Concrete Morals:

The spatial significance of the ‘red-light area’;
a comparative case study of Hull and Rotterdam,
1880s-2020s

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Abstract

This thesis presents a sociological study of the shifting geographies of 'the red-light area' in the port cities of Hull (UK) and Rotterdam (Netherlands) at various critical juncture between the 1880s-2020s. Encompassing concerted waves of heightened social and urban change in Hull and Rotterdam, the sample period is divided into five empirical 'time-chapters' of analysis. This includes the climax of Industrial urbanisation on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the interwar years of economic recovery, the post-War era of urban reconstruction, the heritage years of waterfront regeneration, and the contemporary era of cultural placemaking. Navigating the spatial analysis through these critical chapters in the urban biographies of Hull and Rotterdam, I compare the location and relocation of 'the red-light area' in the cities as a shifting geography of female street-based sex work that also emphasises shifting perceptions around morality, sexuality and the city that differ or are constant between the two cities. Looking at the primary (e.g., *known*) 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam in each time-chapter, I examine the spatial contexts of the sites chronologically to explore the locational significance and as a way of understanding how rhythms of social change leave their traces on the urban environment. Exploring patterns of urban transformation through a lens of sex work, this study engages with locational actors of urban planning, policy and development, and social actors of political, economic, and cultural relations that collectively suggest and underpin the moral geographies of the cities under the distinct contours of time-and-place. Drawing on a qualitative mixed methodology of archival, visual and walking research, I argue for the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in processes of urban transformation in an artful, sensate approach that also demonstrates a sociological reading of the moral coding of urban space.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at the University of York or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Acknowledgments

For Drew.
The little boy who first made me an Auntie.

23rd September 2005 – 19th June 2025.

This is no masterpiece I'm dedicating to you, Drewie.
I couldn't hold a candle to the music you were writing into the world.
But in the album of my memory you will always shine the brightest.
"*Of human attributes, fragility – which is never absent – is the most precious.*"[1]

For Mum, after all we have been through down the years, thank you for being the anchor of our family, and for your constant love and support through this project. It only through your belief in me that I felt I could do this. For Dad, thank you forever for being the best dad a girl could ever wish for and for being my friend – you are the port in the storm. For Tommy, Robyn, Ezra, Danni, and my beautiful Freddie who has been with me from day one organising my books and pencil case. Also for Andrew, Aimi, Drew, Jay and Grace. For my beloved Nana in heaven. And for Ash; 'love of life'; for the words of wisdom including 'maximum effort' and for the world of love, light, and friendship that you suddenly brought into my life.

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I would also like to leave a message for anyone undertaking a PhD when words don't come easy – or even if they do. Follow the words of Les Back (2007: 181):

> The sense of trying to establish the worth of what you've done can lead to intellectual paralysis. Let others decide…Just try to do your work to the best of your ability and let the reader be the judge. Do as much as you can and move on. Don't get mired in self-doubt because we can never really judge the quality of our own work as we are simply too close to it.

[1] *Here is where we meet*, John Berger (2005: 234).

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ARC Archival image; used with permission of issuing institution.
FPE Image online; copyright free or under fair use policy for education.
MED Media image; copyright-free or with permission.
SOC Social media image, fair use policy.
SCH Image from published scholarship as credited in footnotes.
OWN Own image.
PCD Postcard

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List of Abbreviations

In the chapters of this thesis, all archival sources are referenced as footnotes. The abbreviations for the archival institutions that I refer to at various times throughout the thesis are as follows:

CHC	Carnegie Heritage Centre (Hull)
EMN	Eastern Morning News (Hull and region)
HC	Hull Corporation
HCC	Hull City Council
HCL	Hull Central Library
HHC	Hull History Centre (Archives)
HDM	Hull Daily Mail
HL	Hull Live
HMN	Hull Museums Network
RCL	Rotterdam Central Library
RMN	Rotterdam Museums Network
SMA	Stadsarchief Municipal Archives, Rotterdam

Preface

You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders,
but in the answer it gives to a question of yours.

Italo Calvino, 1972.[2]

The idea for this project came from somewhere in my childhood. It may seem strange for a child to wonder about prostitution; but I didn't know the actual word 'prostitution' let alone what it could mean. I was just remotely aware of the ladies who stood on a certain street in town [in Hull, 1980s] and that when I asked my grown-ups what the ladies were doing there I got shushed. That is until the rainy Sunday afternoon I was sitting with Great-Grandad Fred when I was around nine years old (we were drawing roses) and I decided to just ask him outright about it all. Fred had a tattoo of a sailor-girl on his forearm which is I think what prompted me to ask him. And when I asked about those ladies in town, Fred smiled gently. He said he didn't know much of them - 'the toms', he called them. I since know that this is the local term for female prostitutes which is uttered in a given but not unkindly sense. Though what Fred *did* know to tell me was words to the effect of:

> If yeh ever get lost from yer mam in town, go stand with the toms. They won't see any harm come to a little one…and where they are there'll be a bobby [policeman] about.

And so from that moment, I thought of 'prostitutes' as a site of safety in body and space. But what confused me is that the street they stood in didn't seem safe for *them*. It was all dark and old and foggy looking, even in daylight. It smelled like wet cement mixed with wee. I didn't like the brutally arched alleyways crumbling and covered in moss; they made the street look like a distant land that time and tide forgot. I often wondered why the ladies chose to stand *there* and not in the town centre where there was more light, more life, more people about…

Fast-forwarding to 2017, I stood amongst the crowds in central Victoria Square on the misty new year's eve that saw in Hull's year as UK City of Culture to watch a biographical lightshow of Hull's triumphs and ordeals projected onto the exterior of City Hall.[3] A recurring theme of the lightshow was, 'this city is ours, it belongs to

[2] *Invisible Cities* (1997: 44); originally published in Italian as *La cittá invisibili* (1972).

[3] The 'We are Hull' lightshow by artist Zsolt Balogh is available to view at YouTube: Hull city of culture 2017 light show town centre 1.1.17 (Credit: Adam Reeve). [Accessed 24th January 2023].

everyone, *all of us*'. Amidst the deep feelings of pride I felt for my hometown in that moment, a vision of the ladies – 'the toms' – flashed into my mind; an image so vivid that the ladies were still 'held' in that decrepit void in the city's darkness because they were seemingly not allowed in the city's light. And I thought, this city belongs to all of us – *does it*? As an adult, it is easier to understand why the ladies couldn't stand in the 'light' in so far as the *place* for such an adult, sexual process cannot be just 'anywhere' at all. But this is what sparked my interest in urban sociologies of moral geography – in the sense of how cities are spatially organised (or ordered) to shape who belongs where (and who doesn't).

The idea of comparatively case studying Hull and Rotterdam also comes from my childhood; a time largely spent digging for washed-up pieces of broken pottery on the north banks of the Humber. I liked the blue and white bits best, which mum told me were Dutch Delft. One day, I was walking with grandad along the bank when he started waving across the Humber, shouting 'HALLO ROTTERDAM!', and telling me to 'WAVE TO OUR SISTER ROTTERDAM!' From that day on, during my mud-larking missions, I did just that. I realise now that I was shouting 'HALLO!' to the county of Lincolnshire and that when I thought I was waving at the port of Rotterdam, I was waving at the south bank brick works. Nevertheless, a deep sense of familiarity with Rotterdam had instilled in me – even though it is a place I had never been to prior to undertaking this project. Thus of all the cities I could have explored alongside Hull in this project, I proposed Rotterdam to pay credence to two cities mirrored across the stretched space of the North Sea grey.

Finally, while this is an urban sociological study through a *lens* of sex work, I feel it is important to stress that the position of this thesis is neither for nor against sex work. I feel that to take one stance over another categorically – a binary okay/not okay – negates the raw emotions of what sex works means or has meant to each individual involved in their millions. Furthermore, I observe the moral conflict that has surrounded the subject of sex work for millennia with upmost respect; that is, in a balanced view of the inherent risks of sex work to individuals involved and to communities impacted by the presence of 'the red-light area'. I aim to articulate this not just in words but in my artful use of visual material that conveys the often 'dark' connotations of 'red-light areas' without inference of the space being a site of 'immorality'. I note here the absence of presence in many images included in the thesis; that is, street scenes minus the sex worker which is to emphasise the spatial significance beyond the person, and the legacies left behind. Such as in the following image overleaf that I include here to open the thesis:

Fig.0.1., Red umbrella, Land of Green Ginger, Hull (2024, own image).[4]

[4] International organisations, professional bodies and advocacy groups promoting the safety, equality and social justice of sex workers adopt the symbol of the red umbrella to represent resistance to the violence and discrimination against sex workers. The symbol of the red umbrella stems from the 49th Venice Biennale of Art, Italy, 2001, where sex workers held up red umbrellas in a demonstration against inhumane working conditions and human rights violations. See e.g., *Global Network of Sex Work Projects*, www.nswp.org; *Red Umbrella Fund*, www.red umbrellafund.org; *Changing Lives: Red Umbrella Project*, www.changing-lives.org.uk [Accessed 1st July 2024].

Chapter One

Introduction

Het land vergeet niet…
Een plek is een poort waardoorheen je door de tijd stapt.

The land does not forget…
Place is a doorway through which one steps across time.

Kate Morton, 2018.[5]

We can never truly know in the history of humankind when prostitution was first recognised as such; when it was realised that the sexual bodies of certain souls minted into currency. Crucially, sex work can be a freely chosen, liberatory, and skilful performative profession that doesn't bluntly reflect a commodification of the body (Chapkis, 1997; Huglstad *et al*., 2022). However, I allude to *currency* here because the general idea of what constitutes prostitution is 'the exchange of money for sex' (O'Neill, 1997: 10). And then, in the distant ages where money is not in existence, or where 'the coin' is not a definitive part of the exchange in any case, sexual transactions that speak of a spiritual or cultural currency are carried in the fog of prostitution's antiquity (e.g., Sanger, 1858; Bloch, 1912; May, 1934; Scott, 1936; Henriques, 1962-3; Bullough and Bullough, 1978, 1987; Bassermann, 1993; Dylewski and Prokop, 2021). Still, we can never truly know when the act of 'prostitution' came to constitute *some form* of sexual exchange for *some means* of currency; for as Yuval Noah Harari (2014) writes of humankind in general, "there were humans long before there was history" (p. 4).

[5] *De Dochter van de Klokkenmaker* [Dutch edition, tr. J. van der Meer and W. Oostendorp] (2018: 250); *The Clockmaker's Daughter* [English edition) (2018: 265).

Thus, the *truth* of prostitution's antiquity is for the most part lost to the abyss of time. But it is also a matter of the changing nature and meanings of prostitution across the social structures of time and place. This is in so far as what is (or isn't) deemed to be 'an act of prostitution' in the time-place setting; and whether that be through the contemporaneous or retrospective gaze of an individual or a society. For instance, the earliest *found* records of 'prostitution' to date suggest a sacred practice of sexual rite which was to worship the Goddess in temples across ancient Mesopotamia and the Near East (Sanders ***et al***., 2018: 2; Roberts, 1992). On this reckoning, *Innana* of Venus[6] [depicted below], one of the earliest known and most venerated deities in the Sumerian pantheon, was 'a prostitute' (Roberts, 1992: 4):

Fig.1.1., Inanna of Venus (date unknown).[7]

[6] *Inanna* [later *Ishtar*; Akkadian], Goddess of love and war; associated with sensuality, procreation, divine law, war, and political power (see Wolkstein and Kramer, 1983).
[7] Image courtesy of World History (see www.world-history.org/Inanna). [Accessed 12th May 2024].

Accordingly, literature charting *the* origins, *the* history or the earthly *cause* of prostitution tends to take the scriptural 'truths' of temple sexual services to mean that 'sacred prostitution' led directly to 'commercial prostitution' (see e.g., Sangar, 1858, pp.40-1; Bloch, 1912; Scott, 1936; Henriques, 1962, pp.13-8; Bullough and Bullough, 1978, pp.19-20; Bassermann, 1993; Dylewski and Prokop, 2021, pp.1-2). In essence, this tells us that prostitution (namely female prostitution as the historically dominant foci of literature on the subject) is a transhistorical event that antithetically evolved from sacred to profane on one long, dusty old road through the social world of humankind . Yet, this causal sequence is highly ambiguous as it ultimately rests on retrospective *interpretations* of sexual transactions in archaic states, and on the acceptance of contemporaneous accounts as *fact* (Lerner, 1989: 243; Budin, 2008). As a significant example of how such ambiguity has been produced and reproduced in literature on prostitution for centuries, the following extract from Herodotus' *Histories* [c.425 B.C.E] constitutes the Greek scholar's account of the Babylonian temple of Mylitta [Venus] in which he says:

> There is a custom among these people [Babylonians] which is wholly shameful. Every woman born in the country must once in her life go and sit in the precinct of Venus and there give herself to an unknown man. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home until one of the men throws a silver coin in her lap…Gangways run in every direction for the men to pass along and make their choice. The woman goes with the first man who throws her a coin, she is to reject no one…When she has been outside and lain with him and so satisfied the Goddess, she can return home…The handsome women soon manage to get home again. The ugly ones stay a long time until they are chosen and can fulfil the law, some have waited three to four years in the precinct.[8]

A familiar feature in texts along 'the history of prostitution' bookshelf, translations of the above extract may vary but the *contexts* of 'prostitution' taking place in the temple as recorded by *Herodotus* (I emphasise this because he is widely known as 'the father of history') are frequently referenced as *proof* of prostitution's path from religious to commercial. By and large, this is based on Herodotus' testimony of 'sex for coin', of men passing along in designated zones to select the woman

[8] Herodotus, *History of Herodotus*, tr. George Rawlinson, 1910: 1;102.

they can pay to have sex with, and on the absence of bodily autonomy for women involved. But as there are no found 'laws' regulating such practices in the surviving scripts of Babylon, it is strongly contended by contemporary scholars of women and sexuality in ancient life that Herodotus mistook a cultural sexual ritual – possibly involving Assyrian virginity – for outright 'prostitution' (Lerner, 1989; Budin, 2008; Anagnostou-Laoutides and Charles, 2018).

On balance, Herodotus' claims of the temple cannot be entirely dismissed owing to a similar legend of *rite de passage* appearing in the ancient Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (see tr. George, 2003). Yet, Herodotus' moral judgement of something 'wholly shameful' still leaves in its wake a grey area; not least because he was a citizen of the heady Grecian world where 'rampant prostitution' was embedded in spiritual and societal structures (see Kapparis, 2017). But furthermore because Herodotus' claims constitute *an* onlooker's perception of something that we do not and cannot have direct sight of all these millennia away. It is not beyond the realms of possibility therefore that Herodotus misread what the practice (whether it was a cultural ritual, prostitution, or some design or both) *meant* to Babylonian society. As the anarchist critic of moralists Emma Goldman wrote in *Traffic in Women* (1910), the Babylonians believed that "the generative activity of human beings possessed a mysterious and sacred influence in promoting the fertility of nature" (p. 180). Thus, it could be that while the onlooking Herodotus was seeming something 'shameful', the Babylonians within were observing something that worked to the nourishment and continuity of society.

Though whether the Babylonians recognised the so-described custom as 'an act of prostitution' or not, historians of ancient civilisation have also accused Herodotus of deliberately misrepresenting Babylonian life through the highly weaponised lens of prostitution as a subject of inherent moral conflict. Primarily, this argument is staked on the grounds that Herodotus has been marked (in his own time and since) for falsely representing events with malice; thus the general falsehoods in his works renders the account of the temple unreliable at best (Stol, 1995, pp.123-4). The account is also found to be simply absurd in the notion that *all* of a society, i.e., encompassing all social rank and under no found law, would commit their life-giving daughters to a process of forced prostitution that could,

according to Herodotus, take *years* for 'the uglier ones' to fulfil. On these grounds, it is staked that Herodotus deliberately used and skewed the idea of 'temple prostitution' to accentuate a moral superiority of the Greeks and justify the Greco-Persian Wars.[9]

In all however, it is plausible that various forms of temple sexual services existed in temples of the near East for ancient Israel to have so vehemently disapproved of erotic religion (or the so-called 'cults of Venus') in surrounding societies c.1200 B.C. (see Eisler, 1995). Still, if the Babylonians in this example *did* recognise such customs as 'prostitution', it is fair to say that the meanings said to be imbued in the practice (i.e., conceived of the sacred influence of nature) bears no continuity with what prostitution – as the same event by 'sex for cash' definition – generally came to mean to human society far beyond Herodotus' gaze: categorical immorality.

Embedded deep in the broad public imaginary, the perception of prostitution as something or someone just…*immoral* is found by leading inter-disciplinary scholars of sex work to be rooted in the nineteenth-century frameworks of social and moral hygiene that we still to some extents relate to and live by today. For the stern Victorian doctrine on female purity and public probity echoes in legal and religious frameworks that figured prostitution – and 'the prostitute woman' – as a wholly deviant, diseased and criminal 'Other', which continues to underpin society's visions of social, sexual and moral 'norms' (Walkowitz, 1980; Bell, 1994; O'Neill, 1997; Spongberg, 1997; Self, 2003; Laite, 2008). In essence, as these authors concur, when the core societal forces of law, religion, politics and medicine were entwined and mobilised down the long nineteenth-century to systematically denigrate 'the prostitute', prostitution was ultimately positioned as a darkness that manifests on the outside of society's (and a woman's) moral compass. And as these authors demonstrate through exhaustive evaluations of the co-construction of prostitution's categorical 'immorality' in the nineteenth century, this is no greater evidenced than in the brutality of Britain's *Contagious Diseases Acts* [1864, 1866, 1869] (*CD Act*s).

[9] *Babylonian Temple Prostitutes* (2023), Sumerian Shakespeare. See www.sumerianshakespeare.com). [Accessed 4th March 2023].

Briefly, as Judith Walkowitz (1980) elaborates, Britain's *CD Acts* were passed quickly and quietly in the walls of Westminster to sanction women convicted (or even just suspected) of 'common prostitution' with incarceration and invasive gynaecological inspections. These mandatory inspections were carried out by male physicians, often military physicians, on a routine basis until the held woman was deemed fit physically and morally fit to re-enter society. Meanwhile, the male purchasers of sex were not subject to these legal sanctions. As such, the *CD Acts* reinforced the double moral standard in terms of the male sexual license and simultaneously painted prostitution as *female* deviance - and a deviance largely affixed to 'working-class' women in their limited social and financial recourse. Yet, contemporaries across the gender gulf and class chasm did voice at the time that the *Acts'* onus on prostitution as 'female immorality' conversely constituted an immoral mis-use of law. By and large, this was the position of feminist, socialist, and libertarian groups who opposed the *Acts'* imposition on women, the 'working-classes', and civil liberties respectively. But in terms of broad public opinion, the *Acts'* encapsulate how prostitution's name had fallen so *low* in societal structures that it became synonymised with 'the great social evil' (pp.67-137).

Simmering in the moral maelstrom of nineteenth-century discourse on prostitution however was the underlying resignation that female prostitution was 'a necessary evil'. As sociologist Kingsley Davis (1937) observes, this was the idea that female prostitution was indeed distasteful but provided "a convenient sexual outlet for an army, and the legions of strangers, perverts, and physically repulsive in [society's] midst" (p. 755). An 'evil' all the same, but the notion that female prostitution was a 'necessary' outlier of society that served to facilitate the male sexual need whilst protecting 'moral women' from the sexual advances of 'strange' men met with the acquiescence that no 'Act' could prevent prostitution – for it was (and it is fair to say still is) widely figured to be 'the world's oldest profession' (*ibid*.).

The conscious or subconscious coupling of 'prostitution' and 'the oldest profession' connects us back to the idea of prostitution's singular, earthly tenure; for it is on the broad assumption of prostitution's transhistorical air that 'the oldest profession' trope rests to remain one of the most frequently bandied clichés in conversation of prostitution (Scambler and Scambler, 1997: xiii; Matthews and O'Neill, 2003;

Lister, 2017). The cliché is wrapped around the topic like a necessary cloak of explanation even though, as Kate Lister (2017) writes, it is highly unrealistic that the profession of 'prostitute' pre-dates universally aged occupations such as 'nurse', 'midwife', or 'medicine [wo]man' even in their most primitive form. And whether 'the oldest profession' idiom is uttered with conviction or in jest, it is also highly ironic given that 'prostitute' has never typically fitted into society's common definitions of 'legitimate' professions; largely as a practice historically attended to by narratives of female deviance on one hand and the sexual exploitation of vulnerable women on the other (Foong, 2008). But ultimately, 'the oldest profession' trope is reductive and harmful. It holds prostitution to that single earthly 'truth' when prostitution has never been acultural, and has in turn long militated against thorough understanding of prostitution as a profoundly complex process of multifaceted meanings (Matthews and O'Neill, 2003).

Accordingly, literature on prostitution's antiquity (e.g., historical and chronological surveys like those referenced previously in this chapter) often upholds the 'truism' of 'the oldest profession' by tracing the practice as one entity throughout time. But navigating the subject of prostitution through the transhistorical lens can often drown out the sociologies of sex work; particularly the *shifting* sociologies of sex work in the social and spatial structures of many, many souls. Thus 'the history of prostitution' bookshelf tends to sustain the separation of prostitute women from *all* women because of the underlying narrative that the land does not forget that there has always been a *different* identity to prostitute women that warrants volumes of historic scrutiny (and fascination) on *prostitute* women's bodies and behaviours.

It is noteworthy however that just as the prevailing image of prostitute women as an 'Other' is located to the tenacious nineteenth-century frameworks of social and moral hygiene, the broad acceptance of 'the oldest profession' trope as a given *truth* is located to nineteenth-century cultural texts that were particularly congruent to urban life. Namely, the late-nineteenth century saw the first published use of 'the oldest profession' trope (in relation to prostitution) to penetrate the middle-class readership. Forming the opening line of Rudyard Kipling's *On the City Wall* (1888), the idiom was used to introduce the female protagonist *Lalun*, a so-termed 'courtesan' of the city of Lahore, as "a member of the most ancient profession in

the world" (p. 78; Mattson, 2015). The expression was then swiftly adopted into local, regional and national newspaper narratives (first traced to London's *Pall Mall Gazette*) as a jovial or delicate descriptor for 'prostitution', and the idiom thereby embedded in the broad public vocabulary as a statement of fact (Mattson, 2015).

Though this not to forget that nineteenth-century society had experienced a tidal wave of change through the course of Industrialisation and the rapid urbanisation of society and space that followed suit (Thernstrom and Sennett, 1969; Lees and Lees, 1976). As such, urban denizens and rural onlookers alike had seen female street-based prostitution surge to 'unparalleled heights' in the burgeoning urban centres of the Industrialising West (Henriques, 1962: 18; Flexner, 1914). This is to the extent that the nineteenth century city was widely castigated or parodied as 'Victorian Babylon' (Nead, 2005) in sensory echoes of Herodotus' gaze. However, the moral angst surrounding the escalating spatial scale of prostitution's visibility in 'the great cities' of the 'modern-age' simultaneously stimulated middle-class guilt and/or altruism as to prostitution's reflections of *a crime of poverty* emerging from the capitalist state's raising of Industrial communities *en masse* (Mumford, 1961, pp.468-507). Though at the same time, as Lewis Mumford writes, the moral crusade for social reform that came to dominate nineteenth century discourse was ultimately driven by the fear/disgust amongst middle and upper class circles as to the very presence of the female prostitute figure in those 'great cities' as sites that were set down for the social, cultural and economic advancement for the middle-classes and social elites (*ibid*.).

Essentially, the 'modern-age' cities of nineteenth-century assemblage are sites that we continue to occupy today in their built legacies and transformations; and within which female street-based prostitution has at often times continued to be addressed as a major social problem; with 'the red-light area' often bearing the symbolic brunt of all that is *wrong* with urban life (see Larsen, 1999). Thus, while 'the oldest profession' trope is a reductive falsehood, its residual use is arguably tethered to an extent to the *urban continuity* of female street-based prostitution that we can still 'see' in the city, above any other hazy undercurrents of 'historic continuity' that we cannot. For although prostitution has never been a solely urban phenomenon, it is historically in towns and cities that it has tended to be found

(Hubbard, 1999: 62). The lasting resonance of this is that arguably we would not be as 'shocked' to find that there is a 'red-light zone' on a city break anywhere in the world, as we would be to find one on the parish green during a weekend away in the countryside.

The cultural image of prostitution as an urban activity and the female prostitute as an urban figure is conceptually linked to sociological themes of urban life, such as exotification, exhibitionism, voyeurism, recklessness, anonymity, and consumption – which are to are to a far lesser extent associated with the close-knit paradigm of rural life (Hubbard, 1999, pp.62-3). Notably, such themes emerged in social and wider commentary on the moral 'threat' of the nineteenth-century city (Lees and Lees, 1976). And the idea of prostitution being an *urban problem* is also evident in the geographical auspices of the infamous *CD Acts*. With the *Acts* being primarily applied to major garrison and port centres across Britain and Ireland, the premise on protecting and preserving military forces [hence the use of military physicians in the mandatory gynaecological inspections of 'prostitutes'] has been well observed by maritime and military historians (see Smith, 1990). Though as Bruce Coleman points out in the *Idea of the City* (1973), many towns and cities of the nineteenth-century 'making' had already held garrison and/or port estate in the infancy of their urban importance but were then all at once vying to be capitals of Industry (pp.34-6). In such case, it is difficult to dismiss the notion that in the particularly unwanted presence of female prostitutes in the portrait of 'great cities', the image of the prostitute figure was burned into the public mindset as that of a walking disease; a disease that not only threatened the physical health of *men* and the moral health of *society*, but the wider economic health and overall reputation of *the city*.

