' comments, an' also I di'n't feel that some of the people who wer' walkin' did it for

⁶¹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:09:45

⁶² Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:16:21

⁶³ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76. 00:22:56

⁶⁴ The organisation is the primary body for monitoring church attendance in England and publishes its findings in its journal *Religious Trends*. Its most recent figures are reported to identify that attendance figures are now stable and the decline has ceased. See: <http://www.christian-research.org/> Date accessed: 21/10/13.

the right reason, because, they only came to Sunday school when it was the time for Walking Day.⁶⁵

The Whit Walks, as previously noted, are one of the church rituals mainly associated with the north of England and the Whitsuntide holidays were not marked in Hastings with such a procession. For many years however the Roman Catholic congregation in the town did hold an annual 'pilgrimage' from the church of St. Mary Star of the Sea, in the Old Town area, to the Altar of the Holy Cross in the ruined Chapel of St. Mary located in the precincts of Hastings Castle. The chapel had originally become a place of pilgrimage in the 13th century; Saint Thomas a Becket had been Dean there until 1154. The procession always took place during August and featured many similar elements to the Whitsuntide celebrations in Walkden including the involvement of bands, the carrying of banners and various religious services, although the Memorial did not feature as part of the proceedings; no direct route from the Old Town area to Hastings Castle passes through the town centre.⁶⁶

The first Catholic pilgrimages in Hastings met with some opposition, expressed mainly through letters to the local newspaper, but after a few years the procession became one of the traditional annual spectacles to be enjoyed by locals and visitors alike. Indeed, reflecting a broader religious tolerance in the town, the owner of Hastings Castle, the Earl of Chichester who was in fact an Anglican minister, had given permission for the procession and mass to take place there each year since its inception.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:10:26

⁶⁶ The annual pilgrimage usually took place on the first Sunday in August and was organised by the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom. The Guild, whose main stated objective is to return the country to Catholicism, was formed in 1887 by Rev. Philip Fletcher and Lister Drummond, a metropolitan police magistrate. Drummond organised the first of the Hastings pilgrimages which took place on 5 August 1897. It was one of several processions in England organised by the Guild. As part of the Hastings procession a statue of the Virgin Mary, donated by the sister of Lister Drummond and dressed with garlands of flowers, was carried from St. Mary Star of the Sea and placed on the altar in the ruins of the Chapel of St. Mary. In 1967 special dispensation was given to replace the procession from that year onwards with a mass at the site.

See: "At Hastings Castle," *Catholic Herald*, 3 August 1962. p5

John H. Filmer, "Notes for Ransomers," *Catholic Herald*, 15 July 1938. p12

"Mass at Castle Shrine," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 5 August 1967. p9

⁶⁷ "Local News: The Catholic Pilgrimage," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 22 August 1903. p4

The photographs shown in illustrations 61-63 demonstrate the similarities between the Catholic pilgrimage in Hastings and the Whit Walks in Walkden. There are parallels between the participants marking the parish boundaries through ritual acts in Walkden and the rituals of the pilgrimage at the equally significant site of historic worship in Hastings Castle. As with the Whit Walks, bands accompany the procession, a large number of banners are carried aloft, and costumes are formal and elaborate. As can also be clearly seen children once again feature particularly strongly in the pilgrimage.



Illustration 61: a postcard from August 1911 showing the Roman Catholic pilgrimage making the climb up to Hastings Castle.



Illustration 62: a photograph taken in August 1938 showing children taking part in the Roman Catholic pilgrimage, Hastings. © The Universe



Illustration 63: a postcard showing the Roman Catholic pilgrimage to Hastings Castle on 21 August 1912. The image shows the large number of banners carried by participants. © Brian Lawes, Hastings Local History Group.

There were a number of other large parades common to both towns, the local carnival being one of the more significant. Generally the carnival also included the crowning of a May Queen when held in spring, or a Rose Queen when held in late summer. In England, the traditional festival of Carnival is not generally held at the time officially designated by the ecclesiastical calendar, in February just before Lent, unlike many countries with a largely Catholic population. This may traditionally have had more to do with the weather in this country rather than a conscious decision to mark Carnival at another time of year however. The Memorial in Hastings functioned in a similar way to the Monument in Walkden in its role in the local carnival. One Hastings interviewee recounts:

Queens Road, it started in Queens Road. It would go 'round the Memorial and then of course the crowds would come in from all the various roads and fill them up, and then it would parade around the Memorial and go out through, to the front, straight up to the front.⁶⁸

The three photographs seen in illustrations 64-66 demonstrate that as was the case in Walkden, the Hastings Carnival processions were elaborate affairs with large, decorated floats, costumes, music and the crowning of a Rose Queen or Carnival Queen.

⁶⁸ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009.). 00:17:54



Illustration 64: a photograph of the 1923 Hastings Carnival showing the elaborate horse-drawn floats making their way along the seafront. © Geoff Woolf, 1066 Online



Illustration 65: a postcard showing a float carrying the 1936 Hastings Carnival Queen. © Brian Lawes, Hastings Local History Group



Illustration 66: a postcard showing the elaborate costumes worn by the 1937 Hastings Carnival Queen and her attendants. © Geoff Woolf, 1066 Online

The importance of the two monuments as the central focus for these large traditional events is highlighted by the fact that both the Whit Walks in Walkden and the carnival in both towns, either ceased completely or began to lose popularity in the late 1960s and early 1970s; this was around the time when the two monuments were moved or demolished. One of the Walkden interviewees notes:

Then the heart went out of the town about, nineteen seventy is probably the median date when it was no longer viable to organise the large public events, and of course, 1968/69, we lost our centrepiece anyway, so we'd no longer got a focal point.⁶⁹

This suggests that without the central role that the monuments played, both as a physical marker and as an object encoded with meaning relative to the various rituals and ceremonials, the events themselves were no longer sustainable. The Whit Walks and the carnival in Walkden ceased around the time of the removal of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial to its new position in 1968 and the Hastings Carnival began to lose popularity around the time that the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was demolished in 1973. The first carnival in Hastings had taken place in 1895 but reflecting the shift of focus in the town from the Memorial area to the Old Town, in 1968 a rival carnival was centred there and subsequent to the demolition of the Memorial this has gradually become one of the town's major annual events.

Despite a growing trend in the north of England to reinstate such large scale events, unlike many other towns, Walkden has thus far been unable to re-establish its Whit Walks. Hastings on the other hand, fuelled by a growing national interest in folklore and perhaps aided by its position as a holiday resort, has successfully revived several of its traditional calendar events and festivities. Hobsbawm asserts that this process occurs more frequently 'when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed.'⁷⁰ In Hastings, perhaps the most notable revival has been 'Jack in the Green'. Celebrating May Day or Beltane and originally strongly associated with trades' guilds, the festival was eradicated in the late

⁶⁹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:13:39

⁷⁰ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 2000 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). p4

Victorian period as it was perceived as attracting drunken and debauched behaviour. It was replaced by the much tamer May Queen celebrations that also had fewer pagan associations. The festival, along with its original pagan associations, was revived in Hastings by Mad Jack's Morris Dancers in 1983 and now extends over almost a full week of celebrations. It has become one of the most important events in the Hastings calendar attracting high numbers of visitors from outside of the town to the Old Town area where it is staged. The festival procession usually takes place on the May Day Bank Holiday Monday and includes large numbers of elaborately costumed participants, bands and floats. A recent exhibition curated by the Museum of British Folklore at the Towner Gallery in Eastbourne sought to explore the complementary relationship between photography and folklore practice, asserting that 'despite existing in the 'now', both activities are an act of remembrance.' Simon Costin, Director of the Museum of British Folklore posits on the museum's website that there is 'an upsurge of interest in folklore through music, art and dance, and a growing trend and desire for people to reconnect with their communities, heritage and their environment.'⁷¹ Referring to what it calls 'the spectacle of these archaic customs', the Towner Gallery website identifies that 'there are 720 recorded events, rites and customs practiced in the UK each year, and folklore is reflected in every element of our community, life and values.'⁷²

The larger scale parades were not the only annual celebrations in Walkden and Hastings in which the two monuments played a central role; they also served as important meeting places at Christmas and New Year's Eve for instance. The festivities comprised not only organised events such as Christmas carol concerts but also smaller, less organised revelries and impromptu gatherings. Whatever their nature and despite an apparent lack of specific ceremonial, these events are also referenced as important to the local community by many of the interviewees. Proceedings could be multifarious; in Hastings at

⁷¹ http://www.museumofbritishfolklore.com/about_the_museum/ Date accessed: 21/10/13.
http://www.museumofbritishfolklore.com/events_and_exhibitions/collective_observations_folklore_and_photography_from_benjamin_stone_to_flickr_at_the_towner_gallery.html Date accessed: 21/10/13.

⁷² Museum of British Folklore, "Collective Observations: Folklore and Photography – from Benjamin Stone to Flickr" (Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne, 13 October 2012 - 13 January 2013). See: <http://www.townereastbourne.org.uk/exhibition/collective-observations-folklore-photography-from-benjamin-stone-to-flickr/> Date accessed: 21/10/13.

Christmastime the zone immediately around the Memorial formed the staging area for an unusual game involving local shoppers. Each of the shops would 'hide' an unusual object in their window, something that was out of place; one example given by an interviewee was that a button of some article of clothing on a manikin might be replaced with a bottle top. Shoppers who were able to spot these anomalies won a prize. Even in recollections of this curious but annual ritual, people are described as circumnavigating the central feature of the Memorial:

But it was the things like near Christmastime, they'd have 'spot the stranger contest' and people would stream 'round, wander around the Memorial, look in Plummer Roddis⁷³ or Ward's or Mastins and, it was just masses of people, although you couldn't walk in the roads because the roads were absolutely solid with, because of the focal point, the Memorial, for buses, trolleys, it was, it was absolutely busy.⁷⁴

Both monuments are also described as providing the focus for New Year celebrations. Although less organised these impromptu gatherings nevertheless provided an equally important focus for the development of social capital, particularly Putnam's bonding and bridging type; those of power and influence in the town were less likely to participate in such informal events. Two Walkden interviewees recount:

Oh, New Year, indeed, that was very much one...I mean New Year, it was crazy, not only did you get the church bells, Lady Bourke of course, you got the sirens on the docks, and all t' mill whistles all playing...Oh yes, and of course every mill whistle went, all t' night watchmen give the whistle a good blast. But, yeah, I mean New Year's Eve, it was a, an informal, an impromptu community... So it [the Monument] became a focal point to, to the community, it really did.⁷⁵

⁷³ The department store, Plummer Roddis Ltd., was situated on Robertson Street - the building, designed by notable architect Henry Ward, now houses Debenhams.

⁷⁴ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:14:22

⁷⁵ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:07:40.

The Lady Bourke Clock once stood by the National Coal Board Offices in Bridgewater Road. It was used to alert coal miners to the beginning or end of their shifts. The workers claimed that they could not hear the single strike at 1pm that marked the end of their lunchtime and the resumption of the working day. Therefore the clock was altered to strike 13 times at 1pm. It is said that the opening lines of George Orwell's '1984' referring to the clock striking thirteen, was inspired by the Walkden clock during Orwell's time spent in the area writing 'The Road to Wigan Pier'.

Can I speak about New Year's Eve when we all came together, and they all sang at the Monument, and sang Auld Lang Syne and things like that. An' they all give one another a kiss when it wer' over. I think that was the community at that, and we all had that. As the years went by, we said, "Oh we're all goin' to t' Monument" an' everybody wer' there...an' they'd all go an' cuddle one another, it was wonderful really.⁷⁶

Similarly, a Hastings interviewee recalls:

Before the war the Memorial was a meeting place for any big occasion and it was always the heart of the town for New Year's Eve where we gathered to hear the New Year rung in and there was singing and cheering in the New Year.⁷⁷

I remember before the war it was the gathering island for many events, New Year's Eve was a very popular one, I was in my very early teens and remember the crowds that used to gather to hear the clock strike midnight...Any big event used to start and finish there.⁷⁸

Repetitive annual events in the two towns, whether formal or informal, were not the only occasions where large gatherings centred on the two public monuments. As has been discussed in Chapters one and two, from the outset both objects had strong links to the Royal Family. Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and later Edward VII were guests of the Egertons at Worsley New Hall on several occasions. Indeed, as noted in Chapter one, the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial was originally to have been unveiled by Edward VII, at that time Prince of Wales. Queen Victoria and other members of the Royal Family had also made several visits to Hastings. For many local people these visits contributed to a sense of civic pride and both monuments were usually at the centre of the associated ceremonial and celebrations. One of the earliest photographs of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in fact, by the Paris-born Hastings photographer Henry Constantine Jennings, shows the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to the town on the occasion of the opening of Alexandra Park on 26 June 1882. The photograph, seen in illustration 67, was probably taken from the window of his 'Memorial Studio' above 51/52 Robertson Street. The preparations for the visit were described in the local paper:

⁷⁶ Interview with John D. Aged 87. 00:05:54

⁷⁷ Deirdre D, Letter to Hastings Local History Group, 15 January 2008. p1

⁷⁸ ———, Letter to Anthony McIntosh, 27 June 2012. p1

For the past few days the monument has been encircled by a quantity of canvass, and many were puzzled as to what was to be brought to light when that was removed. On Monday morning when it was taken down, the public, on looking at the miniature garden that had been laid out, were much taken aback with the neatness with which the work had been executed in so short a space of time. On the steps were placed a number of tall tropical plants, below being some very splendid ferns, while on the ground itself was the garden set out in very tasteful designs in plants in full bloom, which, in addition to being a very pretty sight, had the appearance of a monument "standing in its own grounds," which said grounds, although small, were as fine as a lover of Nature could well wish to gaze upon.⁷⁹

The newspaper goes on to describe the decorations adorning the shops surrounding the Memorial, including the bright red drapery, banners, flags, heraldic shields and two large paintings of the Prince and Princess. Again, decorated with banners and flowers, with normal business around the Memorial suspended for the day, its importance as an embodiment of the town's identity is reflected in it being chosen as the centrepiece of the ceremonial associated with the royal visit. In addition to providing the central focus of the town during such visits, the Memorial was also the site of large gatherings of people to commemorate other royal occasions. Illustration 68 shows a large procession assembled at the site during a memorial service following the death of Edward VII in 1910. A large band is playing as part of the procession and the Union Jack can be seen flying at half-mast on the wall of J. Reeves & Son in the background. The photograph shown in illustration 69 shows large crowds gathering at the Memorial to celebrate the subsequent coronation of George V on 22 June 1911. With several large banners being carried aloft, the scene is reminiscent of the Whitsuntide processions in Walkden.

⁷⁹ "The Royal Visit," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 1 July 1882. p7



Illustration 67: a photograph by Henry Constantine Jennings, of the visit to Hastings by Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra on the occasion of the opening of Alexandra Park on 26 June 1882. © Brian Lawes, Hastings Local History Group



Illustration 68: a postcard showing crowds gathered at the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower, Hastings for the memorial service of Edward VII on 20 May 1910. © Brian Lawes, Hastings Local History Group



Illustration 69: a photograph from the *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer* of 29 June 1911 showing crowds gathering at the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower to celebrate the coronation of George V. © Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer

Recollections of royal visits feature in some of the interviewee narratives and occasionally they include stories passed down from older generations. One Walkden interviewee recounts a story told to her by her mother that reiterates the notion that the Monument gave the town a special kind of identity:

George VI and Queen Elizabeth, who's the Queen Mother now, after the Coronation, they were touring the country like they do, and they came through Walkden, and all the - I was a school girl at school then and all the schools had to congregate 'round the monument area and we were situated in front of The Stocks area on the pavement there to wave and cheer. And mi mother with her neighbour had gone down to see them but she was situated nearer the monument and she told me later in the day that she'd seen the Queen telling the King to look at the monument and she'd seen her movements telling him, and he looked 'round an' she's telling him to look at the monument because it must'a' struck her as extraordinary and so I was quite pleased about that.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76. 01:14:05

Another interviewee associates her memories of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, and of street parties in the surrounding area, with the dressing of the Monument for the event:

I suppose everyone has some particular memory of a place. Mine is of Walkden Memorial on Coronation Day, 2nd June, '53, when the Monument was dressed up for the occasion with bunting usually reserved for the annual Whit Walks...The bedding plants surrounding the Memorial were in full bloom and the lawns were cut to perfection.⁸¹

Both these interviewee accounts and local newspaper reports of celebrations related to the Royal Family in Hastings and Walkden also mention the practice of embellishing, or dressing the monuments with flowers, plants, bunting and banners. This was common during almost all of the annual processions but on special occasions such as royal visits the decoration was far grander and the monuments were sometimes enhanced by large temporary structures extending outwards into the surrounding road.

Adorning the monuments was a way of both demonstrating their traditional importance to the community and also of communicating to observers that a significant local or national event was underway. Even in the early 1900s during the Walkden Whit Walks, the Monument was already being heavily dressed with bunting. In later years, planting of the entire footprint of the roundabout on which it stood was common to commemorate various national events.

Illustration 70 shows a Whit Walk celebration sometime between 1900 and 1905. The Monument is dressed with bunting that extends from the upper part of the Monument to the rooftops and walls of the banks and other buildings on the corners of the five converging main roads. The crowds can be seen gathering with banners held aloft and a band is playing in the foreground.

Illustration 71 shows the roundabout on which the Monument stood planted out with a design to commemorate the Festival of Britain in 1951 and Illustration 72 shows a similar treatment in 1957 to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Scouting Association and the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of its founder, Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941).

⁸¹ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:24:08

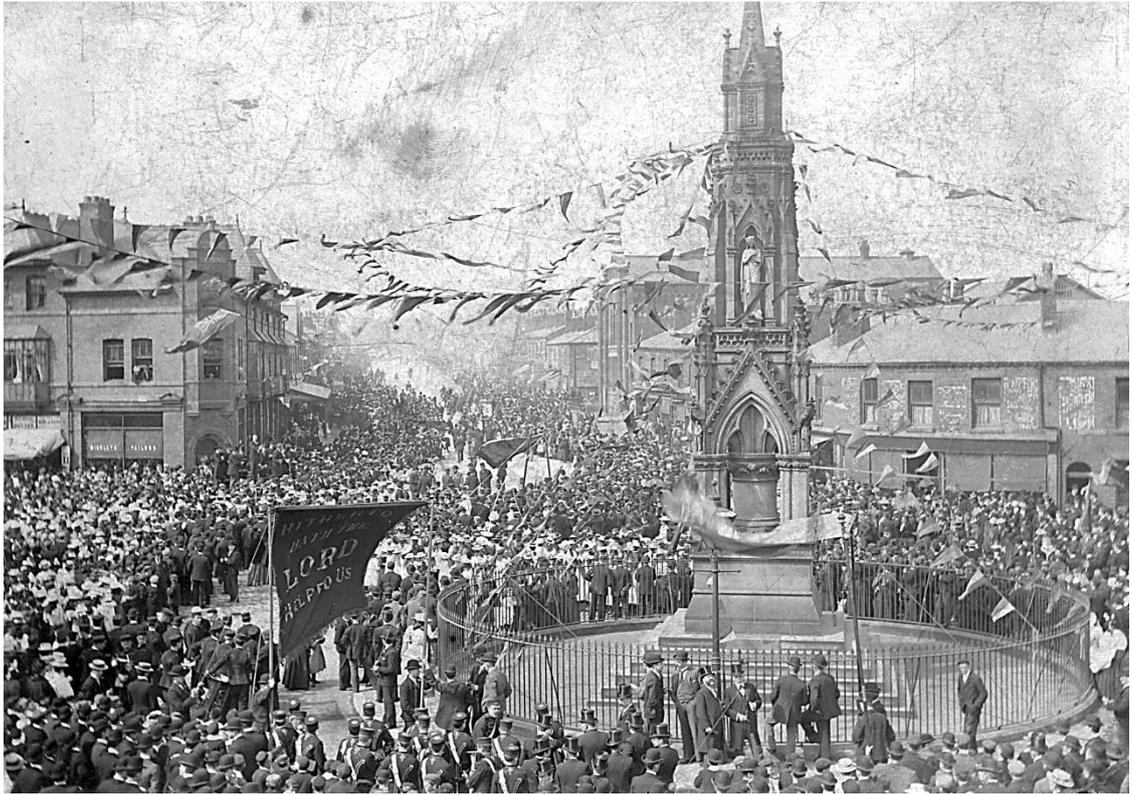


Illustration 70: a photograph taken c1900/1905 of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial dressed with bunting for the Whit Walks procession.
© Salford LifeTimes Collection



Illustration 71: a photograph taken in 1951 of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial; the roundabout has been carpet planted to commemorate the Festival of Britain.
© Salford LifeTimes Collection



Illustration 72: a photograph taken in 1957 of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial; the roundabout has been carpet planted to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the Scouting Association. © Salford Local History Library

It is revealed by the interviewee narratives from both towns that all of these community rituals were seen as important opportunities for people to nurture formal and informal relationships, both within networks well established, and within those newly created. Without at the very least shared values and understandings amongst the vast majority of the local community, large scale traditional events that depend primarily on cooperation would not have been possible to stage, as they successfully had been for over one hundred years. Even if a value consensus is not implicit, there remains in the interviewee narratives ample evidence of the perceived importance of the two monuments to these calendric and everyday activities of the local community.

The interviewee narratives also suggest that the two monuments, acting as the rallying point for processions and, as an integral, if not crucial part of the re-enactment of rituals, served as a specific focus for the localisation of memories. Through this key function they were embodied with meaning and came to be inextricably associated with a sense of identity and place. In fact 20% of the interviewees specifically describe the monuments as representing the towns' identity.

Through their role in a wide range of rituals, ceremonials and festivities that contributed to social cohesion and to generating a sense of belonging, the two monuments became a key focus for the development of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. With few exceptions the interviewee narratives describe in a variety of ways the shared identity and overall sense of well-being that these events generated. The importance of the two objects to these events is not only asserted in the narratives but it is also reinforced by the fact that many of them declined or ceased altogether in the late 1960s to early 1970s during the period when the two objects were moved or destroyed. Certainly in Walkden there are probably other factors in play such as a reduction in living standards at the time due to increasing unemployment. The final demise of the cotton industry occurred in the 1960s and was also accompanied by further colliery closures; the last of the Bridgewater mines and largest in the Manchester area, Mosley Common, closed in 1968 with the loss of over 2000 jobs, the same year that the Monument was moved. Consequently, a general low morale amongst the

community may well have contributed to a lack of motivation for participating in or organising large scale festivities such as the carnival. As has already been noted, at national level church attendance was also in steep decline during that period and church authorities may well have begun to find it difficult to muster enough support and the necessary finances to organise and stage such large scale events as the Whit Walks, that had previously been such an important marker on the town's liturgical and social calendar.

Hastings suffered similar problems with unemployment and a lack of growth in light industry during the same period and is now one of the most deprived local authority areas in the country.⁸² At the same time there was a substantial influx of people moving to the seaside resort from London and beyond meaning that many new residents had little knowledge, let alone commitment to, traditional rituals and ceremonials or indeed concern for the town's historic built environment.

Whatever the rationale behind the re-siting of the Monument in Walkden and the destruction of the Memorial in Hastings, the interviewees unanimously assert that their local community was impacted by the loss of the objects from the cultural matrix of the two towns. The next chapter will examine the evidence for this which is apparent in the oral testimonies gathered for this thesis and will also explore the emotive response to that loss.

⁸² Department for Communities and Local Government, "The English Indices of Deprivation 2010," (London: 2011).

Chapter five

The emotive: imagined communities

This chapter examines the emotive response to the re-siting of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden and the demolition of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings in the context of community identity in the two towns. The oral history interviews reveal how the monuments came to symbolise the keystones of the shared everyday lives of the community in the two towns and the bonds that existed between those who lived there; one Walkden interviewee summarises this relationship, 'I think our lives did circle 'round it, an' we were all friendly with one another like.'¹

In Poplin's seminal text on the subject, he states that the notion of *community* comprises territorial, sociological and psychocultural variables.² The interviews reveal evidence for all three of these notions and demonstrate that each of the two public monuments was a significant factor in the foundation of a sense of community identity, a sense of place and in the development of social capital in the respective towns. Discussion of community cohesion by the interviewees is occasionally nuanced by contradiction and opposing views however. Benedict Anderson, although referring primarily to the imagined communities of nations that he argues are 'always conceived of as a deep, horizontal comradeship', has also suggested that smaller communities, even those who have everyday face-to-face contact, are perhaps also imagined.³ Nevertheless, in mining communities such as Walkden for example, despite the potential for retrospective nostalgic constructions of community, David Gilbert argues that:

¹ Interview with John D. Aged 87, (Walkden: 28 April 2010). 00:30:09

² Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*, 2nd. ed. (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979). p5-9

See also: Fiona Cosson, "Voice of the Community? Reflections on Accessing, Working With and Representing Communities," *Oral History Journal* 38, no. 2 (2010). p96

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2006 ed. (London & New York: Verso, 1983). p7

Countless contemporary accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contain strong expressions of local identity encompassing solidarities based upon shared experiences of work, hardship, poverty, danger, and the richness of local networks of kinship and associational culture.⁴

This thesis is less concerned with theorising on the nature of communities however and focuses on how notions of community identity in Walkden and Hastings were bound up with the evolution of the two towns and how the two monuments played a central part in that process. Indeed Gilbert goes on to argue that it is much more useful 'to explore the processes through which communities define themselves, rather than to test abstract sociological concepts of community against the histories of particular places.'⁵

The tight-knit communities evidenced in Walkden based on the mining and cotton industries are comparable with the Old Town based fishing community in Hastings. One Hastings interviewee, who also refers to the long-standing rivalry between the town and its neighbour St. Leonard's, comments:

You get all the fishermen's people here, and then you get, erm, you get the other people along here in the St. Leonard's area, which they say is the posher area of the two, an' they all gang up an' they've all got their little, you know, marry into one another, same as the Whites married into the Whites, and the, er, Muggeridges into the Muggeridges, all sort of married, inter-married.⁶

Another interviewee echoes this assertion, 'it was such a tight, erm, community [Old Town], they were all more or less related...they're still very tight knit, I think.'⁷

The annual rituals, ceremonials and festivities discussed in the last chapter served an important function in strengthening the formal and informal ties and relationships that existed within the local communities of both towns. As many of these events were marked on the liturgical calendar, the church, of all denominations, had a significant role in community building. One Walkden

⁴ David Gilbert, "Conference Report: Imagined Communities and Mining Communities," *Labour History Review* 60, no. 2 (1995). p50

⁵ Ibid. p51

⁶ Interview with Joyce R. Aged 82, (St. Leonards on Sea: 20 April 2009). 00:07:22

⁷ Interview with Doris W. Aged 89, (Hastings: 20 April 2009). 00:11:54

interviewee comments on the role that the Parish Church of St. Paul had on their lives:

The parish church had a lot of influence really, I was a Sunday school teacher at fifteen...but when we were gro', I think that's what's wrong with today, the children have no sense of belongin' to anythin', an' alright, people call religion but it kept people, as a group, a social group, potato pie suppers, barn dances, all these kind of, Whist drives, Mother's Union...an' it kept that community spirit I think, which I think 's what's lackin' today. I think if a lot of parents took notice of, and took them to things like that or started things like that, children would have more of a sense of belongin', and being true to each other...I mean, I'm not religious by any means, but I do think it 'ad a big input into the life of children growin' up.⁸

Another interviewee comments on the anonymous charity work that the Roman Catholic congregation carried out in the town; this was not restricted to offering aid to those who were church attenders, nor indeed solely to the Catholic community:

Everybody knew everybody and everybody sort of respected furniture, houses and everythin'...an' they all got together in parishes where we lived, we all worked in our parishes...We worked in societies, like, er, for the poor...I went out visitin' wi' poor people in the area for thirty odd years...Poor people 'an't a lot of money, an' food, yer needed a pram, you'd take a pram, or t' beddin', an' things like that, you took that to the houses, an' yer di'n't say nothin' to nobody, you just took it along...It wer' hush hush, they did a lot o' work that nobody did, nobody knew about. An' they worked together⁹

Similarly in Hastings the church was one of the agencies that helped to create and sustain a sense of community identity in the town. In the mid-19th century, local clergy frequently called into question the spiritual health of the town's fishermen as they rarely attended the two nearby parish churches of All Saints and St Clements. As a consequence in 1854 a chapel of ease, the Fishermen's Church of St Nicholas with seating for 290 people, was built on the beach at the centre of the fleet. It was initially opposed by local residents but eventually became the cornerstone of community life for what was the town's primary industry and remained so until the Second World War. All marriages and

⁸ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75, (Walkden: 22 November 2011). 00:14:02

⁹ Interview with John D. Aged 87. 00:02:30

baptisms from amongst the town's fishing families took place there; indeed one of the Hastings interviewees expresses great pride in the fact that many photographs of her family can be seen on its walls.¹⁰ Since 1956 the chapel has housed the town's Fishermen's Museum although it is still used today for religious events including baptisms, harvest festivals and carol concerts.

Organised church processions discussed in the previous chapter such as the Whit Walks in Walkden and the Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Hastings have also served to reinforce a sense of community identity as well as providing an enjoyable and popular spectacle for other residents of the town and visitors alike. In organising large-scale repetitive calendric events that directly referenced the local monument, the various churches in both towns helped to strengthen bonds within the community and to foster a sense of place. These events also facilitated the construction of localised memories of social interaction around these two central structures. Etzioni writing in 2000 summarised Durkheim's primary assertions that such rituals are:

A major mechanism for the recreation of society, one in which the members of a society worship shared objects and in which they share experience that help form and sustain deep emotional bonds among the members...these objects...become the cornerstones of the integrative rituals built around them.¹¹

Another of the prevailing subjects in the Hastings oral history interviews is the effect that the Second World War had on the town's residents; Hastings suffered significant casualties and bomb damage during the conflict. Several of the interviewees discuss the First World War, in which their fathers and other family members served, before going on to describe in detail their own experiences of military service, evacuation or everyday life during the Second World War. As in the case of many towns and cities throughout the country both conflicts had a particular role in community-building in Hastings. The Memorial was not only used as a central physical reference point for the townspeople

¹⁰ Interview with Joyce R. Aged 82.

¹¹ Amitai Etzioni, "Toward a Theory of Public Ritual," *Sociological Theory* 18, no. 1: March (2000). p45. Whilst he argues for a modified approach to Durkheim's theories he maintains that all holidays serve a socialising and integrative function even if that function is limited to specific member groups.

during those years but was also seen by many as something that embodied the town's strength of community spirit and fortitude.¹² During the First World War for example the Memorial was used as a platform to communicate to the residents how much money they had raised for war bonds. Illustration 73 shows a photograph from the *Hastings and St Leonards Pictorial Advertiser* of the gauge. Although a relatively poor image it shows the sliding scale leading up to the town's target of £100,000 and some of the posters used to advertise fund-raising events. In the immediate period after the armistice, reinforcing its role as a representation of place, a range of postcards featuring the Memorial were produced that depict an allegorical female figure of Peace holding an olive wreath over the clock tower. The example shown in Illustration 74 features a colour figure that in this case appears to have been overprinted onto an existing black and white postcard of the Memorial. One of the Hastings interviewees also comments on the symbolic nature of the Memorial during the Second World War:

First of all there was a large gathering of people there when the blackout was tried out and we stood and watched as all the lights around, including the clock face, went out for a few minutes, quite a sobering time...All through the war the clock stood as the town's strength and survived some very bad bombing and the clock face was broken, many people were killed around the clock especially when the cinema at the end of Cambridge Road was hit but we all felt as long as it continued to stand all would be well...we even danced a congor [sic] round it on V.E. day.¹³

¹² For an excellent account of the Second World War in Hastings told through oral history interviews of those who experienced the conflict, see: Nathan Dylan Goodwin, *Hastings at War 1939-1945* (Andover: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2010).

¹³ Deirdre D, Letter to Hastings Local History Group, 15 January 2008. p1-3

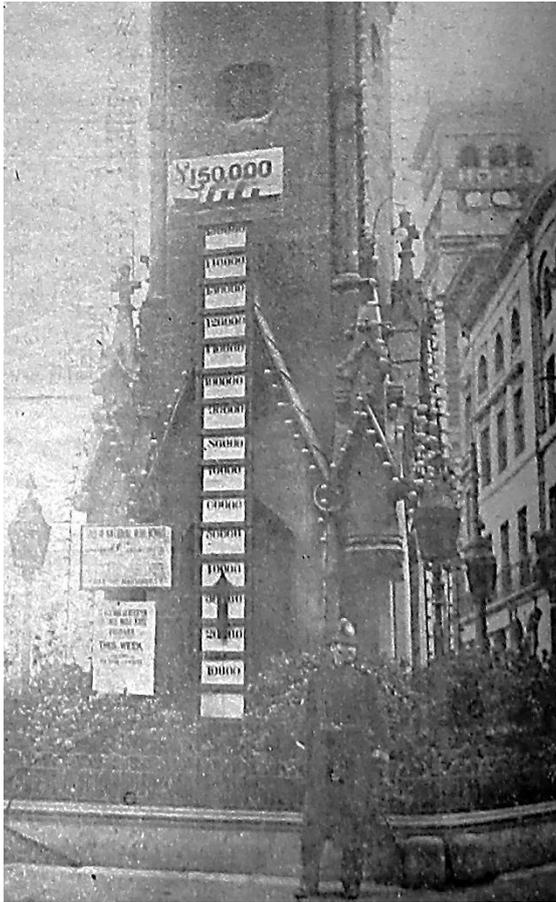


Illustration 73: a photograph of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower from the *Hastings & St. Leonards Pictorial Advertiser and List of Visitors*, issue date 7 March 1918. The tower is being used to communicate the amount of funds raised locally for war bonds.



Illustration 74: a black and white postcard of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower overprinted with a colour allegorical figure of Peace, c1919. Printed by Brown & Rawcliffe Ltd., Liverpool.

In Walkden there were additional mechanisms that contributed to a sense of community identity. In addition to the formalised and repetitive calendric events, rituals, ceremonials and festivities that centred on the Monument a sense of community was strengthened and social capital increased also as a result of a shared extended leisure time of the town's inhabitants. The Lancashire Wakes holidays for example generally took place at specific points on the calendar in order to meet the needs of the cotton, mining and other industries in the region's towns. In the interwar period these short holidays were extended and became the main summer break for the towns' residents with the Wakes celebrated later in the year with a shorter holiday that saw the arrival in the town of travelling fairs, clog and morris dancers.¹⁴ In Walkden the main summer holidays were negotiated by the dominant cotton industry to coincide with those in nearby Bolton. The Wakes subsequently took place during September but the main summer holidays were taken during the last week in June and the first week in July, a period still known locally as *Bolton holidays*.

Facilitated by the growth of the railways, during these two weeks almost all Walkden residents would holiday en masse at a range of seaside resorts. By far the most popular destination however would be Blackpool; the town's wealth and growth was achieved as a direct result of the proliferation of the working-class seaside holiday.¹⁵ The town had a particular association with cotton towns such as Walkden and its world renowned Tower Ballroom was host to popular spectacles such as the finals of the 'Cotton Queen Quest' a beauty contest organised by the Manchester newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch*. Postcards of the winner were produced and sold to raise money for local charities; these were

¹⁴ Travelling funfairs are themselves still commonly referred to as the *wakes* in Walkden and in much of the region.

¹⁵ Discussing the growth of car ownership, Simon Thurley notes that 'by 1937 fifteen million people (a third of the population) took an annual holiday.' See: Dr. Simon Thurley, "Forwards and Backwards: Architecture in Inter-war England," in *English Architecture: Into the Modern World* (London: Gresham College lecture at the Museum of London, 6 February 2013). For further discussion on the Wakes holidays and Blackpool see: Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). p164-171

For a history of the development of Blackpool and other resorts nearby, see: John K. Walton, *Wonderlands by the Waves: A History of the Seaside Resorts of Lancashire* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1992).

The relationship between Bolton holidaymakers and Blackpool was also the subject of the famous *Worktown* Mass Observation study in 1937. See the *Worktown Collection* (1937-40) in the Mass Observation Archive held by the University of Sussex; also <http://boltonworktown.co.uk/> Date accessed: 24/10/13.

particularly popular in the towns from where the winner originated. Two examples of the postcards can be seen in illustrations 75 & 76; in 1936/37 the winner, Miss Doris Bower, came from Bolton and funds from the sale of the postcards went to Bolton Infirmary which also served Walkden residents.



Illustration 75: a postcard produced by the *Daily Dispatch* featuring Miss Doris Bower of Bolton, the Cotton Queen of 1936/37.



Illustration 76: a postcard produced by the *Daily Dispatch* featuring Miss Marjorie Mason of Preston, the Cotton Queen of 1938/39; she was the last person to hold the title.

Events such as the Cotton Queen contest served to strengthen community identity amongst the region's cotton workers and to promote the industry nationwide. The first crowning of the Cotton Queen at Blackpool's Tower Ballroom in 1930 attracted crowds of 300,000 demonstrating its popularity as a seaside spectacle.¹⁶

¹⁶ The competition ran between 1930 and 1939 when it was suspended because of the war. Despite its popularity it was not restarted after the war ended although other local 'Textile Queen' competitions subsequently took place in a number of towns including Walkden; indeed one Walkden interviewee, Thelma G, was nominated for Textile Queen by Burgess Ledward Mill. Reinforcing regional identity, the competition's official anthem was 'She's a Lassie From Lancashire'. The contest was also the subject of a popular 1937 film *Cotton Queen* starring Stanley Holloway; it was filmed in Blackpool and the Vantona Textile Mills in Manchester. See

Many families saved for an entire year to pay for the wakes holidays by the sea and savings clubs were often established at the cotton factories, schools and churches. People who lived on the same street at home would often book into bed and breakfast establishments on the same street in Blackpool. The effect of these shared holidays was a virtual cessation of all business in the hometown for a period of two weeks. Robert Poole writes, 'first one cotton town and then another shut up shop and headed for the seaside in successive weeks. For a week in late August and early September, for example, Blackpool became known as 'Oldham by the Sea.'¹⁷ This created difficulties for anyone who remained at home as not just the factories would close but also most of the shops and public amenities. One Walkden interviewee explains:

The factory used to close down at Bolton holidays...When I was a kid I can remember at Bolton holidays mi mum used to say, "we'll have to go to Swinton", an' it was an experience to get on the bus to go to Swinton, which is about three or four miles down the road, to do the weekly shop, it was somewhere excitin', so ev'ry, ev'rythin' closed, everybody went, if they could afford it, went away di'nt they.¹⁸

This tradition of local residents taking their main annual holiday on the same dates is still common in the region today and many in Walkden continue to take their summer break during 'Bolton holidays' even though modern working practices allow for greater flexibility. Writing about the wakes holidays, Poole observes that people in Lancashire tend to 'stress continuity over change...its inhabitants preserving to a striking extent the social attitudes and networks of earlier times.'¹⁹

Mobility of population amongst what is described by several interviewees as the 'tight knit' communities in both towns is cited as one reason for a decline of

also: Rebecca Conway, "Making the Mill Girl Modern?: Beauty, Industry, and the Popular Newspaper in 1930s' England," *Twentieth Century British History* (2013).

¹⁷ Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Wakes Holidays* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1994). p23. Poole's research with regard to Oldham is also cited in Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*, p165-171

¹⁸ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:06:26

The wakes holidays originated in the Middle Ages when they referred to the dedication feasts and the production of rush-carts organised for the saint's day associated with a particular church. The term refers to the overnight vigil that took place in the church prior to a dedication ceremony. Although associated with the church calendar, the wakes were overwhelmingly social occasions. See: Poole, *The Lancashire Wakes Holidays*.

¹⁹ ———, *The Lancashire Wakes Holidays*. p25

interest in local tradition and history and also therefore in preserving the two monuments. Reviewing the literature regarding communities, Poplin states that one of its primary features is the element of territoriality; community in other words is something that exists in a spatial milieu.²⁰ In Chapter four the importance of this territoriality has been noted with regard to rituals involving the marking of boundaries by processions through the two towns. Many of these processions subsequently returned to the two monuments that were seen as representations of the geographic and symbolic centres of the community. This element of territoriality is also revealed in many of the interviews through a sometimes emphatic focus on the idea of *others* coming in from outside of *their* community. The specific issue of incomers to the towns, in the context of the two monuments, is raised by 48% of the interviewees. Attitudes amongst the Walkden interviewees however are particularly critical of the effect that incomers had on their town and on their community identity; one comments, 'but, I mean, nowadays...because we have such a transient population, we, we have lost our identity...I almost cheer if I see somebody I know.'²¹

Both Walkden and Hastings have seen significant migration of people from other areas as a result of town planning initiatives and not as a gradual and natural growth in population. Following the Town Development Act of 1952 local authorities were given powers that enabled them to move population and industry from congested areas to other small towns in the vicinity. In the late 1940s Salford faced a severe housing shortage and during the 1950s and 1960s, in what became known as the Salford overspill, thousands of families were moved from the slum areas of Salford into the Worsley and Walkden area. Initially Worsley Urban District Council strongly resisted this movement of people as they worried about the effect that it would have on their own community identity and also that they would eventually have to look to Salford for their major amenities. Nevertheless by the end of March 1959 a total of 9,683 people had already been moved from Salford onto overspill estates in

²⁰ Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*.

²¹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64, (Walkden: 30 October 2009). 00:21:34

Walkden and Worsley.²² One of the Walkden interviewees discusses the difficulties of integrating these people into the existing community:

Well, initially we had the Salford overspill. The Salford overspill was the original mass migration, again, the impression at the time, I mean, it, it was hailed as either the great modern upheaval or "What the hell are they bringing that lot here for?"... And, because they, they had sort of their own community, there wasn't a great deal of interaction, they were t' Salfordites and that was it. End of story...they've no links, no interest, end of story. And, unfortunately, it's a social malaise I think that's destroying communities.²³

Many of the families who moved to Walkden retained their employment in Salford which began to create a 'dormitory atmosphere' in the town that has continued to worsen as unemployment in the area has increased. One Walkden interviewee asserts, 'like many places 'round here, it's more of a commuter village now...a lot of it is commuter traffic into the bigger towns, Manchester, Wigan, Bolton.'²⁴

In 1958 John Cullingworth carried out a study of the social effects on some of the Salford families who had relocated to the Worsley area as a result of the overspill; the study was based on 250 interviews. Contrary to expectations it was revealed that whilst 'the intimate social life of the slums' had been replaced with a 'more reserved, home-centred life of the typical middle-class suburb', the majority of families were very happy with their new way of life and would not, if given the opportunity, return to Salford. There is often a clichéd assumption that the removal of families from the slum areas of Salford had an adverse effect on the kinship ties that had been established within those communities but in fact Cullingworth's research revealed that this was frequently not the case and in some instances where it was, breaking of those ties was very welcome; he asserts:

It often seems to be assumed by the critics of overspill that 'mothers' who are 'left behind' are frail, grey-haired old ladies spending their last remaining years in a lonely and dreary way,

²² The Salford-Worsley scheme was in fact the prototype for the Town Development Act. See: John Barry Cullingworth, "Overspill in South East Lancashire: The Salford-Worsley Scheme," *Town Planning Review* 30, no. 3: October (1959).

²³ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:21:34

²⁴ Interview with Philip H. Aged 72, (Walkden: 14 August 2009). 00:03:02

deprived of the companionship of their married children by the machinations of bureaucracy. Our findings did not support this stereotype.²⁵

Indeed what is rarely considered is the effect that the migration had on the communities receiving those from the overspill. Cullingworth argues that the overspill scheme in fact made worse the problems that it was seeking to alleviate. The Salford slum clearances continued and in April 1974, Walkden, historically part of the more affluent Worsley, was amalgamated with the newly formed City of Salford in the Metropolitan County of Greater Manchester. For many Walkden residents Salford had been primarily associated with the docks and its population from the slums regarded as 'problem families'; the amalgamation was therefore not well received and is now often blamed for the current levels of multiple deprivation in the town.²⁶ The difficulties of assimilation with the pre-existing Walkden community were compounded by the fact that life on the overspill estates became insular with little participation for instance in those Monument-centred events that contributed so much to a sense of place, community identity and social capital. Quoting his interviewees, Cullingworth explains that 'the families 'kept themselves to themselves', became 'home centred' rather than 'community conscious'.²⁷

Several of the Walkden interviewees cite this migration of Salford people and the subsequent amalgamation with Salford City Council as one reason for the removal of the Monument from the centre of the town. A lack of knowledge of local traditions involving the Monument and a lack of interest in the history of the area is blamed for its reduced significance to the town and its shared identity:

Because they have been swamped by people from outside the area...The number of what you might call genuine Walkden people

²⁵ John Barry Cullingworth, "Social Implications of Overspill: The Worsley Social Survey," *Sociological Review* 8, no. 1: July (1960). p83

²⁶ The population of Walkden (North and South Wards) is recorded as 21,884 on the 2011 census. According to the 2010 Indices of Multiple Deprivation, 33% of the LSOAs in the district of Salford are amongst the most deprived in the country. It is one of the 20 local authorities with the highest proportion of their LSOAs in the most deprived decile. See: Department for Communities and Local Government, "The English Indices of Deprivation 2010," (London: 2011).

²⁷ Cullingworth, "Social Implications of Overspill: The Worsley Social Survey." p89

are very much in a minority and, most of the, without being impolite, the recent arrivals they haven't a clue what it is [the Monument] and they don't give a damn.²⁸

One thing I think that will have, apart from just the passage of time, is that mobility of population, you've people who, I mean when I was growing up there wer' people who'd lived here for generations and they would be conscious of the past whether or not they were very interested, well now of course you've got much more mobility of population, an' so it could well be that there are people who only vaguely know the name Bridgewater, Ellesmere, whatever, and it's too far back, an' they didn't live 'round 'ere anyway, so certainly the people with any interest in history, an' people of my age or older will be well aware.²⁹

Other interviewees are more circumspect however and although acknowledging the impact of incomers to the town they blame the loss of community identity on broader changes to society as a whole:

People aren't as friendly as they used to be but that's countrywide, i'n't it, people are not as sociable as they used to be, I think the fact that when I was bringin' my children up I was at home all day...you were more in touch with, erm, people that you knew from your school days, because they tend to stay in that area, don't, didn't they, now they move, they move off, an' I think you lose that companionship, that camaraderie with the people that you've known all your life.³⁰

Because a lot of the people that are in Walkden now, like, I was born here, so maybe I have more feelings about the place, er, but, as I said before, people have come in an' movin' all the time aren't they, I don't think they have the same sense of belonging, it's just somewhere to live really.³¹

A deficit in community identity is not the only loss blamed on the migration of people from Salford. One interviewee talks about the gradual disappearance of what was a distinctive local dialect and accent:

Many people spoke, you've got to say, dialect, or at the very least with quite a strong accent, then of course you get to the late fifties, and through the sixties you had all the overspill population that came up from central Salford when the old slums in Salford were demolished and all the people were brought up here, and I can

²⁸ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:21:15

²⁹ Interview with Philip H. Aged 72. 00:13:36

³⁰ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:12:16

³¹ Ibid. 00:29:40

look back now and see that the accent here is quite different to what it was then. It's a combination of the two, an' I very rarely hear now, what I would call, Lancky, an' yet, go a mile up the road to Farnworth and you still hear it, perhaps not as strong as you will have many years ago, but Farnworth is still proper Lancky in accent, Walkden isn't...It was because such a large population came up from Salford, who had a very different style of speech and the two 'ave got combined.³²

The Hastings interviewees are equally vociferous on the changing composition of the town's population. The expanding conurbation of Hastings, first as a result of its popularity as a seaside resort in the Victorian period and then by an influx of migrating Londoners is discussed by several people. Describing the town's current problems in a historical context, one interviewee states:

Hastings is the classic example of a seaside town in need of regeneration, in fact, probably more classic than most because it has that iconic historical status to do with 1066 and all that. The brief background is...in the 1950s and early '60s, when London was booming, there was a displacement of property around the outskirts of London where the economic boom in London meant that people were buying up there and the government was also looking to repopulate and relocate heavy industries in seaside resorts which were in decline... so there were inducements from central government and lots of people moved to places like Hastings... but Hastings suffered in a way because it didn't have the accompanying industrial investment in the way that those other places had because previously, the transport levels weren't good, both in rail terms and in road terms.³³

The issues raised by this interviewee have resonance with those described by Walkden interviewees when recounting the effects of the Salford overspill on their town. Reflecting on the nature of the current population of Hastings, another interviewee comments:

I should think there are probably more people living here now than were Hastings people in the first place, because...all the people that came down from London, there were hundreds of 'em, have now sort of integrated and become, you know, local people. I don't suppose there's an awful lot of the original Hastings people left.³⁴

³² Interview with Philip H. Aged 72. 00:15:01. The neighbouring town of Farnworth was not subject to the overspill schemes.

³³ Interview with Michael H. Aged 54, (St. Leonards on Sea: 3 March 2009). 00:00:36

³⁴ Interview with Kathleen U. Aged 82, (St. Leonards on Sea: 7 April 2009). 00:36:21

The town was empty you see, and I think they filled up with people that just didn't bother. I've always said...I've always said that the town was empty but when they came back, people that came into the town, not Hastings, spoilt it. I've always thought that the influence of the new population, spoilt this town...I've always thought Hastings has never been the same.³⁵

Ironically, even where those originally from outside the area take an active interest in protecting the historic built environment, one interviewee expresses resentment at their involvement:

But it's like...the Society of St. Leonard's, lots, several, well quite a few of those, we just popped in there one day, didn't we? They're, they're outsiders and they're trying to resurrect...their surroundings...I think poor old Hastings...from when we sort of left, and it suddenly went downhill because of the DHSS, and all this thing moving in, the people from outside came in, not perhaps for the best.³⁶

The significance of the Monument to the local community in Walkden was not solely linked with the large number of events that centred around it, it is also bound up with the longevity of the Egerton family's influence in the town and their ability to foster a strong sense of community identity amongst the workers both in Walkden and the broader Worsley estates. Even in the interwar period despite there being less deference to the Egerton family there were still some vestiges of the patriarchal society established by the 1st Earl and Countess of Ellesmere that were more typical of an eighteenth and nineteenth century estate mentality rather than of a modern and developing industrial town. This prevailing attitude was deeply rooted in history, tradition and the enormous popularity of the family. As has been noted in Chapter one, even after the 4th Earl of Ellesmere sold all of the Worsley estates in 1923, the colliers and estate workers felt that they had less in common with, and more to fear from the industrial middle classes than the aristocratic family that had somewhat

³⁵ Interview with Phyllis W. Aged 97, (St. Leonards on Sea: 15 May 2009). 00:09:33. She refers to the period at the end of WWII when evacuees returned to the town.

³⁶ Interview with Jan D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009). 00:45:24

In 2011 a population of 90,254 was recorded in the Hastings Census. The 2010 Indices of Multiple Deprivation show that 28% of the LSOAs in the Hastings district are amongst the most deprived in the country. It is one of the 20 local authorities with the highest proportion of their LSOAs in the most deprived decile. See: Department for Communities and Local Government, "The English Indices of Deprivation 2010."

managed their lives for five generations since the days of the Canal Duke.³⁷ Primarily as a result of astute management by the Egertons, well into the 20th century Walkden and Worsley had also retained a certain degree of prosperity and security compared to many other manufacturing areas where unemployment was soaring and strike action and conflict between employers and workers increasingly common. Writing on class and the social order, Patrick Joyce posits that 'the vested interest workers and employers have in co-operation is at least as great as any tendency towards conflict.' Similarly sociologists such as Michael Mann would suggest that the illusion of consensus comes about because subordinate classes do not have enough commitment to motivate political change based on alternative beliefs and values.³⁸ Despite the apparent value consensus in Walkden however, one interviewee asserts that some tensions did exist within her own family:

Well, it just depends which family you belonged to...my great-granddad was the coachman for Lord Egerton...and mi great-granny...she was the lady's maid...now, they kept up the standards with the royalty, and Lord and Lady Egerton³⁹...and that was a different situation to mi grandma's... who were the miners, and they said, "oh", yer know, "they get plenty and we don't get anythin' an' slavin' down t' pit", an' that, so it just depended, so mi granny an' gran were very nice, you know, tryin' to make me a lady, an' all that sort of business, but, erm, on the other hand, they had to be careful, at the [other grandparents' house], because they were all against all this Lord and Lady business, 'cause they were the sort, bottom of the pile, although they were very clever.⁴⁰

She goes on to suggest that her mother's side of the family who were colliers felt resentment that they had been forced to move to Walkden from a more rural setting for work, the benefits of tied housing and improved welfare. There was provision of free railway transport for miners and their families to allow them to relocate for employment. Discussing the erection of the Countess of Ellesmere

³⁷ F.C. Mather, *After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). p328-332

R.N. Soffer, "Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North 1830-1850," *International Review of Social History* 10, no. 3: December (1965).

³⁸ Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*. p3
Michael Mann, "The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy," *American Sociological Review* 35, no. 3: June (1970).

³⁹ The interviewee's grandfather was given a middle name of Egerton as a mark of respect to their employers.

⁴⁰ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77, (Walkden: 14 August 2009). 00:27:39.