Times have changed, and as people flow through cities in the age of globalisation and digitalisation, the idea of 'prostitute women' as a walking disease has fallen to the wayside to a degree. For the most part, this is indicative of a changing world where the approach to purchasing sex has shifted (albeit not entirely) from public space on 'the street' to virtual spaces behind 'the screen' (Jones, 2015; Sanders *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, we are fortunate in the walls of academia and beyond to more frequently hear the voices of scholars with self-identified lived experience of working in the sex industry [see Molly Smith and Juno Mac's *Revolting Prostitutes*

(2018) for a groundbreaking example]. Additionally, a major contributor to clearer insight of prostitution's changing nature and complexities is the developing field of the sociologies of sex work. This is a critically important field that navigates the underexplored streams of sex work in relation to contemporary womanhood, work, sexuality, and social justice amongst many other critical aspects (e.g., Weitzer, 2009; Hardy *et al*., 2010; Sanders *et al*., 2018). The academic development of such clearer, pragmatic insight of 'the world's oldest debate' – to borrow Sheldon Garon's (1993) expression – is paramount; for as Kate Lister (2017) summarises, prostitution is not the world's oldest profession, but it is certainly one of its oldest stigmas.

It is important to have opened this study with a reading of female prostitution as a profoundly complex subject; to foreground that although prostitution is a sea of multifaceted meanings, it has long been a singular object of intense scrutiny in which notions of *morality* are explicit. It is important to foreground this because in this study I focus on the *spatial significance* of female street-based prostitution in urban contexts as just one facet of prostitution under the wider umbrella of sex work. Accordingly, I focus on 'the red-light area' as a concentrated space of street-based prostitution with the aim of tracing and comparatively examining the location and relocation of 'the red-light area' in time-served rhythm with social change that interplays with the particular urban histories of cities.

In exploring the shifting geographies of [female street-based] sex work, this empirical study rests on a conceptual framework of moral geography. Broadly, moral geography refers to the relationship between society and space (Cresswell, 2007), and emerged in the mid-nineteenth century encounter between urban environmentalism and the [then] fledgling field of social science (Driver, 1988). As the first to draw attention to the concept of moral geography in the 'threat' of the nineteenth-century city, geographer Felix Driver demonstrates how the concept emerged in the form of 'moral mapping' which constituted an ethnographic treatise on spatially conditioned 'moral decay' in the rudimentary urban quarters of 'the lower classes'. As Driver points out, the effect of this was that moral geography reductively labelled 'the lower classes' as 'deviant' *en masse*, but it also informed

the reformative discourse on the spatial economies of society's disadvantaged and stimulated new waves of urban thought on socio-spatial relations (pp.275-86).

On the spatial turn of cultural geography and the social sciences in the 1990s onwards, the concept of moral geography has been reinvigorated as a theory of urban belonging/exclusion (Cresswell, 2007) which is particularly important in the sociological nexus on cities, environment, liveability, and the production of space (see Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space* (1991) and *Right to the City* (1996) for key thought in the conversation of cities and urban life). Accordingly, I rest this spatial study of 'the red-light area' on a conceptual framework of moral geography to investigate the urban production and reproduction of 'moral space' (and the moral coding of urban space) through a lens of sex work as arguably one of the most morally conflictive features of urban life. I observe the spatial contexts of the 'red-light area' as a significant aspect of the urban landscape to produce a clear understanding of how locational rhythms of social change leave their traces on the urban environment. Through this, I develop the central argument of this thesis, which is a sociological argument for the *spatial significance* of 'the red-light area' in continuous processes of urban transformation that shape the built evolution of 'the city' and urban life.

To build this argument, I exercise a comparative case study of 'the red-light area' and its shifting geography in the particular urban centres from the late-nineteenth century onwards. The cities I focus on are the port cities of Kingston-upon-Hull [Hull] (UK) and Rotterdam (Netherlands), with the framework of the comparative case study of these cities resting on their relational urban histories and distinct urban afterlives as outlined further in due course in this chapter. Through the comparative study, I aim to find and articulate the spatial significance and shifting spatial significance of the 'primary' (i.e., most locally 'known') 'red-light area' in the given cities at various juncture across the sample period, 1880s-2020s. Against a heightened backdrop of social and urban change, I will observe locational actors (i.e., urban planning, policy, and development) and social actors (i.e., economic, political, and cultural relations) that collectively suggest and underpin the moral geographies that are constructed under the distinct contours of time-and-place.

Having introduced the study, its central argument, and the aims and objectives, I will now cover a comprehensive overview of the rationale and framework. First, I will cover the academic works and research I follow in this study, and through this, the identified gap in literature that this study addresses. After a brief re-cap on the aims and objectives, I will list the research questions and touch on the research methodology (outlined in more depth in chapter three). Next, I will outline the distinct empirical lens' of the study. This includes the lens on 'female street-based prostitution' and 'the red-light area' (and my use of these terminology in the study), the lens on *port* cities, on *Hull and Rotterdam* as the *comparative* case study, and on the sample period 1880s-2020s. Finally, this chapter closes with a brief outline of the coming chapters that make up the thesis.

Rationale and Framework:

In the interests of this study on the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in particular urban biographies, I am following a pivotal avenue of academic works on the spatial contexts of sex work. Firstly, I am following the groundbreaking study of geographers Gregory Ashworth, Paul White and Hilary Winchester (1988) that first addressed 'the red-light area' as a historically significant aspect of urban landscapes – but a long neglected aspect of urban study. Having mapped 'red-light areas' in a number of European cities, Ashworth *et al*. made conceptual links between 'red-light' space and wider social and economic functions of cities to conclude that the urban spatiality of 'the red-light area', if we truly listened to it, could tell us more about the overall evolution of urban life.

However, writing a decade on from Ashworth *et al*., the eminent urban and human geographer Philip Hubbard (1999: 1) found that scholarship remained remarkably reticent on the spatial contexts of sex work. Addressing this void in his rich volume on the geographies of sex work in the urban West, Hubbard emphasised that there is a spatial significance to sex work in urban contexts, just as there is a spatial basis to sexuality in general. Paving the way for further investigation, Hubbard is something of a trailblazer in the locational thought-space on sex work. As such, I am following Hubbard's associated works and collaborations (unpacked further in chapter two) as

Hubbard's pioneering scholarship on the spatial significances of sex work underpins the rationale of this study on 'red-light' space in *particular* cities; for as Hubbard has made clear:

> A mapping of ['red-light area'] sites frequently demarcates marginal, deprived and culturally-undervalued localities as the only places where prostitution can be practiced (within limits). [But], the concentration of prostitution in such locations is…**no historical accident** or mere outcome of supply-and-demand economics.
>
> (pp.15-6, *emphasis added*).

Accordingly, Hubbard's critical argument that the localities of 'red-light' space are *no historic accident* underlies the conceptual framework of moral geography on which I build this study. As aforementioned, I am interested in the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam in relation to the moral geographies constructed in distinct time-place settings. Alongside this, I am interested in the reflections of who suggested these moral geographies, and whose interests were being pursued in the realms of class, gender, and sexuality. Accordingly, I am following scholarship that navigates the conceptual career of moral geography - that notably times with the sample period 1880s-2020s – beginning with Felix Driver's (1988) aforementioned study on the popularisation of 'moral mapping' in the nineteenth-century city. I then follow the pioneering urban sociology of the Chicago School which sought to predict spatial indicators of social disorganisation in the early to mid-twentieth century city. Notably, the Chicago 'tradition' did not draw on the term 'moral geography', but is nevertheless explicit with spatial notions of social and moral 'norms' (Holloway and Hubbard, 2013: 200). Then, meeting with the more recent decades of the sample period, I am following a scope of interdisciplinary scholarship that has re-energised moral geography as an important concept in the relationship between society and space, which is unpacked further in chapter two.

Finally, in this study's demonstration of the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' (in historical and contemporary contexts) on the urban environment, I am following the key sociological arguments of leading scholars of sex work research and urban

geography respectively which I entwine into the rationale of this study as follows. In terms of sex work research, I am following the key argument of Roger Matthews and Maggie O'Neill who state in their influential volume *Prostitution* (2003) that because 'prostitution' is a profoundly complex subject of multifaceted meanings, it is best read and understood as 'an inherently social process' (p. xiii). I entwine this with the key argument of the eminent geographer David Harvey who says in his landmark *Urban Experience* (1989) that the reading and understanding of *any* social process is inconceivable without a reading and understanding of the urban spaces in which social processes are made manifest. As Harvey explains:

> To dissect the urban process in all of its fullness is to lay bare the roots of consciousness formation in the material realities of daily life. It is out of the complexities and perplexities of this experience that we build elementary understandings of the meaning of space and time; of social power and its legitimation; of forms of domination and social interaction; of the relation to nature through production and consumption; and of human nature, civil society, and political life.
>
> (p. 230).

Notably, Harvey's key argument outlined above comes in the relatively recent 1980s when, as previously noted in this chapter, scholars first drew attention to the spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' as a significant aspect of the urban landscape (Ashworth *et al*., 1988). From the 1990s onwards, after Philip Hubbard (1999) paid closer attention to the significance of the geographies of sex work in urban contexts, theory surrounding the spatiality of sex work has continued to develop as I explore in chapter two. However, to the best of my knowledge at the time of writing there has been no empirical study of 'red-light' space as a shifting geography in the particular urban biographies of cities that rests on a sociological framework of moral geography. As such, this study of 'red-light' space in Hull and Rotterdam (1880s-2020s) seeks to address the gap in literature by finding and articulating the significant interplay of the shifting 'red-light' space and the continuous processes of urban transformation in the cities. To further elaborate on this, I will now list the research questions of this study and introduce the research methodology.

Signposts: the research questions and methodology

The three research questions I address in this study are as follows:

i. What was the location of 'the red-light area' in the port cities of Hull and Rotterdam from the late-nineteenth century onwards?

ii. How did the shifting location of 'the red-light area' reflect dominant moral geographies as they were constructed in both cities?

iii. Which locational and social actors constructed these moral geographies, and whose interests were they pursuing?

To best address the above research questions and produce a meaningful spatial analysis, I exercise a qualitative mixed methodology that marries archival, visual, and walking research methods. More detail on the research design will be offered in chapter three's discussion of the methodology, but is briefly outlined here as a means of introduction. In terms of archival research, I undertake physical data collection as the central city archives, libraries and cultural institutions (museums) in Hull and Rotterdam. I also undertake remote data collection from digital archive platforms that hold historical to more recent local newspapers that serve Hull and Rotterdam respectively. In terms of visual research, I undertake data collection from the physical and digital archives as listed above (with relevant permissions obtained where applicable), and include my own photography through which I artfully capture the urban transformations that have been applied to 'red-light space'. In terms of walking research, I exercise two key means of ambulatory data collection. Primarily, I exercise my independent walking ethnography of 'red-light space' of the past to articulate it in the present gaze, and also undertake a number of walking conversations with adult participants in each city. Some of the participants (introduced in chapter three) have a connection to sex work and some have a connection to the 'home' city in general.

In terms of 'marrying' the archival, visual, and walking methods in this study, I work to the idea that these methods informed each other. For instance, archival reports or newspapers indicated where 'the red-light area' was at a given time, for visual and walking research to be undertaken in that locale. Ultimately, the qualitative

mixed methods work together in this study to produce a meaningful understanding of the spatial significance of the shifting geography of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam on an artful, sensory level. The artful approach constitutes my observation of the cities through visual material, such as juxtaposing an archival image of 'red-light space' with my own photography of how the space looks after urban transformation (e.g., regeneration, gentrification) has taken place. And the sensory approach constitutes the holistic research design of my engagement with the spatial subject of sex work as communicated through the city's memory (archives), the city's visions (visual), and the city's movement (walking) in the distinct empirical lens of the study.

Senses: the empirical lens of this study

In this section I outline the distinct empirical lens' of the study. This includes the lens on *female street-based prostitution* via '*the red-light area*' (and my use of these terminologies in the study), the lens on *port cities*, on *Hull and Rotterdam* as a *comparative* case study, and on the significance of the sample period 1880s-2020s.

The lens on female street-based prostitution via 'the red-light area':

I am focusing on *female* [street-based] prostitution in this study because, in short, it has historically been more visibly street-based than male or diverse gender sex work (Ellison and Weitzer, 2017). Arguably, this is because female street-based prostitution has been *made* more visible by historical forces of social and sexual 'norms', i.e., the lesser rights and recourse of women, the double moral standard in terms of the male sexual license, and the criminalisation of homosexuality in the not too distant pasts of many nations to list just a few far-reaching factors. At the same time, literature on prostitution has historically focused almost entirely on the female seller and male purchaser of sex dynamic in the sphere of heterosexuality; which is why when we think of 'a prostitute' we may generally envisage 'a woman' (Laing *et al*., 2015: i).

That said, my focus on *female* street-based prostitution (via 'red-light' space) in this study is not to dismiss the important histories and sociologies of male and diverse gender sex work. Justly, more attention is now being paid to the critical histories and sociologies of male and diverse gender sex work - which can also be street-based (Ellison and Weitzer, 2017) – in valuable sex work research (see e.g., Minichiello and Scott, 2014; Laing *et al*., 2015; Nuttbrock, 2018). But ultimately, my focus on female [street-based] prostitution ties to the greater visibilities of its urban continuity as this has enabled me to locate the 'red-light area' in historical contexts in the first instance, and to articulate the spatial significance of the site(s) in relation to moral geography and processes of urban development applied to the site(s). I acknowledge that the terms 'prostitution' and 'red-light area' are deeply contentious. For the same reasons given above however, the contentious content of these terms are important to this study as a means of expression that explicitly castigates localities in which prostitution has manifested - for urban transformation to be in turn applied to the site(s) without public opposition as I now outline, firstly on the term 'prostitution' and then 'red-light' space.

Prostitution. Reading into any aspect of sexual commerce is overwhelming, particularly to the student or novice researcher. Not least because of the profound complexities and raw sensitivities surrounding the subject, but because exploring the literature can feel like one is confronted by a boundless sea of calling voices with wave upon wave of highly-charged debate to navigate. A simple measure of the weight of these waters is the return of around 860,000 texts dating back to the eighteenth-century in a *Google Scholar* search of 'prostitution', while a search of the now more widely accepted term 'sex work' returns some four million texts since its relatively recent inception in the 1970s.[10] Furthermore, a dual search of these terms on the *Google Scholar* platform immediately brings to the fore the fraught debate on whether we should be using the term 'prostitution' or 'sex work' – or neither – before we can even break the surface.

The fundamental problem with the term 'prostitution', as Kate Lister (2017) writes, is that it is a word burdened with 'considerable historical and cultural baggage in

[10] *Google Scholar* search date 1st January 2022.

the general reference of women and a state of female sexual dishonour.' Thus, as a way to abate the socio-legal connotations of female deviance contained in the words 'prostitution' and 'prostitute', the term 'sex work/er' was coined by the artist and self-identified former sex worker Carol Leigh [aka *The Scarlot Harlot*] at a USA anti-pornography conference in 1978 (Leigh, 1997; also Delacoste and Alexander, 1983).

To Leigh's credit, the less-stigmatising term 'sex work' has since settled in global mainstream language. But this is not without contention. From radical feminist perspectives for instance, the term 'sex work' is seen as merely a rebranding of 'prostitution' that serves to legitimise and justify the archaic sexual exploitation of women as 'work' (Banyard, 2016: 62). More explicitly, the radical corner argues that the term 'sex work' reduces the inside of a woman's body to a work-place (Bindel, 2018) and reinforces to society that a woman's body is still just a sexual resource for male leisure and consumption (Ditum, 2014). Contesting the radical feminist perspectives however, scholars with self-identified lived experience of working in the sex industry stress that the term 'sex work' isn't about defending the existence of the sex industry or arguing about what does or doesn't define 'work'. It is about safety, resources, and being heard; for "when sex workers assert that *sex work is work*, we are saying that we need rights" (Mac and Smith, 2018, p. 55, *emphasis in original*). Meanwhile, there are women working in the sex industry who identify as 'prostitutes' as opposed to 'sex workers' based on the deeply-felt sentiment that "this is not work, its abuse" (as quoted in Ditum, 2014). And with polar insights emerging from inside the sex industry, there are scholars who reject the terms 'prostitution' and 'sex work' altogether; insisting for example on the use of the term 'sexual labour' to balance aspects of a freely-chosen profession with the many harms inherent to the sex industry (see e.g., Boris et *als*. *Sexualities* symposium, 2010).

As the terminological debate shows even at cursory level, there is no one term for sexual commerce that is accepted across the board – by every individual involved or by scholars looking in. It is important to stress therefore that my use of the term 'prostitution' in this study does not reflect a terminological preference of the

candidate, nor an alliance with any particular corner of the debate. I am sensitive to the fact that words 'prostitution' and 'prostitute' are laden with [female] stigma, and as Erving Goffman (1963) said, 'stigma is deeply discrediting' (p. 4). However, I am using the term 'prostitution' in this study because, fundamentally, it is how the subject will be locatable in the research process; particularly through the largely historical gaze of the study when 'prostitution' is the 'given' 'terminology of the day, and for its connotations of something *immoral* that plays out in the city.

In the contemporary gaze of the study, I continue to use the term 'prostitution' as a way to distinguish between prostitution and wider professions that come under the umbrella of sex work today, i.e., lap dancing, fetish fulfilment, and cam-work to list just a few (see Toubiana and Ruebottom, 2022). In relation to the contentious content of the term 'prostitution', it is noteworthy here that there is a hierarchy attached to and constituted *within* the sex industry whereby female street-based prostitution is considered 'the bottom end of the market' and lap dancing sits at the top (*ibid*.). Accordingly, I continue to use the term 'prostitution' in the contemporary gaze of the study to take into account the prevailing stigma enmeshed in the word. this is important because in exploring the spatial significance of 'the red-light area', the moral connotations of 'deviance' applied to 'the prostitute' are transposed onto the 'red-light' space as follows.

'Red-light area'. I use the term 'red-light area' in this study to denote "a space where prostitution is heavily concentrated in a specific area of the city" (Aalbers and Deinema, 2012: 129). However, this is not to *define* the space as I recognise that the term 'red-light' [space] is problematic and has complicated roots. As Katie Hemphill (2024) explains, the origin of the term is located to female prostitutes in early European ports who carried red lanterns to improve the ravaged appearance of their faces and bodies. With red lights thereby coming to demarcate 'women on the market', local proprietors of brothels, pubs, and dance venues embraced the erotic symbolism of 'nightlife red' to entice male custom. Red lights have transmitted visual codes of sexual commerce and 'vice' ever since, and the term 'red-light area' embedded in everyday vocabulary as a general descriptor for the 'vice' of concentrated spaces of female prostitution (p. 153).

Accordingly, the term ‘red-light area’ is problematic in its moral symbolism. Its use as a general descriptor reflects a way of conceptualising, labelling, and assigning moral value to the space through which the ‘sexual deviance’ of women working there, and to a far lesser extent their male clients, is constructed (Hubbard, 1998: 61). Notably, such moral value has long been assigned to ‘red-light’ space as a matter of course. It is used as a general descriptor for the touristic (or cultural) ‘red-light district’ like Amsterdam’s *De Wallen* and Hamburg’s *Reeperbahn* in their brightly-lit, mapped location, but also to ‘backstreet’ (or sub-cultural) ‘red-light zone’ in the isolated grey of cities like Hull and Rotterdam. This pushes a salient falsehood as the following images show in juxtaposition; for the brightly-lit glow of the touristic ‘red-light districts’ of Amsterdam bears no resemblance to the dark backstreets of Hull where the only red lights come from the brake lights of lone vehicles that stop there in the dead of night:

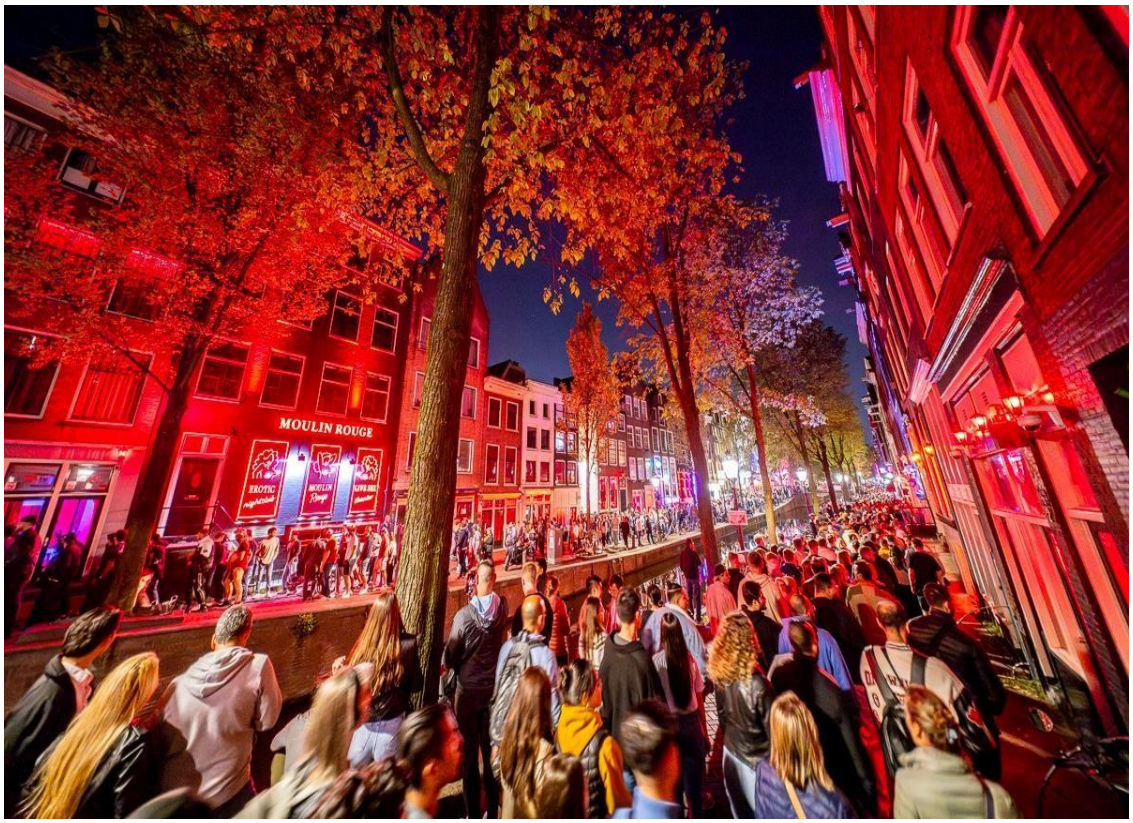

Fig.1.2., De Wallen, Amsterdam (2024).[11]

[11] Courtesy of Explore-Tour Amsterdam (Facebook, 2024).

Fig.1.3., Hessle Road, Hull (2017).[12]

In sum, I use the term 'red-light' space in this study to denote – not define – the concentrated spaces of female street-based prostitution that I trace and examine. Like 'prostitution', the term 'red-light' [space] is how the space is locatable in the research process, but beyond this the morally-laden content of the term is critical to the study in terms of how moral values are applied to the space. It is also of note that the term originated in port cities given that I undertake a case study of Hull and Rotterdam, the rationale for which is as follows.

The lens on port cities:

My focus on port cities is not to infer that female prostitution (in any form) is or has ever been more 'prolific' in port cities than in inland urban centres. Although there is a historical relationship between the two (Howell, 2009), this can be said of cities in general (Hubbard, 1999). However, my focus on port cities rests on the historical embeddedness of the distinctly *cultural* relationship between 'port' and 'prostitution'. As Marion Pluskota (2016) elaborates in a rich study of prostitution

[12] In *Hull Daily Mail* (*HDM*, 2017).

and social control in the eighteenth-century ports of Bristol and Nantes, the cultural connection between prostitution and port cities historically sits at the confluence of the heightened transience, the amalgamation of 'Otherness', and the *marge de manoeuvre* in the port city at street level (p. 3). Additionally, maritime historians have observed the cultural relationship of [female] prostitution and port cities as something historically layered into the so-described 'spirit of sailortown' (Hugill, 1968; Meyer, 1999; Milne, 2016; Beaven, 2021). Such visions of 'sailortown' at times portray a romanticised image of heady, rum-soaked waterfront nostalgia (e.g., Hugill, 1968), but generally emphasise the grittier edge of port cities as marginalised melting-pots of 'Otherness' with particular emphasis on sailortown quarters as vice-ridden 'hotbeds of marginality' (Meyer, 1999: 33). However, as Grame Milne (2016) points out, historically the seafarers' transience had a faster turnover than most which added to the urgency of their spending and consumption ashore (p. 66). Milne is not inferring that seafarers were the sole purchasers of sex in port cities, nor that seafarers were exploitative as a group. Crucially, there has been a recent call in maritime scholarship for more balanced historiographies that consider the exploitation that seafarers themselves experienced during stays ashore (*ibid*., Lee, 2013; Beaven, 2021; Baptist, 2022). This is important for as Vincent Baptist (2022) writes in a case study of the bygone pleasurescapes of port cities, land-based communities of port cities were far from naïve to the longings, wonts (and wallets) of men coming ashore from confined periods at sea (p. 1307).

To this effect, it is well documented that port cities produced a particularly complex social unit that was shaped by the comings and goings from farther shores (Gillett and McMahon, 1980, pp.40-1; Bartłomiejski and Kowalewski, 2022). Accordingly, my focus on port cities is tied to the inherent perceptions of 'Otherness' in the port city as a distinct urban typology infused with spatial contradictions. As Alice Mah (2014) writes, port cities are portrayed as 'exotic places of cosmopolitanism and vibrant cultural exchange connected to the blue of sea, sky and dreams', but also as 'black places of crime, violence, poverty, and social exclusion' (p. 27). In sum, I hypothesise that the case study of *port* cities will emphasise *contradictory* moral geographies that sit somewhere between locally constituted 'norms' and the wider social and moral 'norms' of inland urban centres.

The lens on Hull and Rotterdam:

As aforementioned in this chapter, the comparative case study of 'red-light' space in the port cities of Hull and Rotterdam rests on their relational urban histories and distinct urban afterlives. While this could apply to many port cities as a particular urban typology (Mah, 2014; Bartłomiejski and Kowalewski, 2022), my provisional research of Hull and Rotterdam for the proposal of this project showed that there is a pronounced social, cultural and urban continuity between Hull and Rotterdam that runs historically deep. It is a historical bond of 'sister cities' [albeit not officially 'twinned' until 1937[13]] that is also lasting. It is a bond reflected in the significant Dutch intonation in the distinctive Hull accent (Williams and Kearswill, 1999), in the abundance of Dutch commodities contained in the wills of Hull's medieval townfolk (Salter, 2017), and in the widescale Dutch influence on Hull's historic architecture (Neave and Neave, 2010). Notably, this exemplifies a Dutch influence on Hull and not a specifically *Rotterdamse* influence. And it should be noted that historically, the flow of Dutch commodities and the Dutch influence on architecture is by no means unique to Hull (see Louw, 2009). In which case, it could be said that the historical bond of Hull and Rotterdam is a product of pure geography, with the two cities in a sense peering at one another across the North Sea grey:

Fig.1.4., map indicating shipping route between Hull and Rotterdam (2023).[14]

[13] Sister cities of the world (see www.sister.info). [Accessed 4th October 2020].
[14] Courtesy of FerryGoGo (see www.ferrygogo.com). [Accessed 12th May 2023].

At surface level, the geographical proximity of Hull and Rotterdam and the shared shipping routes between resembling a historic hand-holding across the water may simply depict an organic relationship determined by geography as captured in the following image:

Fig.1.5., museum image of the Hull-Rotterdam Crossing (c1970s).[15]

Yet, such deep and *lasting* Dutch influence on the Hullensian landscape of people and place is said to be historically reinforced by the social, cultural and urban proximity of Hull and Rotterdam as cities mirrored across the water (Neave, 1988). Deeper still, such proximities are locatable in the shared urban experiences of Hull and Rotterdam from their humble fishing-port beginnings in the thirteenth century to Industrialised ports of international importance in the nineteenth century as is unpacked further in chapter two's review of literature. Of note here however is that Hull and Rotterdam shared the experience of targeted, catastrophic bombardment

[15] Displayed at *Hull History Centre*, in person (18th April 2022).

during the Second World War. As the burden of history reminds us, this happened to many cities including those of the Axis powers like Dresen (e.g., Addison and Crang, 2006). In the aftermath however, Hull and Rotterdam shared the relatively unique experience of *carte blanche* urban planning and reconstruction; with the resilient vow to 'rise from the ashes' mirroring in the cities' contemporaneous civic sentiment (Jones, 1998 [Hull]; McCarthy, 1998 [Rotterdam]. Notably, in the early planning stages, the Mayor of Rotterdam was warmly welcomed to Hull to share his advice on rebuilding the city (Millett *et al*., 2007: 10). Furthermore, the urban rebuilding of Hull and Rotterdam signals the turning point in their relational urban histories as is inscribed on the contrasting landscapes of the sister cities today. For in the resilient cry of each of the cities to 'rise from the ashes', Hull was hit by certain setbacks (i.e., her unexpected omission from the UK government's initial post-War rebuilding budget) though which she has struggled to get up from her knees (Jones, 1998). Meanwhile, Rotterdam was hoisted up to punch the sky through her reinvention into 'skyscraper city' (Tilman, 2023). That said, both Hull and Rotterdam went on to attain City/Capital of Culture status; Rotterdam in 2001 and Hul in 2017.

I note here that because Hull and Rotterdam tend to be gendered as female in local and cultural texts, I at times refer to the cities as 'she/her' in this study. This is also a means to connect with the individual *persona* of the cities. For I do not position Hull and Rotterdam as representational of port cities (or cities in general) in this study, but work to the evocative idea that "every city has its own story to tell – a collective web of history, politics, economics, and culture that gives the story a deep richness" (Miller *et al*., 2014: 153). The *comparative* case study of Hull and Rotterdam therefore takes into account the relational urban histories and distinct urban afterlives of the cities while observing the Hull an Rotterdam through the individual persona of *place*. And with comparative case study being a research technique that enables the researcher to recognise patterns of similarities and difference in greater depth (Vavrus and Bartlett, 2022), I undertake a comparative case study of Hull and Rotterdam as a means to find and articulate on a deeper level what Hull and Rotterdam can tell us about 'red-light' space. This is in relation to the moral coding of urban space through observation of the legal, social and

cultural ‘norms’ around sex and morality that differ or are constant in the relational yet distinct urban biographies of the cities across the significant sample period.

The lens on ‘time’; the sample period 1880s-2020s.

The sample period 1880s-2020s is an expansive period of time to cover in the confines of this study. However, it allows time for the location and relocation of ‘red-light’ space to have taken place. It is also an important period of time to cover as it encompasses concerted waves of heightened social and urban change that shape the urban biographies of Hull and Rotterdam. Thus to effectively manage the span of the sample period, I undertake analysis in what I term ‘time-chapters’ that capture moments of critical juncture within the sample period as follows:

i. The climax of rapid urbanisation on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1880s-1900s).

ii. The interwar years of economic recovery (1920s-1930s).

iii. The post-War period of *carte blanche* urban reconstruction (1950s-1970s).

iv. The neoliberal years incorporating waterfront development (1980s-1990s).

v. The contemporary years of cultural placemaking (2000s-2020s).

This structural framework is designed to focus the spatial analysis of ‘the red-light area’ against the heightened backdrops of change given above. This is as opposed to surveying a year-on-year duration across the sample period that would have risked a more sweeping analysis. The structuring of the analytic time-chapters is a means to explore the ways in which moral geographies themselves shift through Hull and Rotterdam’s responses to internal *and* external events (e.g., War), and to factor into the analysis processes of urban transformation popularised in *time* (e.g., the ‘garden city’ movement). In sum, as I have outlined in this section, the sample period 1880s-

2020s is expansive, but it is a critical component of the rationale and framework of this study. Having covered the overall rationale and framework of this study, I now close this chapter with a brief outline of the subsequent chapters that make up the thesis.

Setting sail; a brief outline of the subsequent chapters that make up this thesis

This thesis proceeds as follows;

Chapter two offers a literature review of areas of produced knowledge that are pertinent to this study. This includes theory and arguments surrounding *the moral landscape*, the conceptual career of *moral geography*, and how such theory has been applied to the subject of prostitution. Additionally, as this study is observing the individual identities of the cities of case study, I will review literature and cultural texts on the place and persona of *Hull* and *Rotterdam* respectively. This chapter summarises on how these areas of knowledge carry into the wider study.

Chapter three covers a comprehensive overview of the research methodology. It begins by outlining the artful and sensate qualitative approach, followed by an in-depth discussion of the value of archival, visual, and walking methods to this study and to social research in general. This chapter also includes a brief vignette of the research methods working together based on extracts from my fieldnotes. Finally, this chapter presents a referenced timeline of the 'red-light' localities I examine in the study. The timeline is presented as a coda to this chapter to foreground the analytic time-chapters that follow.

The analytic time-chapters outlined below each open with a brief backdrop of the contemporaneous scene in Hull and Rotterdam for locational context based on findings from the literature review. I then examine the spatial contexts of the 'primary' 'red-light' area in each city during the period of observation. Following the path of the research questions, I apply data collected from my archival, visual, and walking research. Each time-chapter then summarises on the comparative findings of 'red-light' space in Hull and Rotterdam in the given period as follows:

Chapter four presents part i. of the spatial analysis in which I explore the spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam against a backdrop of the climax of rapid urbanisation on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries [1880s-1900s]. In this chapter, I pay an analytic visit to the 'everywhere' space of female street-based prostitution in Hull, and to the Zandstraatbuurt [Sand Street District] in Rotterdam.

Chapter five presents part ii. of the spatial analysis. In this chapter, I examine the spatial contexts of 'red-light' space in Hull and Rotterdam during the interwar years of economic recovery [1920s-1930s]. This takes us to Pease Street in Hull, and to the Schiedamsedijk in Rotterdam.

Chapter six presents part iii. of the spatial analysis in which I examine the spatial contexts of 'red-light' space in Hull and Rotterdam during the post-War period of urban planning and reconstruction [1950s-1970s]. In Hull, this takes us to Hedon Road, and to Rotterdam's Katendrecht.

Chapter seven presents part iv. of the spatial analysis of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam. Set in the neoliberal years incorporating waterfront heritage development [1980s-1990s], this takes us to Waterhouse Lane in Hull, and to G.J de Jonghweg [road] in Rotterdam.

Chapter eight presents part v. of the spatial analysis. This is the final chapter of analysis in which I examine the spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam through the contemporary years of cultural placemaking [2000s-2020s]. Navigating at certain points Hull and Rotterdam's respective attainment of City of Culture status, this chapter takes us to the cities' 'primary' 'red-light' areas of the more recent years; to Hull's Hessle Road, and to Rotterdam's Keileweg.

Chapter nine presents the conclusion to this study. After re-capping on the aims and objectives and what this study set out to achieve, I bring the findings of the analytic chapters together to draw conclusions on the *shifting* spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam and what this can tell us about the

urban production and reproduction of moral space. Through this, I expand on the contribution of this thesis to understandings of moral geographies and sociologies of sex work, and outline how the sociological stance of this study differs from that of a historian studying the same subject. At the end of the chapter, I reflect on the wider thesis in terms of its arguments and contributions, and identify ideas for further research before coming to the closing comments.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

'*ΑΚΟΛΟΥΤΗΕΙ*'
['*Follow Me*'][16]

This chapter offers a review of literature and cultural texts on areas of produced knowledge that are pertinent to this study. I first review literature on the idea of the *moral landscape* which has philosophical roots but is also infused with sociological meaning in its references to the forces of human morality at group level. Following on from this I review texts encountering the conceptual career of *moral geography* as a concept that refers to the relationship between society and space. Focusing on scholarship that observes or exercises moral geography from the popularisation of the concept in the nineteenth-century city, to the Chicago School, into a scope of contemporary urban scholarship that also encounters the spatial contexts of sex work. I then move into a review literature and cultural texts on or encountering *Hull* and *Rotterdam* respectively. This is to familiarise with the cities of the case study in general, but also to explore arguments and perspectives around the individual characters of the cities; with the place and persona of the cities being a key component of the rationale and methodological orientation of the study. I then summarise this chapter on the ways in which the reviewed literature and areas of knowledge interconnect to be woven into the wider fabric of the study.

[16] According to Clement of Alexandria's [c.150-c.215 A.D.] *Paedagogus*, female prostitutes in early civilisation wore epigraphic footwear with '*ΑΚΟΛΟΥΤΗΕΙ* ['follow me'] embossed on the sole (Bond, 2014).

The Moral Landscape

There is no such thing as moral phenomena,
but only a moral interpretation of phenomena…

Friedrich Nietzsche, 1886.[17]

The idea of 'the moral landscape' is rooted in philosophical thought as a place that determines human morality at group level. In Nietzsche's philosophical fable *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1896) for instance, the moral landscape is depicted as a desert where moral codes are dictated and governed by the fierce entity instilled in the social imagination – Christianity. To the atheist Nietzsche, the fierce entity is a mystical dragon with golden scales that reflect the words '*Thou Shalt!*' under the oppressive sweltering sun. Thus, using Christian symbolism against itself, Nietzsche writes that there can be no liberal democracy until people rationalise their inbuilt fear of the dragon as a tyrannical 'guardian of tradition' that dictates the stern extents of good/evil.[18]

Writing just over a hundred years on from Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, neuroscientist Sam Harris' *Moral Landscape* (2010) is also a hypothetical place. As opposed to a desert however, it is a mountainous landscape of all possible human experience where peaks represent the heights of human well-being, and valleys represent the worst of human suffering. Harris echoes Nietzsche by rejecting religions doctrines of good/evil, but to stake the argument that that those of the metaphorical valleys have a disparate lived experience to those of the peaks, and as such that there is a spatial basis to how 'moral' a person, group, or phenomena has the capacity to be. Therefore, where Nietzsche proposed a free-thinking *Übermensch* ['overman'] approach to 'the ideal future human' as a goal for society to set for itself, Harris contends that scientific enquiry (i.e., behavioural analytics) is the key to resetting

[17] *Beyond Good and Evil* [1886] (1998: 64).
[18] See also Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886) in which he revisits ideas from *Zarathustra* in a more polemical approach.

the moral landscape of modern society. Both Nietzsche's and Harris' texts on the moral landscape have incurred academic criticism, i.e., both having been directly challenged by theologian Craig Hovey for their atheist stance (vs. Nietzsche, 2008; vs. Harris, 2012). However, the idea that society is set into a historically framed moral landscape of right/wrong resonates in sociological, urban, geographical, and wider scholarship on the moral geographies of *place/space* as I now unpack.

Moral Geography; incorporating moral geographies of sex work

Je suis l'espace où je suis
[*I am the space where I am*].

Noël Arnaud, 1950.[19]

Succinctly, moral geography refers to the idea that 'certain people and practices belong in certain spaces/places - and not in others' (Cresswell, 2007: 128). But as cultural geographer Tim Cresswell adds, this is a deceptively simple definition; for the concept of moral geography essentially underlines the *centrality* of the reading and understanding of geographical objects (like urban space) though sociological objects (i.e., gender, sexuality, race, age, class, health, disability) in contemporary scholarship and in social commentary of the past (*ibid*.).

In terms of the past, geographer Felix Driver's *Moral Geographies* (1988) is widely credited as the first to press the significance of moral geography as an empirical forcefield that emerged in the dominant discourse surrounding the moral 'threat' of the nineteenth-century city as the Industrial urban schema of the period took hold. As geographers Stephen Legg and Michael Brown (2013: 153) have observed of the historical geography and scale of moral regulation, the geographical academy owes much to Driver's innovative study; with leading scholarship under titles of 'moral geography' having since focused on codes of conduct and the regulation of

[19] *L'état d'ébauche* (1950), tr. in Gaston Bachelard, *The poetics of space* (2014: 156).

human behaviour through spatial relations [e.g., Matless, 1994, 1997; Cresswell, 1996, 2007; Proctor, 1998; Smith, 2000, 2001, 2007; Valentine, 2005; Setten and Brown, 2009; Barnett, 2014; Setten, 2020]. Writing in the *Journal of Historical Geography*, Legg and Brown are understandably encompassing the field of geography in their discussion of Driver's contribution. Additionally however, Driver also highlights in pioneering study how 'moral geography' *colonised* the emerging corridors of social science in the mid-nineteenth century - which further stimulated new ways of thinking about society and space.

In *Moral Geographies*, Driver (1988) takes us back into the heart of the 'darkness' of the nineteenth-century city [predominantly London] to illustrate the tenacity with which contemporaries exercised ethnographic trends of 'moral mapping' in the city as something of a 'live' social laboratory under heightened scales of urbanisation. Primarily, this mode of moral mapping sought to make conceptual links between the 'dire' spatial economies of the urban 'lower classes' and 'moral ills' that were thought to have been made manifest by the raising and overcrowding of Industrial communities. As Driver observes, the 'moral ills' that tended to fall under the lens of moral geographers during the period were drunkenness, criminality, vice and prostitution – but which were consistently mapped alongside pauperism, physical illness and even 'lunacy' to thereby calculate in the broad, onlooking middle-class imaginary as a 'cumulative moral syndrome' of 'bad environment'. To this effect, Driver makes clear that this mode of moral geography reductively diagnosed (or labelled) the urban 'lower classes' as deviant and diseased *en masse*. However, based on its altruistic call for the structural improvement of the living and working conditions of 'the poor' in the wider crusade for social reform, Driver concludes that this mode of moral mapping essentially brought to the fore the significance of the role of space in social outcomes (pp.287-87).

Resonating with Driver's retrospective interpretation of the ameliorative angle of nineteenth-century moral geography, the rationale for 'moral mapping' during the period was largely to draw attention to 'spatially conditioned moral decay' in the bid for reform as the Leeds reformer James Hole (1866) wrote at the time:

> In a dark, dirty, crowded, ill-ventilated court or backstreet, common sense perceives, what is confirmed by the largest experience, that is as difficult for health and virtue to exist as for the vegetation of the tropics to thrive amidst the snows of Iceland.
>
> (p. 1).

As the above passage captures, Hole laid out the difficulties of Britain's urban 'working-classes' to 'conform' to society's expectations of health and virtue owing to the rudimentary and oppressive living conditions that had been *afforded* to the worst-off in society. However, there is a saliently recurring theme across the wider corpus of nineteenth-century moral geography in which the urban 'lower classes' are reduced to dark and animalistic narratives. Moreover, the chief projectors of such narratives were of the most authoritative [male] voices of the period including physicians, politicians, clergymen, reformers, city journalists, and eminent urban architects who either undertook their own moral mappings of 'low urban quarters' or quoted directly from readily produced moral mappings. For instance, in one of his best-selling reports as London's Medical Officer of Health, pathologist and privy councillor Sir John Simon (1849) drew on produced moral mappings of London's rookeries ['slums'] to describe the inhabitants as the city's 'swarms'; explicitly "the swarms who have to learn that human beings should dwell differently from cattle, swarms by whom delicacy and decency in their social and moral relations are quite unconceived" (p. 193).

A year on from Sir Simon's official report on 'the swarms' of London, the reverend Thomas Beames (1850) published his own moral mapping of the rookeries which he described as 'hotbeds of moral pestilence', 'rendezvous of vice', and 'nurseries of felons' that altogether 'thrive in their sinister concealment' (p. 80, 149). Beames' reference to the *wonton* 'sinister concealment' of 'the social morasses' specifically met with the central argument of many moral mappers during the period which was that the urban 'lower classes' ought to be brought under the immediate supervision of the 'morally superior' middle-class publics. This argument is graphically evident in the travelling city journalist James Silk Buckingham's (1849) proposed blueprint for 'a model city and community' in which he wrote:

> there will be no secret and obscure haunts for the retirement of the filthy and the immoral from the public eye, and for the indulgence of that morose defiance of public decency which such haunts generate in their inhabitants.
>
> (p. 197).

Against Buckingham's underlying admonishment of the urban 'lower classes' (or the so-described 'filthy and immoral') for their 'morose defiance of public decency' however, the eminent London architect George Goodwin [editor of *The Builder*[20]] delivered his moral mapping of 'working-class' urban quarters in a more pragmatic approach that advocated for the un-building of the socio-spatial gulf between the urban rich and poor. In *Town Swamps and Social Bridges* (1859), Goodwin called for 'social bridges' in the form of model dwellings, ragged schools, public parks, and wider refreshment of the urban landscape to ameliorate the social misery the 'lower classes' had been plunged into under the building of 'great cities'. Yet, for his argument to perhaps best be heard, Goodwin still used dark and animalistic narratives in so far as synonymising the urban quarters of the 'lower classes' with 'the town swamps' (as per the title) which, he wrote, 'ferment moral disease in their structural darkness and concealment' (p. 5).

Accordingly, while textual strategies of nineteenth-century moral geography can read as altruistic (*for* 'the poor) or admonishing *of* 'the poor', the use of dark and animalistic narratives is explicit across both angles. As such, eminent historians of Victorian life have likened the popularisation of 'moral mapping' during the period to a middle-class moral crusade on urban space that naturally took urgency in the era obsessed with morality (Wohl, 1983: 81). And beyond its reflections of middle-class guilt/altruism, it is also observed in retrospect that 'moral mappers' merely reverberated the best-selling prose of Dickens and popular periodicals like *Punch* that took the 'low wrong-doings of the devil's acres' as their staple fayre' (Dyos, 1967: 8). In either case, Anthony Wohl and Harold Dyos respectively demonstrate

[20] *The Builder* was Britain's foremost architectural and building periodical during the nineteenth-century. Founded in 1842 by J.A. Hansom (now better known for designing the Hansom cab), *The Builder* remains a valuable source of information for the architectural controversies of the age and wider debates on the social crises caused by rapid industrialisation and urban growth. Since 1966 the periodical has been known as *Builder* (see www.builderindex.org] [Accessed 1st May 2024].

that moral mapping in-part contributed to the cultural consumption of poverty as an entertainment which simultaneously turned 'the slums' into a public spectacle. But beyond the pornographic interest in the lives of 'the great unwashed' – to highlight the 'comedic' yet disparaging term for the 'poor' coined by the Victorian play-write Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1830)], the findings of moral mapping were consumed as scientific gospel by the predominantly middle and upper class audiences of moral geography's literature (Driver, 1988: 280). Furthermore, this gospel was reinforced in public lectures on the urgent topic of social and moral hygiene. An example of this being the sermonic lecture of the revered urban evangelist Robert Bickersteth in 1855 who graphically informed the middle-class congregation that "to speak of the moral condition of the lower classes, you might as well talk of cleanliness in a pig sty, or of limpid purity in the contents of a cesspool."[21]

Notably in this lecture, Bickersteth made several references to the proliferation of female prostitution in urban centres[22], which connects to literature of the leading social reformers of the period who consistently upheld that female prostitution was *the* 'great social and urban evil' (Richelot, 1857; Mayhew, 1862; Newman, 1869; Acton, 1870; Logan, 1871; Booth, 1889). Accordingly, of all 'spatially conditioned moral ills' that fell under the contemporaneous lens of moral geography, moral mappings encountering female prostitution were received with such ethnographic agency that they furnished parliamentary debate. Writing for the *Westminster Review* in 1850 for instance, the conservative essayist William Rathbone Greg quoted directly from a 'moral mapping' of Hull:

> I [moral mapper] have frequently met with instances in which the parties [female prostitutes] have traced their own depravity to their living conditions. I found in one room in Hull a regular prostitute; and on asking the cause of her being brought to this, she stated that she lodged with a married sister and slept in the same bed with her and [the sister's] husband; that hence improper intercourse took place, and from that time she gradually became more and more depraved, until at length the streets were her only recourse.
>
> (pp.468-9).

[21] Cited by George Goodwin in *Town Swamps and Social Bridges* (1859: 21).
[22] *Ibid*.

In the given article, William Rathbone Greg was confronting the abysmal treatment accorded to female prostitutes in socio-political contexts. This was a brave stance for Greg to have taken at the time; given that the female prostitute figure (not just the practice of prostitution) had come to be seen as 'the social evil' in broad public opinion. In Judith Walkowitz's landmark *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980), which remains one of the most important texts on the social and political treatment of female prostitutes during the nineteenth-century, Walkowitz emphasises that the reformative rhetoric that dominated the period (in which, she notes, moral mapping was implicit) shaped a far-reaching classist ideology whereby prostitution became wholly associated with 'working-class' women. In also recognising the implications of nineteenth-century moral geography in the shaping of this ideology, the eminent urban and human geographer Philip Hubbard (1999) identifies the pernicious link that was made between 'spatial deprivation' and 'the sexual discrepant':

> if the modern city was known through misogynist urban texts which figured the [female] prostitute as 'the great urban evil', it was those pseudoscientific accounts of epidemiology, disease and public health that succeeded in connecting prostitutes' sexual immorality and lasciviousness with the filth and environmental squalor of notorious inner-city slums.
>
> (p. 81).

As Hubbard therefore elaborates, nineteenth-century moral geography was not geography *per se*, but rather a pseudoscientific attempt at the mapping of space on 'moral illness' (*ibid*.). And within which, as the contemporaneous strategies of moral geography infer, 'the street prostitute' bore the symbolic brunt of the urban evil that was said to generate in the moral miasma of 'low urban quarters' as the metaphoric 'cesspool'. In this respect, nineteenth-century moral geography can make for uncomfortable reading given the explicitly derogatory narratives and metaphors that were attached to lives that were lived in excruciating poverty and hardship. The dark and animalistic tones of the period's moral mapping could be considered a product of its time, or a means for reformers to get their respective call for change across by driving fear/disgust of the living conditions of those who had been quashed at the bottom of the period's glaring class hierarchy. However,

as the door closed on the obsessively moralistic nineteenth-century - where such dark narratives of 'the poor' might have been left behind – the burgeoning field of urban sociology in the twentieth-century remind us that the metaphoric 'cesspool' prevailed in urban commentary as follows.

In *Changing Cities* (1991), urban sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod observes that it was through fear of modernity that the metaphoric 'cesspool' carried into the pioneering urban sociology of the Chicago School in the early to mid-twentieth century. As Abu-Lughod elaborates, this is recognisable because in seeking to conceptualise the city [based on Chicago] as a concrete ecosystem, the Chicago School almost entirely focused on deprived areas of the city to predict spatial indicators of social disorder (p. 21). In which case, leading human geographers agree that whilst the term 'moral geography' is never explicitly used in Chicagoan texts, the so-called Chicago 'tradition' is explicit with notions of morality (Holloway and Hubbard, 2013: 200).

The empirical foundations of the Chicago School were laid by its founding father Robert Ezra Park who wrote in 1916 that "investigation might well begin with the study of the characteristic types of social organisation that exist in…bohemia, the half-world, the red-light district, and other moral regions pronounced in character" (p. 602). Taking this lead under the supervision of Park and fellow founding father Ernest Burgess, Walter Reckless reached 'the red-light district' for his landmark doctoral thesis *The Natural History of Vice Areas in Chicago* [1925] which was published not long after as *Vice in Chicago* (1933). In *Vice*, Reckless sought to 'rehearse and measure' the changes that had taken place in the local world of prostitution since the legislated closure of Chicago's brothels in 1913. Reckless found that in the years following the wholesale closure of the city's brothers, the 'vice emporia' had quickly transitioned from the formerly segregated (or private) venues to the public space of impoverished neighbourhoods that showed the highest incidence of urban decay. In largely encountering 'vice areas' as a wider space of organised crime, Reckless argued that forces of transience, anonymity, gender imbalance, and spatially constituted 'ways of life' were the key indicators of the spatial materialisation of 'red-light areas' in 'nefarious entertainment areas' and 'working-class' zones of transition (pp.164-79, 250).