Memorial she again suggests tensions between local miners and the Egerton family:

Belonging to a mining family, I know that there was some resentment that employees of the Bridgewater Collieries should pay a contribution to the Lady Harriet Memorial Fund. Miners did not earn much money and had large families to keep. You can imagine what their reaction was, behind closed doors, but the powers that be got around this. The contribution was not voluntary, but deducted from the miners' wage packets. Lady Harriet did a lot of good but on the other hand, Lord and Lady Egerton had millions of pounds and could afford monuments. There does not appear to be any mention of any resentment... There were no demonstrations.⁴¹

She concedes that there is no written mention anywhere of this enforced contribution to the public subscription fund and although it is actually mentioned by two Walkden interviewees, the author has not found any evidence cited in the literature, from the Bridgewater Estates wage books for example, to support the assertion so it is possibly a myth arising out of the family tensions that the interviewee cites. Despite these nuances in the narratives with regard to the original erection of the Monument, all of the Walkden interviewees make some mention of the social and welfare benefits that the Egerton family brought to the town, one commenting:

Lady Harriet, was, was one of the sort of, first social agencies, of social work in this area in taking women and girls out, and children out, of the mines, and training the women and girls in domestic things, so they could work in service rather than down the pit, indeed they named a street after her of course near the monument, Harriet Street.⁴²

The overwhelming evidence revealed in the interviews from both towns is that rather than being perceived as identifiers of class difference and symbols of power, the two monuments have been experienced primarily as symbols of value consensus and community cohesion. They have been experienced particularly through the localisation of memories relating to public rituals, ceremonials, festivities, and, through the routine activities of everyday life. As Ben Highmore asserts:

⁴¹ Ibid. 00:26:35. The interviewee reads from her notes at this point.

⁴² Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71, (Walkden: 21 November 2011). 00:15:20.

Everyday life can both hide and make vivid a range of social differences. But it should be remembered that the production of recognisable difference initially required the manufacture of a sense of commonality... So the everyday (as a theoretical and practical arena) has the potential ability of producing, not difference, but commonality.⁴³

The association of the two monuments with community identity is also revealed in the interviewee narratives as a powerful emotional bond with the two objects. This bond is frequently expressed through an anthropomorphisation of the inanimate structures. Talking about the removal of the Memorial, one Hastings interviewee says:

It's, it's like people, somebody you've always known and taken for granted, and then they move from the area, and you suddenly realise that you do miss them, you know, that they were an important part of the road, they, they made the road what it was and yet you didn't realise at the time it was the characters that built the road up. New people come along, it's not the same, it's not the same.⁴⁴

By other interviewees it is described as a *friend*, 'we feel now we have lost a friend and the town has no centre',⁴⁵ or a *father*, 'the Memorial was always the 'father' figure in the town',⁴⁶ Similarly, Walkden interviewees reiterate the sense of presence that the Monument possessed and refer to it as being associated with the *character* and *personality* of the town:

I thought, I think I thought at the time [when the Monument was moved], what a shame, because it was the focal point of the town, and it seemed to destroy the character really. I don't know whether they'd let them do it now, but then it was just, move it, for traffic I suppose. I think it's spoiled the personality of Walkden centre.⁴⁷

The emotional bond that the local communities had with the two monuments is also alluded to through the interviewees' sense that the objects were always in the background of everyday life, as a familiar part of the landscape. In Hastings,

⁴³ Ben Highmore, "Introduction: Questioning Everyday Life," in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (London & New York: Routledge, 2002). p2

⁴⁴ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71, (Bexhill on Sea: 27 November 2009.). 00:43:18

⁴⁵ Deirdre D. p2

⁴⁶ ———, Letter to Anthony McIntosh, 11 May 2009. p1

⁴⁷ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:26:53

as has been previously noted, many of those people old enough to remember the clock tower in its original position still refer that area as ‘the Memorial’. One Hastings interviewee describes the importance of this familiarity, asserting that ‘it was just a back-drop to your life, it was nice to know it was there, I don’t think I ever went and specifically looked at it or anything of that ilk.’⁴⁸ The Introduction of this thesis also noted that there are similarities in interviews carried out by Sophie Calle for her study entitled *The Detachment*, to those undertaken for this thesis in Walkden and Hastings. The impact of losing the familiar presence of the public monuments discussed by Calle is revealed in her interviewee narratives. One of her interviewees asserts ‘there’s a resistance in that hole. In my mind it’s still there. Like a ghost, I see it there’,⁴⁹ another, referring to the removal of a statue states, ‘what’s missing is the orientation point. He was standing right in the centre of the square. We could always look over to him for direction.’⁵⁰

The familiar presence of the two monuments is also referred to by several interviewees in the context of their childhood memories, two from Hastings asserting, ‘as a child, it was just like you’d grown up with it, it was there’⁵¹ and ‘it was just part of, just part of your existence really.’⁵² As children, in addition to their involvement in formal events around the two public monuments, the aspect of play is also something that is mentioned by several interviewees. One Walkden interviewee talks about the various games involving the Monument that the children played, and she specifically notes the small statuettes of miners and mill girls high up on the structure:

Another favourite of theirs was to organise a game involving the Walkden Monument, on the following lines; dressed up in a fancy dress from the playbox, run three times around the Monument, touch the statue by running up the slope”. A lot of these shopkeeper’s, er, children, were very well behaved and they used Walkden Monument as their playground and, er, in an evening, they’d all meet at the foot of the Monument, and, er, as I say, they

⁴⁸ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57, (Walkden: 7 October 2008). 00:03:58

⁴⁹ Sophie Calle, *The Detachment* (Berlin: G&B Arts International. Arndt & Partner Gallery, 1996). p27

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p35

⁵¹ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:41:02

⁵² Interview with Jan D. Aged 71. 00:08:08

were always well-behaved, and they called those little statues that were on the Monument their little dollies.⁵³

Similarly a Hastings interviewee talks about the frequent flooding around the Memorial and childhood memories of himself and several other children playing and wading around the structure. He recalls, 'and, I can go back to the fun days, of when we occasionally saw the Memorial flooded, we used to go down, as kids of course we used to love paddling through it in our Wellie boots.'⁵⁴

Flooding of the Memorial area was relatively common when Hastings was hit by tidal storms and it was often severe enough to necessitate the use of boats to traverse the area. The event was so regular in fact that pictorial postcards were made of the event as seen in illustrations 77 & 78.

⁵³ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:19:47. Reads from her notes about an account from her friend, Margaret Smith who lived at Barbers Wool Shop, 15 Bolton Road, Walkden.

⁵⁴ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:00:08



Illustration 77: a pictorial postcard showing heavy flooding of the area around the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings on 22 October 1911.



Illustration 78: a pictorial postcard showing heavy flooding of the area around the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings on 23 March 1913. Photographed by W. J. Willmet, Pier Photographer, Pelham Crescent, Hastings.

The emotional bond that the community of each town felt with their local monument is perhaps most acutely revealed through the anger expressed by the interviewees when discussing the objects' re-siting or demolition. Several Walkden interviewees spoke with raised voices when discussing the removal of the Monument from its original site and all talk in terms of being part of what must be regarded as an imagined community of similarly angry and like-minded people. One interviewee exclaimed:

They was all upset, everyone, everyone you spoke to was upset about movin' that Monument, it should have been left where it was... It had a bad effect on it, moving it. Walkden's never been the same since... There was, really there was a bit of an uproar about it, everyone was complainin' about it, but er, that didn't make any difference, they still moved the Monument... No, no, the decision wasn't put to the public and that's what annoyed the public. People I spoke to said, "it wasn't put to the public was it, it wasn't voted on", 'cause if it had 've been, they wouldn't have moved it, because everybody I've spoke to doesn't, didn't want it movin', objected to it bein' moved.⁵⁵

Another interviewee confirms the depth of local sentiment about the re-siting:

Well, certainly, there was a lot of local feeling... there are people who resent it being tucked away in a corner and getting lost... it does stir up letters to the local paper and that kind of thing. There's obviously quite an interest, bubbling away underground.⁵⁶

Highlighting the angry response that could be elicited from Walkden residents at the suggestion of an assault on the Monument, one interviewee relates an amusing story about an April Fool's Day joke that had appeared in the local newspaper in 1960:

The local paper at the time was called *The Journal*... and like all newspapers on April 1st, spoofing in those days, there was a picture of a big crane, just lifting the top of the Monument off, at a , at a sort of jaunty angle, that someone, way before the days of Photoshop, had done with scalpel and picture, and the, the local community was absolutely incensed an' up in arms, when all they needed to have done was looked out of the front window and they would have noticed that that wasn't actually the case.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85, (Walkden: 5 June 2008). 00:06:52

⁵⁶ Interview with Philip H. Aged 72. 00:31:43

⁵⁷ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57. 00:04:09. See: *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, 1 April 1960.

The April Fools' Day joke informed readers that a wealthy American lawyer had bought the Monument and the fabricated image showed the top section being lowered onto a lorry. The irony of this joke was not lost on the local newspaper when in 1967 it cited the spoof as it announced the decision taken by Worsley Urban District Council to move the Monument, commenting 'there's many a true word spoken in jest.'⁵⁸

Much of the anger expressed by the interviewees with regard to the re-siting of the Monument and to the demolition of the Memorial in Hastings is aimed at the local council.⁵⁹ Many of the interviewees angrily question the authority of town councillors to make decisions about the historic built environment. Both the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings were erected, in common with most public monuments of the period, as a result of a public subscription fund; this fact is noted by several of the interviewees. Indeed during local authority discussions with regard to re-siting the Monument in Walkden, the local newspaper reports that in one meeting Councillor J. Ward 'thought the council should give it back to the Ellesmere family', but he was reminded very firmly by other councillors present that the Monument was paid for by public subscription and, reflecting its ownership by the public, the dedicatory inscription that states it is 'a public tribute of affection and respect' was quoted to him.⁶⁰ Several Hastings interviewees also raise questions about who are the legal owners of public monuments:

What I find amazing is, those monuments, surely they're the property of the people of Hastings. Not some council, not some committee...and therefore, before anything is done to any item like that, in a democracy it should be put to the people, ask them what they want done with it, and there's no way, no way people of Hastings, St. Leonard's, wherever, would have agreed to that thing [the Memorial] being destroyed.⁶¹

I don't see they have a right, it's what I call industrial vandalism really because, it was erected in when, eighteen seventy odd, and

⁵⁸ "'Joke' Turns Sour," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 30 1967.

⁵⁹ There are no references in any of the oral history interviews to the current or historical political composition of the local council in either town. It is always referred to merely as 'the Council'.

⁶⁰ "Walkden Monument To Be Moved," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, November 9 1967.

⁶¹ Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:45:24

to have a piece of sculpture of that age, and just to abandon it, it's, well, it's just stupidity.⁶²

Once again there are similar assertions about public funds in the Calle project; one of her interviewees complains, 'whether it will be missed or not is of little relevance; it was the national emblem. It could very well have remained. After all, it was paid for with our money.'⁶³

In both Walkden and Hastings the local council had attempted and failed to move or demolish the two monuments several times before it actually took place. Tensions between local councillors and what was a large proportion of the residents of both towns, affected what Poplin calls the psychosocial variable in community building. In many of the interviews there is a strong sense of the local community, *us*, fighting against hierarchies of council officials, *them*. This theme is common to the narratives of 52% of the interviews where local councils are specifically cited as culpable for the removal or destruction of the two monuments, and of ignoring the wishes of the towns' residents. Whilst acknowledging the problems caused by increasing traffic, several Walkden interviewees direct their anger and frustration at the local council:

Well it meant a lot, actually, because the people of Walkden did complain about moving the Monument; they didn't want it movin' but they didn't get the option, it wasn't put to the public, it was just done by the council I presume, but err, none of the people of Walkden liked the idea of moving that Monument.⁶⁴

You know, a lot of people wer very upset about it; when they moved that Monument... They tried to stop it but, er, it was, er, they said it was necessary because of the, the volume of traffic that wer' comin' through. It wer bein' an obstacle you see, to lights and whatever.⁶⁵

Referencing the amalgamation of the town with Salford in 1974, others express particular animosity towards Salford City Council and their attitude towards local history and the historic built environment in Walkden:

⁶² Ibid. 00:45:24

⁶³ Calle, *The Detachment*. p26.

⁶⁴ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:06:15

⁶⁵ Interview with Kathleen T. Aged 76, (Salford: LifeTimes Oral History Archive, 27 October 2000). 01:11:25

So, like Salford, really, 'as taken our town over an' done what they wanted with it not what we wanted, they didn't put it to the public, what the public wanted.⁶⁶

But, unfortunately we're up against a set of Philistines in our civic authority who are hell bent on flattening everything. I think they really are, they're unbelievable. Most other, most other local historians are of that opinion. Salford are just Philistines, they really are.⁶⁷

The assertion regarding local history is an interesting one; Walkden had an extensive, authoritative local history department based at the town's local library. The collection represented research carried out by local historians over several decades and contained a rich photographic archive as well as a large volume of books and ephemera of local relevance; it also contained back copies of the local newspaper. The collection fostered a local interest in the history of the area and provided a repository for the community's memories of a shared past through oral history recordings and autobiographical writings. With the opening of the new Walkden library in what is known as The Gateway, under the auspices of Salford City Council, the entire Walkden Heritage Collection was removed to Salford Local History Library, just outside of Manchester City Centre, and is to a great extent subsumed by the vast collection of archives that are more pertinent to the localities of inner Salford. The collection is now poorly catalogued and without doubt, is less accessible to the people of Walkden who are located on the westernmost border of the City, than at its previous location.⁶⁸ The previous interviewee also refers to the competing priorities of Salford City Council; in addition to being responsible for the migrating population into the town, he also feels that the council exhibits a lack of concern for Walkden's historic built environment and instead focuses its attention on the redevelopment of Salford's Docklands:

⁶⁶ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:17:43. In actual fact the Monument was moved before the amalgamation with Salford but the effects of the Salford overspill on the town since the 1950s is clearly affecting the perception of this interviewee.

⁶⁷ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:28:45

⁶⁸ During the course of writing this thesis the librarians at the Walkden Gateway have on several occasions been unable to provide answers to simple questions about the history of the town and on each occasion the author has been directed to Salford Local History Library. This is in stark contrast to Hastings where the reference library, museum and several local history organisations research, hold and actively disseminate extensive knowledge about the history of their town.

Both due to the nature of modern society, which is a rootless society, it really is, due to work patterns, social, lack of social cohesion and, I'm sad to say it, official policy, where the local authority are not interested in outlying areas, they really are not.⁶⁹

Commenting on what he perceives as damage to the town's community identity, another interviewee refers to the Monument as an iconic representation of Walkden that has been subsumed by Salford, 'it should be the town's emblem, but Walkden as a, as an identity, has sort of disappeared because of being part of the City of Salford.'⁷⁰

Of course when the Monument was moved in 1968, Worsley Urban District Council were still the custodians of the structure. The resentment expressed by the interviewees originates from when the decision to move the Monument was made in 1967. A local petition was started and residents were urged to attend the next council meeting to voice their objections. Within a couple of weeks 750 people had given their signatures. The petition urged the council to 'recognise their responsibility as custodians of the town's amenities' and to resist pressure from the Ministry of Transport.⁷¹ Angry letters appeared in the local newspaper calling into question the integrity of local councillors:

Let us remember those men responsible for the removal of Walkden Monument when the unique character of Walkden centre is forever destroyed and the accident and mortality rate is upped by the increased speed of through traffic!⁷²

When are our councillors, some of whom were elected by us (and some who were not) going to learn that they are there to protect the interests of the townspeople, and especially to protect them from the machinations of the bureaucrat.⁷³

There is also a sense that some interviewees feel that they have been the victims, rather than the beneficiaries, of a range of planning initiatives over the years, two interviewees commenting:

But all this modernisation in town, in our town at least, in my opinion it's just ruined it. It's not a happy town like it used to be with

⁶⁹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:26:42

⁷⁰ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:15:54

⁷¹ "Fight to Save the Monument," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, November 23 1967.

⁷² R. Brendon-Platt, "Let Us Remember," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 7 1967.

⁷³ Mrs. Doris Forsyth, "SOS For Monument," *Farnworth and Worsley Journal*, December 7 1967.

all this modernisation. Definitely...it's taken all our history away really this modernisation.⁷⁴

I think that, that it was a very different era then, because...you know, I mean, they seemed to have the ability to close down railways, move this, put that road in, knock these houses down, put that road through there, almost on a whim, without the consultation process that goes on these days.⁷⁵

Others in the town acknowledge the fact that the local council were coming under pressure from the government to take some traffic easing measures:

Well there was a considerable amount of opposition, both within the local council and of course, definitely from the population. I don't think anyone wanted it moving but the Ministry of Transport were adamant that it had to go and as it was a trunk road they held the whip hand.⁷⁶

But the highways authority of the time, the Ministry of Transport I suppose it would be in those days, decided it had to go, because it was erm, a delay on the traffic. And as soon as they'd moved it, they built the motorway, which bypassed Walkden, so there was probably no need to move it in the first place.⁷⁷

There is evidence in local newspaper reports that the local council were in fact not quite so acquiescent in their dealings with the Ministry of Transport; they were themselves divided about the future of the Monument. Councillor Gorton is reported as saying:

I don't like ministry officials dictating policy...when someone holds a pistol at my head I object. The ministry have said in effect, "if you don't do what we say we will not let you have any money.'

Similarly in Hastings several interviewees express anger and frustration at the actions of local councillors in sealing the fate of the Memorial. One comments:

I think the people, I don't think the people could believe it, I mean what can they do, you're completely, from what I read from the reports the council couldn't wait to get rid of it.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Interview with Ethel A. Aged 85. 00:13:46

⁷⁵ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57. 00:05:40

⁷⁶ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:16:20

⁷⁷ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:07:41

⁷⁸ Interview with Jan D. Aged 71. 00:45:24

Our dear Memorial, it was the heart of our town, today we have a desert in its place, someone was determined to get rid of it in spite of local feeling.⁷⁹

The knowledge of a long standing desire by the council to remove the Memorial led to the development of a range of conspiracy theories. At worst these implied that the borough council were directly responsible for the two fires that started in the clock tower, or, at the very least, they implied a wilful neglect in respect of their responsibility of care:

There were lots of questions asked about what was happening to it, and why it went, and if there really was a fire, you know, it was a source of some, you know, whether the fire was, deliberate, whether you know, it was a ruse to get rid of it...there has never been a heart to Hastings like that since then...And I think this was the feeling that there was about the Memorial, the powers that be...they wanted it gone, but they knew there'd be an outcry if they actually removed it so it got to the stage when it was deemed to be unsafe and then it couldn't stop there any longer, so they got where they wanted to go, in a round, you know, in that round about way.⁸⁰

I can remember there being a fire, and them deciding that the Albert had to come down. They always reckon there was a bit of a fiddle going on but I'm not sure. I wasn't that interested I suppose at that age.⁸¹

When the council asked people to vote for and against the removal of it, overwhelmingly voted for it to stay so it mysteriously had a fire which was convenient and it had to go although it stood firm through all the war.⁸²

Despite a general commonality of sentiment in the interviewees from both towns these emotive responses are not unanimous. One Walkden interviewee recounts:

There were people who, sort of, "it's always been there, we don't want it moving", there were other people who had to drive past it every day an' thought it was blockin' the traffic and they wanted it moving so there was quite a lot of debate in both ways, and of

⁷⁹ Deirdre D, Letter to Anthony McIntosh, 27 June 2012. p1

⁸⁰ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78, (Hastings: 17 March 2009). 00:51:14

⁸¹ Interview with Doreen C. Aged 79, (St. Leonards on Sea: 30 March 2009). 00:12:12

⁸² Deirdre D. p3

course, people would have liked it moved to a more prominent spot, it's got lost where it is now.⁸³

In fact, in two of the interviews a completely different perspective is expressed. One Walkden interviewee links working outside of the town to her lack of an emotive response to the removal of the Monument:

I could see it all being' taken down but I didn't feel anythin', any sadness about it 'cause I'd changed mi life, you see...I di'n't work at Walkden Town Hall anymore, I worked at Winton School at Eccles, and my life was teachin' down there, in fact, I didn't get the *Worsley Journal*, I got the *Eccles Journal*...No, I didn't feel sad about it at all.⁸⁴

In a similar vein a Hastings interviewee dismisses calls for the rebuilding of the Memorial:

Anyhow, they, they decided to remove it, an' it's been a talking point ever since, they would like it back again...it's a romanticising really.⁸⁵

Notably these two interviewees had spent a great deal of time away from their respective towns and the Walkden interviewee indeed identifies that because of this fact she was distanced both physically and psychologically from the local community in Walkden to the extent that she even changes her 'local' newspaper. Her testimony reinforces Poplin's assertions that the notion of community is dependent on territorial, sociological and psychocultural variables.

Letters to the Hastings local newspapers in 1952 when serious plans were being considered to demolish the Memorial demonstrate that absence from a locality does not necessarily result in a rupture of such relationships however.

Two readers wrote to the editor:

As a former resident of St. Leonards for 17 years I always felt that Hastings and the Memorial were synonymous. No expedient could, in my opinion, adequately justify playing monkey tricks with such an upright and useful old friend.⁸⁶

⁸³ Interview with Philip H. Aged 72. 00:08:34

⁸⁴ Interview with Joy O. Aged 77. 00:17:16. Winton is approximately five miles from Walkden.

⁸⁵ Interview with Joyce B. Aged 79, (St. Leonards on Sea: 7 April 2009). 00:17:03

⁸⁶ "Public and Future of the Memorial: More Opinions From 'Observer' Readers," *Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer*, Saturday 16 August 1952. p7

I was absent from the town for many years on military service, but my furloughs and leave were invariably spent here. And what was the first thing I saw to welcome me and seemingly to shout from the clock face, "This is Hastings; you are home!"⁸⁷

Even some people who had never lived in the town but were visitors expressed a sense of community with Hastings residents. One gentleman from Holland writing:

I am a Dutchman who fairly often visits your town...By taking away this beauty spot would be taken the heart out of Hastings...For the inhabitants of Hastings, it is an historical monument and, therefore, should be a sacred place.⁸⁸

There can be no doubt that in both towns the actions of the local council, completely at odds with the will of the majority of residents, were also fuelled by the modernist architectural movement sweeping the country. Simon Thurley, architectural historian and the present Chief Executive of English Heritage, asserts that 'from 1954 to 1974 hardly an English town escaped dual carriageways and massive town centre redevelopment in concrete and prefab tiles', rebuilding plans commissioned 'by the generation of councillors who had the gung ho spirit of the D-day landings.' He describes the town planners, commercial architects and borough engineers responsible for city and town centre improvement schemes as 'all too often faceless and angry men intent on sweeping away the buildings that had come before; buildings that represented an old social order which the new politics of the new world would replace.' Thurley posits that this 'whole brutal process' only came to an end in 1973 with spiralling inflation and the beginning of massive public protest at the destruction of towns and cities often in the name of improving traffic flow. Indeed he argues that whilst 'previous styles had been brought down by the sneers of connoisseurs; modernism was killed by the common man.'⁸⁹

The stark redevelopment of Walkden around the time that plans to move the Monument were finalised is highlighted in the postcard shown in illustration 79.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p7

⁸⁸ Ibid. p7

⁸⁹ Dr. Simon Thurley, "Coming to Terms with Modern Times: English Architecture in the Post-war Era," in *English Architecture: Into the Modern World* (London: Gresham College lecture at the Museum of London, 6 March 2013).

Clearly promoting the town's new modernist architecture and the wide roads to facilitate the fast movement of traffic, the photographs appear to have been taken just a few years before the Monument was moved as it is still visible in the image at bottom right; the shopping centre and civic restaurant shown were both opened in 1965. Even some local councillors were in fact critical of these 'improvement' schemes; Councillor Mrs A.C. Eastham is reported as saying in one meeting, 'with all the redevelopment which is going on, Walkden will soon be nothing but a lot of blocks of concrete.'⁹⁰



Illustration 79: a pictorial multi-view postcard of Walkden, produced by Lilywhite Ltd., Brighouse, c1965-1968.

Tension between the views of planners and local communities is not uncommon when towns are subject to regeneration projects. Views about what enhances the centre of towns are often poles apart. Interestingly in the Mass Observation Project's 2003 directive, *Public and Private Spaces/Places*, by far the majority of the 181 respondents complain about excess traffic in town centres and express a strong liking for parks and green areas in urban settings. Notably however one of the respondents takes a completely opposing view; ironically he is a local authority town planner and states, 'I find that grass and trees do not necessarily enhance such space [town centres], they create a very different

⁹⁰ "Walkden Monument To Be Moved."

mood which I confess I find out of place in towns and cities.’ Even he concedes however that ‘in the UK we often modernise the magic out of old places.’⁹¹

The dawn of what Thurley calls mass public protest in 1973 to what was perceived as the destruction of important elements of the historic built environment by town planners and borough engineers came too late to prevent the re-siting of the Monument in Walkden and the demolition of the Memorial in Hastings. There seems to be some veracity in this notion and several interviewees in both towns comment on the apparent public apathy at the time with regard to any organised opposition to the plans. One Walkden interviewee argues that it is now much easier to organise campaigns to protect local heritage than when the Monument was removed:

I think if it was in the centre of the road now...and if it were to be moved, if it were planned to be moved, I think people would object, and stop that. People are much more able to, if somebody objects to somethin’ there’s, there’s greater mechanism these days to, to have your voice heard, and a lot of things get stopped because people just don’t want it, but at the time, it’s my belief, that the belief of people at the time was more, more of a “well, what can yer do, it’s the government”, you know, “oh, they’ve closed that railway, what can yer do”. But these days if they wer’ gonna close a branch line down you’d have protest groups, focus groups, you’d have petitions, this, that and the other. That to me wasn’t the way of the era. People would just accept what got done around them and just sort of say “what could you do”. But yet, there wer’, people would organise Whit Walks, an’ jumble sales, an all this kind of stuff, you know.⁹²

I think there was, I think there was objection [to the removal of the Monument] but, I think it only, it simmered, it didn’t go into a great big thing, it should ‘a’ done but it didn’t, I think people accepted it, what wer’ ‘appening, you know...an’ that’s why it is where it is...even now I’m not very happy about seein’ it there, even now when I see it...It’s still nice, i’ n’t it...’t ‘as a dignity about it, I think so.⁹³

In 1983 Steve Peak, then leader of Hastings Area Local Studies, similarly asserts in the *Hastings and St. Leonard’s Observer* with regard to the

⁹¹ "Public and Private Spaces/Places," in *SxMOA2/70/1: Papers of the Mass Observation Project* (Brighton: University of Sussex, Autumn Directive 2003). – Respondent: C3006, male, aged 45 from Gloucester.