Reckless' incorporation of 'the working-class zone of transition' in his study of 'red-light' space is significant because at the time of writing his thesis, the said zone of transition had been a central foci of the Chicagoan collaboration *The City* (1925). In this text, Ernest Burgess introduced his now infamous concentric zone model [applied to Chicago] that honed in on the zone of transition as a spatial predictor of criminality, deviance, and social disorganisation. On Burgess' model, the zone of transition contained the inner-city's migrant enclaves of *Little Sicily* and *Chinatown* alongside 'the ghetto' and 'the slums' that, to Burgess, collectively marked the city of Chicago's 'underworlds of crime and vice' (p. 52).

Based on the concentric model, Burgess posited a conceptual link between the social pathologies of criminality and deviance, and the impoverished (and ethnic) areas of the city. In its stark emphasis on impoverished and ethnic areas of the city, Burgess' model has since been widely rejected by scholars of urban studies, sociology, geography, and wider disciplines for its reductive lens on denizens of deprived areas. Writing in the *Civic Sociology* journal for instance, Andrew Abbott (2020: 9), himself a [later] Chicagoan sociologist, writes that the Burgess model is generally rejected for treating impoverished and ethnic areas as moral questions, and the more affluent areas (e.g., the middle-class suburbs) as spaces of moral 'norms' that didn't require any such scrutiny. Although as Abbott adds, Burgess' model is nevertheless considered to be the first *theoretical* framework of socio-spatial urban diagnostics.

However, in so far as the Chicagoan tradition of 'social mapping' was informed by the American social survey movement of the 1890-1920 period, which had in turn been influenced by Charles Booth's poverty maps of London (Abbott, 2020: 1), it is disputed that Burgess' concentric zone model was the first of its kind. In *the social history of towns and cities* for instance, social geographer Richard Dennis (1990) points out that the Burgess model was anticipated by philosopher Friedrich Engles [1844] concentric model [applied to Manchester, UK] some eighty years prior:

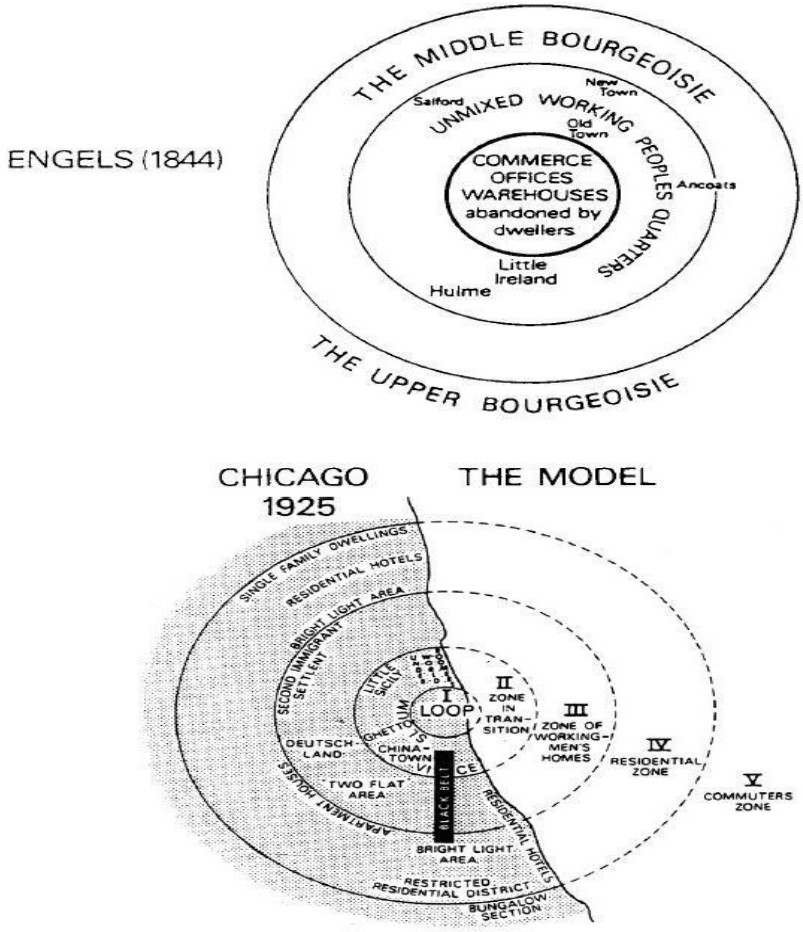

Fig.2.1., comparison of Engles' model (Manchester) and Burgess' model (Chicago).[23]

In a rich comparison of Burgess' [1925] and Engels [1844] models as juxtaposed in the diagram above, Dennis considers the similarities at descriptive level, i.e., the outer ring of the bourgeoisie and the inner-city ring containing migrant enclaves. However, Dennis emphasises that where the socialist-Marxist Engles conceived a capitalist 'geography of class' that spoke *for* the people, Burgess re-imagined this into a static 'geography of Otherness' that implicated citizens of deprived areas as the causal body of crime and deviance (pp.435-9). For this reason, the Burgess model has been widely rejected as reductive in hindsight, but also incurred criticism *in* its time. For example, the American sociologist James Quinn (1940) directly challenged Burgess for failing to address *why* crime and deviance was so concentrated in poorer urban areas.

[23] In Dennis (1990: 436).

Anticipating such questions, Chicagoan Louis Wirth's *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938) had already expanded on Burgess' model to posit that the inner-city zone of ['working-class'] transition was a spatial predictor of social disorder owing to its population density and diversity, together with the lack or absence of a cohesive set of social and moral 'norms' that existed in suburban, small-town, and rural life. Developing and defending the argument further, Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1942) married Burgess' model with Wirth's theory of spatial density and diversity to produce the social disorganisation theory that ultimately marked the Chicago tradition. Bearing some continuity with Durkheim's [1892] concern for organic solidarity in the rapidly changing landscape of the nineteenth-century, Shaw and McKay staked the social disorganisation theory on variables accumulated through the some thirty-years of Chicagoan enquiry, such as socioeconomic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential instability, which, to Shaw and McKay, amounted to the clear social disorder that manifested in deprived areas.

Accordingly, while the social disorganisation theory upheld the reductive lens on life in deprived areas of the city, social geographers Cater and Jones (1989) state that there can be little dispute with the social disorganisation theory at descriptive level in so far as we [society] have an in-built recognition that spatial differentiation is social differentiation made flesh:

> Throughout the English-speaking realm and in many other parts of the developed world, the inner-city (zone in transition) most certainly *does* contain concentrations of inferior and decayed housing inhabited by disadvantaged people and there most certainly *is* a link between these conditions and a whole pathology of crime, vice, deviancy, homelessness and every other imaginable form of social disorder.
>
> (p. 46, *emphases in original*).

Against Cater and Jones however, sociologist Robert Bursick Jr. (1988) argues [at the same of writing as Cater and Jones] that the Chicagoan social disorganisation theory makes group-level assumptions of space which, even at descriptive level, is completely insensitive to the diverse realities of social and political life in deprived

areas (pp.520-2). Writing for the *Criminology* journal, Bursick Jr's paper carries unwritten echoes of Foucauldian governmentality - or '*la conduit de la conduite'* ['the conduct of conduct'][24] - in Bursick Jr's underlying argument that the Chicago tradition itself was wholly dismissive of individuality and individual motives towards the control of the self. In a similar vein, contemporary urban sociologists reject the Chicagoan rationale as a 'quasi-biological sifting and sorting of human life' which presents as a form of social Darwinism that reinforced the classist hierarchy in the concrete jungle (Harding and Blokland, 2014, pp.24-9).

That said, on the fundamental nature of social/spatial differentiation pointed out by Cater and Jones in the extract above, the Chicagoan social disorganisation theory has been ongoingly developed into a criminological theory of place/space, and has thereby become one of the most influential theories in the field of criminology (see Walding, 2024). And as urban sociologist Talja Blokland adds in her seminal text *Urban Bonds* (2003), the Chicago tradition overall doesn't always fully compute in the globalised urban landscape today, but it does continue to direct hermeneutic avenues of urban study having signposted – *via its omissions* – questions of moral space and the role of space in social conduct (pp.19-21).

Accordingly, in the decades since the Chicago school, scholarship has considered the ways in which moral geography is enriched by its close relation to the concept of moral regulation; which refers to the idea of the normalisation and naturalisation of social behaviours through forces of state-formation, regulatory powers, and social knowledge of Otherness (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985: 2; Dean, 1994; Hunt, 1999; Legg and Brown, 2013). As geographer Mitchell Dean writes in his *Social Structure of Many Souls* (1994), the meeting lens' of moral geography and moral regulation on place/space could therefore be considered a variant of sociology's 'old faithful' – social control. However, Dean maintains that moral geography and moral regulation are collectively distinct from social control; because where social control refers to the mechanisms society uses to maintain order, the interests of moral geography and moral regulation lay in how certain forms of identities, and

[24] See Foucault, 1982, pp.220-1.

not others, are *legitimised* by space. Thus, as Dean adds, moral geography has been enriched by moral regulation which together go beneath the surface of social control to produce a politics of feeling towards 'belonging' (pp.147-9).

In seeking to find and articulate the meanings of belonging through socio-spatial relations, contemporary scholarship encompassing moral geography and moral regulation has drawn on Henri Lefebvre's landmark philosophical thought on *the production of space* [1991 (1974)] and *the right to the city* [1996 (1968)] (see e.g., Smith, 2001; Rogerson and Rice, 2009). In *the production of space*, Lefebvre argues that capitalism prevails (and flourishes) by producing and occupying space to each society's own perpetuation. In effect, Lefebvre's theory supersedes Marx's historical materialism (where class conflict constitutes the basis of social change) with geographical materialism which is theorised by power-centric spatial conflict:

> What space signifies is dos and don'ts – and this brings us back to power. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order – and hence also a certain disorder. Space commands bodies. This is its *raison d'eˆtre*.
>
> (p. 121).

In thereby seeking to deconstruct the idea that space just simply *exists*, Lefebvre emphasises the spatial production of social processes by distinguishing between three forms of space: spatial practices (everyday routines), spatial representation (knowledges that order the space), and spaces of representation (reflections of the space that are created bodily). Meanwhile, Lefebvre's *right to the city* is a rallying cry for democracy and social justice through his conceptual call for urban spaces to be shaped by inhabitants, not just market forces. As such, 'the right to the city' has become a concept in itself in the sociological gaze of urban geography (e.g., Harvey, 2015, 2017), and has furnished the campaigns of social movements and urban activism for years (Merrifield, 2002; Leontidou, 2006; Christian, 2012). In addition, scholarship specifically encountering the moral geographies and moral regulations of spaces of sex work had engaged with Lefebvre's idea that space is a socially-produced phenomena; to relate this to sex work as a heightened feature of the urban landscape (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003). In their study applied to the

interchangeable spaces of prostitution in Birmingham [UK] (i.e., on-street and off-street), geographer Philip Hubbard and sociologist Teela Sanders concur to some extent with Lefebvre's theory of space in so far as spaces of prostitution do bear reflections of the ordering of space by the capitalist state. However, they contend that the production of 'red-light' space also reflects the self-occupied (or 'lived') space of prostitutes which is subject to shifting moments of territorialization and deterritorialization. Thus, Hubbard and Sanders argue that the localities of street-based sex work emerges *from*, but is also produced *by*, the ongoing and recursive relationship between the 'everyday' spatial routines of sex workers and the spatial strategies enacted by the state, law, and community protests groups which all in all bequeaths the distinct 'moral' geographies of sex work (pp.75-89).

In the article referenced above, Hubbard and Sanders note that there have been few studies relating to the spatiality of sex work that consider how female street-based prostitution (in its 'use' of public space) is implicated in the making of urban orders (p. 75). A review of literature encountering the space of prostitution shows that it has been well-documented that 'red-light' areas tend to manifest in certain areas of the city (e.g., entertainment areas, railway stations, 'backstreets', and the localities of urban decay), but omit thorough investigation of how these spaces of sex work are produced. In the ecologist Richard Symanski's *Immoral Landscape* (1981) for instance, Symanski extensively maps 'vice areas' across a number of North American cities. Credited as the first to address the spatial distributions of prostitution in the 'modern' city[25], Symanski draws on his dominant finding of the spatial isolation of prostitution to posit that such isolation is fundamentally shaped by historical ideologies of morality that society sustains. Skirting the idea that the 'distasteful' trade of prostitution is constrained to 'distasteful' localities as a matter of course however, Symanski says little of prostitution's appropriation, occupation and 'use' of such localities. Then, in a relational study published later in the same year, geographers Neil Shumsky and Larry Springer (1981) examine the changing location of the 'red-light area' in San Francisco between 1880 and 1934, alongside contemporaneous legal developments surrounding prostitution. Finding that the enforcement of anti-prostitution laws (or policies) in certain areas of the city made

[25] For an overview of such accreditation see Hubbard (1999, chapter 1).

prostitutes simply move location to avoid arrest, Shumsky and Springer argue that the significant urban pattern of the distribution and redistribution of prostitution is spatially – not socially – produced. Thereby, the authors agree with Symanski's argument that prostitution is spatially constrained by ideologies of morality, but add to this that because attitudes towards prostitution shift according to social priorities of the day, the ongoing spatial isolation of prostitution also reflects the institutional and economic pressures of the 'modern' city – albeit without observing the ways in which prostitution is implicit in such pressures.

In further finding that both Symanski and Shumsky and Springer focused more on the *trade* of prostitution to draw spatial conclusions on the urban marketplace of sexual commerce, a collaboration of geographers followed-up later in the 1980s decade (Ashworth *et al*., 1988). Pressing from the outset that 'the red-light area' is a significant aspect of the urban scene but a neglected aspect of urban study in its own right, Gregory Ashworth, Paul White and Hilary Winchester also revisit Walter Reckless' *Vice in Chicago* [1933] in the advent of male purchasers of sex being more frequently motorists since the time of the Chicago School. Applying this to their extensive mapping of 'red-light areas' across a series of European cities, Ashworth *et al*. compare the spatial distribution of prostitution in 'designated zones of erotic tourism' [such as Amsterdam's *De Wallen* and Paris' *Pigalle*] with non-touristic 'red-light zones' in the 'deprived urban quarters' of cities. Through this, the authors agree that prostitution most certainly *is* subject to greater than usual institutional pressures of regulation, governance, and the wider reputation of the 'modern' city. However, the authors further demonstrate that such institutional pressures illustrate the great paradox of 'red-light' space; in that it can be a major (touristic) contributor to the urban economy in one city, and a de-valued reflection of socio-economic, urban decay in another. But in either case, the authors add, the production of 'red-light' space is intrinsically linked to the wider social and economic functions of the city. To this effect, Ashworth *et al*. conclude that the spatial geographies of 'the red-light area' can tell us more about urban life, and issued a critical research advocation:

> An acknowledgment of the significance of areas of prostitution is an essential first step towards a deeper understanding both of the evolution of urban life and the nature of urban society as a whole.
>
> (p. 212).

However, writing a decade on from Ashworth *et al*., Philip Hubbard (1999: 1) found that literature had remained remarkably reticent on the spatial significances of sex work. Noting this oversight in the introduction to *Sex and the City*, his rich volume on the geographies of prostitution in the urban West, Hubbard re-affirms that 'the street prostitute' is historically (albeit not always) constrained to the spatial margins by code of morality and institutionalised pressures concerning the wider value of the city. Critically however, Hubbard expands on this at length by incorporating themes surrounding the heterosexual ordering of cities, which, he argues, shows that there is a spatial basis to sexuality in general. In applying this to spaces of sex work as localities of 'alternate' sexual behaviour in the broad public imaginary, Hubbard illustrates how stereotypical connotations of the prostitute 'Other' are transposed onto 'red-light' space (and vice versa); to thereby demonstrate how social ideologies of morality and economic concerns of the city entwine to push prostitution *away* from 'affluent, gentrified, and polite spaces of social order and the sexually respectable' (pp.99-102, *emphasis in original*).

Having essentially paved the way for a meaningful spatial discourse on sex work, Hubbard has emerged as a leader in the conversation. This is to the extent that Hubbard's academic expertise in the location, regulation, and impact of sex work in distinct urban areas substantiated his recent call to Scottish Parliament [2015] for a unified approach to the licensing and regulation of sexual entertainment venues.[26] Furthermore, Hubbard's associated works and collaborations have also brought the *moral issue* of the gentrification of 'red-light' space into question (see Hubbard, 2012, 2013, 2016; Hubbard *et al*., 2007). This is an important issue to have raised in the spatial conversation on sex work, for as Hubbard (2013) writes, the processes of gentrification applied to 'red-light' space as a heightened urban

[26] *Sex work expert calls for lap dancing club restrictions in Scotland*. BBC, 14 January 2015. [Online]. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-politics-30818950. [Accessed 16th May 2024].

‘Other’ can read as an attempt to ‘cleanse’ the space (and wider metropolis) by removing ‘the undesirables’ and ‘sexual miscreants’ to make way for new urban investments, middle-class residents, and polite spaces of consumption (pp.57-72).

The moral issue surrounding the gentrification of ‘red-light’ space also informs a wave of scholarship on the proposed plans [at the time of writing] to relocate the historic ‘red-light district’ of Amsterdam to a purpose built complex on the outskirts of the city, and gentrify its (notably central) current location at *De Wallen* (see e.g., Aalbers and Sabat, 2012; Neuts *et al*., 2014; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017; van Liempt and Chimienti, 2017; Singelenberg and van Gent, 2019). As these authors capture, the municipality fully expected the economic objections to the plans from owners and workers of the plethora of established sexual entertainment venues (e.g., brothels, strip clubs, sex shops and cinemas), and from proprietors of the pubs, cafés, hotels, souvenir shops, and sex-centric museums that flourish within. Yet, as these scholars also point out, the municipality has met with unprecedented levels of support *for* the sex workers in the feeling that they are being evicted and *erased* from a locality that sex work has occupied since the seventeenth century. However, this argument also meets with the objections of non-supporters of the sex work/ers in the argument that *De Wallen* is one of the few ‘red-light districts’ that is so historically established that it has long served to prevent prostitution from spreading across the wider city of Amsterdam. The distinct spatial contradiction of *De Wallen* as a wanted/unwanted feature of the landscape also informs Hubbard’s description of ‘exiting the district’ in his afterward to a *City* symposium (2012) on the [future] re-making of landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam. Hubbard’s words read like an ending, not just as an afterword, but in capturing the strange sense that usually anticipates change; in this case that De Wallen’s paradoxical spell over Amsterdam will be broken when the [red] lights are finally faded out:

> The Wallen intensifies desire at the same time that it forbids it from running rampant through the city…[it is] a space apart, an adult playground, a monument to polymorphous perversity, a containment zone, a human zoo. And significantly it [has persisted] at the heart of the city.
>
> (p. 195).

However, as Hubbard points out, academic scrutiny of Amsterdam in the contexts of erotic tourism has been intensified by the fact that its world-famous 'red-light district' is one of the few of its kind that has *remained* in its historical milieus – and in the locational *heart* of the city (*ibid*.). In comparison, scholarship encountering the often dark, dingy 'red-light zones' in isolated or dis-used areas of cities tend to reinforce that these are the only areas that prostitution can operate – because this is where scholars on the subject ultimately *find* the 'red-light zone' that falls under their wider observations of the lives of women working there, the male 'punters' who go there, and the police who monitor it (see Høigård and Finstad, 1992 [Oslo, Norway]; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996 [Glasgow, UK]; Sharpe, 1998 [Hull, UK], Tani, 2002 [Helsinki, Finland]; Sanders, 2004 [Birmingham, UK]; Orchard *et al*., 2016 [London, Ontario]. Though as this valuable body of research captures, the appropriation and occupation of 'red-light' space by sex workers, and the external responses to this 'use' of space in the realms of moral geography and moral regulation massively differ in so far as the scale or level of community protest, police intervention, and gentrification that plays out under the distinct contours of *place*.

Accordingly, having come to the variables of *place*, I now summarise this section on the implications of *place* in the moral geographies of 'the red-light area' (as a shifting geography) that this study addresses. Having so far traced the conceptual career of moral geography through a review of literature encountering early social science and the 'threat' of the nineteenth-century city, the urban sociology of the Chicago School, and contemporary scholarship, the body of literature reviewed encapsulates the frequent intersections of 'moral geography' and 'red-light space' as a heightened moral question of place/space. In terms of *place*, I will now move into a review of literature and cultural texts on or encountering Hull and Rotterdam respectively. This is to review produced knowledge of the cities of the case study in historical and geographical contexts of *place*, and further to explore sociological contexts through local and external perspectives on the urban and social shaping of Hull and Rotterdam. Collectively, this is to familiarise with each city's *persona*.

The place and persona of Hull;

lonely northern daughter,
Holding through centuries her separate place.

Philip Larkin, 1975.[27]

Fig.2.2., Posterngate, Hull (2022).[28]

[27] *Bridge for the Living* [1975], lines 3-4 (Larkin, 2003).
[28] Courtesy of Colin Marlin, Facebook: *One Hull of a City* (2022).

Kington-upon-Hull, generally known as Hull, is located on an outward limb of the northeast coastline of England. As the map below indicates, Hull sits upon the northern bank of the tidal River Humber which is one of Britain's largest deepwater estuaries and a major inlet of the North Sea. Situated just 22 miles [35km] from the North Sea, Hull is also pierced by the navigable River Hull.[29]

Fig.2.3., location of Hull on UK map (2023).[30]

Covering a land area of just 27.5 square miles [71.5km^2], Hull is a relatively small city (for perspective, it would fit inside London's geographical boundaries around

[29] *Humber Estuary*. Interreg North Sea Region. See www.northsearegion.eu. [Accessed 6th May 2023].
[30] *Britannica*. Available at www.britannica.com/place/Kingston-upon-Hull. [Accessed 6th May 2023].

twenty times).[31] Home to some 260,000 people [2021] however, Hull is the fourth largest city in Yorkshire by population (after Leeds, Sheffield, and Bradford).[32] In terms of the county, Hull is historically **a part** of the East Riding of Yorkshire, but territorially stands **apart** as a unitary authority. Hull's unitary body began as the *Burgesses of the Borough* [1299-1440] which transformed into *Hull Corporation* [1440-1972] and then *Hull City Council* [1972-] as it stands today.[26] The granting of Hull's unitary authority dates back to the Royal Charter of 1299 which bestowed upon the [then] town the free customs and privileges of a 'free borough' following Edward I's acquisition of Hull in 1293. In the sense of the 'freedom' that this gave to Hull, the original 1299 Charter is heavily safeguarded at the local city archives [Hull History Centre]. Viewing of the parchment is by appointment only, and takes place under the close supervision of a senior archivist.[33] The close guardianship of the Charter is not just because it is an irreplaceable artefact, but because it is looked upon by archivists, local historians, and citizens of the city alike as Hull's 'birth certificate'; the signed and sealed royal deliverance of Hull's independent place and personal thereafter.[34]

Hull was granted over forty further Royal Charters over a five-hundred year period since the first in 1299. In chronological sequence, the charters essentially tell *the* story of Hull's independence. For example, the charters grant the fortification of Hull [Edward II], the appointment of a Mayor, and to administer 'Statue Merchant' which meant that trading contracts could be locally enforced and essentially gave Hull merchants the monopoly over commerce in the district and upon the Humber [Edward III]. Following on from this, if the parchments could be read like a flicker-book, there is the charter that made Hull its own county in 1440, which lasted up until 1974, the charter of Civic Splendour which meant the postholder of the Mayor of Hull could carry a ceremonial sword, and the charter to embed a local Oligarchy whereby the Mayor and Aldermen could be elected by one another [Henry VI].[35]

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[31] *Geographic Regions Britannica*, www.britannica.com. [Accessed 1st May 2024].
[32] UK Census 2021, *Office of National Statistics*, www.ons.gov.uk/census. [Accessed 1st May 2024].
[26] *Local Government Act* 1972.
[33] From my visit in person, November 2022.
[34] *Charters: the making of Hull*. HHC. Available at www.hull historycentre.org.uk/research-guides/the-makingof-hull.pdf. [Accessed 21st May 2024].
[35] As note 40.

But of all Hull's charters, the first Charter of 1299 [a.k.a. Hull's birth certificate] is the most significant. While there is a running joke amongst local citizens that it was awarded on 1st April ('April fool's day') of 1299[36], historical accounts of Hull tend to inform the reader from the outset that Hull has been 'a place apart' since the exact year of 1299. In J.C. Craggs' (1817) atmospheric topography of Hull for instance, Craggs begins his account of the 'peculiar town' with a fairytale-esque passage on its acquisition by King Edward I [1293] which pre-empted the Charter of 1299. Craggs writes that the King and his hunting party were coursing a hare which lead them into a clearing of what was then the small wool-port of Wyke-on-Hull that belonged to the Cistercian Meaux Abbey:

> charmed with the scene before him, the King on horseback viewed with delight the advantageous situation of this hitherto neglected and obscure corner. He wondered if it might become subservient to render the Kingdom more secure against foreign invasion, and at the same time to augment its commerce. T'was the making of Hull.
>
> (p. 1).

Writing over a hundred years on from Craggs' visions of the King's *making* of Hull however, local historians provide a less romanticised account of the King's *taking* of Hull. It is said that Edward has also identified a further 'use' for Hull – being the perfectly dark, isolated place to launch his campaigns on Scotland (Allison, 1969: 1; Thompson, 1990: 7). Though whether the royal acquisition of the once obscure, neglected and sparsely inhabited hamlet is seen as the 'making' or 'taking' of Hull, the very origins of Hull's placename anticipates the solitary landscape that had so enticed the King on horseback. According to a framed mural at a local exhibition on Hull's maritime roots, the name 'Hull' derives from the Germanic 'huelen' [howl] which is attributed to the ghostly sound of the Humber meeting the North Sea. In addition, the early spelling of 'Humber' ['Umbri'] carries the Latin 'to cover with shadows' in the sense of a dark, black river.[37]

[36] As note 39.

[37] *Hull, Port City: An exploration of roots, heritage and future.* Hull History Troupe (2012: 3). Available at https://digitalissue.co.uk/Publishing/thehistorytroupe/hull-port-city/hcc.html. [Accessed 12th May 2024].

Down the centuries, continuous processes of urbanisation in Hull have arguably overwritten the once eerily desolate landscape. However, the sentiment of Hull's remoteness prevails in literature. After visiting Hull as part of his *English Journey* for instance, novelist J.B. Priestley's (1937) immediate impression of Hull was a place 'somewhere in the remote east where England is nearly turning into Holland or Denmark' (p. 353). Observing Hull as 'somewhere' cut-off from the south by the Humber and passable to 'nowhere' in England, Priestley mused that "unless you should happen to be going to one of the Baltic countries, Hull is out of your way" (*ibid*.). Notably, Priestley's gaze pre-dates Hull's connecting infrastructure; namely the A-road link to the M62 northern corridor [1976] and the Humber Bridge [1981] which stitches Hull to the county of Lincolnshire (and beyond) on the south bank. That said, Hull's 'remoteness' has continued to produce poetry. To the Coventry-born poet Philip Larkin ([1976] 2003) who made Hull his home, "those who come here will find 'a city that is in the world, yet sufficiently on the edge of it to have a different resonance…an end-of-the line sense of freedom' (p. ii); a sentiment that is also captured in the following image:

Fig.2.4., End of the line, approaching Hull terminus on the train (2024, own image).

Even at cursory reading however, the sense of Hull's remoteness that prevails in literature and cultural texts on 'the city apart' is not purely geographical. In local author Len Markham's *Great Hull Stories* (2003), the city is introduced succinctly as 'geographically aloof', but as Markham elaborates, Hull's comparative isolation produced 'a no-nonsense, independent breed of people who turned their backs on the rest of the country and looked seaward' (p. 9). Furthermore, a collaboration of historians at the University of Hull concur that Hull's aloofness most certainly is a product of peripheral geography, but add to this that it is also a product of political interplay, maritime structures, and sustained migrant influences that collectively generated a distinct social and urban landscape that harbours a positive sense of pride as 'a place apart'. And though which, the authors add, Hull has historically been more familiar with her European hinterlands than the 'mainland' UK (Starkey *et al*., 2017, pp.1-2).

The observation that Hull has been more connected to her European neighbours in the North Sea world resonates with a civic booklet published during the 1960s boom of Hull's lifeblood fishing industry, which, delivered to every household in Hull, proudly affirms that Hull was 'destined from the first to be a seaport!' (*HC*, 1960: 9). In respect of Hull's destined 'function' as a seaport, maritime historians David Starkey and Michaela Barnard (2012) connect this to the sustained migrant influences in Hull in that Hull's early port commerce and urban development was shaped by the coming of 'foreign merchants' to the once sparsely populated wool-port, which also propelled Hull into the ranks of the Hanseatic League during the medieval period. That said, the genesis of early migration reminds us that this influx 'foreign settlement' was by no means unique to Hull.[38] However, the leading diaspora historian Nicholas Evans (2017) illustrates significant links between the early patterns of migration in Hull and the cosmopolitan, entrepreneurial vigour of European merchant 'Princes' who came, settled, and assembled Hull into a social and urban continuity of the continent (pp.146-54).

[38] *England's Immigrant Database* [University of York]. See www.englandsimmigrants.com. [Accessed 24th May 2023].

In terms of Hull social proximity to the continent, this sociological theme is readily recognisable in literature on or encountering Hull that spans *centuries* of life in 'the place apart'. For instance, in Elisabeth Salter's (2017) rich analysis of the wills of 'ordinary townsfolk' in medieval Hull, Salter, a scholar of English Literature, greatly illustrates the early socio-cultural vibrancy of the town through the diverse peoples, possessions, and commodities that had flowed into the burgeoning seaport (pp.41-59). Later, when the state-commissioned poet-topographer Thomas Baskerville visited Hull in c.1678, he found it remarkable enough to report back to the London 'HQ' that in Hull, "the women and girls have Dutch faces" (*HMC*, 1893: 313). And then in the contemporary setting, sociolinguists Ann Williams and Paul Kerswill (2014) have detected significant Dutch intonation in the distinctive Hull accent.

In respect of the distinctive Hull accent, a guide entitled 'Learn to speak Hull' was circulated on social media during Hull's year as UK City of Culture [2017]. It was intended to help City of Culture visitors to understand what the locals were saying, and included local sayings like 'gizza croggie' [tr. give me a lift on the back of your bicycle] and pronunciations such as 'rerd' [road] and 'werk' [work].[39] Reflecting the self-deprecating humour of Hull, a local civil engineering company re-designed its 'road works' signs to read in the distinctive Hull accent:

Fig.2.5., road works sign in the Hull accent [i] (2018).[40]

[39] *How to be proper 'Ull*. See www.aloadabobbins.com. [Accessed 11th July 2024].
[40] Courtesy of Rich Addison, *Hull Live* (2018).

Fig.2.6., road works sign in the Hull accent [ii] (2023).[41]

Though whilst the signage was received in good humour and in some cases great affection, the attention that was drawn to the Hull accent during the City of Culture year also promoted locals to ask *why* their accent was so…*different*. Addressing this, local journalist and author Angus Young (2024) explained that while the other parts of Yorkshire developed their dialect in Old English, outward-facing Hull was for centuries 'a melting pot of Low Countries chatter and Baltic banter'.

Accordingly, the idea of Hull as geographically-determined social 'melting pot' of 'Otherness' meets with the aforementioned description of Hull's built landscape resembling an urban continuity of the continent (Evans, 2017). Placing historical and architectural accounts side-by-side, the general consensus seems to be that the surviving parts of 'Old Hull' could lead you to think you are 'somewhere that is not quite Yorkshire, but not quite anywhere else' – to borrow J.B Priestely's (1937: 353) description. However, while architectural literature on Hull tends to focus on the city's historical central *buildings*, historical accounts take us farther back still to show that the earliest *footprints* of urbanisation in Hull reflect a continental model (Gent [1765] 1869). As Thomas Gent, a printer of York, observed, when Hull was

[41] Courtesy of Roche Civil Engineering, X: @RocheCivil (2023).

walled under the reign of its founder Edward I, the fledgling town assumed the 'fortress' appearance of the French *Libourne* of Aquitaine – a commune that was also founded under Edward I (pp.150-6). The following images encapsulate this resemblance:

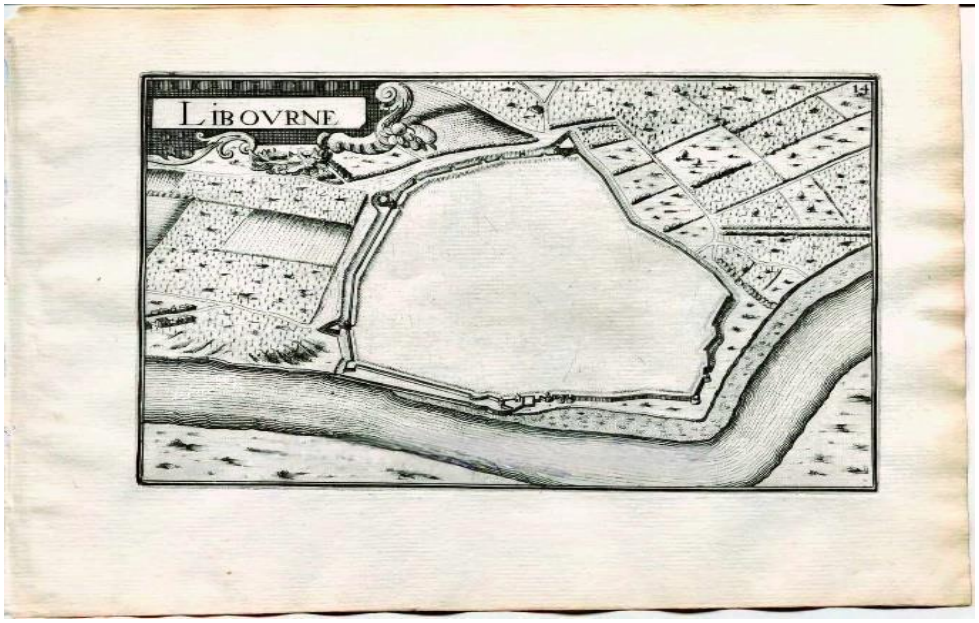

Fig.2.7., map of Libourne, Aquitaine France (1634).[42]

Fig.2.8., map of medieval Hull (1640).[35]

[42] Cartographer Nicolas Tassin, *Les Plans et Profiles de toutes les Principales Villes et Lieux Considerables de France*, Tassin (1634). Available at www.archive.org. [Accessed 11th July 2024].
[35] Cartographer Wenceslaus Hollar (1640). Available at HHC, ref UDDB/3/3/2.

Though in terms of the distinct, continental urban landscape that we can still see today, architectural studies of Hull particularly capture the widescale Dutch and Italianate influences on the surviving built form (Hall and Hall, 1978; Neave and Neave, 2010); some visual examples of which are as follows:

Fig.2.9., Dutch gables on King Edward Street (2019, own image).

Fig.2.10., Italianate St Charles building, Jarratt Street [c1829] (2021, own image).

Bringing the recurring themes of Hull's social and urban proximity to the continent together, Evans (2017) concludes that Hull was in fact 'the making of a mosaic' in the coming together of different nationalities, faiths, cultures and communities who lived and worked alongside one another to the common weal. This, Evans writes, instilled a lasting 'acceptance and absorption of Otherness' in the city that marks the egalitarian, free-thinking spirit of the place 'at the end of the line' (p. 146). But as wider literature and cultural texts tell us, Hull's 'acceptance' seemingly doesn't extend to London. As a Hull-born columnist who relocated to London writes:

> Nothing like a visit home to bring your ego thudding back down to earth is there? Especially when that home is the fiercely egalitarian, brutally hard to impress, stonily unmoved by anything connected to 'that London', don't bring your fancy London ways up here city of Hull.
>
> (*The Times*, 2011)

Hull's historic aversion to 'that London' which is a recurring theme in literature and cultural texts on Hull is not found to be with the place or peoples itself, but as the centre of the 'Establishment'. This seems conflictive given that Hull is historically bestowed with Royal Charters. However, further reading indicates that Hull's anti-establishment character is born of the distinct mosaic of 'Otherness', producing a free-thinking persona that has been emphasised at the various times that Hull has been an active centre of support for movements including socialism, suffragism, unionism, anti-fascism (Starkey *et al*., 2017: 10). In terms of the latter, Evans (2017: 147) reminds us that Hull's stronghold Jewish population has been settled in the mosaic since Napoleonic times and was never segregated as it was in other cities like London, Leeds, and Manchester (p. 147). Notably, Hull was also active in the anti-slavery campaign. Not least because Hull was the birthplace of the MP abolitionist William Wilberforce, who is still heralded as one of 'Hull's finest sons', but because Hull's black population had also been long settled in 'the mosaic'; in fact since Tudor times (*ibid*.). Accordingly, Hull's free-thinking conscious is found to be deeply ingrained, but also bears *lasting* significance in Hull as a local tour guide tells the visiting travel-writer Tom Chesshyre as part of his *Tour of unsung Britain* (2010):

> People from here have always been radical like Wilberforce. Because this this is a port, we've imported ideas from other countries. We're not in the middle of the establishment here, we stand apart. We don't take kindly to authoritarian demands …that's just the way we are round here.
>
> (p. 33).

Furthermore, authors encountering Hull have observed how the free-thinking spirit is inscribed on her distinct urban landscape. This is most frequently illustrated via the white [not red] telephone boxes; with 'stubborn' Hull being the only place in the UK to have its own telephone exchange [since 1902] (Atkinson, 2017: 10); a white telephone box can be seen in the image below:

Fig.2.11., Kingston Communications [KC] telephone box, Jameson Street (2019, own image).

Gazing farther back still, historians observe how the free-thinking spirit of Hull is forever inscribed on the site of Beverley Gate [of the old town walls], the ruins of which have been carefully preserved as can be seen in the images below. As Richard Gurnham (2016: 33) elaborates, it was at the Beverley Gate that Hull burghers deliberately sold off the church plate cheap to 'peasants' before the Crown could seize it on the dissolution of the monasteries. Then, in 1642, it was at Beverley Gate that Hull's burghers refused entry to Charles I; 'raising the drawbridge' in the King's face to prevent him from pillaging Hull's armoury or enforcing a royalist occupation of the town during the suspected coming of the civil war – for which, Hull is accordingly often blamed for starting (McDonagh, 2017, pp.61-87; Reckitt, 1952).

Fig.2.12., illustration of Beverley Gate [1643] (c19th).[43]

Fig.2.13., excavated and preserved site of Beverley Gate (2023, own image).

[43] *Illustration of Beverley Gate 1643*, HHC, ref UDDMM/30/6.

To return to Tom Chessyre's aforementioned travelogue however, Chesshyre says that the reason he includes Hull in his tour [of 'unsung' Britain] is because it is a place that the rest of the country chooses to ignore (2010: 11). This resonates with external media coverage of Hull's attainment of City of Culture status, for, as an article in the London-based *The Times* (2017) writes, the announcement [was] largely met with 'shock', 'mockery', or 'sheer confusion' with the city of Hull being 'a place known only for remoteness and decay'. The article went on to say that people had to take to the map to find out where Hull even was, and that internet searches merely emphasised Hull's routinely high ranking in *Crap Towns: the worst places to live in Britain* [a series that describes itself as 'The Domesday of Misery'[44]].

The poor external image of Hull has been attributed by local authors to the Industrial urbanisation of Hull during the nineteenth-century; for while this coincided with the exponential growth of the port, it changed the appearance of Hull into 'one gigantic slum' (Gillet and McMahon, 1980: 287). A local Captain's historical account of Hull concurs that the population surge that was tied to the growth of the port meant that Hull became a predominantly 'working-class' residential dimension (Monson-Fitzjohn, 1927: 61). In an account of *the horrors of Victorian Hull* however, Elizabeth Frostick (1990) points out that Hull was still home to middle-class merchants and a wealthier social elite connected to shipping but in Hull's limited land area the rapid building-up of Hull meant that 'working-class' homes were built on any spare footing; which was often 'cheek-and-jowl' with middle-class residents (pp.44-6). To a degree, this allows us to understand historian Gillet and McMahon's image of nineteenth-century Hull as 'one gigantic slum'; an image that echoes in wider scholarship. In maritime historian Stan Hugill's *Sailortown* (1968) for instance, Hugill explores the history and culture of sailortown quarters in nineteenth-century port centres across the globe. Hugill finds a great distinction with Hull in that there was never a 'separate' sailortown quarter as in most other port cities owing to the limited land area; thus, Hugill writes, nineteenth-century Hull was 'one big sailortown' (p. 38).

Aside from the sailortown dimension that Hugill observes, wider urban literature on the nineteenth-century reminds us that the rapid raising of an Industrial community

[44] The Idler quarterly, www.theidler.co.uk [Accessed 13th January 2024].

and the severe overcrowding that ensued was by no means unique to Hull as a port or Industrial urban centre in general during the period (Lee, 1998; Lawton and Lee, 2001). However, a delve into contemporaneous literature as Felix Driver did in *Moral Geographies* [1988] brings forth a stark realisation. This is that the rapid overbuilding and overcrowding of Hull was so severe that Hull suffered the highest death toll in the Kingdom during the Cholera endemic of 1853; a grave statistic recorded by a state physician in the immediate aftermath (Cooper, 1853). Furthermore, Victor Bailey's *This Rash Act* (1998) draws on archival material of local physicians and authorities of the period to find that the suicide rate in nineteenth-century Hull was disproportionally high for a town of its size, and further that it was linked at the time to the widescale environmental 'squalor' of Hull (pp.146-9). Providing elaboration on the so-described scene, Bernard Foster's *Living and Dying in Victorian Hull* (1988) illustrates at length how the close-built, impoverished, 'dark' urban environment of Hull forged 'a causal chain of poverty, drunkenness and vice' that became such a 'way of life' [or survival] amongst the masses that it was relatively impervious to control (pp.180-99).

While nineteenth-century accounts of Hull paint an extremely bleak picture however, Hull attained city status in 1897. And on this basis there is a slight shift in narratives. In historian Richard Gurnham's *Story of Hull* (2016) for instance, his chapter on the turn of the twentieth-century captures Hull as a 'vibrant, prosperous, self-confident place' (p. 13). With emphasis on the changing landscape, Gurnham illustrates how the coming of new civic buildings in the wake of city status (e.g., City Hall [1907], Guildhall [1914]) all at once stood stately in the city centre; emanating a new air of stature and hope about the place (pp.13-9). In contrast, the majority of literature encountering Hull in the early twentieth-century echoes the grave sentiment that the refreshed landscape of Hull was about to be hit by a chain of external events that would collapse her into a decline that, to this day, she never truly recovered from. Firstly, historian Arthur Credland (2014) laments that on the outbreak of the First World War, Hull was one of the first cities in Britain to experience the aerial bombing of citizens; and endured concerted air-raids throughout the War. To Credland, Hull was targeted because of her strategic importance as a port, her prominence on the coastline, and as a city 'attached' to Europe. Echoing this, war historian Susannah O'Neill (2015) indicates that this is where Hull's aversion to London really took hold. Because, O'Neill writes, at the same time the British government heralded Hull as the

most successful recruitment office in the country, the government relocated Hull's anti-aircraft guns to London and provided no aid; meaning that Hull was very much left to 'fight her own war' (p. 18). In the aftermath, 95% of Hull's housing stock was damaged or depleted according to a regional geographer (Wild, 1990: 253). Wild's study is focusing on the ways in which *Hull Corporation* optimistically built housing estate typologies on the outskirts of the city in the aftermath of the bombings, but this leads to his poignant reflection that the housing estates were completed on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War when Hull would be near-decimated once again.

It is well documented that Hull was one of the hardest-hit cities in Britain (along with Coventry and London) during the Second World War. Adding a darker element to Hull's ordeal however, cultural geographer David Atkinson (2017) recently uncovered a top secret 'dodgy dossier' [1941] which reveals after years of its embargo that the bombing of Hull was of a certain 'use' to the British government. Atkinson has found a team of government psychologists were deployed to Hull during the Second World War to obtain essays from children about their experiences beneath the bombs. The essays were thematically analysed for words including 'terror', 'fear', 'shaking', and 'screaming' as a means to indicate at what point the children would break. Thus, it was based on the words of children, Atkinson writes, who described the ordeal in a stoic, matter-of-fact way typical to Hull, that the psychologists reported the following conclusion to parliament:

> The people are resilient, collectively the city and its infrastructure is resilient. There's been no significant sign of the city about to break.[45]

On this finding, Atkinson draws the conclusion that Hull was used as a 'live' social and urban experiment; for the government to collect data on the point at which a city and community would crack and cry for surrender, and apply this to strategies of the allied bombing of cities of the opposition [e.g., Dresden (see Addison and Crang, 2006)]. Atkinson therefore summarises, using the following image of Hull,

[45] In Atkinson, 2017: 146.

that the psychologists' report did not accurately reflect the scene, and thus the Establishment once again left Hull to fight her own war:

Fig.2.14., Aftermath of air-raid: Mulgrave Street (1941).[46]

Decades prior to the unsealing of the 'dodgy dossier' however, it was already well-documented that the government had issued a cruel blow to Hull. In a painstaking account of the Hull blitz, Tony Geraghty (1989) begins with the sentiment that Hull recognised she was a critical national supplier in the period of war, and as such 'no ship of hers missed a tide' during the war years. At the same time, Geraghty writes, the government ordered a media blackout of the Hull blitz; enforcing that it was only to be reported as 'more bombings on a north-east coast town' to preserve national morale. And as a direct result of this, Geraghty laments, Hull was omitted from the government's initial post-War reconstruction budget (pp.3-36). The lasting impact of

[46] *Photograph: damage 1940-42*. HHC, ref C DILN/1/1.

this, as scholars of architecture have observed, is that the post-War re-building of Hull was ‘slow and piecemeal’ (Neave and Neave, 2010: 3) – to the extent that a bombed cinema still stands a ruin a the time of writing:

Fig.2.15., ‘National Picture Theatre’, Beverley Road (2017, own image).

However, literature and cultural texts on Hull also tell us that a certain light came back into the life of Hull in the aftermath of War. As local authors on the lifeblood fishing industry of Hull elaborate, the active years of war had enabled fish stocks to recover which resulted in a post-War economic boom for the local fishing industry and community (Gill, 2003; Byrne and Ombler, 2017). But as these authors also observe, this resulted in another cruel twist of fate for Hull. As Joanna Byrne and Alex Ombler elaborate in *Memory on the Waterfront*, amid the economic boom, Hull trawlers became embroiled in a series of violent skirmishes with Icelandic trawlers over fishing boundaries in the North Sea, which became known as ‘the Cod Wars’

[1958-76]. But Hull's call for political support was dismissed because, persuaded by the importance of Iceland's Keflavik military port to N.A.T.O, the British government agreed to 200-mile fishing restrictions on Icelandic waters – which collapsed Hull's lifeblood fishing industry overnight. To Byrne and Ombler, this plummeted Hull into the lasting socio-economic decline that she has become most known for to external audiences (pp.271-301). This observation is well evidenced by the routine use of Hull as a case study of 'a deprived city' in the health and social care academy (e.g., Wormald *et al*., 2006; Gatenby, 2010; Lambert, 2015). Furthermore, the idea that Hull is 'a place known only for remoteness and decay' as the aforementioned *Times* article (2017) suggests brings us full circle to Larkin's poetic sentiment that, through it all, Hull 'kept her face half-turned to Europe'.[47] Larkin speaks of the positive sense of 'a place apart', but as the Yorkshire ecologist Richard Morris (2018) argues, this has also been to Hull's own detriment:

> Being half turned towards something is also half looking away. Hull with its Hanseatic heart, oceanic outlook and optimistic interwar suburban planning, remains one of Britain's most singular cities. It has also become one of the most deprived.
>
> (p. 153).

But in succeeding Derry/Londonderry [2013] to become the second named UK City of Culture in 2017, Hull's win reflects the theme of *resilience* which was also attributed to Derry's win (Doak, 2014). Additionally, Hull's attainment of City of Culture Status has also been strongly attributed to her place and persona as 'a place apart' which was the dominant theme of Hull's bid (Starkey *et al*., 2017: 10). Notably, Hull's campaign material for City of Culture status threw negative external imaginings of Hull back into the nation's face by schooling external audiences on the 'golden rules of Hull':

1. Don't pretend you're something you're not. Don't go around thinking that you're better than anybody else…or that anybody else is better than you.

2. Rules are meant to be broken…because that's how things get done.[48]

[47] Note 20, lines 2-3.

[48] *We are Hull*; YouTube: Nova Studios (2013: 00:01:38) [Accessed 12th April 2022].

Having explored Hull's place and persona as 'a place apart', there is no better way to summarise this section of review than to borrow the words of Teesside novelist David Mark on being asked in an interview by a national newspaper *why* he would choose to base his McAvoy crime fiction series in the city of Hull:

> [Hull] is a city on its own…at the end of a railway line. It's had the stuffing knocked out of it by the Germans and seen its main industry given away by the politicians that were meant to serve it…It may look a little ragged around the edges – and there are certain estates where you could be forgiven for wondering why you never heard the air-raid – but my God it has character.
>
> (*The Guardian*, 2014).

*Fig.2.16., 'Welcome to Hull – City of Culture 2017' signage on a derelict department store adorned with the 'three ships' mosaic, King Edward Street (*2019, own image).[49]

I now go 247 miles, as the crow flies, across the North Sea to review literature and cultural texts on or encountering the city of Rotterdam.

[49] Locally known as 'three ships', the 66x64 foot '*Co-op Mosaic'* [by Alan Boyson, 1963] commemorates Hull's trawling heritage. In the Italian glass work is the Latin *res per industriam prosperae* ('prosperity through industry'), and 'HULL' in the meeting of the masts (see Johnson, 2021).

The place and persona of Rotterdam;

'Rotterdam is a city
where people have to
work & we don't like
strange practices here',
the Judge noted.