⁹² Interview with Brian H. Aged 57.00:10:31

⁹³ Interview with John D. Aged 87. 00:20:15

demolition of the Memorial, 'if it had happened today, the *Observer* would have made a fuss about it, the council couldn't have got away with pulling it down...Thus Hastings remains one of the very few towns its size without any visual focus to its town centre.'⁹⁴ Other interviewees in both towns firmly allocate responsibility for the loss of the two monuments not solely to the local council or town planners however, but to an inherent apathy amongst the local community themselves. A Walkden interviewee comments,

Well, it had always been there, an' I think it had a lot of tradition with it, as I, as I still feel about it now. And I think, erm, I can't explain it, it wer' part of Walkden really, we all take it for granted don't we, things like that.⁹⁵

Similarly a Hastings interviewee asserts:

But they can't put back things that were taken down can they. I mean, they, I mean we're all to blame for this, I mean, because we're all, we all live locally, and we're all sort of, citizens of Hastings, and perhaps we should all take more, well, we should all pay more attention, and be, be aware of our heritage, but we're not, are we, and we don't do anything as much as we ought to about it...I don't know where the blame should lie, it lies with all of us, we didn't fight hard enough to keep these things, because I do think that the, perhaps the importance of wasn't, wasn't as much appreciated, you know, they didn't, didn't think about, what they should be, what they should be doing.⁹⁶

Many of the interviewees posit that this apparent apathy and unwillingness to become involved in local affairs is a condition of society in general. Two interviewees associated with Walkden Rotary Club for instance reflect on their difficulty in getting new members:

But, I mean, I'm at a loss to understand what, what motivates society these days, I mean, such as the Rotary Clubs; as people die, the members aren't replaced, you know. Societies such as Rotary and Round Table, and so on and so forth, as members die, no one else comes in, despite the best efforts of people to replace them, and, it doesn't really appear as though people don't care, it just, I don't know, it just, it's perhaps that people are too well looked after these days, there's just an expectation that, "oh,

⁹⁴ "The Memorial - in Loving Memory," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, Saturday 29 October 1983.

⁹⁵ ———. 00:21:39

⁹⁶ Interview with Margaret E. Aged 78. 00:55:35

somebody else will do that”, not the feeling that, “I’ve gotta get in there to cause things to happen”, rather than, I think people are just content to sit there an’ let things happen around them rather than muck in.⁹⁷

Our club is, was formed in 1948...It’s still an elderly club, and that’s like with all service organisations, you know, to get volunteers to come and turn out and do things, I mean, you can’t get, the Masons have recruiting problems, Rotary have recruiting problems, they can’t get Scout and Cub leaders, you know, that sort of thing.⁹⁸

This declining trend for associational membership, is the very issue that Robert Putnam discusses at length in *Bowling Alone*, and what he asserts is responsible for a consequential decline in social capital.⁹⁹

A common theme that runs throughout the interviews from both towns, specifically stated in 48% in fact, is the importance of having a knowledge of local history in fostering a sense of community identity. The interviewees suggest that what people regard as the everyday, the traditions and memories of ordinary people that are indicators of the social history of the area, are much more interesting and important to them than history’s great events, indeed the oral history interviews are replete with anecdote and references to the quotidian elements of the interviewees’ lives. The importance of local history is discussed with particular reference to formal education and the ways in which children and younger people can become informed about where they live. Two Walkden interviewees assert:

People should know where they come from, how they got there, how their parents arrived there, what their grandad did, did he work down the pit and what was a pit?¹⁰⁰

I’ve a lot more appreciation of what Walkden, Little Hulton, Worsley, Boothstown are about because I know the background, I’ve more of a sense of place, because I know where I know where it’s come from.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57. 00:09:17

⁹⁸ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:43:48. The Rotary Club website states that the club’s aim is to: ‘encourage and foster the ideal of service as a basis of worthy enterprise.’ Its motto is ‘Service Above Self’. See: <http://www.rotary.org/> Date accessed 24/10/13.

⁹⁹ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:51:36

¹⁰¹ Interview with Philip H. Aged 72. 00:28:28

Several interviewees comment on the difference that age can make in an appreciation of local history. Two from Hastings argue that younger people are often less interested in the history of their local surroundings than older people:

It, it becomes more important I think as you become older for some reason. You get more time to think about things.¹⁰²

An' I've said this so many times to people, everybody should write down, things, other people's lives are interesting to other people, yeah, and I think the younger people, need to know, what things were like, well, in times gone by.¹⁰³

Several of the Walkden interviewees make a similar point, one commenting:

I don't think people will realise what it [the Monument] was for or maybe the young people aren't that interested, I don't know. 'cause people worked very hard in those days, didn't they, really hard, and maybe it should be brought more to the forefront for what they, they did in those days.¹⁰⁴

Another Walkden interviewee has endeavoured to interest local schools in hosting talks about local history for their students. Asserting its importance in retaining a sense of place and identity he expresses his frustration that this has been so difficult to arrange:

It's who we are, it's who we are, but yes, I feel history is important, it is your roots and we have such a lot of it 'round here, I really do feel it's vital, but it's a voice crying in the wilderness.¹⁰⁵

Both towns are now engaged in a whole range of initiatives that are aimed at reclaiming the history and forgotten stories that relate to the two monuments and to the broader geographical area. The umbrella term under which many of these projects have been launched is *local heritage* and it is difficult not to question the authenticity of some of the associated events that can often have connotations of pure commercialism. In the Worsley area, as has been discussed in Chapter one, the 250th anniversary of the Bridgewater Canal has seen a fanciful re-staging of Queen Victoria's arrival at the New Hall on the Ellesmere Royal Barge in 1851. It has however, also generated an important

¹⁰² Interview with Leonard D. Aged 71. 00:45:24

¹⁰³ Interview with Kathleen U. Aged 82. 00:35:52

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Thelma G. Aged 75. 00:28:51

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:20:48

archaeological survey of the New Hall site that has in turn facilitated a renewed study of local archives and a new collection of oral history recordings. Part of the commercial trade-off has been the promotion of an architectural competition to design a large hotel on the site albeit one that has also stated its intentions to restore the hall's formal gardens to the original designs.¹⁰⁶

In what was described as an initiative to preserve part of Walkden's heritage, the Monument was the subject of a major restoration in 2006. The Rotary Club used the occasion to work with schools in order to educate local children with regard to their historic built environment and to the importance of the Egerton family in the history of the town. The children were involved in the sculpting and casting of four new figures for the Monument to replace those stolen during its re-siting in 1968. The inauguration of the newly restored Monument was used to reclaim an important part of the town's history by inviting the 6th Earl of Ellesmere to unveil it. The involvement of local schools was designed to generate a sense of ownership amongst the children both for the Monument and for its associated history; many of them attended the unveiling, some dressed in Victorian costume. The Hon. Secretary of the local Rotary Club asserts:

It's important that they, first of all, know something of the heritage of their town, erm, they became very interested, and if you look closely around the four statues, each statue stands on a sort of plinth...and when the plinth was still wet, the children who made it, or helped to make it, inscribed their names on it, so for posterity, those children can go along in 'x' number of years' time with their grandchildren and see, "see that statue, it's got my name on it", and that, hopefully, goes a little way to, er, prolonging, er, the history of the Monument.... Well we like to think we've brought it back into the public eye... we'd like to think through our little ceremony, and it gained quite a lot of publicity in the local press, both *The Advertiser* and the *Bolton Evening News*, at the time, so we like to think that it was put back in the public eye, erm, I think there's more people now know what it's all about than did ten years ago, shall we say.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ "Long-lost Hall Gardens May Bloom Once More in Worsley," *Manchester Evening News*, 4 August 2011.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Arthur C. Aged 71. 00:30:09 – referring to why local schools were involved in the restoration project

Two of the original small statuettes can be seen in situ on the Monument in illustration 80 and two of the replacement statuettes created by the school children can be seen in their respective places in illustration 81. The sculptor who worked with the local schools felt that there was however some general apathy within the local community with regard to the restoration. He suggests that this is because once the Monument had been moved to its new location in 1968, a *fait accompli*, local people were less interested in moving it back to a place of prominence if it was not going to be moved back to its original position at the centre of the crossroads:

But, I must admit that I was very, I can't even say disappointed, I was just curious as to, really, the lack of, of interest, and, we put an exhibition up in the library, of the four plastic statues you've got there, and pictures of the process, and pictures of the kids working on it, and whatever, and that was in the library for a month, and, you know, the people there, in the library, said there'd been a lot of interest, but, I can't help thinking that they were being kind, you know.¹⁰⁸

Another interviewee echoes this opinion:

They'd said their party piece and couldn't get it saved, and, I'm not saying disinterested but, but at least it's a relief that we've still got it rather than it's broken up for rubble...I think really, once the idea of moving it had gone, the restoration pleased a small group of dedicated people who wanted the job to be done and I don't think the general population gave a stuff. I think is a fair summin' up...And again, probably some of the older Walkden people have mixed feelings about it and, "Well, it's been there that long, do we really need to shift it".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Brian H. Aged 57. 00:07:25

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:18:14



Illustration 80: a photograph showing two of the original four statuettes in situ on the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden. The four statues were stolen during the Monument's re-siting in 1968.



Illustration 81: photographs showing two of the four replacement statuettes in situ on the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden. They were created by local schoolchildren as part of the restoration of the Monument in 2006. © Author

In Hastings, as has been previously noted in Chapter two, there have been countless calls for the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower to be rebuilt. Whilst this is unlikely to happen, other initiatives are seeking to recover some aspects of this important part of the town's history. Steve Whitford, leader of a project to restore the glasshouse and statue of Prince Albert in Alexandra Park discusses the scheme in terms of what it can provide for the community, stating that 'it is hoped to bring the glasshouse back into service as a visitors' attraction and community facility.'¹¹⁰ There remains much criticism of the borough council however for continuing to neglect the historic built environment of the town and several campaigns are underway to protect other works of public art that are seen to be wilfully ignored.¹¹¹ It may be that in many local councils, where there is a potential political power shift every few years, there is pressure to deliver new initiatives as opposed to protecting or investing in the conservation of existing elements of the historic built environment. New public art projects often attract news at national level as well as the local. In councils such as Hastings, where political power shifts have been a reality on a frequent basis, a sense of urgency may exist to deliver regeneration programmes however well or badly thought out, often to the detriment of extant and frequently culturally important public monuments and sculpture.

One Hastings interviewee is a council official who is involved in public art programmes. He takes a holistic approach to projects - involving artists, both as project managers and practitioners, and working with schools and local communities. It can nevertheless be inferred from his discussion that new commissions are much higher on the agenda than any attempt to preserve historic pieces of work, however important to the fabric of the town's history. Where conservation is prioritised, the interviewee suggests, is in the case of war memorials because of the general public's heightened emotive response to these objects. According to his testimony, even with regard to new commissions the element of maintenance and conservation is clearly problematic:

¹¹⁰ "Revamped Glasshouse Could Be Valuable Community Resource," *Hastings & St. Leonards Observer*, 4 May 2013.

¹¹¹ There are plans for example to pressure the borough council to address the poor condition of the 1875 statue, 'Harold and Edith' by Charles Augustus William Wilke on the seafront in St. Leonards.

This maintenance issue; [how often have you seen an artist designed fountain that's not working?] You know? That is universal, and I do think that, maybe, can get public art a bad name and make people very wary of it...[There are all kinds of pressures in modern councils and in the modern world where delivery is paramount, but sometimes this means that artworks are produced with insufficient maintenance budgets in place. Now, where councils can be low on resources, this may happen more often].¹¹²

Despite the re-siting of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden and the demolition of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings, their importance in contributing to a sense of community identity and, the role of the local communities themselves in reinforcing the significance of the two monuments as part of the identity of the town, is undiminished. Speaking about the Monument in Walkden one interviewee summarises:

But, obviously to my mind, communities need a focal point. And we had that with the Monument, I mean, it was a, a totem pole, a meeting point, a landmark, everythin' rolled into one, and it, it was the centre of the community, in that any major activity took place around, or in reference to the Monument.¹¹³

By far the majority of the interviewees from both towns express anger and frustration at what is seen as an assault on these two public monuments that held, and apparently for many still do hold, a special significance for the local community. The loss of the traditional monument-centred rituals, ceremonials and festivities is seen by the interviewees as associated with changes made to these two emblematic and symbolic landmarks. Paul Connerton asserts:

For rites are felt by those who observe them to be obligatory, even if not unconditionally so, and the interference with the acts that are endowed with ritual value is always felt to be an intolerable injury inflicted by one person or group upon another.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Interview with Michael H. Aged 54. 00:58:46 – Transcription edited by interviewee – additions to text are within square brackets

¹¹³ Interview with Glen A. Aged 64. 00:05:56. It is interesting that this interviewee uses the word totem pole. The word totem is derived from the Ojibwe word odoodem, which means kinship group or clan.

¹¹⁴ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). p44

The oral history interviews suggest that the communities of both towns might ever be reluctant to accept the changes that were made to the two structures and that people will continue their imaginings of a time when they are returned to their rightful position at the geographical centre of the town and the symbolic centre of community life. These imaginings do not appear to be limited to those old enough to remember those original placements. As recently as February 2013 the photograph seen in illustration 82 appeared in the online blog of someone not even born when the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was demolished.



Illustration 82: a postcard of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings, c1900, merged with a modern-day image of its original location.
© Kieron Pelling, Compelling Photography

Conclusions

Social capital is a concept high on the agenda of local and national government and despite its critics it is a term now 'entrenched in the language of social scientists'; it is also frequently referenced in the context of government initiatives.¹ David Halpern is the author of the book *Social Capital*, one of the most recent key texts on the subject. He is Director of the Cabinet Office Behavioural Insights Team and, in July 2013, he took up the additional post of What Works National Adviser.² During the time he was writing the book in 2005 he was Chief Analyst in the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, indicating the importance of this concept to current government policy formation. This interest in social capital as a concept has led to such notions as the 'Big Society' and to recent well-publicised government initiatives such as the *Portas Review*. It has also been the subject of continued debate in the media, such as in the *BBC 2012 Reith Lectures*.³ The government's notion of a 'Big Society' however is accompanied by extensive cuts in public spending and attempts to encourage a sense of civic responsibility in individuals, charitable organisations, local and national businesses. Many would argue that in towns such as Walkden and Hastings that have high levels of multiple deprivation, these notions of a 'Big Society' are likely to fail and that cuts in public spending will only increase the problems that those communities already experience.⁴ Government-sponsored projects such as the *Portas Review* have also been criticised for demonstrating

¹ Linda J. Robison, A. Allan Schmid, and Marcelo E. Siles, "Is Social Capital Really Capital?," *Review of Social Economy* 60, no. 1: March (2002).

² David Halpern, *Social Capital* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

As Director of the Cabinet Office Behavioural Insights Team Halpern is tasked to lead efforts to use behavioural insights to improve public service delivery across government, as well as providing support on the wellbeing agenda. The What Works Network was a key action in the Civil Service Reform Plan to transform the use and generation of evidence in government, see: <https://www.gov.uk/what-works-network> Date accessed: 26/10/13.

³ Mary Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets," (London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011).

Niall Ferguson, "Civil and Uncivil Societies," in *The Reith Lectures: The Rule of Law and its Enemies* (The Royal Society of Edinburgh: BBC Radio 4, 10 July 2012).

⁴ Anna Coote, "Cutting It: The 'Big Society' and the New Austerity," (New Economics Foundation, 2010). p2

Andy Westwood, "Localism, social capital and the 'Big Society'," *Local Economy* 26, no. 8 (2011). p692

an 'assumption that the past, or an alternative vision of the future, are the only or the most appropriate visions for the future of communities today.'⁵

The *Portas Review* and other initiatives also frequently assert the importance of local distinctiveness to the development of social capital, yet, they often do not discuss public monuments or the broader historic built environment in this context. This is despite research findings such as those contained in the report commissioned by English Heritage from Newcastle University in 2009. The results of that study, as detailed in the Introduction of this thesis, were seen to provide evidence of a relationship between the historic built environment, social capital and sense of place. These are issues at the core of current heritage impact research.⁶

Despite criticism of the current government and controversy over what David Cameron has titled the 'Big Society' however, its communitarianist roots are in fact embedded across political parties; parallels are easily identified in Tony Blair's 'Third Way' and Gordon Brown's proposals for 'civic renewal'. The *Big Society Audit 2012* asserts that whatever label it is given, 'elements of it are likely to endure because it is grounded in genuine social and political trends, not just political rhetoric.'⁷

This thesis is a historical study of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden, Greater Manchester and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Hastings, East Sussex. The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial was erected in 1869, re-sited in 1968 and restored in 2006; the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower was completed in 1864 and demolished in 1973. The research study

⁵ ———, "Localism, social capital and the 'Big Society'." p693

⁶ David Bradley et al., "Sense of Place and Social Capital and the Historic Built Environment: Report of Research for English Heritage " (Newcastle: Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University and Bradley Research and Consulting, 2009).

⁷ Caroline Slocock, "The Big Society Audit 2012," (London: Civil Exchange in partnership with Democratic Audit and DHA Communications, 2012). p6 & 21-23

See also: Coote, "Cutting It: The 'Big Society' and the New Austerity."

Vicente Navarro, "Politics, Power, and Quality of Life: A Critique of Social Capital," *International Journal of Health Services* 32, no. 3 (2002). p424-426

Fiona Shirani, "Working Paper 146: The Centrality of Social Capital - Concepts of Community in the Era of the Big Society," (Cardiff: Cardiff School of Social Sciences, 2011).

Westwood, "Localism, social capital and the 'Big Society'."

detailed in this thesis examined how these two public monuments, as a focus for the localisation of memories and shared narratives, played a significant role in place attachment, the construction of a sense of community identity and the development of social capital. The selection of the two monuments under examination was rooted in my previous professional roles associated with a detailed study of Britain's sculptural heritage and its preservation.⁸ I was prompted to embark upon a closer investigation of possible links between the historic built environment, sense of place and social capital by commonalities revealed in the public narratives surrounding these two monuments. In addition, through my professional collaboration with English Heritage during the initial stages of this thesis, my growing interest in this particular field of study was fuelled by the statistical research carried out by Newcastle University.

Other monuments could have been useful as case studies; the Martyrs' Memorial in Lewes was considered but, as in other instances, aspects of overt political and religious contestation over its construction, and indeed continued existence, potentially obscured a full analysis of the specific issues that are pertinent to this thesis, particularly those relating to ritual, ceremonials and festivities in which consensus was an overriding component. Alon Confino writing in 1997 warned against the sacrificing of a study of memory and culture to an analysis of the political, and in the process underestimating the importance of the social in the shaping of memory.⁹ During the course of my work on the Sussex Recording Project I also noted the prevalence of new public monuments that were constructed, or older ones that were restored, as part of the celebrations to mark the Millennium. Indeed the restoration of the Walkden Monument was proposed originally to mark this occasion and calls were made for the rebuilding of the Hastings Memorial for the same motive. I observed that the erection of many of these Millennium monuments, such as the Millennium Milestone in Time in Poling, or the Cocking History Column in Cocking, was motivated, according to those involved, by a desire to record each town's

⁸ I was Research Officer for the two-year Sussex Sculpture Recording Project and subsequently Administrator for the London based charity, the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association where I worked closely with agencies such as English Heritage. See also the *Public Sculpture of Britain* series of books published by Liverpool University Press.

⁹ Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review*, no. December (1997). p1393-1394

history, foster a sense of identity and mark boundaries.¹⁰ Julieta Leite has observed that monuments are 'structures that constantly serve as references of identity, for the cultural representation of a group in a given area at a given time.'¹¹ Several Millennium monuments were also considered for this study; their relatively short timeline however precludes a detailed examination of how meanings embodied in them at the time of erection might have evolved over an extended period of time. Nevertheless, a study of the Millennium celebrations as a catalyst for the erection or restoration of public monuments would be a valuable contribution to the debate around issues discussed in this thesis.

The two monuments ultimately selected were constructed at the height of statuemanía in the latter part of the 19th century and architecturally exemplify the Gothic Revival, or High Victorian Gothic style that was, at least initially, strongly associated with high church ideologies of the time. The preference for this architectural style by the Egerton family in Walkden and Worsley had a particular impact on what was essentially a built environment constructed by heavy industry. As can be seen in the pairings of photographs throughout this thesis the monuments have strong similarities in design; they were also both erected to commemorate particular individuals. Importantly for this thesis, their chronologies are also similar as demonstrated in the combined timeline that comprises Appendix 2. I specifically developed this research tool along with the relationship charts in Appendix 1 in order to frame the history of the two objects against national events and to allow ease of comparison in the urban development of the two towns in which they were erected. Commonalities, and occasionally dissimilarities in the design, chronology and the histories of the two objects have facilitated an examination of the rhetorical aspects of the monuments over an almost identical number of years. Local newspaper reports from the time of their inception up to the present day provided a useful indicator of the official narratives of public commemoration and of the attitudes towards the two monuments of both the local press and its readers. This has allowed for the fixed points of cultural memory embodied in the two objects to be examined

¹⁰ For information on all of these Sussex monuments see the database at: <http://publicsculpturesofsussex.co.uk> Date accessed: 26/10/13

¹¹ Julieta M. Vasconcelos Leite, "Cultural Heritage and Monument, a Place in Memory," *City & Time* 4, no. 2 (2009). p26

alongside the mutability of the communicative memory expressed through the narratives of those who have experienced them as part of the everyday activities of their lives.

Importantly, the structure of this thesis reflects my research process, starting with a formal study of the two public monuments, comparing and contrasting their histories. This was followed by an analysis of the narratives of those who live in the two towns that revealed how notions of place, identity and social capital are articulated. The research drew on a large body of academic texts that provided insight into the changing role of public monuments and sculpture and also provided a detailed overview of the substantive research emanating from several discrete disciplines that now more closely than ever links the study of monuments to the study of the society in which they are placed. Current literature focusing on debates around agency have suggested the benefits of a biographical approach to the study of objects and in consequence I considered it appropriate that the cultural memory embodied in the two monuments is approached in this way through the two accounts provided in Chapters one and two.¹² These chapters demonstrate the changing role of the two objects from commemorative *exemplum virtutis* to powerful representation of place, from functional landmark to an integral aspect of public ceremonial and, from symbol of the past to a means of reclaiming history in the construction of a present. An investigation into the history of the Egerton family in Walkden and the history of Prince Albert, in addition to a study of the architectural development of the two towns, was useful in the mapping of this transition. The histories of the two monuments were frequently revealed, through the interviewee narratives, as crucial to the issues discussed in this thesis. Jan Assmann has asserted that this 'cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group

¹² Jody Joy, "Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives," *World Archaeology* 41, no. 4: December (2009).

See also: Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2: October (1999).

Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity...Through its cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others.¹³

The efficacy of oral history as a methodology in analysing the relationship between public monuments, sense of place and community identity is clearly demonstrated by this thesis. Its structure has allowed for the interviews to be analysed against a backdrop of current scholarly debate and the cultural history of the two objects as detailed in Chapters one and two. The rich and complex narratives provided by the interviewees have facilitated a study that extends from the original rhetorical meanings of the two public monuments to their relevance in the present, supporting Bodnar's assertion that 'vernacular expressions convey what social reality feels like rather than what it should be like.'¹⁴ The results of the study also strongly suggest that oral history could play a much greater role in policy formation with regard to town planning, regeneration schemes and heritage management. This would require that it be used as *a part of* the process of re-designing our towns and cities and not merely as a tool for *documenting* the process and the subsequent impact arising from changes to the built environment. In many such instances oral history is used merely as a method of recording the past or of capturing memories for the benefit of, for example, an exhibition attached to a community centre or museum. This represents a lost opportunity for oral history to be used as part of any research and consultation processes before plans are formalised. It could have a much more active role in helping to define what communities want from local councils, architects and town planners and, for the places in which they live.¹⁵

A changing historiography that has shifted the focus of academic discourse from production to consumption has generated an approach to the study of public monuments that is now primarily interdisciplinary in nature. This thesis has benefited from current and previous research in the social sciences and

¹³ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, no. 65: Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring-Summer) (1995). p130-133

¹⁴ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992). p14

¹⁵ The importance of oral history in the regeneration of towns and cities was the subject of the 2011 Oral History Conference: "Oral History Society Annual Conference: Creation, Destruction, Memory: Oral History and Regeneration," (University of Sunderland: 1-2 July 2011).

most importantly from the study of memory. Indeed its findings have reinforced the importance of the nascent field of memory studies to the study of public monuments. The work on collective memory by Maurice Halbwachs and on sites of memory by Pierre Nora provided a starting point for this thesis but later augmentations of their theories by scholars such as Edward Casey and Jan Assmann provided a more useful theoretical framework for the data analysis.¹⁶ Several scholars have suggested that Halbwachs for instance underestimated the performative and social significance of place in the construction of collective memory¹⁷ and the interviewee narratives contained in this thesis also revealed weaknesses in Nora's assertions. Edward Casey posits that:

Place itself is not indifferent...it is integral to public memory...not merely situated in a public arena...but *enacted* there. The place, in other words, lends itself to the remembering and facilitates it at the very least, but also in certain cases embodies the memory itself...it is a question of active material *inducement* by the place – its power of drawing out the appropriate memories in *that location*.¹⁸

The oral history interviews were analysed within three themes: the physical, the social, and the emotive. Detailed in Chapters three, four and five respectively, this categorisation of the analysis reflects to a degree the three variables that Dennis Poplin asserts are fundamental to the notion of community: territorial, sociological and psychosocial. Poplin's theories have informed the definition of the concept of community used in this thesis.¹⁹ Throughout the text, a large number of photographs from my personal collection or that have been kindly supplied by a number of institutions, interviewees and other individuals,

¹⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire," *Representations* 26, no. Spring: Memory and Counter Memory (1989).

Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010).

¹⁷ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁸ Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time." p32

¹⁹ Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*, 2nd. ed. (New York and London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979). p5-9

See also: Fiona Cosson, "Voice of the Community? Reflections on Accessing, Working With and Representing Communities," *Oral History Journal* 38, no. 2 (2010). p96

provided visual evidence of many of the issues raised and also supported many of the interviewees' assertions.

Chapter three of this thesis focuses on the physical aspects of the two monuments and how they became established as functional markers within the geographical centres of the two developing towns where they were erected. The oral history interviews revealed the significance of the monuments' contribution to the essential legibility of the built environment and underscored the importance of their function within the territorial variable that is suggested by Poplin to be a fundamental aspect of community construction. The interviewees repeatedly used vocabulary such as *focal point*, *centre*, *hub*, and they employed analogies of a *wheel* or *totem pole* for example, to describe their local monument. This evidenced how the placement of the structure at the centre of the built environment of each town facilitated its transition from commemorative object to powerful symbol of place attachment and, how each monument became emblematic of community identity. Frequent use of the phrase *the heart of the town* suggests that this relationship was emotive supporting Leite's assertion that 'the individuals of a society establish strong affective and emotional ties' to monuments and the spaces in which they are situated 'as being symbols of themselves, their culture and their social group.'²⁰

Comparisons in local newspapers between the Hastings Memorial and the Eiffel Tower and Nelson's Column, or between the Walkden Monument and Blackpool Tower, illustrate the monuments' importance as representations of place.