Jules Deelder, 1986.[50]

J

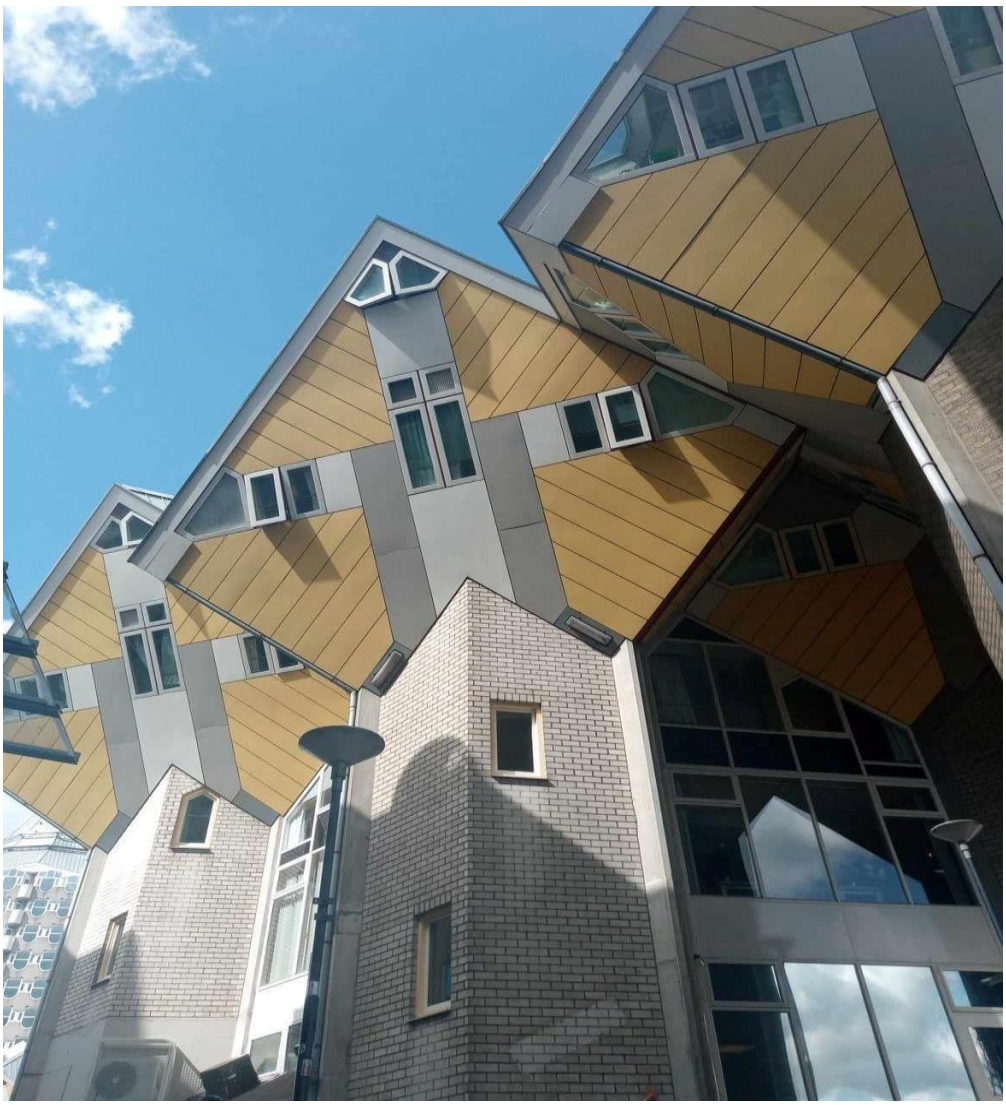

Fig.2.17., Kubuswoningen (Cube Houses);
[architect Piet Blom, 1984], (2023, own image).

[50] In *De Mensch Deelder* (van Oudheusen, 1986: 42).

Situated by the south-westerly coastline of Netherlands, Rotterdam sits just 19 miles [30km] inland of the North Sea via the Hook of Holland. Holding the largest and busiest world-transit port in Europe, Rotterdam is just 48 miles [70km] south of the capital Amsterdam and neighbours The Hague which is the seat of the Dutch government. Straddling the tidal Nieuwe Maas [New Maas], a major estuary arm of the Rhine delta, Rotterdam has been directly connected to the North Sea by the man-made shipping canal Nieuwe Waterweg [New Waterway] since its completion in 1872 during the Industrial port expansion works[51]:

Fig.2.18., location of Rotterdam on Netherlands map (2023).[52]

[51] *Britannica*. See www.britannica.com/place/Rotterdam. [Accessed 11th May 2022].
[52] *Netherlands*. Available at www.vecteezy.com/vector-art/Netherlands. [Accessed 12th August 2023].

Fig.2.19., location of Rotterdam out to North Sea (2008).[53]

Covering around 125 square miles [324 km^2], Rotterdam is the second largest city in Netherlands by area after Amsterdam. By a population of some 600,000 [2023], Rotterdam is one of the most densely populated Dutch cities. It is also one of the most 'superdiverse' cities in Europe with the population of Rotterdam representing over 180 different nationalities according to the most recent census.[54] Though the term 'superdiversity' is a relatively new concept of urban scholarship that refers to the multidimensional and dynamic diversification of society led by increasing levels of global migration (Vertovec, 2017), a collaboration of local historians and political scientists have well demonstrated that Rotterdam is *historically* known as a place of superdiversity given the city's global port presence for centuries (Scholten *et al*., 2020).

[53] In Wijbrans *et al*. (2008).
[54] World population review. See www.worldpopulationreview.com/cities/netherlands/Rotterdam. [Accessed 23rd June 2024].

In terms of areal size however, geographers remind us that Rotterdam's territory is formed of just 67% land; the remaining 33% being waterways that course the city at every turn which removes an entire third of the inhabitable ground.[55] To put the limited land area of Rotterdam into further perspective, Netherlands itself is one of the smallest countries in Europe by a surface area of around 16,000 square miles [41,000 km^2][56]. The geographical 'littleness' of Netherlands is a recurring theme in literature and cultural texts on Dutch ways of life, particularly when encountering the phenomenon that is the Dutch traffic jam. As Colin White and Laurie Boucke write in the introduction to their humorous account *The Undutchables* (2012), you can drive across the entire Netherlands top to bottom in just three hours…traffic permitting (p. 4). Echoing this in a beautifully ethnographic journey of his beloved Netherlands, the acclaimed Dutch journalist Henk Hoffman (2001) illustrates how you can circumnavigate the entire country in just twelve hours…if you use public transport and swerve the usual, honking melee of motorists (pp.50-6). But while such accounts paint a light-hearted view of the 'littleness' of Netherlands through the medium of condensed traffic, histo-geographical accounts associate the close geography of Netherlands with a sociological sense of remoteness that resonates with findings of Hull in the previous section. For instance, William Shetter (2002) write that 'through its life, the Netherlands has faced the sea, turned its back on its neighbours, and stood aloof' (p. 55).

In terms of this projected sense of remoteness, the Hilversom [north Netherlands] based sociologist and journalist Martijn de Rooi (2014) introduces Netherlands as 'the curious and amiable little country beside the North Sea' (p. 15). In his story-telling of the curious place through its peoples entitled *The Dutch, I presume?*, de Rooi muses that there are few places so appropriately named as 'Netherlands'; for the country is unusually low lying with over a quarter of its surface area below sea level. Accordingly, he writes, as the Dutch saying goes, the country is 'as flat as a pancake' in reference to the local culinary speciality. de Rooi adds to this on a more serious note however that the depths and altitude of Netherlands are ever-changing owing to rising sea levels, and sea levels are what instilled the inherent

[55] As note 57.
[56] *Surface of Netherlands* (2021). Seewww.waarstaatjeprovinvie.nl) [Accessed 8 December 2022].

Dutch mastery of land-and-water management so many centuries ago. Here, de Rooi offers another Dutch expression born of the mastery of land-and-waterscape: '*God created with world, but the Dutch created the Netherlands*' (p. 5*, emphasis in original*). That said, internal and external accounts of Netherlands through a lens of people and place consistently remind us that this 'curious, amiable little country' generally inspires two conflicting stereotypes. As the British travel-writer Adam Hopkins writes in the introduction to his sensory account *Holland* (1998):

> [There is] the old-fashioned version [of Holland] from picture books …an open landscape with black and white cattle, canals, a windmill in the background, possibly a milkmaid in bonnet and clogs…quaint and timeless. The other image is of Amsterdam, be it nightmare or dream, with near-naked prostitutes on view in windows, and heroin for sale on every corner…
>
> (p. 1).

In a more recent paper on the conflicting stereotypes associated with Netherlands, the Dutch media correspondent Titia Ketelaar (2001) maintains that if it is not the 'toy-town scene' where 'there is a windmill, and preferably some tulips' that people envisage when thinking of Netherlands, it will be the other – that of 'a sex crazed, drug-using, overly tolerant place with a liberal attitude to everything that is banned in other countries'. Ketelaar goes on to say that the Dutch are none too pleased with either stereotype, but at the same time, key stakeholders in the Dutch tourism economy still use one stereotype to antidote the other, thus propelling both myths (p. 26). Notably, this was evident during fieldwork in Amsterdam in 2022, where I picked up the following souvenir magnets from the same stand in the same shop:

Fig.2.20., Souvenir fridge magnet, traditional scene
(2022, own image).

Fig.2.21., Souvenir fridge magnet, Amsterdam 'red-light district'
(2022, own image).

In relation to the contrasting imaginings concerning Netherlands as depicted in the juxtaposed images above, Martijn de Rooi writes in his aforementioned texts on the inherent traits of the Dutch that neither of these stereotypes fit with Rotterdam per se. As de Rooi writes, the city of Rotterdam is neither 'toy-town' in its gritty, urban port edge, nor does it have a reputation as an adult playground in the sense of touristic 'red-light' cultures. That said, de Rooi points out that Netherlands manifests the two conflicting stereotypes through two of its major tourist allures in which Rotterdam is implicated. That is, Rotterdam's *Keukenhof* ('the world's largest tulip garden') which attracts a million visitors every springtime, and then Amsterdam's 'red-light district' [*De Wallen*] which attracts the same number of visitors every month (pp.108-15). In terms of the latter, de Rooi notes that Amsterdam's 'red-light district' is historically a major attraction because even those who do not wish to purchase sex or drugs just need to *see it with their own eyes*; a place where 'prostitution is a culture, and coffee shops display cannabis like sweets' (2014: 112, *emphasis in original*). Adam Hopkins (1998) agrees that the renowned district flourishes as a living gallery of nefarious

curiosities that exist in plain sight, despite the 'seedy' reputation of the district where up until the relatively recent 1970s you could – if you really wanted to that is – see a sex show of women copulating with animals (p. 179).

Accordingly, this resonates with Philip Hubbard's (2012) description of *De Wallen's* historic, *laissez-faire* allure as 'an adult playground' (or 'human zoo'), through which, as Hubbard reminds us, Amsterdam has long been a glaring object of scrutiny in sex work research (p. 195). Moreover, it is Amsterdam – not Rotterdam – that literature and cultural texts on Netherlands tend to pay more attention to; that is, as the capital city and as the historic centre of the Netherland's social and cultural elite (Buursink, 1997). As the Rotterdam-based cultural geographer Jan Buursink observes, it is for such reasons that Rotterdam is 'an unknown city' to the social sciences. In his paper on the cultural strategies of Rotterdam in the run-up to its year as European Capital of Culture [2001], Buursink acknowledges that one of the primary reasons Rotterdam is 'lesser known' is because the vast majority of local texts on the city are published in Dutch. To Buursink, this is understandable in locational contexts but also suggests that there is an embedded assumption that there is no great interest in Rotterdam as there is with Amsterdam. Having experienced a difficulty to find texts on Rotterdam in English to review myself, this allows us to understand Buursink's lament that local texts that do make it into print in other languages predominantly focus on one (or a mixture) of three themes: 'the port', 'the bombing' [1940], and 'the strange buildings' that came in the rebuilding and ongoing development of the city since (pp.67-9). In such case however, a reading of literature and cultural texts encountering these key themes is significant because collectively it builds a sociological sense, via the city's triumphs and ordeals, of the place and persona of Rotterdam as follows.

In terms of the port, it is understandable that this is what Rotterdam is most known for by external audiences. Not least because it is the largest and busiest seaport in Europe, and the largest outside of Asia. For a time, Rotterdam was the largest and busiest port in the world and was only overtaken relatively recently in the rankings by the port of Singapore in 2004 and the port of Shanghai since.[57] In any case, the port of Rotterdam is a major international hub which reflects in the landscape of the urban

[57] *Port of Rotterdam* (2024). See www.portofrotterdam/portauthority.com/en. [Accessed 1st June 2024].

and social character of Rotterdam as ‘a world city’ (van de Laar, 2004, 2007). Amidst the dominant perspective that the port is the ‘heartbeat’ of Rotterdam (*ibid*.), it is also noticeable that in local literature on the port (both in the historical and contemporary gaze), a deep sense of local pride for the city’s port function emanates from every page. Even beneath the tables upon tables of statistics relating to Rotterdam’s port development and chronological tonnage growth, there is an unwritten sense of ‘look what we did!’ - or as the Rotterdam Port Authority [2024] beams from the top of its website, “this port takes you ahead!”[58] What also shines from the tables of statistics and the chronological surveys of the port’s exponential growth over the years is the sociological sense of Rotterdam’s industrious character. There is no better way to capture this than in the city’s motto *deeds not words*, which is symbolised in the city’s central statue of ‘the dike builders’ below:

Fig.2.22., statue of ‘the dike builders’, the city’s symbol of ‘deeds not words’. Maashaven quay, Rotterdam (2023).[59]

[58] As note 63.

[59] Courtesy of Bart Bos. See https://www.dehavenloods.nl/nieuws/algemeen/46364/symbool-voor-geen-woorden-maar-daden. [Accessed 18th December 2023].

Further encapsulating Rotterdam's locally-constituted character of *deeds not words*, Jan Schraver's *Gateway to Europe* (1948) provides an exhaustive account of the life and times of the port of Rotterdam from the thirteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Schraver, a retired ship's captain of Rotterdam at the time of his writing, begins his account with Rotterdam's humble beginnings; transporting us back to a small fishing hamlet set down on a dam by the river Rotte [*Rotte* carrying the meaning of 'dirty', 'muddy' water[60]]. Schraver tells us that as the small, close-knit settlement grew alongside the prowess of the provincial fishing economy, the little hamlet became the little town of *Rotte-dam* (pp.12-6).

Schraver goes on to write with immense pride that after only a few decades had gone by in the little town, Rotte-dam took her place in the ranks of Dutch cities in the year 1340; with city and judicial rights granted by William IV, Count of Holland. Then, just two days after attaining city status, 'those plucky fishermen of the Rotte' dug a canal that connected Rotterdam to the busy River Schie. This gave the city direct waterway communication with the important cloth towns of Delft and Leiden, and with the ambitious 'Rotte folk' exercising their judicial rights from the outset to establish a customs-free dock, Rotterdam quickly became the desired port of entry for the English wool staple. Schraver notes that the English wool staple had long been established at the neighbouring port of Dordrecht. Thus, he writes, it took less than a decade for Rotterdam to 'outsmart' and 'outrival' Dordrecht, and also led to many English merchants settling in Rotterdam by which the city became known, for a time, as 'Little London' (pp.19-28).

Notwithstanding his immense pride for the port and city of Rotterdam that reflects throughout the text, Schraver does unpack the ways in which the early prosperity of Rotterdam stalled massively at various times. For instance, it stalled towards the end of the fourteenth century owing to the Wars of Britain's Charles V, and it was not until the sixteenth century that Rotterdam experienced a trade revival. But what Schraver is telling us is that Rotterdam pre-empted the trade revival and saw it as an additional opportunity for urban growth. In becoming something of a

[60] Schraver's translation (1948: 12).

‘shrewd middle-woman’ Schraver writes, Rotterdam imported *articles-de-luxe* from France and exported them to England, to then carry coal from England to France on the return leg. Because prior to the trade revival, Rotterdammers had had the foresight to fortify the city and engineer closed river arms into docks to facilitate heavier-duty shipping. This also saw Rotterdam become one of the nation’s five Admiralty Ports for the fleet of the United Provinces which further attracted wealthy settlers from the nearby provinces who resurrected Rotterdam’s urban façade of merchant grandeur. Schraver elaborates that when Rotterdam’s prosperity stalled again during the Napoleonic Wars which resulted in her ‘unimportance as a staple market’, Rotterdam once again turned this into an opportunity by building a system of bonded warehousing that bears the early signature of her port-urban identity as ‘the Gateway to Europe’ (pp.26-44, 186-7).

While Schraver continues to take us down numerous long and winding streams of Rotterdam’s shipping history, it takes time to recognise that his account which is held to the section of ‘maritime history’ contains a major sociological observation of the place and persona of Rotterdam. It is an observation worth waiting for, from someone who sailed Rotterdam’s waters and lived on her land. For as Schraver summarises, Rotterdam’s port and urban growth from her humble beginnings not only encapsulates the grit of a place of geographically-determined port destiny, but also encapsulates the shaping of Rotterdam’s hardworking persona as a city that ‘rolls her sleeves up’ and ‘gets things done’ (pp.126-33). Schraver’s writing is so eloquent that beyond the statistics he provides that may read as incredibly boring to those with little interest in maritime history, we can picture the ‘plucky Rotte folk’ developing the city of stature in short sharp phases – often through adversity - on the turn of every page. To provide a visual snapshot of this however, the following images show the urban transition of the small hamlet set down on a dam by the Rotte into the fine city of Rotterdam with its flag-adorned spires:

Fig.2.23., Fishing hamlet of the dam by the Rotte (c1200-20).[61]

Fig.2.24., City of Rotterdam engraving (1500).[62]

[61] *Land of Rotte-dam 1200-1220*. SMA, ref 4001.

[62] *Rotterdam prints and drawings 1200-1500*. SMA, ref 4080.

Schraver's observations of the shaping of Rotterdam's *deeds not words* character through the early making of the port and city anticipates the more recently adopted local mantra that relates to contemporary urban development in Rotterdam; which is *Rotterdam. Make it happen*:

Fig.2.25., construction board in front of the extension to the Boijmans Museum (2016).[63]

This local mantra is also anticipated by the self-confident rise of Rotterdam through the nineteenth-century period of Industrialisation. This is often the 'beginning' of the story of the port of Rotterdam in contemporary literature (e.g., Steenhuis *et al*., 2015). Because while Schraver identified Rotterdam's *deeds not words* persona in the early shaping of the port and city, key stakeholders in the nineteenth-century expansion of the port find it in the Industrialisation of Rotterdam. For instance, Gerrit Johannes de Jongh (1893), the Director of Rotterdam's Public Works during the nineteenth-century expansion works [who is still widely commemorated in the city as 'the Harbour man'], chronicles in the first-hand gaze how Rotterdam was transitioning at the time from staple port to world-transit port, which, he writes, mirrors in the wider evolution of the city into world city of stature (pp.18-49). de Jongh heralds that the local mastery of

[63] Courtesy of Peter Nientied; in Nientied (2016).

land-and-water engineering has pushed Rotterdam geographically closer to the North Sea frontier through the expansion of channels, the shortening of breakwaters, and the successful carving of the Nieuwe Waterweg [1872]. Rotterdam achieved this with sheer grit and determination, de Jongh writes, 'and it is little wonder that she is now 'a city of stature' (p. 49).

Accordingly, it is well documented that in Rotterdam's geographical and economic prominence on the global frontier, the turbulent undercurrent of the First World War generated local anxiety as to the city being a potential target of aerial-bombing. As Maartje Abbenhuis elaborates in *The Art of Staying Neutral* (2006) however, under the Netherland's neutrality Rotterdam (and other Dutch cities) were not disfigured by the urban scars of War (pp.24-8). That said, in a social history account of the Dutch neutrality during the 1914-18, Paul Moeyes' *Out of Harm's Way* (2001) tells us that Rotterdam, as the nation's international shipping hub, did not escape the severe economic strains of the war (pp.28-9). Thus, as Moeyes elaborates, the economic downturn on a local level prompted Rotterdam's engagement with the wave of inter-war suburban planning that flourished across Britain and Europe in the utopian ideals of the Garden City movement (p. 86). The website *Architour* [2023] guides us to the 1920s development of factory villages in Rotterdam such as *Heijplaat*, *Justus van Effen,* and *Kiefhoek* which, it is said, are now considered modern efficacies of the 'garden village' urban typology of the interwar period.[64] But otherwise, I have not (at the time of writing) found any scholarship that focuses on interwar urban development in Rotterdam. In contrast, a *Google Scholar* search of 'the re-building of Rotterdam after the Second World War' returns some 30,000 results.[65] That said, it is understandable that the post-War rebuilding of Rotterdam [1940s-] is a dominant feature of literature on the city, and one of the main themes that Jan Buursink (1997) identified in texts on Rotterdam that make it into print outside of the Dutch language. For the bombing of Rotterdam in 1940 collapsed the city into a wasteland, as the following image says in ways that words can't:

[64] *Rotterdam architecture of the 1920s-30s*. See https://www.architour.nl/architecture-of-the-1920s. [Accessed 12th August 2023].
[65] Search date 12th August 2023.

Fig.2.26., Rotterdam [aftermath] (1942).[66]

Military historians have well documented that Germany proposed the bombing of Rotterdam as a threat to the Dutch people and powers: surrender or Rotterdam burns, and Utrecht will be next in sequence (see Hastings, 1999; Laurens, 2005; Hooton, 2007; see also Grayling, 2006 for a philosophical account). But only few, such as the military historian and defence journalist Edward Hooton (2007) make reference to the fateful incidence that the actual bombing of Rotterdam happened by mistake. As Hooton elaborates, at 10.30 am on the 14th May 1940, Germany's General Rudolf Schmidt issued the ultimatum for Rotterdam's surrender within two hours to the Dutch commander Colonel Pieter Scharroo. The Mayor of Rotterdam, Pieter Oud, knew Rotterdam could not be safely evacuated in the immediate two-hour window and therefore pleaded with Scharroo to sign Rotterdam's surrender.

[66] Courtesy of Museum Rotterdam 1940-45 NU, in person (October, 2022).

However, Scharroo was not happy that the ultimatum document had not been duly signed by the German General and returned it for an official signature. Meanwhile the Luftwaffe had already taken flight. As Hooton recounts, two groups of Heinkel bombers were approaching the Rotterdam sky, 36 from the south and 54 from the north-east, under the order that as soon as they saw red flares (indicating Dutch surrender) they were to turn back. With the ultimatum having been sent back for a signature and Rotterdam's surrender still at stand-by status, the bombers saw no red flares and proceeded to bomb Rotterdam to the ground in one catastrophic hit from all angles. Hooton states that it took less than an hour for Rotterdam to burn to the ground, at which point the German General himself exclaimed, "My God! This is a catastrophe!" (pp.52-9).

The shocking event that the decimation of Rotterdam occurred by clerical error is also a source of contention in the accounts of local authors with lived experience of the bombing. As Wilhelmina Steenbeek (1973) writes in her poignant account, the bombing of the city in one fatal hit was also a violent assault on the senses all at once: 'the smell of buildings and bodies aflame', 'the eerie sound of contorting iron', 'the feeling of intense heat as the skies rained charred pieces of paper', and 'the sight of a small dead boy hanging upside down from the rafters in the shell of his home that he had not managed to flee in time'. Steenbeek writes that this is the violence that Rotterdammers like herself will never be able to fully process, particularly when rumour had already started to spread that the bombing occurred through a mis-communication. Though as Steenbeek adds, because of the sheer violence, exacerbated by the idea that it wasn't supposed to actually happen, there is no greater testament to the resilient character of Rotterdam than the tenacity with which Rotterdammers with grief on their back began salvaging from the ruins: people, possessions, and materials that could be salvaged for intermediate shelter (p. 6, 18, 23-9).

In respect of surviving and injured Rotterdammers working on the ruins of their still smouldering city, there is a small out-of-print book that I only found by chance on a book stall by Sint Laurenskerk [St Lawrence Church] during fieldwork in 2021. As a side note, St Laurenskerk is visible in the aftermath of the bombing; as one of the few buildings that was damaged but not depleted (*fig.2.26*). I bought the book

purely because the cover intrigued me; having no title, no author, just a picture of two young boys enthusiastically reading something on the City Hall steps, with the words ‘if you have a moment to spare, pick up this book and read it’:

Fig.2.27., Front cover of ‘The Story of Rotterdam’ by Hans Reinhardt [1955] (2021, own image).

Having taken the book to the City Hall steps to do just that, take a moment and read it, I found that the unassuming book is *The Story of Rotterdam: The city of today and tomorrow* by the local author Hans Reinhardt (1955). Like Wilhemina Steenbeek’s aforementioned text, Reinhardt’s lived experience of the bombing plays out in the raw emotion of the book. Writing just fifteen years on from the

bombardment, Reinhardt's description of the 'sudden, nuclear-esque collapse' of the city over the lunch hour of Tuesday 14th May 1940 takes us directly into the 'acrid, smoking hell', but then shifts to proud reflections on how Rotterdammers almost immediately set about recovering the city's broken body from the ashes:

> those who were there will never quite forget when Rotterdam lit up the skies through the vast clouds of smoke and dust that kept drifting over the city and its surroundings, carrying the ashes of office files and picture books to unknown destinations…But their grief was too profound to be relieved by tears or curses…their love for their city was too great for them to leave it to its fate…they overcame their grief and rolled up their sleeves….It was, indeed, a most touching experience to watch those people working like ants on the ruins of their city.
>
> (p. 7).

Notably, Reinhardt's emotive text was published by the Municipality of Rotterdam's Public Work's Office, whom by this time were readily engaged in the reconstruction of the city. The concluding message of the book is for those still bearing the social and urban scars of aerial-bombing across Britain and Europe to look to Rotterdam and find comfort in the notion that 'her salvation from that place of horror bears witness to the indomitability of human spirit'. For this, Reinhardt summarises, is '*the* story of Rotterdam – *resilience*' (p. 43, *emphases in original*). Notably, when Rotterdammers celebrate liberation day [5th May], the city comes alive with parties, parades, and festivals of remembrance. From my own recollections of observing the liberation celebrations during fieldwork [2022], it is an incredibly happy day of remembrance and gratitude. After the sombre wreath laying at City Hall in the morning, all of a sudden music, dancing, and partying erupts and continues long into the night. As I watched the crowds disperse from City Hall, who seemed to be heading towards the booming sound systems that could suddenly be heard (when the prayers were over) from the liberation festival of peace in Het Park [The Park]. I did think to myself that I had never experienced a remembrance day associated with war that had been so…lively and joyous. But then I looked down at the laid wreaths and understood why. Each wreath bore the wording of the city's Coat of

Arms: *Sterker door Strijd* ['Stronger through Struggle'[67]]. The resilient persona of Rotterdam is also immortalised in Ossip Zandkine's sculpture The *Destroyed City* [1951] which is centrally located by the Maritime Museum. As shown in the image below, the sculpture depicts a defiant figure reaching up even though it has a hole in its chest, which is symbolic of the city reaching up even though it had its heart ripped out during the bombardment[68]:

Fig.2.28., The Destroyed City Sculpture [1951] by Ossip Zadkine, (2022, own image).

[67] White and Boucke's translation (2012: 46).
[68] *The Destroyed City*. See www.sculptureinternationalrotterdam.nl/en/collection/the-destroyed-city. [Accessed 2nd February 2022].