Nora identifies the loss of *milieux de mémoire*, which he refers to as 'real environments of memory' and asserts that they have been replaced by *lieux de mémoire* or 'sites of memory' as represented by, amongst other things, public monuments. The two monuments under discussion in this thesis were certainly erected as *sites* designed to commemorate the *memory* of particular individuals, but this thesis has revealed that by their erection in the two developing towns at a specific time, the monuments had an essential role in the creation of a particular *milieu* of memory, that is the everyday lives of the people around

²⁰ Leite, "Cultural Heritage and Monument, a Place in Memory." p28

them. The narratives demonstrate that they were and in fact continue to be, despite changes made to them, a crucial part of the construction of the communicative memory that Nora would suggest they have replaced.

The memories recounted by the interviewees are tethered to the places from which, and the communities from whom, they construct their sense of belonging. This thesis has demonstrated that through recollections of a range of rituals, ceremonials and festivities, many of those memories are localised to the two monuments revealing their importance not only as places where memories are accrued but also as significant elements in the actual construction of those memories. Oral historians have frequently noted this relationship between memory and place. Linda Shopes has commented:

I began to realise how consistently narrators formulated their stories of the past in relation to specific places. Memories, it seemed, were rooted in places...In some interviews, local history was defined almost entirely by specific places, quite independently of interviewers' questions...Recollections of specific places often led to a chain of human associations, again suggesting narrators' need to locate memories someplace.²¹

A strong sense of place is evidenced almost as much by the memory and absence of the two monuments from the geographical centre of the towns as by their previous presence. Indeed in Hastings, as has been noted, the area where their monument used to stand is still referred to as the Memorial by many of the town's older residents. The historical accounts combined with the interviewee narratives have revealed how the two monuments contributed to a sense of place but also became emblematic of those places; this is evidenced through the existence of whole range of postcards, souvenirs, logos, banners, and ephemera that feature their image. In Hastings, china models of the Memorial, once common souvenirs but today rare collectibles, are now also, in their conspicuous authenticity, representations of the object's absence. This is evidenced by the china model's use in the memorial display commemorating the clock tower in the window of a large second-hand shop in the town. The use

²¹ Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). p265

and meaning of souvenirs is a relatively neglected area of research and the sheer number of representations of the two monuments under discussion on pictorial postcards would suggest that this is an area worthy of further investigation in the context of public monuments.²²

The interviewee narratives detailed in Chapter four revealed how the two monuments facilitated the development of what Putnam defined as *bonding* and *bridging social capital*, and Woolcock defined as *linking social capital*, through the staging of an array of community rituals, ceremonials and festivities.²³ These events are also shown to be a mechanism for the construction and strengthening of both formal and informal networks that constitute Poplin's sociological variable in the construction of community identity.²⁴

The interviewees provided detailed descriptions of a wide variety of religious and secular events and revealed the importance of associated accoutrements such as the banners used by various groups in the processions. A range of photographs of such events has served to provide evidence of the centrality of the two monuments to these important social occasions for the community. In Walkden this was also captured in home movie footage to be found in the collection of the North West Film Archive in Manchester.²⁵ The analysis of the interviews revealed the importance of these events as the performative aspects of memory construction and in reasserting the two monuments' significance as staging points for the calendric celebrations that marked the passage of time for

²² Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1984), Lisa L. Love and Peter S. Sheldon, "Souvenirs: Messengers of Meaning," *NA - Advances in Consumer Research* 25 (1998). Hugh Wilkins, "Souvenirs: What and Why We Buy," *Journal of Travel Research* 50, no. 3: May (2011).

See also: Naomi Schor, "'Cartes Postales': Representing Paris 1900," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 2: Winter (1992).

²³ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000). p22-23.

Michael Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes," *ISUMA: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2, no. 1 (2001). p13-14

For a more detailed overview of the development of these terms, please refer to the Introduction of this thesis.

²⁴ Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*. p5-9

²⁵ "NWFA 915: Walkden Whit Walk," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, c1930).

George Worthington, "NWFA 1348: Anniversary Sermon, Sunday 4 May 1949," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1949, 1951/1952).

———, "NWFA 1350: Walkden Anniversary Sermon and Procession," (Manchester: North West Film Archive, 1953).

the local community. They are shown to be important in the outward expression of value consensus and of reinforcing a sense of a shared past; they also played their part in collectively acknowledging the physical boundaries of the two towns. Although beyond the scope of this thesis the complex nature of such processions is a subject that would benefit from more detailed study, particularly with regard to the Whit Walks; I have been unable to find any substantive literature on these particular processions that are so culturally significant in the north of England.

Far from merely focusing on the larger organised annual events, the interviewee narratives also highlighted the importance of the two monuments as places where large scale ad hoc festivities took place such as those connected with royal visits. In addition, smaller and less formal monument-centred celebrations that took place at Christmas and New Year were described as equally important social occasions. Examining the role of the two monuments as a platform for the staging of a broad range of rituals, ceremonials and festivities provided a means of assessing how they became a focus for the development of social capital. Since its introduction into popular usage following Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone* much of the previous research carried out in the field of social capital has been quantitative in nature. Indeed as has been noted, Michael Woolcock of the World Bank has cautioned that 'while gathering hard data is indispensable, the qualitative aspects of social capital should not be neglected.'²⁶

It is outside of the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed analysis of the now extensive literature on social capital. Based upon the prevailing discourse however, for the purposes of this thesis I defined social capital as: a *matrix of formal and informal relationships and networks, based on shared values and understandings, providing mutually beneficial cooperation that is manifested in social cohesion, a sense of both shared identity and overall well-being.*

Putnam argued that social capital is 'a resource whose supply increases rather than decreases through use and which (unlike physical capital) becomes depleted if *not* used.' The repetitive nature of annual rituals, ceremonials and

²⁶ Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes." p12-15

festivities has been demonstrated, through an analysis of the oral history interviews, to have provided monument-centred opportunities for the development of the three classifications of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking. The histories of the monuments in turn, have highlighted how the two objects operated on the same reiterative principle, they required use and re-use to strengthen their position at the centre of community life. Indeed it could be argued from the historical account of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial that the Egerton family themselves were primary agents of social capital in the Worsley and Walkden area.

The positive aspect of the social capital generated by the repeated use of the two monuments has been evidenced in the oral history interviews partly through the interviewees' assertions that since the removal of the Walkden Monument and the Hastings Memorial, community identity and cohesion have declined. The interviewees frequently associate this perceived decline with the loss of the monument-centred events. These findings concur with the work of Etzioni who writing in 2000 asserts that a reduction in publicly celebrated holidays is associated with a rise in individualism and reflects a 'general decline in bonding that ties small entities into a society and in the level of individual commitments to this society.'²⁷ One of the important revelations of the interviewee narratives is that many of these events lost their popularity or disappeared completely at around the same time as the two public monuments were removed from their central position in the towns. Whilst there may be other contributory elements to the decline of these events such as a reduction in the influence of the church, a decline in associational membership - that Putnam reasons is part of the decline in social capital, or the growing multiple deprivation in both towns, it is clear that without the two central reference points as part of the ritual or ceremonial elements it was difficult to sustain them. With the removal of the monuments, as many of the interviewees assert, the *heart* went out of the town. Hastings has proven to be more successful in the reinvention of many of its previous traditions. Benefitting from local authority investment in the tourist industry, processions such as those associated with the Jack in the Green festival and

²⁷ Amitai Etzioni, "Toward a Theory of Public Ritual," *Sociological Theory* 18, no. 1: March (2000). p52

the annual carnival draw upon the history of the town and are reclaiming a once forgotten past.

Chapter five of this thesis focuses on the emotive response elicited from the interviewees when discussing the removal of the two monuments. There is a sense that these are more acute in the case of Hastings because the Memorial was actually demolished. The interviewees stress the centrality of their local monument to everyday community life, a perception supported by the image of each monument being used repeatedly in banner headings in local newspapers for those columns where gossip, 'chat' and local news was communicated. So powerful is the role of the two monuments in community life that occasionally the interviewees imply that rather than being inert objects they possess elements of agency. Indeed the interviews contain examples of their anthropomorphisation, the interviewees investing them with human characteristics and personality and referring to them as a *father, friend, protector or neighbour*.

There is now a growing body of social theorists and cultural historians who assert the need for a reassessment of the traditional Western definition and notions of agency. Anthropologists since the early 1900s in fact have asserted that the boundary between inanimate and animate objects is at the very least culturally variable. Paul Basu has suggested that the debate surrounding the concept of agency is an issue 'at the heart of contemporary material culture studies' and he asserts that:

Things are not merely expressive of subjective states or unconscious mental structures; human subjectivities are not merely the products of particular material environments. Rather, persons and things exist in dynamic relation.²⁸

²⁸ Paul Basu, "Material Culture: Ancestries and Trajectories in Material Culture Studies," in *Handbook of Sociocultural Anthropology*, ed. J.G. Carrier and D.B. Gewertz (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). p381-382

See also: Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Janet Hoskins, "Agency, Biography and Objects," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Chris Tilley, et al. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2006).

Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process."

Patrick Joyce, "What is the Social in Social History?," *Past & Present* 206, no. 1 (2010).

The two public monuments evoked positive social experiences through memories of ceremonials and festivities but their absence from the centres of the two towns has also become a powerful symbol of urban decay, deprivation and detachment.²⁹ There is much evidence contained within the interviewee narratives, particularly with regard to how they have effected emotive responses, to suggest that the issue of agency is worthy of much further study specifically in the context of public monuments.

Reflecting Poplin's theories with regard to the psychocultural variable in community construction, the interviewees also revealed much about attitudes towards the Church, local government and work in the two towns.³⁰ There are also revelations detailed in Chapter five about other mechanisms that have clearly played a part in community building, such as the shared annual holiday habits of Walkden residents and the experiences of those living in Hastings during the Second World War, all of which are shown to have reinforced a sense of shared community identity.

The interviewees of both towns expressed anger and frustration with local authorities who are, in the main, those they hold responsible for not only removing the monuments in a physical sense but also for having damaged community identity and cohesion in doing so. The results of the analysis strongly corroborate Nelson and Olin's assertion that to remove a public monument that has achieved such 'powerful symbolic agency', can damage 'a society's sense of itself and its past.'³¹ Newspaper reports contained in Chapters one and two echo the views of many of the interviewees in criticising what is frequently seen as the iconoclastic actions of local councils and town planners in 'improving' town centres in ways that adversely affect local communities. Both the interviewee narratives and the historical accounts have also evidenced the importance of understanding the cultural memory embodied in public monuments in assessing the potential consequences of such actions. This supports Leite's assertions that collective memory is 'a form of union

²⁹ Sophie Calle, *The Detachment* (Berlin: G&B Arts International. Arndt & Partner Gallery, 1996).

³⁰ Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research*. p5-9

³¹ Robert S Nelson and Margaret Olin, eds., *Monuments and Memory: Made and Unmade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). p3-4

between the territory and collective practices that makes certain spaces of the city socially significant and, therefore...should be considered by town planners.³² Evidence in the interviews of conflict between the local communities and town planners with regard to the two monuments, reflects the unpopularity of the modernist redevelopment trends prevalent between the 1950s and early 1970s.³³ However, this evidence also has important significance for today with regard to heritage management and to the regeneration of our towns and cities that effects changes to the historic built environment. In the name of regeneration working class communities in particular, as a result of deindustrialisation, have often suffered from a destruction of sites of memory; an apparent haste by planners to erase artefacts of an industrial past and along with it the collective memories embodied in public monuments or in the physical remnants of industry such as the winding gears of old coalmines for instance.

The two monuments under discussion in this thesis gave the two towns an architectural distinctiveness that is discussed by many of the interviewees in terms of community building particularly in territorial terms. Despite local distinctiveness being raised by government led initiatives and in urban design manuals as an important aspect of town planning, it is clear that, led by commercial imperatives, the historic built environment is often sacrificed for the creation of new spaces that are designed to conceptually replicate exactly that which is being destroyed.³⁴ The negative impact on the community, described by the interviewees as arising from changes made to the commercial centres of the two towns concurrent with changes made to the two monuments, does correlate however with the research findings detailed in the recent *Portas Review*. Chapter five also detailed some of the ways in which both towns have attempted to recover the shared past of the community through calls for the restoration or rebuilding of the two monuments. This has been accompanied by

³² Leite, "Cultural Heritage and Monument, a Place in Memory." p27

³³ Dr. Simon Thurley, "Coming to Terms with Modern Times: English Architecture in the Post-war Era," in *English Architecture: Into the Modern World* (London: Gresham College lecture at the Museum of London, 6 March 2013).

³⁴ Commission for Architecture & the Built Environment, "By Design: Urban Design in the Planning System: Towards Better Practice," (London: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000).
Department for Transport and Department for Communities and Local Government, "Manual for Streets," (London: 2007).
Portas, "The Portas Review: An Independent Review Into the Future of Our High Streets."

assertions of the importance of some knowledge of local history to personal identity. A desire to increase and disseminate this knowledge has often manifested itself in the two towns through heritage events such as re-enactments and educational initiatives.

Attitudes in the two towns towards incomers are also particularly notable in Chapter five. Several interviewees blame the changing population for a decline amongst townspeople in community participation, in interest for local history and for the loss of locality specific aspects of life such as dialect and accents.³⁵ This is particularly observed in Walkden where the residents have seen a major influx of families from nearby Salford. Further research in this area, particularly in terms of social capital would be a useful adjunct to this study. Indeed as has already been noted, studies of those who are moved from their homes as part of overspill schemes are relatively commonplace but more research is needed as to what effect that migration has on the community identity of the towns receiving the incomers. The interviews highlight the potentially negative aspects of social capital through the often antagonistic attitude towards incomers to the respective communities. This is particularly notable in Walkden where difficulties with integration of people originating from the Salford overspill still appear to be evident today. These potentially negative characteristics were at the centre of Bourdieu's arguments but were also acknowledged by Putnam in *Bowling Alone* in the chapter 'The Dark Side of Social Capital'. Putnam argues however, that studies have shown that where high levels of social capital, community participation and connectedness are present, openness and tolerance of others is in fact increased not decreased.³⁶

³⁵ The British Library is engaged in several projects in order to capture disappearing dialects and accents such as the *Sounds Familiar*, *Survey of English Dialects* and *Millennium Memory Bank* initiatives.

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).
Franz Schultheis, "Social Capital and Power: A Sociological Point of View," in *Scala Discussion Papers* (St. Gallen, Switzerland: Research Centre for Ageing, Welfare and Labour Analysis, University of St. Gallen, 2009).
Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community*. p351-363
See also: Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, "The Downside of Social Capital," *American Prospect* 7, no. 26: May (1996).
Fran Baum, "Social Capital: Is it Good for Your Health? Issues for a Public Health Agenda," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 53, no. 4 (1999). p195
Barbara Arneil, *Diverse Communities: The Problem With Social Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

For over one hundred years the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden and the Prince Albert memorial Clock Tower in Hastings stood at the geographical centre of their respective towns and, as evidenced by the oral history interviews used in this thesis, became a focus for the development of social capital, a sense of place and a sense of community identity. Debate around social capital has incrementally increased since Putnam's popularisation of the term but its study in association with public monuments is entirely new. This thesis has offered an innovative approach to these issues by using a traditional methodology in the study of public monuments and then utilising oral history to reveal the nuanced complexities of the relationship developed with those who live with and experience them. This thesis therefore provides a significant contribution to knowledge that not only furthers the ongoing debate around public monuments and memory but also holds important implications for heritage management and policy formation.

Despite the re-siting of what local people in Walkden refer to as simply, the Monument, and the demolition of what those in Hastings refer to as the Memorial, the two monuments continue to have an impact on the present lives of many of those who live in or who visit the two towns. Describing the attitudes of interviewees in Sophie Calle's work, *The Detachment*, Iwona Blazwick writing in 2009 asserts:

The absence of the symbols that once defined the public realm in ideological terms, also elicits sadness, annoyance and relief – few are indifferent...The monuments and signs that are part of the fabric of the city and that become invisible with familiarity are, paradoxically brought sharply into focus by their absence...Most critically they mourn the loss of the 'possibility of remembering'...history appears to have been erased...this history is a subjective one, giving it a veracity and a complexity that transforms it into a narrative of lived experience.³⁷

³⁷ Iwona Blazwick, "Talking to Strangers," in *Sophie Calle*, ed. Andrea Tarsia, Hannah Vaughan, and Candy Stobbs (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2009). p12-13

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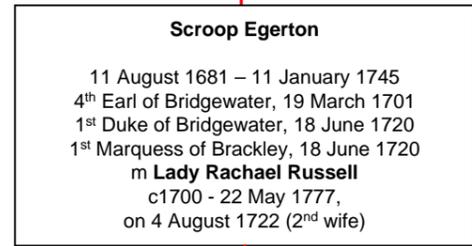
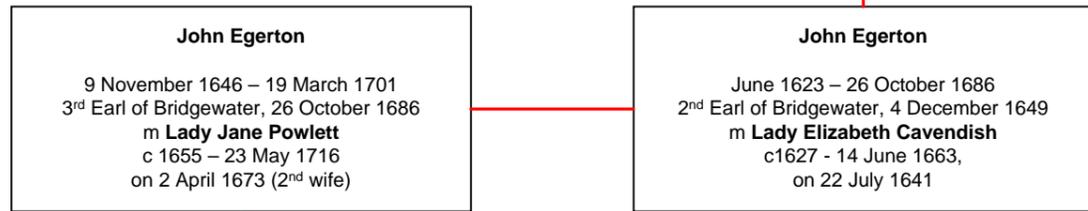
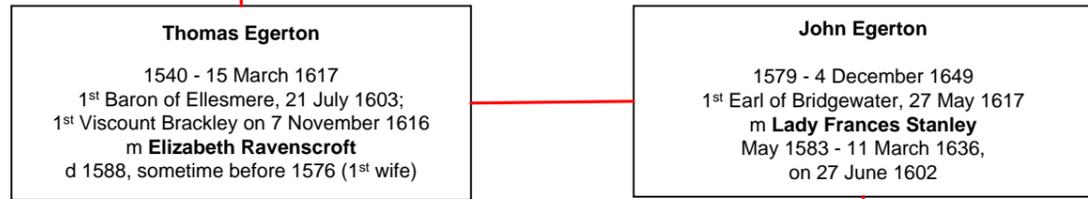
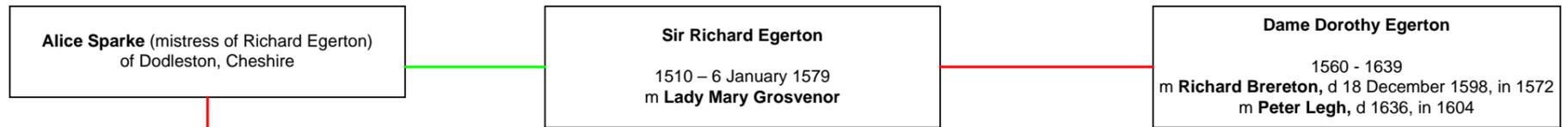
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Appendix 1

Relationship chart for
the 1st Earl and Countess of Ellesmere

Relationship chart for
Prince Consort Albert of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland

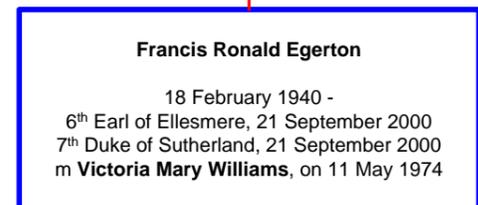
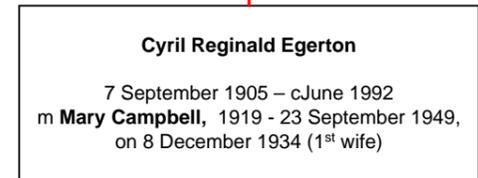
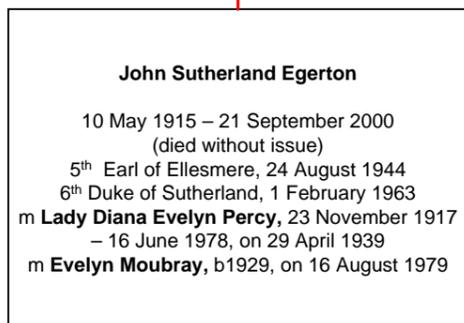
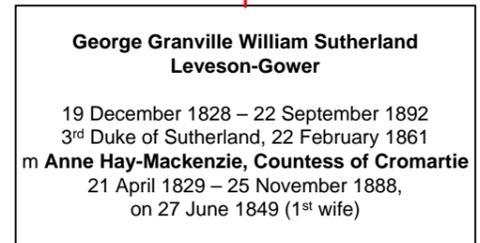
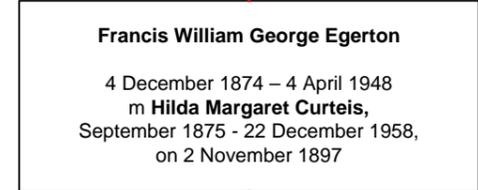
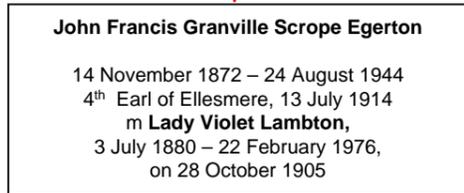
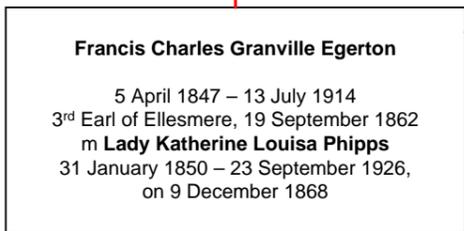
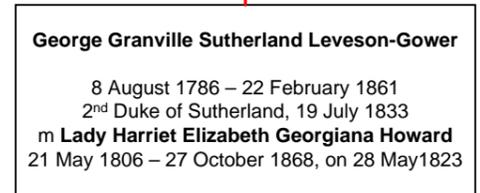
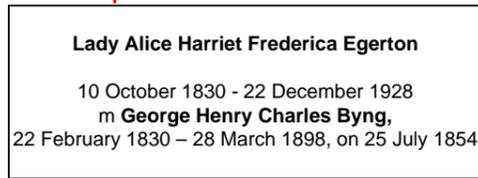
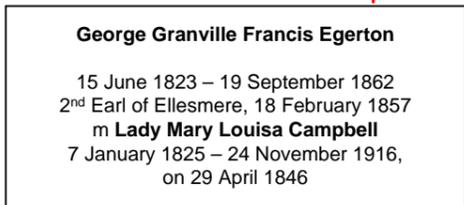
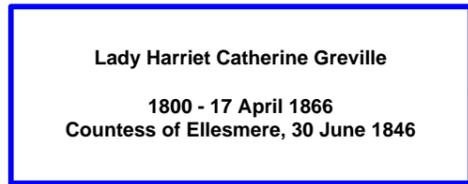
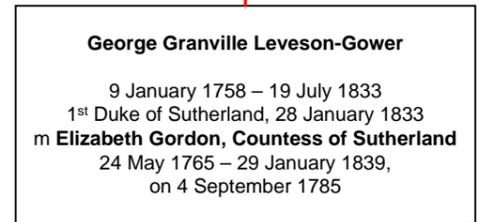
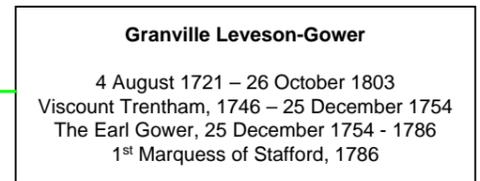
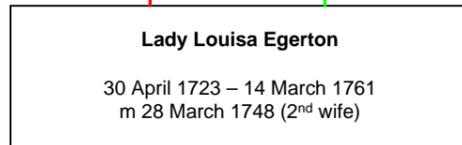
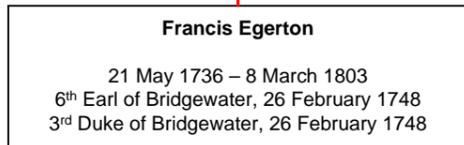
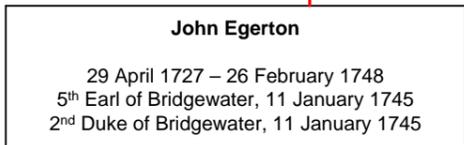


Relationship Chart for the 1st Earl and Countess of Ellesmere

The titles Baron Ellesmere, the Marquess of Brackley and the Duke of Bridgewater became extinct on the death of the 3rd Duke. The Earldom of Bridgewater however, continued until 11 February 1829 with the death of Rev. Francis Henry Egerton, the 8th Earl.

The Earl of Ellesmere also carries the title, Viscount Brackley

The Dukes of Sutherland also carry the titles, Marquess of Stafford, The Earl Gower, Viscount Trentham, and since 24 August 1944, the Earl of Ellesmere



**Relationship Chart for
Prince Consort Albert of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland**



Ernst Anton Karl Ludwig Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha

2 January 1784 – 29 January 1844
Ernst I, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 12 November 1826
m **Princess Louise Dorothea Pauline Charlotte Fredericka Auguste of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg**
21 December 1800 – 30 August 1831, on 31 July 1817 (1st wife)

Edward Augustus Hanover

2 November 1767 – 23 January 1820
Prince Edward of Great Britain, 2 November 1767
1st Duke of Kent, 1st Duke of Strathearn, and 1st Earl of Dublin, 24 April 1799
m **Princess Marie Luise Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld**
17 August 1786 – 16 March 1861, on 29 May 1818

Franz Karl August Albrecht Immanuel von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha

26 August 1819 – 14 December 1861
Duke of Saxony, 26 August 1819
Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 1821
HRH Prince Albert of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 6 February 1840
Prince Consort Albert of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 26 June 1857

Alexandrina Victoria Hanover

24 May 1819 – 22 January 1901
H.M. Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 20 June 1837
Empress of India, 1 January 1877

10 February 1840

Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

21 November 1840 - 5 August 1901
HRH Princess Royal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 19 January 1841
HIM Kaiserin of Germany, 9 March 1888
m **Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Karl of Hohenzollern**
18 October 1831 - 15 June 1888, on 25 January 1858
Kaiser Friedrich III, King of Prussia, 9 March 1888

Edward Albert Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

9 November 1841, d. 6 May 1910
Duke of Cornwall and Duke of Rothesay, 9 November 1841
1st Earl of Chester and HRH Prince of Wales, 8 December 1841
1st Earl of Dublin, 17 January 1850
HM King Edward VII of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 22 January 1901
Emperor of India, 22 January 1901
m **Alexandra Caroline Marie Charlotte Louise Julia of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg**
1 December 1844 – 20 November 1925, on 10 March 1863
HRH Princess Alexandra of Denmark, 21 December 1858
HRH Princess Alexandra of Wales, 10 March 1863
HM Queen Alexandra of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 9 August 1902

Alice Maud Mary Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

25 April 1843 – 14 December 1878
HRH Princess Alice of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 25 April 1843
m **Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig Karl of Hesse-Darmstadt**
12 September 1837 – 13 March 1892, on 1 July 1862
Ludwig IV Grand Duke of Hesse, 13 June 1877

Alfred Ernest Albert Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

6 August 1844 – 30 July 1900
HRH Prince Alfred of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 6 August 1844
1st Duke of Edinburgh, 1st Earl of Ulster, 1st Earl of Kent, Duke of Strathearn, 24 May 1866
m **Mariya Aleksandrovna Romanov**
17 October 1853 – 25 October 1920, on 23 January 1874
Grand Duchess Mariya Aleksandrovna of Russia, 17 October 1853

Louise Caroline Alberta Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

18 March 1848 – 3 December 1939
HRH Princess Louise of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 18 March 1848
m **John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell**
6 August 1845 – 2 May 1914, on 21 March 1871
9th Earl of Campbell, 6 August 1845
9th Marquess of Lorne, 25 April 1847 – 24 April 1900
2nd Duke of Argyll (UK), 24 April 1900

Helena Augusta Victoria Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

25 May 1846 – 9 June 1923
HRH Princess Helena of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 25 May 1846
m **Friedrich Christian Karl August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg**
22 January 1831 – 28 October 1917, on 5 July 1866
HRH Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, 1866

Arthur William Patrick Albert Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

1 May 1850 – 16 January 1942
HRH Prince Arthur of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 May 1850
1st Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, and 1st Earl of Sussex, 24 May 1874
m **Luise Margarete Alexandra Viktoria Agnes of Hohenzollern**
25 June 1860 – 14 March 1917, on 13 March 1879
HRH Princess Luise Margarete of Prussia, 25 July 1860 – 13 March 1879
HRH The Duchess of Connaught and Strathearn 13 March 1879

Leopold George Duncan Albert Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

7 April 1853 – 28 March 1884
HRH Prince Leopold of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 7 April 1853
1st Duke of Albany, 1st Earl of Clarence and 1st Baron Arklow, 24 May 1881
m **Hélène Frederike Auguste of Waldeck and Pyrmont**
17 February 1861 – 1 September 1922, on 27 April 1882
HSH Princess Helena of Waldeck-Pyrmont 17 February 1861 – 27 April 1882
HRH The Duchess of Albany 27 April 1882

Beatrice Mary Victoria Feodore Saxe-Coburg and Gotha

14 April 1857 – 26 October 1944
HRH Princess Beatrice of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 14 April 1857
m **Heinrich Moritz of Battenberg**
5 October 1858 – 20 July 1896, on 23 July 1885
HIH Count Henry of Battenberg, 5 October – 21 December 1858
HSH Prince Henry of Battenberg 21 December 1858 – 23 July 1885
HRH Prince Henry of Battenberg, 23 July 1885

Appendix 2

Comparative timelines of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
17 July - The Bridgewater Canal and the Barton Aqueduct opens	1761	1761
	1763	1763
	1766	1766
Brick Hall is completed, home of 3 rd Duke of Bridgewater	1768	1768
The underground Bridgewater Canal reaches Walkden leading to the growth of mining in the town	1770	1770
	1772	1772
29 September - Walkden Moor Sunday School opens in a room above the original offices of the Bridgewater Collieries; one of the first Sunday Schools in England it is on the site where the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is later erected	1784	1784
	1791	1791
	1794	1794
The 4 th and last Act of Parliament presented by the 3 rd Duke of Bridgewater provides for the extension of the canal to the west from Worsley to Leigh	1795	1795
As part of a three-man syndicate, the 3 rd Duke of Bridgewater buys the art collection of the Duke of Orléans at auction for £50,000. The Duke of Orléans had been guillotined in the 'Reign of Terror'. The now famous Bridgewater Collection began with this purchase.	1798	1798
	1799	1799

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>The population of Worsley (SubD) is shown as 5874 on the Census</p> <p>25 May – Organised by the Anglican Sunday Schools, the first Whit Walk in the country takes place in the centre of Manchester.</p> <p>Following the 3rd. Duke's death, the Bridgewater Trust is formed with its Administrative Centre at Worsley Old Hall</p> <p>The Bridgewater Collieries are outputting 134,035 tons of coal – compare this with the future 1,303,625 tons of coal in 1886</p> <p>The Bridgewater Collection is opened to the general public at Bridgewater House</p> <p>Due to its position on the canal system by this date Manchester had become the centre of the cotton industry and the city had as many as sixty cotton mills</p>	<p>1801 1 January – The Acts of Union 1800 come into effect joining the Kingdom of Great Britain with Ireland</p> <p>1803 18 May – Britain declares war on France at the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars</p> <p>1815 18 June – the Battle of Waterloo</p> <p>1817</p> <p>1819 27 July - The sculptor Edwin Stirling is born in Dryburgh, Scotland</p> <p>16 August – The Peterloo Massacre</p>	<p>1801 The population of Hastings is shown as 3175 on the Census</p> <p>A new wooden bridge able to take carriages is built over the Priory Stream near to where the Memorial is later erected.</p> <p>1803</p> <p>1815 The Hastings Friendly Society is founded, the first of many in the town</p> <p>1817 The building of Wellington Square begins on the site of the old Priory of the Holy Trinity. It is originally named Waterloo Square</p> <p>1819</p> <p>1820 Hastings Council is formed.</p> <p>1 December – new oil fired streetlamps are lit in the town for the first time</p>
<p>The Bridgewater Canal is linked to the Leeds and Liverpool Canal at Leigh</p>	<p>1821</p> <p>1824 10 May – the National Gallery, opens to the public at 100 Pall Mall, London. The present building did not become the home of the collection until 1838</p>	<p>1821</p> <p>1824 After many years of dereliction, Hastings Castle is excavated by its owner Thomas Pelham, 2nd Earl of Chichester</p>
<p>December - The Marquis of Stafford buys into the Liverpool and Manchester Railway for £100,000, one fifth of the required total capital</p>	<p>1825 June - The first Railway Bill is defeated in Parliament</p>	<p>1825 June - Hastings Council make the decision to number all houses and name all streets and roads in the three parishes of the town</p>
	<p>1826 The 2nd Railway Bill is passed allowing the building of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&MR)</p>	<p>1826</p>
	<p>1828</p>	<p>1828 1 March - James Burton begins the construction of St. Leonards on Sea with the laying of the foundation stone of the Royal Victoria Hotel.</p>
<p>Over the next ten years the coal output from the Bridgewater Mines virtually doubles</p>	<p>1829 Parliament passes the Roman Catholic Relief Act, providing the emancipation of Roman Catholics from the restrictions of the 16th and 17th century Acts of Uniformity</p>	<p>1829 26 October - The Royal Victoria Hotel, St. Leonard's on Sea opens its doors to the public</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>24 August - Francis Leveson-Gower officially assumes the surname of Egerton after inheriting the Worsley estates.</p> <p>Francis Egerton becomes MP for South Lancashire (also in 1837, 1841 and until July 1846)</p> <p>Already by this date more than 20% of the coal used in Manchester was being transported along the Bridgewater Canal</p> <p>A large recreation centre for miners is built in Worsley</p> <p>July – Francis Egerton comes to live at Brick Hall, Worsley and takes control of the Bridgewater Estates</p> <p>Sunday travelling is prohibited on the Bridgewater Canal between Worsley and Manchester</p> <p>23 October - St. Georges Chapel in Walkden is consecrated</p> <p>31 December – the foundation stone is laid for Worsley New Hall.</p> <p>Francis Egerton founds Walkden Moor Infants School as part of St. George's Chapel</p>	<p>1830</p> <p>The Beerhouse Act of 1830 relaxes the regulations around the brewing and selling of beer paving the way for the opening of hundreds of new alehouses, pubs and breweries all over the country.</p>	<p>1830</p> <p>A Gas Works is built at the top of what is now Waterworks Road, on land formerly belonging to Countess Waldegrave. The town is lit by gas lamps for the first time on 1 December.</p>
	<p>15 September- the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&MR) is opened. It is the world's first twin-track, passenger carrying railway where trains were timetabled and passengers ticketed.</p>	<p>The first dispensary for the poor and sick opens in the town</p> <p>23 October – the first weekly newspaper in the town is published: the <i>Hastings and Cinque Ports Iris</i>. It was defunct by July 1831.</p>
	<p>1831</p>	<p>1831</p> <p>2 April – The Hastings Fisherman's Society is formed.</p>
	<p>1832</p> <p>4 June – the Representation of the People Act (Great Reform Act) is passed</p>	<p>1832</p> <p>19 July - A 'Monster Banquet' is held on The Haven (Priory Brooks / Priory Marsh) to celebrate the passing of the Great Reform Act – 6000 people attend</p>
	<p>1833</p>	<p>1833</p>
	<p>1834</p> <p>The Poor Law Amendment Act is passed</p> <p>The Institute of British Architects is formed which defined the profession of architecture against that of engineer or surveyor</p>	<p>1834</p> <p>The town buys its first large Fire Engine</p> <p>4 November – 29 January 1835: Princess Victoria (later Queen Victoria) visits Hastings. She stays at Crown House, 57 Marina, the first residential property in St Leonards on Sea.</p>
	<p>1835</p>	<p>1835</p> <p>November – Sarah Milward, (later Countess of Waldegrave), founds the first elementary school for girls and boys (later All Saints School) in the town</p>
	<p>1836</p> <p>May - Victoria Alexandrina Hanover, later Queen Victoria meets her first cousin, Albert Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha for the first time.</p> <p>Edward Arthur Heffer born</p>	<p>1836</p> <p>9 May – the Hastings Police Force is founded</p>
	<p>1837</p> <p>20 June – William IV dies and Victoria Alexandrina Hanover becomes Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland</p>	<p>1837</p> <p>James Burton (b1761), founder of St. Leonards on Sea, dies. His son Decimus Burton (1800-1881) continues the construction of the town</p>
	<p>1838</p> <p>The People's Charter is published giving its name to the Chartism Movement</p> <p>28 June – the coronation of Queen Victoria. She becomes the first monarch to reside in Buckingham Palace</p> <p>24 September – A large Chartist Meeting takes place on Kersal Moor, only 7 miles from Walkden</p>	<p>1838</p> <p>The decision is taken to culvert the Priory Stream</p> <p>Countess Waldegrave founds St. Clements Church in the Old Town</p>
<p>1839</p>	<p>1839</p>	

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>During the next ten years the Walkden population increases sharply. This is a period of stagnation however in coal production as the railways bring in coal from other areas at cheaper rates.</p>	<p>1840 The 'old' Bridgewater House in London is demolished. Designs for the new house by Charles Barry are exhibited in 1841</p>	<p>1840</p>
<p>July – Harriet Egerton orders that women and young girls are no longer to be employed in the Bridgewater Collieries. To train them for alternative employment she founds the Lady Francis Egerton School of Domestic Service, the first school of its kind in the country</p>	<p>10 February - Queen Victoria marries Albert Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha at the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace</p>	<p>1841</p>
<p>Winter 1841 – Francis Egerton initiates work at Cornbrook and Linnyslaw Reservoir to provide jobs for unemployed miners</p>		
<p>The Bridgewater Trust tries to impose an age limit of 12 years for young boys employed in the mines but capitulates to pressure from the miners to leave the limit at 10 years</p>	<p>1842 The Mines Act prohibits the employment of women, young girls, and also boys under 10 years old in the collieries.</p>	<p>1842</p>
<p>Martin Jude's Miners Association of Great Britain and Ireland is formed</p>	<p>The Plug Riots take place, in part Chartist led - the Manchester power loom weavers are the last to return to work in September.</p>	
<p>15 June – the foundation stone is laid for St. Marks Church, Worsley by George Granville Francis Egerton (eldest son of Francis Egerton) on his 21st birthday. The architect is George Gilbert Scott.</p>	<p>1844 The Factories Act of 1844 restricts the working hours of children in the textile industry. Children aged between 9 and 13 years old could only work 9 hours per day including a lunch break. Women and young adults were restricted to working 12 hours a day during the week, including one and a half hours for meals, and 9 hours on Sundays</p>	<p>1844</p>
<p>December – By this date two thirds of the Bridgewater miners were members of the Miners Association. Miners strikes took place in January 1841, 1843, 1846, November 1851, 1870</p>	<p>The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers founded. They opened their store on Toad Lane in Rochdale on 21 December. The organisation was the beginning of the British Co-operative Movement</p>	
<p>Francis Egerton founds St Paul's Juvenile School in Walkden</p>		
<p>Francis Egerton establishes a Reading Room and Library in Worsley village</p>		
<p>The first Catholic Whit Walk takes place in Manchester</p>		
<p>30 June – Francis Egerton is created Viscount Brackley and 1st Earl of Ellesmere</p>	<p>1846</p>	<p>1846 The London and Brighton Company extends the railway to West St. Leonards and opens West Marina Station</p>
<p>2 July - St. Marks Church is completed</p>		
<p>Worsley New Hall is completed and Brick Hall is demolished</p>		
<p>Construction begins on St. Paul's Church, Walkden</p>		
<p>A non-contributory old age pension scheme is put in place for the miners by the Earl and Countess of Ellesmere</p>	<p>1847 The Town and Country Planning Act 1947 heralds the beginning of the modern 'listing' system</p>	<p>1847</p>
<p>St. Paul's Church, Walkden is consecrated</p>	<p>1848 The Public Health Act is passed following the publication of Edwin Chadwick's <i>Sanitary Report</i> in 1842</p>	<p>1848</p>
	<p>10 April – one of the last of the mass Chartist meetings is held at Kennington Common in London. The movement by this time was in steep decline</p>	<p>5 May - <i>The Hastings and St. Leonards News</i> is published, the first substantive Hastings newspaper</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial		National events		Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>Reverend St. Vincent Beechey takes up post at St. Mark's Church and The Parsonage is built</p>	1850		1850	<p>24 June - Patrick Francis Robertson, a London merchant and speculator, begins work on the building of Robertson Street</p>
<p>The population of the township of Worsley is shown as 10,189 on the 1851 census</p> <p>May – the 1st Earl of Ellesmere opens his public art gallery at Bridgewater House in time for the Great Exhibition</p> <p>October – During their tour of Lancashire, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and three of the Royal children stay at Worsley New Hall as guests of the 1st Earl and Countess of Ellesmere</p>	1851	<p>1 May 1851 – 15 October – The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations (The Great Exhibition) opens in the Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London</p>	1851	<p>October - The first shop opens on the Priory ground: Mr. Polhill's, a pork butcher</p> <p>The population of Hastings is shown as 17,621 on the 1851 Census</p> <p>February - Hastings Railway Station opens, built by South Eastern Railways</p>
<p>18 February - Francis Egerton 1st Earl of Ellesmere dies, aged 57, at Bridgewater House in London. His eldest son, George Granville Francis Egerton, succeeds to the title of 2nd Earl of Ellesmere.</p> <p>26 February – the funeral of the 1st Earl of Ellesmere takes place at St. Marks Church, Worsley. Immediately afterwards a memorial committee is appointed with Fereday Smith in the Chair.</p>	1857	<p>The photographic carte de visite is introduced in England</p> <p>26 June - Prince Albert is given the title of HRH Prince Consort, Albert of the United Kingdom</p> <p>5 May 1857 – 17 October - The Art Treasures of Great Britain Exhibition is held at Old Trafford, Manchester. Opened by Prince Albert, it remains the largest art exhibition ever to have been staged in the UK</p>	1857	<p>Patrick Francis Robertson is elected MP for Hastings along with Frederick North</p> <p>22 July - The foundation stone is laid for Holy Trinity Church by Countess Waldegrave. The architect is Samuel Sanders Teulon. In 1861 Teulon also designs an ornate water fountain dedicated to the Countess situated outside the church.</p> <p>11 September - Robertson Street and Trinity Street are named</p>
<p>February / March - The memorial committee advertises the competition for the memorial to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere and Edward Barry subsequently selects Driver and Webber from London as the winners</p> <p>17 November – the foundation stone is laid for the monument to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere</p>	1858	<p>Thomas Graham Jackson enters the office of George Gilbert Scott as a pupil</p>	1858	<p>27 May - Prince Albert passes through Hastings on his way to Prussia – he is met by a large crowd at the train station</p> <p>29 September - Holy Trinity Church is opened</p> <p>24 December - Edward, Prince of Wales visits Hastings</p>
<p>By this date there are seven different night schools in the Worsley area that have been established by the 1st Earl and Countess of Ellesmere</p>	1859	<p>The Scottish National Gallery opens to the public; it later houses the bulk of the Bridgewater Collection</p>	1859	
<p>Friday 10 August - the Memorial to Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere is inaugurated. During that same week his tomb is installed in St. Marks Church; it is designed by George Gilbert Scott with a statue by Matthew Noble</p>	1860		1860	
<p>The population of Walkden reaches 3,600</p> <p>Walkden's first cotton mill, Boatshed Mill, is built by Mr. J.W. Whittaker on the west side of Bolton Road</p>	1861	<p>14 December – Prince Albert dies in the Blue Room at Windsor Castle</p> <p>23 December – the funeral of Prince Albert takes place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor</p>	1861	<p>The population of Hastings reaches 22,837</p> <p>A volunteer Fire Brigade is established in the town</p>
<p>September – the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere cuts the first sod for Walkden Railway Station</p>		<p>1861-1865 - The Lancashire Cotton Famine</p>		

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>19 September - the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere dies at Balbirnie, Scotland</p> <p>27 September - the funeral of the 2nd Earl of Ellesmere takes place in St. Mark's Church, Worsley</p>	<p>1862 14 January - William Cubitt, Lord Mayor of London chairs a meeting at Mansion House to discuss the erection of national monument to Prince Albert</p> <p>15 March - Queen Victoria lays the foundation stone of the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore</p> <p>14 December - The Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Barnstable is inaugurated</p> <p>18 December - Prince Albert's body is transferred to the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore</p> <p>Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924) sets up his own architect's offices in London</p>	<p>1862 April - The Hastings Albert Memorial Committee establish a national competition for the design with a prize of 10 guineas</p> <p>30 May - The winning design for the clock tower is chosen. The designer is Edward A. Heffer. The site chosen is the original site of the old Priory Bridge, at the junction of seven streets</p> <p>10 November - Supervised by Edward Heffer, the foundation stone of the clock tower is laid by the Mayor, Thomas Ross – this date is chosen as it is the 21st birthday of Edward Prince of Wales</p>
<p>The Ecclesiastical Parish of Walkden Moor St. Paul's is formed. Previously Walkden fell under the auspices of the ancient Ecclesiastical Parish of Eccles</p>	<p>1863 2 May - <i>The Builder</i> announces that designs by George Gilbert Scott have been chosen by Queen Victoria for the Prince Consort National Memorial</p> <p>The Metropolitan Railway opens in London; it is the world's first underground railway</p>	<p>1863 7 March - Heffer's design for the clock tower appears in <i>The Builder</i></p> <p>1 July - The statue of the Prince Albert by Edwin Stirling arrives in Hastings from Liverpool and is installed in the niche of the clock tower the day after</p> <p>Apart from the clock mechanism, construction on the clock tower is complete</p>
<p>Ellesmere Colliery, Walkden is sunk</p>	<p>1864 6 May - Work begins on the foundations of the Prince Consort National Memorial</p>	<p>1864 2 January - An engraving and description of the completed Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower appears in the <i>Illustrated London News</i></p> <p>10 June - The clock by Thwaites and Reed of Clerkenwell is installed</p>
<p>Ellesmere Colliery, Walkden is sunk</p> <p>17 April - Harriet, Dowager Countess of Ellesmere dies at Bridgewater House, London, aged 66</p> <p>24 April – the funeral of Harriet, Dowager Countess of Ellesmere takes place at St. Mark's Church, Worsley. The principal tenants of the Worsley estates meet in the Court House to form a Memorial Committee presided over by Reverend St. Vincent Beechey</p> <p>An alabaster reredos is installed behind the altar of St. Mark's Church erected in memory of Harriet, Dowager Countess of Ellesmere by the family</p>	<p>1866</p>	<p>1866</p>
<p>18-20 April - 50 designs for the Countess of Ellesmere monument from all across the country are exhibited in Worsley Court House. The Assessor is George Edmund Street. The commission is subsequently awarded to Thomas Graham Jackson with work also to be carried out by architectural sculptors Farmer and Brindley.</p>	<p>1867 The Second Reform Act is passed (Representation of the People Act 1867)</p> <p>6 January - The sculptor Edwin Stirling dies in Liverpool</p> <p>The foundation stone of the Royal Albert Hall is laid by Queen Victoria</p> <p>The Prince Albert Memorial, Manchester is completed. The architect is Thomas Worthington and the sculptor Matthew Noble</p>	<p>1867 The Hastings Pier Bill passes through the House of Commons</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial		National events		Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>Mosley Common and Bridgewater Collieries are sunk</p> <p>11 July – the design for the Memorial to Harriet, Countess of Ellesmere appears in <i>The Builder</i></p> <p>Bridgewater Road is created in the centre of Walkden and the new Bridgewater Offices are built</p> <p>Gas supply arrives in Walkden</p> <p>Reverend St. Vincent Beechey (d 1899, aged 93) leaves Worsley</p>	1868		1868	
<p>Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra visit Worsley New Hall as guests of the Egertons.</p> <p>Monday 26 July – the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden is inaugurated.</p>	1869	The Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower in Belfast is completed: designed by W.J. Barre, it has a statue of the Prince in Garter robes by S.F. Lynn	1869	18 December – work begins on the building of Hastings Pier
<p>Walkden Co-Operative Society is founded</p>	1871	<p>The Bank Holidays Act of 1871 establishes the first four Bank Holidays in England, Wales and Ireland: Easter Monday, Whit Monday, the first Monday in August, and Boxing Day. Good Friday and Christmas Day were already regarded as traditional holidays and so were not included. Scotland however had five dates designated: New Year's Day, Good Friday, the first Monday in May, the first Monday in August and Christmas Day. The Act remained in force until 1971 when the Banking and Financial Dealings Act replaced it.</p> <p>29 March – the Royal Albert Hall is opened by Queen Victoria and Edward, Prince of Wales</p>	1871	
<p>Walkden Co-Operative Society occupies premises on the corner of Bolton Road and Wardley Street</p> <p>1 September - The Bridgewater Canal, Mersey and Irwell Navigation, all associated dock and warehouse installations and the Bridgewater Trustees' carrying trade passes by sale to a newly formed joint stock company, Bridgewater Navigation Ltd. for £1,115,000. The Bridgewater Trust continues to manage the collieries and the Worsley estates.</p>	1872	3 July – the official public opening of the Prince Consort National Memorial, London takes place	1872	Hastings Pier opens
<p>30 August – the first edition of the <i>Farnworth Weekly Journal</i> is published. Eventually becoming the <i>Worsley Journal</i> it ceased publication in 1988</p>	1873	Thomas Graham Jackson publishes 'Modern Gothic Architecture' criticising the influence of Gothic Revival style	1873	18 April – Sarah, Countess of Waldegrave dies, aged 87; she had been one of the most generous of the town's benefactors
	1874	The Public Worship Regulation Act is passed. Introduced by the Archibald Tait Archbishop of Canterbury it was designed to prohibit the ritualistic practices of Anglo-Catholics and the Oxford Movement.	1874	