The produced sense of Rotterdam's hardworking, resilient, *deeds not words* place and persona found in literature so far also bears lasting resonance in scholarship. Writing forty-four years on from Reinhardt's unassuming account of the bombing and aftermath for instance, the eminent scholar of urban studies John McCarthy (1999) observes that the resilient character of Rotterdam (and Rotterdammers) is written on the landscape reconstructed. In his paper on the urban reconstruction of Rotterdam since 1945 for the *Planning Perspectives* journal, McCarthy's focus on Rotterdam is because, he writes, the bombing left Rotterdam in the relatively unique position of *carte blanche* urban planning and reconstruction. Observing this as a relatively unique *opportunity* that Rotterdam well materialised, McCarthy finds that the city's exponential 'rise from the ashes' is both sensory (in the idea of a city reborn at street level), and literal in view of the high skyline of Rotterdam that now eclipses where the groups of bombers took aim (pp.291-309):

Fig.2.29., postcard of the Rotterdam skyline, from Wilhelmina Pier (2023, purchased at Centraal Station, in person).

This allows us to understand the third theme that Jan Buursink (1997) identifies in texts on Rotterdam that do reach external audiences: 'the strange buildings'. As architecture and urban planning scholar Antonio Nevescanin (2023) writes in an article for *Builder*, Rotterdam has been transformed into something of a petri-dish

of experimental architecture that co-exists in the creation of a cultural, *avant-garde* metropolis with a gritty port edge (pp.70-4). As a *BBC* (2017) travel article further observes, Rotterdam is 'a Disneyland for architecture geeks' – which is no better captured than in the co-existence of curious little buildings like the cluster of tilted cube houses [as pictured in the opening image to this section (*fig.2.17*)] and the shining, towering structures that punch the sky:

Fig.2.30., Weena, Rotterdam (2022, own image).

Resonating with Jan Buursink's (1997) observation that Rotterdam has become a hot-topic in architectural scholarship, the most promoted books in bookshops all over the city [as observed during fieldwork undertaken between 2021-3] were the beautifully aesthetic, oversized, hardback, pictorial volumes on Rotterdam's living urban gallery such as *Rotterdam: Architecture City* (Groenendijk and Vollard, 2021), *Rotterdam: Skyscraper City* (Tilman, 2023), and *Rotterdam: Manhattan on the Maas* (Tillie *et al*., 2016):

Fig.2.31., postcard of aerial view of Rotterdam (2023, purchased at Centraal Station, in person).

As the postcard above attests, the aerial view of Rotterdam today is breath-taking. Yet, some of the architecture is a source of amusement to local residents which produces a sense of the no-nonsense edge to Rotterdam's persona. For example, local residents have nicknamed the domed Market Hall 'the Sistine chapel', a tall, pointed residential tower is nicknamed 'the pencil', and a teetering pile of office buildings is nicknamed 'Frankenstein's muddle'[69] as the following images explain:

[69] From fieldnotes; nicknames given during a walking conversation with Mieke [2022].

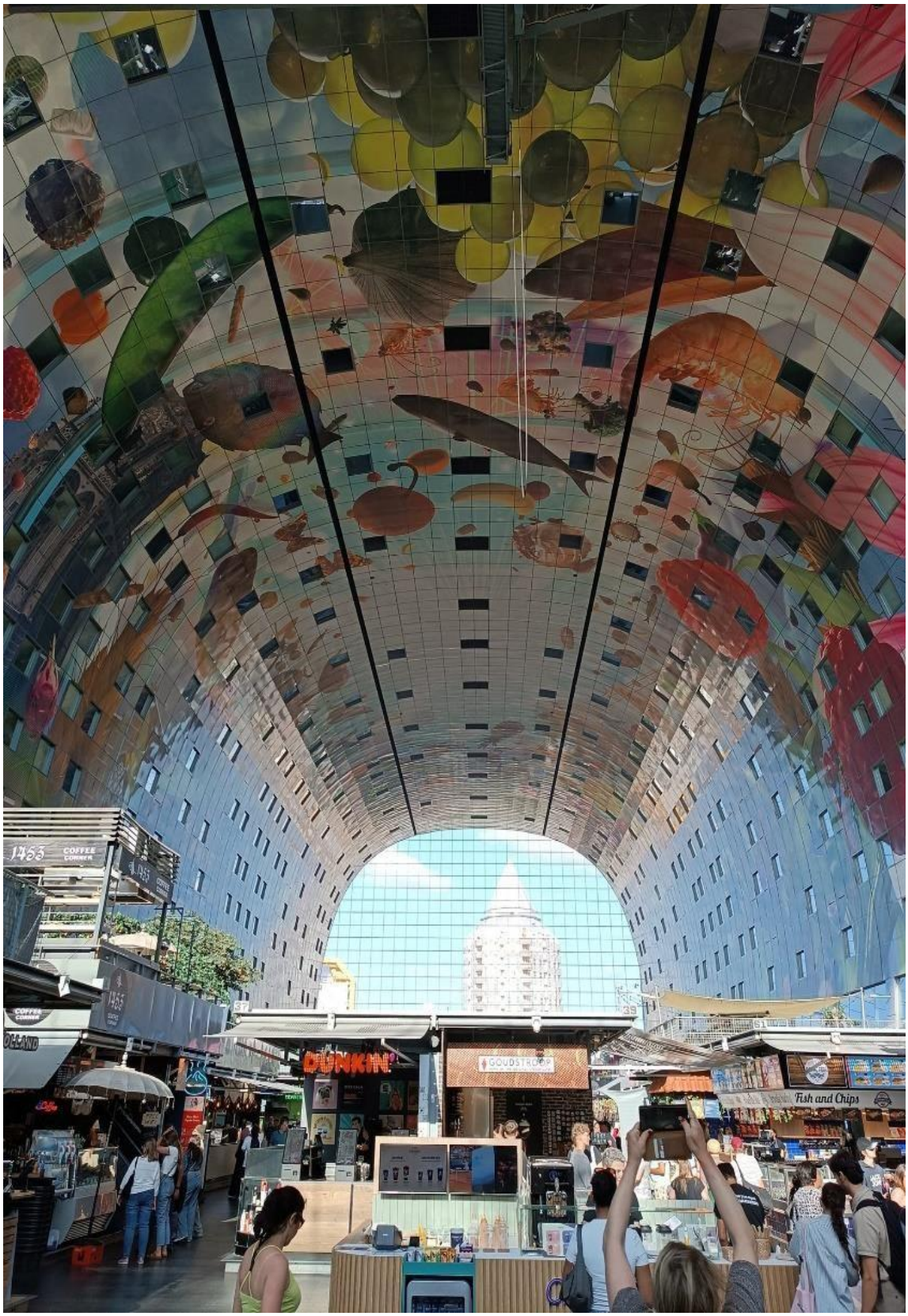

Fig.2.32., Markthal [Market Hall] aka 'The Sistine Chapel of Rotterdam' [architect MDRDV, 2014] with 'the pencil' in the background (2023, own image).

Fig.2.33., De Blaaktoren residential building aka 'the pencil'
[architect Piet Blom, 1984], next to Cube Houses (2022, own image).

Fig.2.34., De Rotterdam office building aka 'Frankenstein's muddle'
[architect Rem Koolhaas, 2013] (2022, own image).

Aside from the local, no-nonsense humour that is attached to many of Rotterdam's buildings, a wave of urban scholarship has examined how the processes of urban development in Rotterdam in more recent years has been a source of resentment and contention to many citizens (Blokland and van Eijk, 2011; Doucet *et a*l., 2011; Stouten, 2017; Custers and Willems, 2024; Janssen *et al*., 2024). As this body of scholarship observes, contemporary efficacies of urban development in Rotterdam have been likened to a rolling-out of state-led gentrification, through which many of Rotterdam's 'lower income' citizens feel that Rotterdam is losing its humble, 'blue-collar' edge and that waves of gentrification are pricing-out many residents from the neighbourhoods in which they have lived for a long time. In an article on the state-led processes of gentrification applied to Rotterdam in the *Population, Space and Place* journal, Janssen *et al*. (2024) find that the Municipality's desire to attract in-movers from middle to high income brackets reflect in the certain processes of urban change that strongly evidence exclusionary displacement.

Despite the understandable finding that not all Rotterdammers are on the same page when it comes to the Municipality's socio-urban assemblage of 'Manhattan on the Maas', we can understand Jan Buursink's (1997) finding that Rotterdam's architecture is one of the most dominant themes of literature on the city that reaches external audiences. For whether processes of urban development in Rotterdam since the 1940s have been heralded or contested at local level, it all comes back to the sense that Rotterdam became a blank canvas in the wake of the bombing. In turn, it is said that the bombing of Rotterdam (as the first Dutch city in the firing line) comes back to her strategic importance as a world port. Thus the three themes that Buursink identified as the most dominant in literature that reaches external audiences – the port, the bombing, the buildings – are also found to interconnect in the shaping of Rotterdam's resilient persona.

In sum, the three themes that Buursink (1997) identified as the 'trademarks' of who Rotterdam *is* are understandable in the sense that the port, the bombing, and the buildings would arguably be what Rotterdam is most known for. That is, as a historic place of port function, a place that was razed to the ground in the space of an hour one Tuesday lunchtime, and a place that has rebuilt itself into what I can

only personally describe as a floating art gallery of beautiful yet often bizarre architecture; bonded by aesthetic bridges that contour the abundant blue waters and green spaces. An urban Utopia…but one that excludes many for whom the price-tag is out of reach, whom may feel 'looked down on' by the tall buildings in a very visceral sense of the term. Yet, while Buursink laments that Rotterdam (as 'the second class city' to Amsterdam) is lesser known to the social sciences, a reading of literature (of that which can be found) on the port, the bombing, and the buildings does allow us to recognise salient sociological observations on the stoic, resilient, defiantly *deeds not words* place and persona of Rotterdam. A place and persona that, if you look deep enough, still retains her hardworking, 'sleeves up', 'blue collar' character through which she evolved from a small fishing hamlet on a muddle little dam to, as Adam Hopkins (1998: 46) writes, 'a port whose tanks and gantries and bright white lights gleam in the dusk like a sinister Cape Canaveral':

Fig.2.35., postcard depicting hydrocracker refinery at the port of Rotterdam (purchased Centraal Station, 2023, in person).

Summary of chapter

In summary of this chapter of literature review, I have reviewed literature and cultural texts on three key areas of produced knowledge that are pertinent to this study. I have reviewed literature on the conceptual career of moral geography (meeting with the sample period of the study), and on the place and persona of Hull and Rotterdam respectively as the cities of case study. The knowledge gathered through the literature review will be intertwined and carried into the wider study. In terms of moral geography, I will reflect back on its conceptual career to identify how external trends in 'moral mapping' apply to findings in the analytic time-chapters, and to also recognise how moral geographies constructed in Hull and Rotterdam at certain times reflect locally-constituted social and moral values in relation to 'red-light' space. Additionally, the findings of Hull and Rotterdam's place and persona will tie into the identification of how moral geographies are suggested and constructed in *place*. In extension, the produced knowledge on the cities found in the literature review will furnish backdrops of the contemporaneous scene in the city at the beginning of each analytic chapter for locational context. Before coming to the empirical time-chapters of analysis, I will now move into the next chapter which provides a comprehensive overview of the methodological orientation of this study.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography
and the relations between the two within society.
That is its task and its promise.

C. Wright Mills, 1959.[70]

This chapter covers a comprehensive overview of the qualitative methodology of this study. As outlined in chapter one, this study engages the qualitative mixed methods of archival, visual, and walking research in a sensory, artful approach. In this chapter, I first outline the sensory and artful approach and apply this to a brief discussion on the nature of qualitative research practice in general. I then unpack the value of archival, visual, and walking research methods respectively to social research, and also address the foreseen strengths (and limitations) to this study. In the sub-sections outlining each method, I cover my data collection strategies and the techniques of analysis I will be using. Where applicable (e.g., walking conversations), the participants in the study are introduced. In terms of my wider engagement with Hull and Rotterdam as participants (or the urban protagonists) in this study, I provide a vignette of the methods working together in 'motion' based on extracts from my fieldnotes. This leads into a summary of the chapter on the ways in which the sensate, artful methodological orientation of this study meets the aims and objectives of finding and articulating the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in the urban biographies of Hull and Rotterdam, 1880s-2020s. At the end of the chapter, I provide a fully referenced timeline of the [primary] 'red-light' space that I engage with in each analytic time-chapter based on my preliminary archival research. This is presented as a coda to this chapter to foreground the empirical time-chapters of analysis that follow on.

[70] *The Sociological Imagination* (1959: 6).

The sensate and artful approach

In this study I approach the qualitative methodology in a sensate and artful way. This is through my engagement with two thought-spaces that not only encapsulate the intuitive power of sociology, but which also encapsulate the empirical nature of this urban study through a lens of 'red-light' space in the historical to contemporary gaze. In terms of the sensate approach, I engage with sociologist C. Wright Mills' (1959) idea of *the sociological imagination*. Mills conceptualised the sociological imagination as the way of finding and articulating on a deeper level the relationship between individuals, their lived environment, and the wider social and historical forces in which their lives are enmeshed. In the post-War timing of Mills' academic career, he feared that sociology could fall into the traps of normative thinking due to the power of normative culture being disrupted by, or emerging from, the period of War. And in such case, that sociology would cease to be the critic of the social world as was the discipline's objective. Thus, to Mills, the sociological imagination enables the possessor to see and hear 'the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner lives and external career of a variety of individuals' (p. 5).

But in being seen by many critics as Mills' parting shot to the discipline he then left behind, sociologist Donald McQuarie (1989) re-emphasised the empirical promise of 'the sociological imagination' in a reclaiming of Mills' vision some thirty years on. Against critics of Mills who felt that his vision constituted an attack on normative thinking, McQuarie maintained that 'the sociological imagination' was not an attack but a clear advocation for sensate research styles to preserve the intuitive integrity of sociology (pp.291-6). Thus, as a mortar of lucidity and truth in its promise to see, hear, and speak of the relationship between people and place/space, I apply Mills' vision to the sensory methodology of this study that takes into account the wider social and historical forces implicated in the spatial significance and shifting geographies of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam, 1880s-2020s.

In terms of my artful approach to the methodology and wider study, I also engage with humanist Robert Nisbet's (1976) idea of *sociology as an art form.* In seeing art and sociology as a visionary dualism of the humanist imagination, Nisbet drew

on the historic mutual interests of art and sociology in his call to keep this visionary dualism alive. On the mutual interests of artists and sociologists in the burgeoning nineteenth-century city for instance, Nisbet elucidates that founding sociologists like Durkheim, Simmel, Tönnies, Marx, and Weber produced 'portraits' (e.g., of the classes) and 'landscapes' (e.g., of the masses) in 'the city' with the same brush as those who painted them. Accordingly, I am following Nisbet's idea of sociology as an art form in my particular use of archival, visual, and walking material (including my own photography) through which I re-enact a meaningful picture of place and space over the course of the 1880s-2020s sample period. The use of my own photography incorporates my engagement with cultural texts associated with place/space (e.g., street art, street furniture, maps) as signs and symbolism in visual form, which is a means to nourish the sociological dialogue on the spatial contexts of sex work in Hull and Rotterdam. I take this artful approach because, as Nisbet expressed, "sociology is, without question, one of the sciences, but it is also one of the arts – nourished" (p. 9).

To bring the thought-spaces of *the sociological imagination* and *sociology as an art form* together, the sensate and artful approach to reading and understanding cities has also been strongly advocated by the influential cultural sociologists Les Back and Michael Keith. In their seminal chapter *Writing Cities* (2014), Back and Keith observe that sensory, artful approaches to urban research acknowledges that the researcher is re-enacting the city in the very moment that they are writing about it. Thus, such approaches are critical to the contribution of meaning for as Back and Keith advocate:

> The description we write of a cityscape will not hold still. The jars of food stacked on the shopkeepers' shelves or the crates of fish photographed on the weekend market day will not be there the next time it springs to life for midweek trade. These accounts are epitaphs to a life passed in living rather than eternal truths.
>
> (p. 25).

The sensory, artful approach to urban research of lives passed in living is also the key argument of Les Back's earlier work *The Art of Listening* (2007); an influential volume that forms Back's humane and evocative stance on the power of sociology as a listening art. As Back strongly advocates, "social investigations that utilise a democracy of the senses are likely to notice more and ask different questions of the world" (p. 8). Therefore, in summary, I am following the advocations outlined thus far to utilise a sensory and artful approach to the methodological orientation of this study. This is to arrive at a meaningful spatial analysis, but also engages with the nature of qualitative research practice in itself.

Qualitative research practice

Qualitative research is 'a very broad church' – and an ever-changing and ever advancing one (Ormaston *et al*., 2014, pp.2-3). For the general consensus on the qualitative plain is that there is no single or best-accepted way of carrying out qualitative research (*ibid*., Kalof *et al*., 2008; Denzin and Lincoln, 2012; Braun and Clarke, 2013; Mills and Birks, 2014; Aspers and Corte, 2019; Denzin *et al*., 2023). As Aspers and Corte elaborate, this is largely because qualitative research tends to focus on the meanings and motivations that underlie human experience, social processes, and wide-ranging phenomena as opposed to bluntly quantifying them (p. 146). And so in short, qualitative research practice centres on the production of deeper readings and understandings of the social world (Kalof *et al*., 2018: 79).

But owing to the explorative diversity of qualitative research practice, it has often been considered 'soft research' by the 'hard sciences' - and is therefore open to criticism as 'a form of social journalism', 'a disguised version of secular Marxism or humanism', or 'a producer of subjective critique – not theory' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2012: 3). To relate the given criticisms that Denzin and Lincoln have encountered to this study, it could be said that the spatial meanings of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam are articulated through what *I* have seen, heard or felt during the research process as the *sole* researcher. This could be seen as subjective and reflexive to positivist thinkers but as Denzin and Lincoln maintain, the subjectivity

and reflexivity of qualitative research is more symbolic of a natural, interpretive approach to exploring phenomena from within:

> [Qualitative research] is a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. Turning the world into a series of representations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings…qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.
>
> (p. 3).

Accordingly, the qualitative orientation of this study is the most effective means of finding and articulating the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in relation to the particular urban histories of Hull and Rotterdam, with the aim of producing an empirical analysis of something that, arguably, cannot be bluntly quantified. One on hand, my use of archival, visual and walking methods to engage with the city's memory, sights, and movement could be considered as 'storytelling'. But on the other, this works to the very principle of qualitative research: that there is no one truth, but many, many truths (Mills and Birks, 2014: 3). And in relation to this, the objective of qualitative research is to tell one story of the many that could be told about the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013, pp.21-2). Thus, to best summarise the rationale for carrying out qualitative research practice in this study, I borrow the words of W.H. Auden in *The Dyer's Hand*:

> In grasping the character of a society, as in judging the character of an individual, no documents, statistics, or "objective" measurements can ever compete with the single intuitive glance. Intuition may err, for though its sound judgement is only a question of good eyesight, it must be good, for the principles are subtle and numerous, and the omission of one principle leads to error; but documentation, which is useless unless it's complete, must err in a field where completeness is impossible.
>
> (1963: 313).

Having outlined the qualitative research focus of this study, an in-depth overview of the archival, visual, and walking methods that I am using now follows. Looking at each method respectively, I will discuss the value to social research in general and to this study specifically, before coming to a brief vignette of the methods working together in 'motion' based on extracts from my fieldnotes.

Archival research: the city's memory.

Fig.3.1., Stairwell, ground floor to search room Stadsarchief Municipal Archives, Rotterdam (2022, own image).

In its most classic sense, archival research involves the study and interpretation of historical documents, and for this reason 'the archives' have long been seen as the terrain of the historian (Redman, 2013). However, archival research is of immense value to the social sciences as Lewis-Beck *et al*., (2017) elaborate:

> For the social scientist, archival research can be defined as the locating, evaluating, and interpretation of sources found in archives. Original source materials may be consulted and analysed for purposes other than those for which they were originally collected - to ask new questions of old data, to provide a comparison over time or between geographic areas, to verify or challenge existing findings, or to draw together evidence from disparate sources to provide a bigger picture.
>
> (p. 20).

Thus, while archival research is reliant on only that which can be found (*ibid*.), the efforts of archive institutions to collect, catalogue, safely retain, and in some cases digitalise material provides social science researchers with access to the lives and events of peoples and places may otherwise have been lost to the passing of time (Ventresca and Mohr, 2017). In which case, archival research is an effective part of social research as it brings to the fore the wider historical forces that underlie the social phenomena under observation (Moore *et al*., 2017: 1). However, the above quotation from Lewis-Beck *et al*. (2017) highlights an important ethical consideration, which is that archival research involves the secondary analysis of material that was never likely intended to be 'used' for social research (Holman, 1991: 60). Though as leading advocates of the method outline, archival research generally involves the accessing of materials that are held on public record. This is in strict adherence to data protection legislation and censorship guidelines, and therefore archival research be considered an unobtrusive research method (Prior, 2003; McCulloch, 2004).

However, as with many other social research methods, this still begs the question, as Les Back (2007: 97) poses, as to whether we are *borrowing* the voices that emerge in the data, or whether we are *stealing* them. On this note, it has been a

major ethical consideration as to whether the voices of women who are implicated in prostitution in archival material should be 'used' in this study. I have heard the women's voices in archival documents, whether in their defiance, their 'tears in the dock', or when their words have prompted 'laughter in court'. These voices are from long ago, but the retention of such material in the archives holds the women to an eternal identity as 'prostitutes' on 'public record'. But, to silence these voices is to silence the most important voices of all in any study on or encountering sex work. And so to balance this deeply-felt ethical consideration, I do draw on the voices of women implicated in prostitution in archival material but with the use of pseudonyms to uphold the privacy and respect of the women – in life and death.

Kindred to the ethical consideration of using documents referring to the lives of 'prostitute' woman for social research so many years on, a major challenge of undertaking archival research on this highly sensitive subject is that it can be, in my experience, highly emotional. To borrow and apply Erving Goffman's (1974) expression opening boxes of archival material is like being confronted by 'a raw batch of occurrences' (p. 10). To apply this to my own experience of the archival research process, those raw occurrences have largely emphasised the historical mistreatment of women. On one hand, the archival material illustrates that such mistreatment is something that was just 'the norm' a long time ago, but it has also breathed life into the circumstances of women, transporting the reader back into the rawness of their pain, which cuts a lot deeper than just 'reading the past'.

In addition to being an emotionally exhausting experience given the focus of this study, one of the greatest challenges of undertaking archival research overall is that it can be overwhelmingly time-consuming as experts in the method forewarn (Prior, 2003; McCulloch, 2004, Lewis-Beck *et al*., 2017; Moore *et al*., 2017). To Lewis-Beck et al., archival research is like excavating in the dust for hours on end to find one relevant grain; often under restrictive time frames (p. 20). To apply this to my own experience of the archival research process, I add to this the time it has taken to *translate* documents from Dutch to English for research integrity before the analytic process can even begin; all the while wondering if what I've found is *enough* during restrictive periods of fieldwork in Rotterdam.

That said, it has been advantageous to this study that both Hull and Rotterdam are particularly well catered for in terms of local archival institutions. In addition to the wealth of local and archival material held in each city's central library, university, museums and other social and cultural institutions, *Hull History Centre* holds the equivalent of 7.5 miles [12km] of archival material, and the municipal archives of Rotterdam (*Stadsarchief*) holds the equivalent of 12.5 miles [20km] of material.[71] It is at these central city archives that the majority of archival research has been carried out for this study:

Fig.3.2., Hull History Centre, Worship Street (2022, own image).

Fig.3.3., Stadsarchief Municipal Archives Rotterdam, Hofdijk (2023, own image).

[71] *About,* Hull History Centre, see www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk; *About*, Stadsarchief Rotterdam, see *www.stasarchief.rotterdam.nl*. [Both accessed 17th July 2024].

To ease the aforementioned challenge of 'excavation' time, and to focus on the idea of quality not quantity, I utilised the respective institutions' online catalogue to source and pre-order material in advance of reading visits. This proved to be particularly useful ahead of fieldwork in Rotterdam when time was more of the essence than in my home city of Hull. Utilising the same pre-sampling process in both cities for data collection efficiency however, I sampled material using keyword search terms. This involved explicit and dated terminology (e.g., 'prostitution', 'streetwalker', 'fallen woman') but also more thematic search terms such as 'morality', 'social hygiene', and 'women' which I based on findings from the literature review. In each case, the keyword search terms often led me on a narrative trail that may otherwise not have been found. In addition, building a good working relationship with archivists at both institutions has been critical, because sharing my research topic and interest in the respective city has prompted staff to signpost me to relevant material. Critics of archival methods have likened such sampling methods (e.g., keyword search terms) to 'cherry-picking', but because archival research is generally topic-dependent, it justifies a side-stepping of more rigorous sampling methods (Prior, 2003: 135).

That said, advocates of the method assert that what cannot be side-stepped is a rigorous data management strategy (Prior, 2003; McCullogh, 2004; Lewis-Beck *et al*., 2017; Moore *et al*., 2017). It has been a critical part of the research process to catalogue and secure my archival data collection. This is not least for research integrity, but wondering if I have found *enough* has led to the collection of an over-whelming amount of data. This has been both a strength and a curse. For the aforementioned narrative trails have led me to some significant findings that both support and challenge the questions of the thesis, but the time it has taken to manage the data has been costly in terms of 'getting to the analysis'. To put this in perspective, the volume of archival data I have collected – but not entirely used in the analysis – is indicated in the following table:

Table.1., material type and volume of collected archival data in Hull and Rotterdam.