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>Memorial Road is created in the centre of Walkden effectively leaving the Countess of Ellesmere monument on an island in the middle of the junction of five roads</p> <p>April – The first rail passenger service through Walkden begins with the opening of Walkden Low Level station; the London and North Western Railway's Manchester to Bolton line was first opened in 1870 to serve the pits in the Little Hulton area</p>	<p>1875 The seated statue of Prince Albert by John Henry Foley is added to the National Memorial, London</p> <p>1 December - The Albert Memorial Chapel in Windsor is opened to the public</p>	<p>1875 29 September – the towns of Hastings and St. Leonard's on Sea merge under the overall control of Hastings Council</p>
<p>27 June - Piped water arrives in Walkden and street parties take place to celebrate the event</p>	<p>1876 The 1876 Education Act makes school attendance compulsory between the ages of five and ten</p> <p>9 March - Queen Victoria formally unveils the Prince Consort National Memorial, London</p> <p>1 May - Queen Victoria takes the title Empress of India. She is officially proclaimed Empress in Delhi in 1877.</p>	<p>1876 The <i>Hastings and St. Leonards Observer</i> comments on the need to do something about the traffic around the Memorial following a fatal accident</p> <p>Meadow Road and St. Andrews Road are unified to become Queens Road</p> <p>The foundation stone is laid for the Swimming Baths at White Rock</p>
<p>Over the next ten years 12 new pits are sunk in the Worsley area</p>	<p>1877 William Morris and others found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings as a response to what they saw as destructive restoration practices.</p>	<p>1877</p>
<p>The first Freemason Lodge in Worsley is founded and the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere is made Worshipful Master</p>	<p>1880 16 December – the First Anglo Boer War begins, ending on 23 March 1881</p>	<p>1880</p>
	<p>1881</p>	<p>1881 The new Town Hall opens in Hastings</p> <p>The Brassey Institute opens to the public. Built by Thomas Lord Brassey who was MP for the town 1868-1886</p>
	<p>1882 The Ancient Monuments Protection Act is passed. Introduced by John Lubbock, 1st Baron Avebury, it had taken ten years for it to go through. The first Inspector, General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, was appointed in 1893.</p>	<p>1882 14 December - Decimus Burton dies</p> <p>13 April - Holy Trinity Church is consecrated</p> <p>26 June - Alexandra Park is opened by Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra.</p>
	<p>1884 The Third Reform Act is passed (Representation of the People Act 1884). All householders and lodgers in accommodation worth at least £10 a year, and occupiers of land worth £10 a year, were given the vote</p>	<p>1884</p>
<p>Under the 1st Manchester Ship Canal Act the Bridgewater Canal is sold to the Manchester Ship Canal Company who took over the Bridgewater Navigation Company (sale completed in December 1887 for £1,710,000).</p>	<p>1885</p>	<p>1885</p>
<p>By this date the coal output of the Bridgewater Collieries is five times that of 1855</p>	<p>1886</p>	<p>1886</p>
<p>December - following the sale of the Bridgewater Canal, Fereday Smith retires after completing 50 years of working for the Trust. His son, Richard Clifford Smith becomes General Manager</p>	<p>1887 21 June – to celebrate her Golden Jubilee, Queen Victoria participates in a grand procession through the centre of London and a thanksgiving service at Westminster Abbey</p>	<p>1887 January - The Hastings and St Leonards Co-operative Society is founded; it goes into liquidation in July 1901</p>
<p>Walkden High Level station is opened by the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway</p>	<p>1888 The Miners' Federation of Great Britain is founded in Newport, Monmouthshire</p>	<p>1888 The Brassey Institute building and its contents are handed to the town by Lord Brassey</p>
<p>The population of Worsley is shown as 26,290 on the 1891 census</p>	<p>1891</p>	<p>1891 The population of Hastings is shown as 57,784 on the 1891 Census</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial		National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>The Barton Swing Aqueduct opens replacing the original stone aqueduct built by the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater. Designed by Edward Leader Williams it remains the only one of its kind in the world. The first barge crossed the new aqueduct on 21 August 1893, and it opened to commercial traffic on 1 January 1894</p>	1893		1893
<p>The Local Government Act forces the election of a District Council: Worsley Urban District Council</p>	1894	<p>12 January – Octavia Hill and others found The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (National Trust).</p> <p>The Local Government Act is passed</p>	1894
		<p>1 September - the Post Office removes its restrictions on the production of postcards and as a result the first pictorial examples in the UK were produced by commercial manufacturers. The first British picture postcard featured a view of Scarborough.</p>	
<p>28 November - Keir Hardie addresses a large open air meeting at the Countess of Ellesmere Monument</p>	1896	<p>Thomas Graham Jackson elected as an R.A.</p>	1896
<p>The Walkden Free Churches unite for the Whit Walks for the first time</p>	1897	<p>22 June – to celebrate her Diamond Jubilee, Queen Victoria participates in a grand procession through the centre of London and an open air thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral</p>	1897
		<p><i>Country Life</i> magazine is launched</p>	1899
	1899	<p>11 October – the South African Republic and the Orange Free State declare war on Britain signalling the beginning of the Second Boer War (sometimes known as the Great Boer War)</p>	1899
<p>The population of Worsley Registration District is shown as 33,918 on the 1901 census.</p>	1901	<p>Tuesday 22 January – Queen Victoria dies at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight.</p>	1901
		<p>Monday 4 February - The coffin of Queen Victoria is laid in the Frogmore Mausoleum</p>	
	1902	<p>31 May – the Boer forces surrender bringing to an end the Second Boer War</p>	1902
<p>Bridgewater Works Yard moves from Worsley to Walkden</p>	1903	<p>9 August – Edward VII is crowned at Westminster Abbey.</p> <p>1 January – Edward VII is proclaimed Emperor of India in Delhi</p>	1903
<p>19 October - All the collieries and estates of the Bridgewater Trust are turned over to the 3rd Earl of Ellesmere who becomes the sole owner in accordance with the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater's will.</p>		<p>10 October – Emmeline Pankhurst founds the Women's Social and Political Union at her home in Manchester</p>	
<p>The 3rd Earl of Ellesmere converts the old chimney from the Bridgewater Works Yard into a drinking fountain on The Green, Worsley, as a memorial to the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater and his achievements</p>	1905	<p>23 February - The Rotary Club is founded in Chicago. The first Rotary Club outside of the USA is not founded until August 1912 in London</p>	1905
			<p>5 August - the first of the pilgrimages to Hastings Castle is organised by the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom.</p> <p>31 December - a statue of Queen Victoria is unveiled in Warrior Square</p> <p>Judge's Photo Stores is founded by Fred Judge, a photographer originally from Yorkshire.</p> <p>July - The Hastings Tramways Company begins the first tramcar service in Hastings</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
Worsley Council acquired 8 acres of land from the 3 rd Earl of Ellesmere and the town's Parr Fold Park is laid out	1906	1906
June - South Lancashire Tramways begins the first tramcar service in Walkden	1907	1907
By this date there were 8 cotton mills within a half mile of the centre of Walkden	29 July – Robert Baden Powell founds the Scout Movement	1907 There are several mass processions around the town between January and November protesting against high levels of unemployment
The first Walkden Carnival and Rose Queen celebrations take place, organised by Walkden Trades Council	26 June – Edward VII opens the Victoria and Albert Museum	1909
23 June – A supplement to the Manchester Guardian entitled, 'An Historic Colliery', says that the Bridgewater Mines are at 'the height of their output and prosperity' and that they still had 'the largest unworked coalfield in Lancashire'.	6 May – Edward VII dies at Buckingham Palace. George V succeeds to the throne	1910
	22 June – George V is crowned in Westminster Abbey	1911
	The Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendments Act 1913 repealed the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts of 1882, 1900 and 1910. The new act gave government the power to intervene even when sites were privately owned.	1913
Worsley New Hall is used as a hospital for injured servicemen throughout the period of the First World War	Sir Thomas Graham Jackson R.A. is created a Baronet in recognition of his work on Winchester Cathedral; the honour was unprecedented for an architect	
The railings are removed from around the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden to increase the width of the road. Benches are placed around it on all sides	Edward Arthur Heffer dies	1914
	17 July - King George V changes the name of his royal house from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to the House of Windsor	1917
	The British Legion is founded. It is later granted a Royal Charter on 29 May 1971	1921
The 4 th Earl of Ellesmere sells all of his interests in the Worsley District. The land goes to the newly formed Bridgewater Estates Ltd. and his coal interests go to Bridgewater Collieries Ltd. The schools are put in trust as CofE Schools.	Following the end of the First World War, all collieries are handed back to their original owners by the government	1923
Ownership of the monument to the 1 st Earl of Ellesmere passes to Bridgewater Estates Ltd.	7 November - Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, 1 st .Baronet, R.A. dies at his home in Kensington. He is buried at St. Nicholas' Church, Sevenoaks.	1924

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>A Tramway Keeper's hut is erected at the side of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial causing strong objections from the general public</p> <p>Bridgewater Collieries Ltd. is one of 10 private companies that amalgamate to become Manchester Collieries Ltd.</p> <p>Lancashire United Transport Co. introduces trolleybuses to Walkden</p> <p>Little Hulton Urban District is merged with Worsley and alterations are made to the boundary with Eccles Municipal Borough</p> <p>18 July – the East Lancashire Road (A580) is opened by King George V. A route to facilitate transport between Manchester, east Lancashire and the port of Liverpool, it effectively divided the towns of Walkden and Worsley. It was the first purpose-built intercity road in the UK.</p> <p>May – The central column of the monument to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere is removed for safety reasons.</p> <p>November - trams are discontinued in Walkden</p> <p>The Bridgewater Collection goes on long term loan to the National Gallery of Scotland</p> <p>Work begins on the demolition of Worsley New Hall</p>	<p>1926 4–11 May – The General Strike: the TUC, led by JH Thomas calls off the strike on 11 May to the surprise of the strikers. The miners struggle on alone until November when they are forced to go back to work for less salary.</p>	<p>1926 Sidney Little, 'Concrete King' is employed by Hastings Borough Council as their Borough Engineer. He remains in post until his retirement 24 years later.</p>
	<p>1927</p>	<p>1927 April - Edward, Prince of Wales opens the White Rock Pavilion, the White Rock Gardens and the Oval</p> <p>Judges Photo Stores moves from Hastings town centre and builds the factory in St. Leonards on Sea where the company still trades as Judges Postcards today</p>
	<p>1928</p>	<p>1928 1 April – Hastings Tramways Co. bring the first trolleybus service to the town</p>
	<p>1929</p>	<p>1929</p>
	<p>1931</p>	<p>1931 The underground car parks, designed by Sidney Little, are opened in Hastings. They are the first in the UK and Hastings is hailed as one of the most forward thinking towns in the country</p>
	<p>1933</p>	<p>1933 27 May – Designed by Sidney Little, the Bathing Pool at St. Leonards on Sea opens</p>
	<p>1934</p>	<p>1934 12 May – 'Bottle Alley' is opened: a covered promenade designed by Sidney Little and decorated with an extensive mosaic of coloured, broken bottles. It extends along the whole length of Eversfield Place on the lower promenade from the corner of Warrior Square to the Pier.</p>
	<p>1936</p>	<p>1936 20 January - George V dies at Sandringham House. Edward VIII succeeds to the throne.</p> <p>10 December – Edward VIII signs the Instrument of Abdication and broadcasts his decision to the Nation the following day. The throne passes to George VI.</p>
	<p>1937</p>	<p>1937 12 May – George VI is crowned in Westminster Abbey</p>
	<p>1939</p>	<p>1939</p>
	<p>1940</p>	<p>1940 7.15am, 26 July – the first air raid on Hastings takes place</p>
	<p>1944</p>	<p>1944 30 September - A bomb hits the coping stone of the Plaza Cinema and explodes in mid-air. It blows out all four dials of the Memorial Clock</p>
	<p>1945</p>	<p>1945 The Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) is reorganised to form the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)</p> <p>The United Nations is founded by 51 countries to replace the League of Nations</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial		National events		Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
	1946		1946	10 October - The <i>British Pathe</i> film, <i>Britain's First Double Decker Dream Town</i> is released showing Sidney Little's regeneration plans for the town centre of Hastings 18 October - Sidney Little's regeneration plans for the town centre of Hastings appear in <i>The Builder</i>
By this date only three of the original Bridgewater collieries are still active	1947	The Town and Country Planning Act is passed – this leads to the development of the current system for the listing of buildings 1 January - Nationalisation of the mining industry.	1947	
Bolton Road is lit by electric lighting for the first time	1949		1949	
	1952	The Town Development Act is passed 6 February – George VI dies at Sandringham House. He is succeeded by Elizabeth II	1952	Hastings Borough Council proposes demolition of the Albert Memorial Clock Tower to alleviate traffic congestion. The plans are shelved because of strong local opposition highlighted in a public survey by the <i>Hastings Observer</i>
Trolleybuses are discontinued in Walkden	1953	2 June – the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in Westminster Abbey	1953	
During the late 1950s and early 1960s Mosley Common becomes the 'show pit' of Lancashire	1958	The Victorian Society is founded. Its 30 founder members included John Betjeman and Nikolaus Pevsner.	1958	
	1959		1959	Hastings Highways Committee again recommend that the clock tower is demolished The Bathing Pool in St. Leonards closes down
The Ministry of Transport suggests that the Countess of Ellesmere monument be moved to aid traffic flow but the local Council resists	1962		1962	
Five new traffic control schemes are presented to Worsley Council by the MoT. All are rejected because all involve the removal of the monument	1965		1965	
Construction of a shopping centre on Bolton Road is begun				
December - The size of the monument roundabout is reduced to provide space for two lanes of traffic	1966		1966	
June - A meeting of Worsley Council approves a traffic scheme recommendation that involves the removal of the monument with opportunities for further discussion	1967		1967	Special dispensation is given to replace the annual Roman Catholic procession to Hastings Castle from this year onwards with a mass at the ruined chapel.
8 November – a meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the local council meets to discuss the fate of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial, Walkden. A decision is taken to move the monument following pressure by the Ministry of Transport by 12 votes to 4				

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial		National events		Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>February - Mosley Common Colliery closes; it was the last working Bridgewater colliery in the area. The headgear of the Ellesmere Colliery is also demolished</p> <p>19 June – dismantling of the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial in Walkden begins despite a petition signed by almost 1000 local people.</p> <p>2 July - The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is re-erected on the new site, the nearby St. Paul's Infants School being closed for the summer holidays</p>	<p>1968</p>		<p>1968</p>	
	<p>1973</p>		<p>1973</p>	<p>Saturday 28 April - Arsonists set fire to the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower resulting in both damage to the clock and splitting of the surrounding stone</p> <p>Monday 18 June - A second fire breaks out in the clock tower causing further damage</p> <p>Tuesday 9 October - A decision is taken to demolish the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower as soon as possible with only four Council members opposing</p> <p>Sunday 17 November - demolition of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower begins</p>
<p>April – Walkden is amalgamated into the newly created City of Salford in the Metropolitan County of Greater Manchester.</p>	<p>1974</p>		<p>1974</p>	
<p>1 August – the monument to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere is given a Grade II listing</p>	<p>1975</p>	<p>The Council of Europe declares 1975 the European Architectural Year. A charter is adopted creating a common European policy for the protection of architectural heritage.</p>	<p>1975</p>	
	<p>1976</p>	<p>SAVE Britain's Heritage is founded by a group of architects, planners and journalists.</p>	<p>1976</p>	
	<p>1976</p>	<p>The Bridgewater Offices in Walkden are demolished</p>	<p>1976</p>	
	<p>1980</p>		<p>1980</p>	<p>Plans are proposed to build shops on the Cricket Ground site</p>
	<p>1983</p>	<p>English Heritage (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England) is founded as part of the National Heritage Act 1983. As well as managing the historic environment of England it is responsible for the designation (listing) of buildings, monuments and a range of other objects on the historic landscape.</p>	<p>1983</p>	
<p>The Co-Operative supermarket closes</p>	<p>1984</p>		<p>1984</p>	
<p>The National Coal Board's Central Workshop, known as Walkden Yard closes. Built in 1898 and situated close to the Ellesmere Colliery, it was the only physical remnant of the Bridgewater Trust and its collieries left in the area.</p>	<p>1986</p>		<p>1986</p>	
<p>2 September – The Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is given a Grade II listing</p>	<p>1987</p>		<p>1987</p>	<p>Hastings Borough Council invites detailed schemes for Priory Meadow from several developers</p>

Walkden and the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial	National events	Hastings and the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower
<p>To celebrate the Millennium, Walkden Rotary Club launches a project to restore the Countess of Ellesmere Memorial and to re-site it close to its original position.</p> <p>The population of Walkden is recorded at 38,685 on the census</p> <p>February – The Memorial to the 1st Earl of Ellesmere is advertised for sale by Owen Knox Estate Agents at a price of £225,000.</p> <p>4 October at 10.30am – the newly restored Countess of Ellesmere Memorial is officially unveiled by Councillor Bernard Murphy, Mayor of Salford and Francis Ronald Egerton, 7th Duke of Sutherland and 6th Earl of Ellesmere.</p> <p>The 7th. Duke of Sutherland offers two Titians to the National Galleries of Scotland and London for £50 million each. The paintings are worth at least three times that sum.</p> <p>The 2010 Indices of Multiple Deprivation reveal that 33% of the LSOAs in the district of Salford are amongst the most deprived in the country. It is one of the 20 local authorities with the highest proportion of their LSOAs in the most deprived decile.</p> <p>The population of Walkden (North and South Wards) is recorded as 21,884 on the 2011 census</p>	<p>1989</p> <p>1994 English Heritage begins a complete restoration of the Prince Consort National Memorial, London</p> <p>1995</p> <p>1997</p> <p>1998 21 October - Her Majesty The Queen unveils the newly restored Prince Consort National Memorial</p> <p>1999</p> <p>2001</p> <p>2002 Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother dies at the Royal Lodge, Windsor Great Park. She is the last Empress of India</p> <p>2003</p> <p>2004</p> <p>2006</p> <p>2008</p> <p>2010</p> <p>2011</p>	<p>1989 January - Hastings Borough Councillor, Graeme White launches a campaign to restore the memorial</p> <p>May - A Memorial Working Party in Hastings considers a plan to rebuild the memorial according to the original drawings and to site it slightly to the east of the original site</p> <p>1994</p> <p>1995 Boots Properties plc. begin development of Priory Meadow site</p> <p>1997 Priory Meadow Shopping Centre opens</p> <p>1998</p> <p>1999</p> <p>2001 The population of Hastings is recorded at 85,828 on the Census</p> <p>2003</p> <p>2004 Hastings Deputy Mayor, Maureen Charlesworth calls for the memorial clock tower to be rebuilt</p> <p>2006</p> <p>2008</p> <p>2010 The 2010 Indices of Multiple Deprivation show that 28% of the LSOAs in the Hastings district are amongst the most deprived in the country. It is one of the 20 local authorities with the highest proportion of their LSOAs in the most deprived decile.</p> <p>2011 The population of Hastings (Local Authority) is recorded as 90,254 on the 2011 census</p>

Appendix 3

Brief biographical notes on the interviewees and synopses of the oral history interviews

The oral history recordings were made using a Sony ICD-MX20 digital recorder and a Sony ECM 717 digital microphone. The interviews are stored in WAV format as recommended by the British Library Sound Archive and the Oral History Society, although there are no plans to deposit the recordings in an archive or to make them available to the public.

At the end of each interview the purpose and scope of the project was reiterated and a consent form signed by the interviewee assigning copyright of the recordings to the author of this thesis. A full description of the uses that might be made of the recordings was given and it was explained that the purpose of the agreement was to ensure that the interviewee's contribution is held in strict accordance with their wishes. Interviewees were given the opportunity to specify any conditions applicable to the material, and these were documented on the consent form. Only one interviewee specified any conditions of use. Full permission was obtained from the LifeTimes Oral History Archive in Salford to use material from the two recordings held by them.

The text that follows comprises only brief biographical notes on the interviewees and a short synopsis of each of the oral history interviews. These notes were taken during the actual interviews and during their subsequent analysis. They should not be regarded as detailed biographies of the interviewees nor a detailed description of all of the subjects discussed during the actual interviews.

Walkden interviewees

Arthur C

Male, aged 71 years. Interviewed at his home address. Arthur was born in St. Helens, approximately 17 miles from Walkden. His father worked at the Pilkington Glass Works as a glasscutter and subsequently served in the First World War. His mother did a variety of low paid jobs to help support the family. Arthur served in the Royal Marines for 9 years and on leaving in 1967 he joined the Police. He was posted to Little Hulton Police Station but has lived in Walkden since that time. Arthur was not familiar with Walkden before moving there. He is married and has three children. His wife, who is from County Durham, was also unfamiliar with the area. Arthur did a degree in politics and contemporary history and wrote his dissertation on the subject of Methodism in the Walkden and Worsley area. He retired as a police superintendent in 1996 and joined the Rotary Club just before his retirement; he is now the Hon. Secretary of the Walkden branch. Arthur talks in detail about the Rotary Club and its local and international charitable work. He provides the background information with reference to the Rotary Club's Millennium restoration project for the Monument.

Arthur describes in detail the commercial developments in Walkden, particularly the very large Tesco store that now dominates the town centre to what he feels is the detriment of the previous long standing family businesses. He describes Walkden now as a dormitory town where people leave each day to go to work and do not return until late evening.

Brian H

Male, aged 57 years. Interviewed at his sculpture studio. Brian has lived in Walkden all of his life. He was the instigator of the Rotary Club's project to restore the Walkden Monument. Working with three local schools, he was also the primary sculptor and designer of the four replacement statuettes. He describes the project as having been a long-standing personal ambition. Brian is now President of the Walkden Rotary Club and talks about the Monument in its role as the emblem of both the club and the town. He discusses the relevance of the club's involvement with the restoration and that

of local schools, describing the responses of the school children who worked on the project and of local people generally. He asserts that the schoolchildren developed a sense of ownership about the restoration and talks about the importance to posterity of them carving their names into the plinths of the new statues.

Brian talks about the time when the Monument was dismantled and moved to its current site. He discusses the roles and motivations of the local council and the Ministry of Transport in its removal.

The interview took place at Brian's studio and the primary purpose of the visit was to see the processes he had used in the restoration of the Monument. He described the materials, discussed the longevity of the restoration work and showed the moulds and original models for the statues. Brian also provided a range of photographs and documents related to the restoration work.

Ethel A

Female, aged 85 years. Interviewed at her home address. Ethel was born in Walkden and has lived there her entire life. She is the youngest of three children, her siblings now deceased. Her father came from a mining family and her mother worked in a cotton mill. She married a collier herself and had two children but is now a widow.

Initially working in the retail sector, Ethel began work as a machinist at Burton's Mill in Walkden, just before the Second World War.¹ Later during the war she and her mother went to work at the Royal Ordnance Factory at Risley near Warrington, filling shells with gunpowder.² She was then transferred to the Chloride Electrical Storage Co. (Exide Batteries) at Clifton until the end of the war.³ After her children were older she managed Worthies, a sweet shop on Bolton Road, very near to the Monument. She provides detailed descriptions of shops in the town centre of Walkden and discusses the impact on the town of the building of a large Tesco store there.

¹ Originally The Park Mill, Granville Street, and built by The Farnworth Cotton Spinning and Manufacturing Co. between 1862 and 1865. Montague Burton purchased the entire mill in 1938. After being derelict for several years, it was demolished in 1985.

² Construction of the factory began in 1939 and bombs were being produced by late 1940. Post-war it was used as the headquarters of the UK Atomic Energy Authority. Demolished in the late 1960s. the site is now Birchwood Forest Park.

³ The company is still extant on the same site at Rake Lane as, Chloride Technical and Trading Ltd.

Ethel describes the annual Whit Walks and the Sermons processions as well as other events that took place around the Monument such as the Christmas and New Year celebrations. She discusses the impact on the town of the re-siting of the Monument.

Glen A

Male, aged 64 years. Interviewed in Walkden Library. Glen comes from a long-established Walkden family being from the seventh of eight generations. He was born in Walkden and has lived there all of his life. His family worked primarily in the local mining and cotton industries, his father being the Area Electrical Engineer.

In the interview he discusses in detail many of the various events that took place around the Monument, particularly the Whit Walks. He also gives a detailed account of the industrial and commercial development of the town. He discusses the most recent restoration of the Monument and the attitudes of the local community to its re-siting. He also talks in detail about incomers to the town, particularly during the slum clearances of the Salford overspill. From his perspective as a local historian, he talks about the importance of the teaching of history, particularly in schools, and what he perceives as the attitudes of Salford City Council to areas outside of the city centre.

Herbert W

Male, aged 92 years. Interviewed at home address. This an interview carried out by Ann Monaghan and Ken Kilburn for the Salford LifeTimes Oral History Archive. Herbert comes from a mining family and was himself a miner, working in several of the local collieries. His father was a carter. He provides detailed descriptions of Walkden when he was a child and discusses the development of the residential areas in the town centre. He also talks about several of the local tradesmen including the blacksmith, chimney sweep and wheelwright as well as the heavier industry in the area such as Harrison Blair's chemical works on nearby Kearsley Moss⁴. He talks about the local cotton mills and the range of

⁴ Harrison Blair & Co. Ltd., of Kearsley and Farnworth, Manufacturing Chemist. Founded in 1870 through a partnership between chemists Robert Harrison, James Warburton and Thomas Chester Ansdell Harrison, the chemical works was a significant local employer. They manufactured alkalis, chloride of lime, soda ash and sulphuric acid. The large chemical waste

machinery used there and in addition the pockets of urban farming near the town centre itself.

Herbert was heavily involved in the British Legion and was in fact one of the founders of the local branch; at the time of the interview he was the oldest surviving original founder. He describes the beginnings of the organisation in the town.

Herbert discusses the local schools when he was a child and mentions the healthy competitiveness between Protestant and Catholic establishments. Community services such as the horse-drawn fire service, local doctors and the town council are also discussed in detail. He also talks about the local cinema and annual celebrations such as the Whit Walks. He provides an interesting and detailed description of how as a child, he would make crystal radio sets with a friend and sell them to friends and neighbours.

John D.

Male, aged 87. Interviewed at his home address. John was born in Walkden and comes from several generations of Walkden residents. He had three brothers and three sisters, all deceased at the time of the interview. His mother was a housewife and his father worked for the local railway. Following an accident at work his father received a pension and consequently John describes the family as having been reasonably well-off. John is unmarried.

Apart from 5 years that he spent in military service during the war, John's entire working career was spent as a textile cutter at Burton's Mill in Walkden.⁵

John was heavily involved in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and other Catholic poor societies. He discusses the role of these societies in the local community.

John describes many of the ceremonials and festivities that took place around the Monument, particularly New Year's Eve celebrations and the Whit Walks. He and his family were active participants in both the Whit Walks and the local carnival through his connections with the church. He talks a great deal about the 'respect' and 'dignity' embodied in these festivities. John also relates

heaps from the company were known as 'stinkbomb hill' and were a popular attraction as the pungent fumes were considered to both ward off and cure illness.

⁵ Originally The Park Mill, Granville Street, and built by The Farnworth Cotton Spinning and Manufacturing Co. between 1862 and 1865. Montague Burton purchased the entire mill in 1938. After being derelict for several years, it was demolished in 1985.

childhood memories of playing around the Monument. At times during the interview he gets confused about the dates of certain events.

Joy O.

Female, aged 77 years. Interviewed at a local community centre. Joy was born and grew up in Walkden. Her father was a wagon builder in the Walkden Yard of Bridgewater Collieries. Her mother's family were all miners and her mother worked as a weaver in a local cotton mill. Joy has two sisters and she and her husband have three sons. She trained as a shorthand typist and worked in Walkden Town Hall but later trained as a teacher, did her degree and secured a position as full time teacher at Winton School, Eccles.

Several of Joy's relatives worked for the Egerton family at Worsley New Hall and she discusses tensions between those relatives and others in her family who were miners.

Joy recounts her childhood memories of playing around the Monument and gives a detailed account of the annual Whit Walks, discussing territoriality and other issues surrounding the event. She talks about the range of religious communities in the town and the resulting divisions during such occasions. In preparation for the interview, Joy had made several written notes and reads aloud from or refers to them on several occasions. Joy is a local historian and also runs an art group at the Blackleach Country Park.

Kathleen T.

Female, aged 76 years. Interviewed at her home address. This was an interview carried out by Ann Monaghan for the Salford LifeTimes Oral History Archive. Kathleen was the youngest of four children. Her father was a collier and she describes many of the collieries in the local area and the difficult working conditions that the miners experienced. She talks about her father's involvement in the 1926 miners' strike and the hardships that the family had to endure during that time. Her mother was a weaver, as was her grandmother, and again she describes some of the local mills and the looms used.

Kathleen describes many of the local characters in the town such as the lamplighter, rag and bone man and horse drawn ice cream seller. She also talks about the Warburton family who owned the local chemical works on Kearsley

Moor, in particular Guy, the son, who she says drove around town at high speed in a sports car. Kathleen describes local entertainment and pastimes such as cinemas, local pubs and pigeon fancying. There are detailed descriptions of some of the residential areas of the towns and the interiors and facilities of the houses, such as the 'privy middens'.

Kathleen references the Salford overspill when discussing the increase in housing estates and also discusses local services such as schools, churches, the fire brigade and public transport. She describes in detail many of the local events that directly involved the Monument such as the Whit Walks and a royal visit to the town.

Philip H.

Male, aged 72 years. Interviewed at a local community centre. Philip's family did not originate from Walkden; they moved to the area from nearby Boothstown, approximately three miles away, when he was one year old. His father was the Headmaster of Boothstown Methodist Day School and later Philip also became a teacher and worked at St. Andrews Primary School, Walkden. During this time he lived in Little Hulton but later moved to north Walkden. His work as a teacher fostered his interest in the history of the town. He details the early history of Walkden including the origins of its name and the development of the earlier hamlet of Stannistreet. He goes on to discuss the current changes to the area and the rapid demolition of old streets and shops and the building of new residential areas. He describes Walkden as now a commuter village and refers back to its past industrial strength in coal and cotton. He believes that the changing population of the town is responsible for a decline in community cohesion and references the migration of people to Walkden from the Salford overspill. He describes what he perceives to be the similar loss of a previously strong community identity in nearby Roe Green, approximately two miles away, for much the same reasons. He also cites the changing population as a reason for an almost complete disappearance of the Walkden dialect.

Philip describes various events around the Monument including the Whit Walks and military parades during the Second World War when he was a child. He discusses the various church boundaries with reference to the Whit Walks.

Philip also discusses what he sees as a present lack of awareness amongst the

community with regard to the social and welfare contributions that the Egerton family made to the town. He comments on the teaching of local history in schools and the difficulty of including things that are not on the curriculum. As an active member of the Walkden Local History Society he discusses the withdrawal of the local library's involvement over the years, highlighted by the fact that the group do not even meet there anymore but have moved their activities to the Guild Hall instead. He suggests that the lack of support from the local library has resulted in a situation where an interest in local history is not fostered amongst the town's residents. During the interview Philip frequently refers to some of the old photographs that he has brought with him.

Thelma G.

Female, aged 75 years. Interviewed at her home address. Thelma was born in Walkden and has lived there all her life. Her husband, now deceased, was born in nearby Swinton. Thelma married when she was 25 years old. Her husband was in the Royal Navy for 12 years and subsequently worked in a wide range of factory jobs until his early retirement on medical grounds. She has two daughters, one of whom still lives in the town.

Thelma describes herself as coming from an ordinary working class family. Her grandfather was a miner and her father, after serving in the Royal Navy during the First World War, worked in the steel industry at Trafford Park, Manchester until his retirement.⁶ Thelma's mother was a dressmaker but later worked at Burgess Ledward's Mill until she retired.⁷ Thelma herself began working at the same mill when she was 16 years old. She describes in detail the working conditions in the silk and cotton winding rooms and the sense of camaraderie that she felt within the occupation. She also talks about having to learn to lip read proficiently because of the noise in the winding rooms. On the boundary of Walkden and Swinton she says the mill attracted many workers from towns other than Walkden itself. After a short break whilst raising her children, she

⁶ Once the wooded estate of the de Trafford family, Trafford Park, sited between the Bridgewater Canal and the Manchester Ship Canal, was the first industrial estate to be built in the world and is reputed to still be the largest in Europe.

⁷ Originally Linnyslaw Mill on Manchester Road, it was opened by Andrew Rothwell in 1874 and later owned by his son, Edwin. Andrew Rothwell was also one of the founders the nearby Whittlebrook Wesleyan Chapel. The mill was taken over by Burgess Ledward & Co., who owned the adjacent Wardley Mill, in 1934. In 1962 it became a subsidiary of Ashton Bros and in 1968 of Courtaulds although it continued to carry the name of Burgess Ledward. The parts of the site still remaining now house a range of business and retail units.

returned to the mill when they started school and worked there until being made redundant when the mill operations were reduced by Courtaulds, the then owners. She discusses being nominated for Textile Queen when she was approximately 16 years old.⁸

Thelma discusses the custom of each of the cotton towns taking the same holidays each year and talks about the whole town closing down during Bolton holidays (the last week in June and first week in July) so that you had to travel outside of the area to carry out even the basic shopping.

Thelma describes the centre of Walkden when she was younger and talks about the large number of shops on both sides of Bolton Road, the main commercial thoroughfare. She discusses the influence that the parish church had on the local community and the large number of events that it organised; she describes in detail the Whit Walks and the Sermons.

Thelma discusses the changing population of Walkden and incomers from other areas. She also discusses her strong desire to know more about her own family history. Her father was orphaned at an early age and died himself when Thelma was still relatively young. She says that all of her close family have now died and that knowing more about her roots would contribute to her sense of belonging.

⁸ The annual Cotton Queen competition was primarily a feature of the North West cotton towns during May and June. Each town would elect a local Queen and the final crowning of the overall winner took place in the Tower Ballroom at Blackpool. It was regarded as a highly prestigious and glamorous role, even prompting the production of a popular film, *Cotton Queen* (1937). After three months of training, for the remainder of the year, the winner would travel the country promoting the cotton and garment trade. Organised by the *Daily Dispatch*, the competition ran between 1930 and 1939. In later years individual towns organised their own Textile Queen competitions.

Hastings interviewees

Annie P.

Female, aged 84 years. Interviewed at her home address. Annie originates from a family that have lived in Hastings for several generations. She has lived in the Hollington area of the town all her life. She describes Hollington as almost like a separate village within the broader Hastings area. Her father worked for the local water company and her mother worked at Clyde House, a local school.⁹ Annie describes her work on a Friesian cattle farm at Crowhurst whilst in the Land Army for 3 years during the Second World War. During the war the family also took in three young children as evacuees from Stepney in London. She continued working on the farm after the war ended and discusses the level of freedom and independence this had given her that she lost to some degree after she married in 1946. Annie's husband came from Catsfield but they settled in Hollington; she is now a widow. Discussing the development of the town centre of Hastings Annie talks in detail about the shops that were situated around the Memorial and the overall changes to that area.

Deirdre D (written testimony)

Female, aged over 65 years. This interviewee was sourced via the Hastings Local History Group and had expressed a particular interest in the history of the Prince Albert Memorial Clock Tower. She was unwilling to be interviewed in person but was very keen to provide written testimony in response to questions mailed to her about the object.

Deirdre now lives in Pett approximately two miles from the Old Town area of Hastings. She discusses the history of the town in several letters and recounts memories of various events around the Memorial and what she perceives as the decline of the town centre. She writes about other historic buildings in the town such as St. Mary in the Castle and Pelham Crescent.¹⁰

⁹ On Seddlescombe Road North, the school became a nursing home in 1998.

¹⁰ The land below Castle Hill was developed by the architect, J. Kay, in 1825. He built a curved terrace of houses with a classical façade and large chapel at the centre. The chapel became a Parish Church in 1884. It has a chequered history, suffering long periods of neglect, and after being sold to a non-conformist organisation in 1970, the Borough Council acquired it in 1990. It was turned into an arts centre in 1998 but even today, although a range of events are still held there, its future is still in doubt.

Doreen C.

Female, aged 79 years. Interviewed at her home address. Doreen was born in the Old Town area of Hastings. She has three siblings, one male and two female. Her father came from a Hastings family and originally worked for several tradesmen in the Old Town area, at one time selling fruit and vegetables from a handcart. He later worked for 40 years on the trams, trolley buses and buses until his retirement. The family of Doreen's mother originally came from Ireland but moved to the Old Town area of Hastings. Her parents moved to the Hollington area of the town when Doreen was 7 years old. They moved onto one of the brand new residential estates in the area.

Doreen discusses her wartime childhood in Hastings and several bombing raids. She was evacuated to Ware in Hertfordshire during the Second World War but her parents brought her back to the town after a very short time in order to keep the family together. She talks about street parties in the area at the end of the war. Doreen joined the Guides as a young girl and was later a very active member of the Sea Rangers.

Doreen states that the family rarely strayed outside of the Hollington area when she was a child and that she has few memories of the town centre from that time. She recalls instead being overwhelmed by the newness of everything on the estate where they had moved to. She does discuss in detail public transport in the town and several of the large shops situated around the Memorial. She also talks about the usefulness of the Memorial as a clock.

Doreen married at 23 years old but got divorced in 1976 at which point she moved to St. Leonards on Sea. She trained as a clerk/typist in a social work office and later became a social worker herself, working with a local team for 16 years until she retired. Doreen has been heavily involved with the activities at St. Leonard's Church, Hollington all of her life and still sings in the choir there.¹¹ At various times during the interview Doreen refers to old photographs and local history books that she has gathered to show me.

Doris W.

Female, aged 89 years. Interviewed at her home address. Doris does not originate from the Hastings area, moving there in 1957 from Caterham, Surrey,

¹¹ The church is more known locally as the Church in the Wood.

when her husband was transferred to the town by his employer. Her husband, now deceased, worked as an Inspector of Taxes. They had one son and one daughter. As an incomer to the town unfamiliar with Hastings before the Second World War, Doris provides an interesting perspective often very different from interviewees who originate from the area. On moving to the town with their two children they purchased a property in the Old Town. Frances asserts that at that time the Old Town was regarded as a poor area and her work colleagues were shocked that the family had moved to that part of the town. She talks about St. Leonard's being regarded as a much more salubrious place to live as there were many new residential developments being built there. Living all her life in the Old Town she describes in detail the previous layout of the streets and the Fishermen's Cottages. She describes the Old Town community as very tight knit with many of the families being inter-related.

Doris describes in detail the changes to shops and public transport in the Memorial area, although she also states that she rarely went to that part of the town, shopping mainly in the Old Town area. She talks about the Cricket Ground however that used to be in the town centre.¹²

Throughout the interview Doris shows old photographs of the town and local history books. She talks very positively about new developments in Hastings such as the Jerwood Gallery and the growing community of local artists. She describes in detail the present-day annual May Day festivities in the Old Town and says how much she enjoys events such as the motorbike rally.

Frances C.

Female, aged 84 years. Interviewed at her home address. Frances was recovering from a stroke and had recently been discharged after a one year stay in hospital. Naturally she discusses her health problems a great deal throughout the interview. Although quite weak she was keen to continue with the interview although some inaccuracies with regard to dates may be the result of her recent illness.

¹² Originally The Central Recreation Ground, Priory Meadow Shopping Centre now stands on the site. The cricket ground was one of the country's most famous and was the home of Sussex County Cricket Club. It was opened on 20 July 1964. The first match was played there that year and the last in 1996.

Frances was born in St. Leonard's on Sea. Her father served in the Army for most of his working life but after his retirement he worked for the Ministry of Labour as a clerk during the Second World War. Whilst in the Army her father was posted in the Far East and the family travelled with him, spending long periods of time away from Hastings. Frances talks about the bombing of the Silverhill area of Hastings during the Second World War. She had been evacuated as a teenager to Bedford but after a very short period of time her mother brought her back to Hastings. She got a job in the Army Records Office on The Ridge on her return. From this position, looking down over the town, she describes the trauma of seeing the family home destroyed by a direct hit from a bomb. Her father was buried in the rubble but survived as he was in the garden at the time. Post-war, Frances continued to work for the Army and Civil Service travelling throughout the Far East and meeting her husband, now deceased, in Singapore where they lived for several years before travelling to the Mediterranean and Malta. Although they met and married in Singapore, her husband was also born in Hastings and they returned to the Silverhill area of the town when he retired from the armed forces. They had two daughters, both who now live away from the area. Frances took a job with the Inland Revenue when her children were of school age.

Frances describes Hastings before the Second World War as a popular tourist resort and gives detailed descriptions of the public transport system in the town when she was younger. Throughout the interview Frances shows old photographs and describes the range of shops that used to be in the Memorial area.

Jan D

Female, aged 71 years. Interviewed at her home address. Jan was born in Hastings and grew up in the local area. She discusses her experiences as an evacuee during the Second World War and gives an account of some of the bomb damage sustained by Hastings during the conflict. Jan later worked for an accountant and subsequently in Hastings Town Hall.

She talks in detail about the various residential parts of Hastings, discusses Hastings in its role as a popular tourist destination and comments on the many that came down from London on holiday and subsequently settled there. She

also talks about the various forms of entertainment in the town such as the theatres, dance halls and cinemas.

Jan gives very detailed descriptions of public transport routes around the Memorial and its everyday function as a meeting place for friends and work colleagues. She also describes Christmas celebrations in the town centre. Jan was not living in Hastings at the time that the Memorial was demolished however.

Jan also gives an interesting account of the damage caused to Hastings town centre, which she herself witnessed, by the Teddy-Boys and the Mods in August 1964. Outside of the interview Jan shows old newspapers and photographs

John H.

Male, aged 75 years. Interviewed at the home of his brother. One of six children, John was born in St. Leonard's on Sea. He and the extended family have always lived in Hastings and St. Leonard's and both his mother and father were also born and raised in the area. His father also came from a large family having seven siblings. John's father worked on a cattle farm in St. Leonard's but during the Second World War he worked on the railways. As this was a reserved occupation he was not in the armed forces. John talks in detail about being a child during the bombing raids and about the heavy casualties sustained in the Silverhill area of Hastings where he attended school. He also talks about the deaths of Canadian soldiers when the Albany Hotel on the seafront was bombed. Later in the war the family were evacuated to Ilminster in Somerset but returned to Hastings after only a short time so that the family could stay together.

John talks about his apprenticeship as a painter and decorator that began in 1949 and lasted for 5 years. He talks about life as an apprentice and some of the work he later carried out for the local council including painting the Memorial several times. He also describes meeting the Borough Engineer, Sidney Little. John talks about Little's work on the redevelopment of the town post-war and his work on the Mulberry Harbours.

A keen cricket fan, John discusses the county cricket ground that used to be in the town centre of Hastings. He also talks about other Hastings attractions that

are no longer extant such as the Triodome at the entrance to the pier that was used in 1966 to display a replica of the Bayeux Tapestry.¹³

Joyce B.

Female, aged 79 years. Interviewed at her home address. Joyce was born in High Wickham, Buckinghamshire and has two brothers. Her father was a partner in a furniture company that went bankrupt in the 1930s. As a result of this the family moved to Dorking, Surrey when Joyce was 3 years old. Her parents opened a café there. As a young woman Joyce trained to be a professional singer and occasionally sang for the BBC Singers.

Joyce lived in Dorking until she married in 1950. She and her husband have three sons and two daughters. They visited Hastings after the Second World War to look for cheaper property than that available in Dorking. They eventually bought a house in the town centre but she describes how they lived in very poor conditions for many years due to a lack of job opportunities in the town for her husband. She herself had a variety of low paid jobs, mainly retail, but then worked for several years for one of the town's bus companies.

Joyce provides detailed descriptions of the bomb damage sustained by the town in the Second World War and also the frequent flooding of the town centre area. She describes the wide range of shops surrounding the Memorial.

After her husband retired, with their children all grown, they moved to Whipsnade in Bedfordshire to be near to some close friends. After 6 years they moved back to the Hastings area to be closer to family. Joyce discusses the changes to the shopping centre during the time they lived away from the town. She and her husband moved to their present house in Bexhill when they had both retired.

¹³ Created to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Hastings, in actual fact, the embroidery, known as *The Hastings Embroidery* was not a replica of the Bayeux Tapestry, it was a collection of 27 panels, each 9 feet long by 3 feet high. The panels depicted 81 events in British history and were created by ladies from the Royal School of Needlework under the guidance of a team of art historians. The overall length of the work was 243 feet. HRH The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone opened the exhibition. In 1986 the Triodome was dismantled and sold to Brighton Pier where it now houses an amusement arcade. The embroidery is now on display in the Sussex Hall of the White Rock Theatre.

Joyce R.

Female, aged 82 years. Interviewed at her home address. Joyce was born in St. Leonard's on Sea. Her father was a fisherman and came from one of the well-known Hastings fishing families; his family owned most of the boats in the Hastings fleet. Her mother also came from the town. She has one sister. Although stating that her family moved house every 3 or 4 years, in the main Joyce says she has not really moved away from the Silverhill area of St. Leonard's on Sea.

Joyce talks about the extensive bombing of Hastings during the Second World War, the heavy military presence and the large number of casualties. She was evacuated with her mother and sister to Chippenham in Wiltshire but returned to Hastings after only six months. Her father was an air raid warden during that time and she later joined the Land Army working on a farm in Berwick which gave her a sense of independence that she says she missed on getting married just after the war. Joyce describes how the war generated a strong sense of community in Hastings and talks about the rebuilding of the town in the post-war years. She talks about all the cinemas and other entertainment venues that used to be in the town centre and specifically about changes to the Memorial area and to the Promenade. Joyce also describes in detail the pre-war use and subsequent loss of the St. Leonard's Pier, likening the post-war neglect of the structure to the current neglect of Hastings Pier.¹⁴

Joyce also describes in detail the Fishermen's Quarter and its regeneration, particularly the Fishermen's Church and its strong links to the fishing community. Joyce married her first husband there, who was also from Hastings, and says that many photographs on display in the church feature her ancestors.¹⁵ She talks about the tight-knit nature of the fishing community and

¹⁴ Begun in March 1888, opposite the Royal Victoria Hotel, the pier was opened by Lord and Lady Brassey on 28 October 1891 in direct competition with the Hastings Pier Company. It became the home of the Municipal Orchestra. It was cut in half during the Second World War to protect the town from invasion and the north end was bombed on 4 October 1940. The remaining part was removed in 1951.

¹⁵ The Church of St Nicholas, commonly known as the Fishermen's Church, was built in 1854. Fishermen rarely attended the two nearby parish churches of All Saints and St Clements. Its construction was originally opposed locally but, although never formally consecrated, within a few years it had become very popular. In the Second World War it was used as an ordnance store and during the 1950s used for storage by fishermen and traders. In 1955, Hastings Borough Council leased the old church to The Old Hastings Preservation Society for use as a museum and it opened as such in May 1956. It is now one of the town's most popular tourist attractions.

the consequent intermarriage between the several main families. On leaving the fishing industry Joyce's father became a greensman at Fairlight Golf Club and the family moved to that area.

Joyce has been married twice, both husbands are now deceased. Her second husband's family were farmers from Sidley. She has four sons and one daughter.

Kathleen U.

Female, aged 82 years. Interviewed at her home address. Kathleen was born in Northiam and has an older sister. Her mother came from a farming background and her father served in the Royal Navy from the age of 14 years, enlisting at the beginning of the First World War. Due to her father's career in the Navy they had a house in Chatham but as he was rarely in port the family lived primarily in Northiam with the paternal grandmother. Kathleen talks extensively about her family's Northiam roots and has published various articles and booklets relating to the history of the village. After the interview she shows these and a range of other family photographs and ephemera. After her father left the Navy in 1934 he got a position in the Post Office in Hastings and the family moved to the Hollington area of the town. Her father returned to active service in the Navy just before the Second World War. During that conflict Kathleen and her sister were members of the Junior Air Corps.

Kathleen talks at length and in great detail about the war years in Hastings, the bombing raids, casualties and various individuals. She references Mary Churchill (later Lady Mary Soames) who was stationed on West Hill during the war in the Auxiliary Territorial Service. She also talks about the bombing of the Albany Hotel (where Marine Court now stands) and the death of the many Canadian soldiers billeted there. She also talks about the murder of an elderly lady in one of Hastings' underground car parks by a soldier who was subsequently executed for the crime. Other subjects such as rationing are also raised.

Kathleen is now a widow and has one daughter. Her husband, who she met just after the war, had been a Bevin Boy assigned to a Yorkshire pit and later served in the Military Police in the Far East. Kathleen describes cinemas, dance-halls and shops once in the vicinity of the Memorial and in the town centre. She

worked in various retail positions in the town including a florist and a shoe shop. Kathleen was also witness to the riots caused by the Mods and Rockers in August 1964. She also discusses various well-known characters that lived in Hastings including Grey Owl (Archibald Belaney). There is also some discussion about incomers from London to the town and the residential development of the town in the 1960s.

Leonard D

Male, aged 71 years. Interviewed at his home address. Born near the St. Leonards on Sea / Hastings border, Leonard grew up in that area, leaving when he was 18 years old to complete his National Service. He subsequently joined the Royal Navy and only returned to live in the area some 6 years ago. Leonard was not living in Hastings at the time that the Memorial was demolished. He discusses notions of public subscription and the legal ownership of public monuments.

In the context of his own move away from the town he discusses Hastings' émigrés to New Zealand. He also comments on various regeneration schemes that have taken place in the town and criticises the current poor state of the town centre area.

Leonard talks in detail about the shops around the Memorial when he was younger and the everyday activities of the local community around the site. He describes various events that took place around the Memorial such as the annual carnival and Christmas celebrations. He also gives detailed accounts of the town's various forms of public transport over the years. There are also descriptions of the frequent flooding of the streets around the Memorial. Leonard gives an account of some of the bomb damage sustained by Hastings during the Second World War and his mother's personal experiences of that time. There is a lengthy discussion with regard to the importance of local history and of history generally as taught in state education.

Margaret E

Female, aged 78 years. Interviewed at her home address. Margaret was born in the Hollington area of Hastings and has lived in the town all of her life. She discusses all of the different residential areas that comprise Hastings. Her father

was injured during the First World War and he subsequently found it difficult to get permanent employment. Following his injury he worked in the Woolwich Arsenal for the remainder of the war. Although his family owned a building firm he later worked primarily as a caretaker / cleaner for the Post Office. Margaret's mother was from a farming background but worked mainly as a housekeeper for a local family. In the interview Margaret gives a detailed account of her own and her family's history. She trained as a nurse and her husband needed significant care through much of his adult life which she was therefore able to provide. They had three children together.

Margaret describes in detail the shops in the town centre area when she was young and aspects of the public transport system such as the trolley-buses. She also talks about Hastings during the Second World War and her experiences as an evacuee. She discusses the post-war development of the town centre and the role of Sidney Little. Outside of the recording Margaret showed several books about local history, discussed her husband's paintings and her nursing career.

Michael H.

Male, aged 54 years. Interviewed in the public lounge of a Hastings hotel.

Michael worked in Arts Development in the Islington area of London for 14 years. He now works as a Public Arts Development Officer for Hastings Borough Council. He discusses the current multiple deprivation in the town and the regeneration and development of Hastings since the 1960s. He also talks about incomers to the town from London and the differences between the town centre and the Old Town area that has a significant artists' community.

Working in the field of public art Michael talks about the attitudes of local people to various recent projects and the difficulties of managing issues such as the maintenance of public monuments and sculpture. He does not have any responsibility for pre-existing public art in the town, only new projects. He talks about his personal ideas for a public art commission in the area where the Memorial stood. He also talks about long standing conspiracy theories in the town with regard to the fires inside the Memorial that facilitated its demolition. Michael outlines the pressures that local councils experience in supporting public art in an atmosphere of political change and financial constraints. He also

feels that very often local councils lack experience in leading art projects and talks about the impact of too much bureaucracy. Michael has been instrumental in developing a detailed public art strategy for the town. He talks about the importance of creating newsworthy stories with regard to new public art projects and also about the importance of involving artists in building and landscape projects as well as for specific pieces of sculpture. Due to his current position working for the local council, Michael insisted on full editorial control of any transcription used in this thesis.

Peter B.

Male, aged 84 years. Interviewed at his home address. Peter was born in High Wickham, Buckinghamshire. His father was a French polisher and his mother's side of the family originated from Germany and Holland. Peter began working in the upholstery business but was conscripted into the Army in 1944. He met his wife a year after coming out of the Army in 1947 whilst living in Dorking. They eventually had five children. After they were married they moved to Hastings to find more affordable housing although Peter discusses their ignorance about the poor employment prospects in the town. He talks about the house they bought in the town centre and the regular flooding of the building and the Memorial area. Peter eventually secured a position in the White Rock Pavilion as a doorman/cleaner where he worked for 9 years. He later worked for the local borough treasurer. After his retirement on medical grounds Peter and his wife moved to Bedford to be near friends but they returned to St. Leonard's on Sea in 1993. He discusses changes to Hastings during the 6 years they were in Bedfordshire and the general improvements both physical and social. He also talks about the current high levels of unemployment and lack of industry however. There is a general discussion of what he sees as the overall positive demeanour of Hastings residents.

Peter H.

Male. aged 72 years. Interviewed at his home address with his brother. Peter comes from a large Hastings family that has lived mainly in the Silverhill area of the town. He was born in St. Leonard's on Sea and had five siblings, two male and three female; he has always lived in the town. His paternal grandfather's

family came from Goudhurst, Kent, but his father moved to Hastings and looked after a herd of Jersey cows at Longhurst Farm in St. Leonards until he secured a job on the railways 2 years before the outbreak of the First World War. As this was a protected occupation he did not serve in the armed forces and continued to work on the railways until his retirement. Peter's mother came from the Mount Pleasant area of Hastings.

Peter gives detailed descriptions of many of the well-known local characters in the area when he was growing up as well as of local street musicians and street sellers from London. He also talks about the bombing of Hastings during his childhood in the Second World War. He was evacuated with his family to Ilminster in Somerset.

He describes Hastings during his childhood in its role as a seasonal holiday town with however, high levels of unemployment; he discusses the subsequent development of light industry in the town during the mid-1950s. Unable to obtain an apprenticeship as a carpenter Peter secured one as a painter and decorator in 1952. He discusses his training and talks about having to study fine art at the Brassey Institute. He also talks about the socialist writer Robert Tressell's book, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* that follows the lives of a group of painters and decorators.¹⁶

Peter talks in detail about several historical sites in Hastings including the cricket ground, the Promenade, Bottle Alley and the Memorial. He describes the frequent flooding of the Memorial area and the gradual improvements and development of the town centre. For a period of time Peter also worked as a waiter at St. Leonard's Bathing Pool and describes in detail some aspects of this famous landmark. Peter discusses the regeneration of the Old Town area of Hastings and is very positive about the continuing redevelopment of the town including the new Jerwood Gallery. He is defensive about the perceived deprivation of the town and its associated problems arguing that it is no worse than anywhere else in the country.

Peter discusses some of the past campaigns to have the Memorial restored and likens the controversy to that caused by the removal of the cricket ground that

¹⁶ Robert Tressell, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Robert Tressell was the pseudonym of Robert Noonan (1870-1911). The book, regarded as a classic of socialist literature, is set in the fictional town of Mugsborough, based on the town of Hastings where Tressell worked.

he asserts was similarly given to the town by bequest/public subscription.¹⁷

There is a general discussion about the changing use of recreational space and facilities in the town such as Alexandra Park.

Phyllis W.

Female, aged 97 years. Interviewed at her home address. Phyllis was born in Chelsea, just before the sinking of RMS Titanic she says. She notes this because her mother told her that her father was far more concerned about the disaster than about his new-born daughter. Her father took a position in South Africa and only returned home in order to enlist during the First World War. He died at Bethune, France and so Phyllis never knew him. As her mother was a war widow she had to take a job in the Post Office and Phyllis attended boarding school in Chelsea. They moved to Hastings just before her twelfth birthday.

From the age of sixteen she worked at Philpott and Sons, a drapers in St. Leonards on Sea and then in various other retail outlets associated with the trade. In 1940 during the Second World War she took a job as a bus conductress in the Medway towns where she remained for 21 years. During that time she lived in Gillingham whilst her mother remained in Hastings. In 1966 she returned to Hastings to live and took a position in the telephone exchange where she worked for 12½ years; she retired in 1973. Phyllis never married. Because of her previous occupation Phyllis talks a great deal about public transport around the Memorial, particularly the trolley buses. She shows a range of ephemera and old photographs of the area and describes the position of various shops and other features. She also discusses the bombing of the town during the Second World War.

Phyllis is critical of the redevelopment of Hastings town centre and particularly the Priory Meadow Shopping Centre. She feels that the modern development of the town is at odds with the town's emblematic 1066 identity that the local council tries to promote. She says that she much prefers Eastbourne to Hastings and parallels the decline of the town to that of Margate.

¹⁷ The land was, in fact, owned by the Countess of Waldegrave and the Viscountess Holmesdale. They agreed to a lease of the land for its use as a recreation and cricket ground. It was later bought by subscribers in 1870 and retained for public use. In addition to cricket matches it was used for a wide range of community festivities and events.

During the interview Phyllis is very focused on her failing health. Although engaging in an extensive narrative about the town she says she is not interested in history and doesn't enjoy looking back.