Material Type	**Hull**	**Rotterdam**
Civic/Municipal reports, minutes	87	146
Planning reports, blueprints, and development committee reports.	191	155
Social institutions, charity reports, and matters of public health.	32	9
Police reports, correspondence and watch committee minutes.	17	36
Community action groups letters, leaflets and reports.	9	42
Diaries, memoirs, and letters.	12	14
Cultural texts (i.e. music, theatre, film, fiction, poetry).	11	25
Photographs, images, and art.	74	108
Local Newspaper Items	893	747
Miscellaneous	42	17
Total*	**1,368**	**1,299**
**not all data is used in the confines of the study.*		

As table.1 shows, the volume of archival data collected in Hull and Rotterdam is indicative of the expression that archival research is, in short, 'messy' (Law, 2004). To effectively organise and manage the data, I created three databases (my data 'libraries'); one for local newspaper data, one for images, and one for all other archival material. In the local newspaper data 'library', I screenshotted each of the collected articles alongside a transcribed (typed) version. This was for both Hull (in the event of historical typeface being hard to read) and for articles translated from Dutch to English (using the translation given on the *Delpher.nl* newspaper archive software). Another reason I screenshotted the articles directly from the digitalised platforms of *British Newspaper Archives* [covering Hull] and *Delpher* [covering Rotterdam][72] was to take into account the *presentation* of the article in terms of its

[72] *British Newspaper Archive*, see www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk; *Delpher*, see www.delpher.nl. [Last accessed 17th July 2024].

prominence in the newspaper (e.g., headline, length of article), and its format (e.g., illustrated). The format was an important aspect because in a sense it told part of the story. For example, an article on the 'wave of immorality' in Hull dated 1909 was curiously presented in the style of a funeral notice with a heavy, black border. After undertaking thematic analysis to identify key locational themes, each article was saved by date, name of publication, and thematic content relating to the narrative content and the presentation. This information was carried into a spreadsheet by which the data could be effectively sorted by date, place, street name, or other such keywords.

The image data 'library' and the general archival data 'library' were organised in much the same way, including the institutions' reference number for the item where applicable, with a covering spreadsheet that enabled the effective sorting and location of the data. Thus, while this took a considerable amount of time in which I incurred the 'rookie mistake' of collecting *too much* data, my data library system was also a strength in that the ability to search for data using thematic keywords showed me things (e.g., a recurring narrative of the port cities as 'Hell on earth') that I did not notice at cursory level during the – often frantic – initial data collection process. For the security of the data, each 'library' was saved to a pin-protected file on my laptop and was systematically backed up on a USB pen drive that I kept in a locked drawer.

As table.1 further indicates, the majority of archival data has been collected from local newspapers. This proved to be an advantageous part of the archival research process as it can be done remotely on the digitalised platforms given above. And as such, this part of the research process was not stalled given that this project took place during the COVID-19 lockdown. Using the online platforms' filtering tools, I searched for local newspaper articles using the keyword search term 'prostitution' [or in Dutch 'prostitutie']. I used this explicit terminology to locate the subject in the first instance, but also to take into account how explicitly prostitution was referred to in local contexts across the sample period. This first wave of data collection enabled me to identify the primary 'red-light area' in the city at given times. I then undertook a second search using specific street names or areas to find wider contexts of the 'red-light' localities found. The local newspaper articles I use as data in the analytic time-chapters are referenced by publication, year, and then a, b, c, and so on if there is

more than one article from the same publication in the same year analysed (e.g., *HDM*, 1904a) [Hull Daily Mail, 1904, 1st January]. All articles used are then fully referenced in the bibliography.

A notable limitation of using historical newspapers as a data resource for social research is that there are inevitable elements of 'distortion' relating to 'moral panics' of the day (Garland, 2008), and the political agenda to which publications historically align (Jewkes, 2015). However, my focus on local newspapers as a key component of the archival research is because local newspapers are unrivalled in the ability to depict what was, or is, considered important to the represented community (Bates, 2007: 39; Tosh, 2002). And as Barbara Robinson and John Markham (2009) observe in their account of Hull's Daily Mail over the centuries, 'The Hull Daily Mail *is* the history of Hull and its environs' (p. 1, *emphasis in original*).

In sum, archival research in Hull has been marginally 'easier' than it has been in Rotterdam owing to the language barrier and the costs of travel (post-COVID 19) which resulted in my restricted time in Rotterdam. I was fortunate to have built a good working relationship with archivists in Hull and Rotterdam, and in Rotterdam this meant that I was able to obtain official translations of documents free of charge, and felt comfortable to ask archivists for on-the-spot translations of certain words and to use the institutions auto-translate software for smaller extracts of material. During this process, I began to recognise specific Dutch abbreviation and slang that shone out like codes from the documents and told me that the document meant something to my research before it was even translated. That is, words like *rosse* ['rosse-buurt', tr. 'red-light district'], *tip* ['tipplezone', tr. 'prostitution zone'], and *hrn* ['hoeren', tr. 'the whores']. Overall, the archival research process has been exhausting, emotional and at times overwhelming, but it has proved to be the most efficient method of tracing 'the red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam in the largely historical gaze of this study. In addition, the archival research process has also signposted where 'the red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam has been over the course of the sample period for further visual and walking research to take place. I now move into an outline of the visual methods, followed by the walking research methods.

Visual research: the city's visions

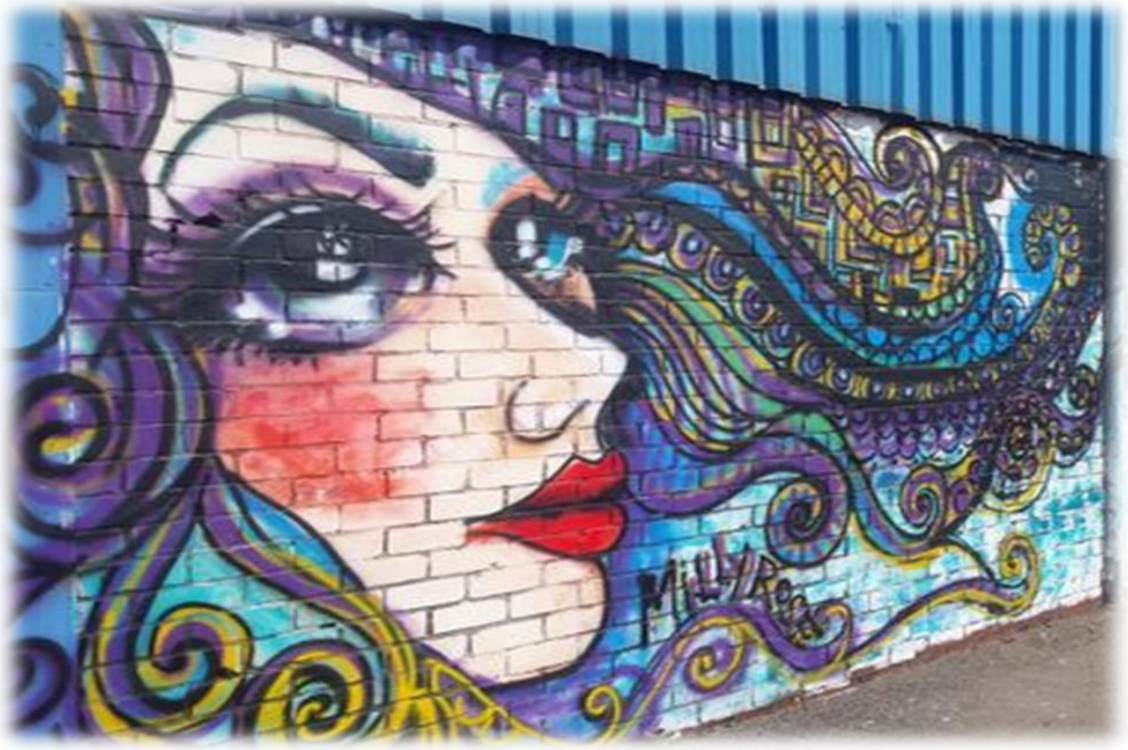

Fig.3.4., 'Milly-Rose', Bankside, Hull (2018, own image).

Visual research methods have often been undervalued in their ability to carry social theory, and have thus incurred criticism from the 'hard sciences' for being used to merely complement or 'gloss' research findings (see Pink, 2004). From positivist perspectives, visual research methods carry a heightened degree of subjectivity as the meanings of images are created and recreated on each view (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009: 25). Though leading advocates of visual methods maintain that this is what underlies the value of visual methods to social research given the agency of the image to make multiple meaning (Becker, 1974; Barthes, 1981; Prosser, 1998; Banks, 2001; Pink, 2004; Weber, 2008). As Roland Barthes elucidates in *Camera Lucida* (1981), it is on each view that images produce two categories of semiotic meaning: the denotive meaning [literal descriptives and apparent truths], and the connotative meaning [the social, cultural, historical, and wider contexts and meanings attached to the image]. Thus, as Barthes suggests, images talk.

Resonating with the idea that images can talk, Sandra Weber (2008: 46) presses that images can be more accessible than traditional forms of academic discourse owing to the holistic power of images to speak the ineffable and to provoke deeply-felt responses in the moment and ongoingly. On the holistic agency of the image that Weber describes, visual research has been a critical method in the research process for this study. In the aim of observing the spatial significance of the 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam over time, the once active 'site' and its urban transformation since can be described in words to a degree. But the use of visual methods has enabled be to articulate the 'then and now' contexts of the space in ways that words can't fully reach. For example, one of the sites I visit in the study is Keileweg which was the last 'official' 'red-light area' of Rotterdam. It was shut down by the municipality in 2005 but has not yet been transformed and, at the time of writing, it stands still in time in eerie abandonment. I could tell you in words that it lies overgrown behind heavy-duty gates, and that mossed wooden chairs are still set up by the wash block for sex workers, who are no longer there, to take a break on. But such written descriptives can't fully articulate the dark air that emanates from the abandoned site; of the life that was lived there which is encapsulated in the image of the car-width steel dividers of the 'finishing stations' that have only just begun to buckle. By this example alone, the value of visual research methods to this study is as Weber (2008) says of the power of the image in general, 'some things just need to be shown, not merely stated' (p. 44).

Where archival research signposted me to 'red-light areas' of Hull and Rotterdam across the sample period, I was able to find images in archival documents and local newspapers in the historical setting, and through local and social media in the contemporary setting. In terms of the historical sites, I then visited the space and used my own photography to capture the site in its present contexts; in most cases transformed but sometimes standing still in time like the Keileweg example above. The use of my own photography was the most efficient way of capturing 'then and now' contexts of the space to further encapsulates my sensory and artful approach to the study. For while critics of visual methods have argued that the use of images merely 'glosses' research findings as aforementioned, the use of my own photography in this study is to nourish the sociological dialogue in my

engagement with the idea of *the sociological imagination* and of *sociology as an art form*.

In this respect, the use archival photographs, social/media photographs, and my own photography to nourish the analytic discussion is particularly indicative of my sensate and artful approach to this study. Because, as Howard Becker (1974: 7) reminds us, photography and sociology came into existence around the same time – stimulating a powerful duality as photographers fundamentally consider subjects that are persistent foci of sociological concern. To Becker, the significant value of photography to research of the social world is 'the mood, moral evaluation and causal connections' contained in the detail of the image (p. 8), and it is for this reason that visual sociology emerged as an important sub-discipline later in the twentieth-century (*ibid*., see also Prosser, 1998, Pink, 2004).

Accordingly, in the use of my own photography in this study, I apply this is a form of visual sociology in which the images taken are generally instinctive and taken (often in tandem with walking research) as I naturally moved through the cities of the case study. I used a mobile phone to take photographs, not a professional camera, as a way to produce un-staged snapshots of reality. That said, where I was able to find archival images of 'active' 'red-light' space in historical contexts (for I found few), I carried the image with me to take a photograph of the site in its afterlife from the same aspect. This was to juxtapose a meaningful 'then and now' through which levels of urban transformation were readily recognisable, but also constituted a self-imposed form of photo-elicitation through which I connected to the space on a more holistic level in my walking ethnography.

In terms of the use of archival images, this added an additional layer of contextual currency to the research findings. For as Marcus Banks (2001) observes of visual methods in social research, it is often an overlooked aspect that the production of the image reveals as much as the content; in the sense that someone captured that particular view, someone took the time to process it, someone kept it down the years, and someone has archived or digitalised it into the forever (p. 7). Banks' words are very significant to the use of archival images in this study. Because in

the event that I have found very few archival images of 'active' 'red-light' sites in historical contexts, this is a key finding concerning the moral value that has been historically assigned to such sites. Because the few images that can be found to exist of active 'red-light areas' in the archives produces the sense that the space was not wanted to exist – either in the moment or in the preservation of the image into the forever. Accordingly, my visual research in the archives extends to the use of contemporaneous maps in the analysis. At surface level, I have done so to find and articulate locational contexts of 'red-light' space at various times, but I am also using contemporaneous maps as a key cultural text associated with place. This is important because as spatial thinkers on urban enquiry have strongly advocated, maps are an integral part of the research dynamic on the relationship between society and space. As Richard Rodger and Susanne Rau write in *New Horizons for Urban History* (2020), maps make visual the spatial distributions of social processes, which immediately invites follow-up questions as to where things are (or were)…and *why* (pp.374-5, *emphasis in original*). Overall, I have collected a significant amount of visual data during the research process as indicated in the following table:

Table.2., volume of collected visual data in Hull and Rotterdam.

Material type	**Hull**	**Rotterdam**
Candidate's own images [photographs]	4,823	6,107
Archival images [photographs, postcards, maps, art, illustrations, advertisements, etc.]	286	214
Internet search images [press, social media, etc.]	145	172
Total*	**5,254**	**6,493**
****not all data is used in the confines of the study.*		

To manage my visual data collection, I created a separate image 'bank' for each city and sub-divided it into archival images, my own photography, and wider social and

local media images of more recent times. I then filed each image in colour coded sub-folders (e.g., red = 'red-light' space, grey = 'buildings', green = 'maps', etc.). Each individual image was then saved under a standardised filename in the format of description, location, date, and source for ease of finding and referencing (e.g., *'Finishing Station Keileweg, 17April2023, Own image'*, or '*Keileweg Gates, 3November1994*, *Rotterdamsche Dagblad News Article 1994d*). Having designed a covering spreadsheet to itemise and sort the image data efficiently, I included a thematic overview of each image (e.g., 'red-light' area by name, streetscape, civic building, docks and harbours, green space, maps, monuments, street art, street furniture, signage, events, etc.) which further enabled the efficient management and sorting of the image data for analysis. This also meant that I could apply the visual data to the archival material on a physical and sensory level. For instance, if the name of a street cropped up in the archives, and I recognised the name, I could go to my data bank an find the images saved and relate the image to the archival material and dialogue. Given the amount of image data that I perhaps all too enthusiastically collected, it was a critical part of the data collection strategy to upload images to the 'bank' promptly as a means to keep track and to minimise the risk of losing data (i.e., if my phone was lost/stolen). I saved the image 'bank' and covering spreadsheet to a pin-protected file on my laptop, and systematically backed it up to a USB pen drive that I kept in a locked drawer.

In sum, visual research has been a vital method to use in the nature of this study; as the most effective means of articulating the city and the particular spaces – 'the red-light area' – that I am drawing conclusions on as to their spatial significance in the overall evolution of the city. As aforementioned, visual research methods have been criticised as subjective, but my use of visual methods follows the advocation of Les Back that the use of visual methods in social investigation contribute to 'the give and take of sociological dialogue'; bring to the fore the relationship between the senses and understanding (p. 96). In this sense, my use of visual methods in this study meets with the principle of qualitative research in that 'what we see' and 'what we know' are never truly reconciled – to borrow John Berger's words in *Ways of Seeing* (1972: 72). Ultimately, my use of visual methods is to articulate the raw character of 'the red-light area' in its all-at-onceness, its gone-ness, and in its urban legacies in such as way that 'the worth of words are apprehended at a glance' (Weber, 2008:

46). My use of images therefore nourishes the worth of the words collected during my methodological exercising of walking ethnography and walking conversations.

Walking methods; the city's sound and movement

Fig.3.5., walking near Centraal Station, Rotterdam (2021, own image).

Walking research methods [WRMs] are an increasingly popular practice in the social sciences (see Pink *et al*., 2010; Edensor, 2010; Myers, 2010; Bates and Rhys-Talor, 2017; O'Neill and Roberts, 2019; O'Neill *et al*., 2022). Connecting to my sensory and artful approach to the study, walking methods are also are long-trodden tradition in the arts (see De Certeau, 1984; Long, 1999; Heddon, 2007; Hind and Qualman, 2015; Morris, 2017). Coinciding with the increasing emphasis on the value of methodologies at the boundaries of art and social science, Maggie O'Neill and Brian Roberts (2019) elaborate that walking methods are a particularly sensate and kinaesthetic way of exploring human biographies, social processes,

and the role of space (p. 1). Notably, Maggie O'Neill, whose works I am following on arts-based approaches to sex work research (2002, 2007, 2010) has strongly influenced a research agenda focused on walking and talking methodologies as a powerful way to perform data collection from often marginalised groups (see e.g., O'Neill and Perivolaris, 2014; O'Neill and Stenning, 2014; O'Neill and McHugh, 2017; O'Neill and Roberts, 2019; O'Neill *et al*., 2022). Also of note is O'Neill's arts practicing (or 'ethno-mimesis') collaboration with Philip Hubbard (2010), whose spatial scholarship on sex work I am also following in this study. In their evocative research project on the senses of 'belonging' as negotiated by asylum seekers in the East Midlands [UK], O'Neill and Hubbard facilitated a walking event in which new arrivals guided long-term residents through the city, tracing the 'then and there' journey that led the new arrivals to the 'here and now'. Reflecting on the ways that walking evoked the conversation of belonging, O'Neill and Hubbard assert that walking should not be a privileged as a way of knowing, but observe that it has certain sensate, relational, and collective attributes that make walking a particularly valuable method of exploring the importance of themes like belonging amongst groups whose lives are often depicted as being markedly 'out of place' in society (pp.46-58).

Fundamentally, waking research methods have emerged from what is referred to as the expanding 'mobilities paradigm' of social research (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Büscher *et al*, 2010; Smith and Hall, 2016). The main techniques of WRMs tend to focus on walking interviews or 'walk-alongs' with participants with the objective of collecting data through the interaction with participants while moving together through the social and physical environment (O'Neill and Roberts, 2019, pp.1-2). Another technique involves unaccompanied data collection, or the researcher's own walking ethnography, which derives from urban ethnographic observation and street phenomenology which refers to various modes of experiencing urban space (Kusenbach, 2003; Middleton, 2010; Shortwell and Brown, 2016). In this study, I exercise both participatory walking methods (in the form of walking conversation) and unaccompanied walking ethnography as follows.

In my walking research with participants, the premise was conversational rather than a structured interview. This was to engage with the natural prompting of the social and physical environment as a key principle of walking research methods (O'Neill and Roberts, 2009). The participants were adults who had a connection to sex work in the respective city, or a connection to the city in general. The agreed brief in advance of the walk was to 'tell [me] about your city', and for participants to guide a route of their choice, for a duration of their suiting. For the safety of both parties, the walks always took place in daylight and remained in public areas of the city. The walks also began and ended at a central landmark. The limitation of this method initially was actually finding participants in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. It was difficult to negotiate a time and date for when the lockdown was lifted. Many were still, understandably anxious about social contact, and many participants that had agreed to a walk in advance could no longer find the time to participate once 'life' resumed in the wake of the pandemic. Initially, I had found participants by reaching out to them on their official work or public email (e.g., local historians, urban architects, sex work outreach centres), giving a brief summary of the study in advance, and all emails were sent via my University email address.

Having lost some of the potential participants owing to the anxieties surrounding the pandemic, the staff at the local archives institutions whom I had built a good rapport with kindly put me in contact with persons in the archival network (e.g., local authors and researchers) whom might have an interest in participating. This proved to be particularly advantageous in Rotterdam being an unfamiliar city to me initially, and in terms of the participant feeling a sense of security when meeting me ['a stranger'] as we had a solid introduction through the city archive network. As advocates of walking methods forewarn, it is quite an ask for people to give their time and walk around, and particularly with someone they have never met before; thus 'time' and 'safety' are the inherent risks of WRMs (Kowalewski and Bartłomiejski, 2019).

However, through my reaching out on official channels and with the later support of local archivists, I eventually carried out five walking conversations in Hull and five in Rotterdam. The original idea was to conduct ten walking conversations in

each city, but as the walks had to take place towards the 'back-end' of the project (owing to social distancing guidelines and travel restrictions), five walks in each city in fact proved to be more manageable under the time constraints. Once the informed consent form had been signed and returned, a date and time agreeable to the participant was arranged. In Hull, my home city, I could generally meet the given date and time that suited the participant. In Rotterdam, there was a much smaller window given that the walks had to be conducted in a certain block of time that I would be there for fieldwork. As such, I conducted four of the five walks in the space of one week. As explained to the participants in the information sheet sent with the consent form in advance, the walks were not electronically recorded as a means to keep the conversation as 'natural' as possible. And given that some of the participants had a direct connection to sex work, I did not want the participants in such case to feel concerned that anything they said would be 'on tape'. That said, each participant was aware that I would be anonymising their identity via a pseudonym. In addition, the notes that I made along the way during the walks were shows to the participant at the end. After transcribing the notes, I also sent the participant an electronic copy of the notes I made on their walk. This was to check the accuracy of the data, but also to ensure that the participant was happy with what I had written and may potential use in the study. I also advised participants before and after the walk that my notes would be kept in a secured file that only myself and my supervisors and examiners would have access to.

All of the participants were over the age of eighteen; the age range being 27-95 at the time of the walk. The participants self-identified as male (x5), female (x4) and transgender (x1). Unfortunately, data from two of the walks in Hull could not be used in the project. One participant (female) withdrew consent within the agreed six-month window in her concern that her identity might be identifiable from things she had said in relation to sex work operating in a specific location, and one (male) was withdrawn (by the candidate) after learning that he had since been named in a criminal investigation relating to sexual offences. As stipulated in the information sheet regarding the withdrawal period, the data collected from the effected walks has been destroyed and has not been used in the thesis. The final participant information is given in the following tables:

Table.3., walking conversations with participants (aged 18+) in Hull

HULL:

Participant (Pseudonym)*	**Organisation or Affiliation** *(how found)*	**Occupation, and connection to city.**	**Date of walk** *Duration of walk*
Mark*	Independent *(introduced by staff at the local archives)*	Published local historian, public speaker, tour guide, resident since birth	12th January 2022 *5 hours.*
Reginald*	Independent *(introduced by participant's daughter, who accompanied on the walk for healthcare).*	Retired freight-forwarder, RAF veteran, child in WW2 Hull. Resident since birth	8th August 2022 *3 hours.*
Alex*	Independent *(reached out on urban explorer community group).*	Emergency Services Worker (Hull based). Resident since birth.	27th January 2023 *4 hours.*

Table.4., walking conversations with participants (aged 18+) in Rotterdam

ROTTERDAM:

Participant (Pseudonym)*	**Organisation or Affiliation**	**Connection to city**	**Date of walk** *Duration of walk*
Meike*	Independent *(reached out after taking local group tour).*	Student of Erasmus (history), part-time official tour guide. Resident since birth.	25th February 2022 *2 hours.*
Geert*	Independent *(introduced via friend who lives in Delft).*	Dock operator, self-identified patron of 'red-light' area (1990s-2000s). Resident since birth.	4th May 2022 *3 hours.*
Dora*	Independent *(reached out via X [formerly Twitter]).*	Former architect, published author on public space. Resident since birth.	14th April 2023 *8 hours.*
Pieter*	Independent *(introduced by participant above).*	Former urban planner, green space activist. Resident since birth.	15th April 2023 *2 hours.*
Fleur*	Door-2-Door, Humanitas Prostitution Rotterdam. *(reached out via email given on website).*	Employed outreach worker; self-identified sex worker. Resident 4 years.	13th April 2023 & 17th April 2023 *8 hours. (inc. office visit).*

Having outlined the nature of my use of walking conversations and the participant information, I now outline my use of unaccompanied walking research in this study. The premise of undertaking unaccompanied walking ethnography was to connect to the physical and social environment of the city in general, and to then apply this to the spatial contexts of 'red-light' space of the past in the present tense. It is fair to say that this could be seen as me 'just walking about looking at stuff'. However, undertaking walking ethnography was a vital part of the research journey because it produced findings that may not have been felt or experienced through more static methods. As Rebecca Solnit writes in Wanderlust (2002), walking is a producer of findings:

> Walking itself is the intentional act closest to the unwilled rhythms of the body, to breathing and the beating of the heart. It strikes a delicate balance between working and idling, being and doing. It's a bodily labour that produces nothing but thoughts, experiences, arrivals.
>
> (p. 5).

Accordingly, in the tenets of urban research, the underlying principle of walking ethnographic methods is to *experience* urban space as it exists, which extends to experiencing how certain forms of space, placemaking, identity and belonging are negotiated through walking practice (see Middleton, 2010; Shortwell and Brown, 2016). In this respect however, it has been a critical ethical consideration in this study of 'sex work' space as to the use of walking ethnography because, in short, I have been able to move freely through 'the city' in ways that 'prostitutes' have not always been able to. As O'Neill and Roberts (2019) make explicit, the history of walking is deeply embedded in broader social contexts and structural differences bounded by gender, class, and race (p .34). This is no greater exemplified, in the contexts of this study, than by the passing of Britain's *Vagrancy Act* 1824 and the formation of the modern police force in London shortly after in 1829, which were collectively tasked with 'overseeing the streets' and to deter certain categories of 'undesirables' – like female prostitutes - from walking in certain urban areas (*ibid*., see also Walkowitz, 1980). While I have been very mindful of this while carrying out walking ethnographic research, the restriction of movement that many such

women would have experienced has been a significant element of experiencing former ‘red-light’ space in its identified spatial constraint as ‘an area’. To an extent, this resonates with the idea that walking research methods, particularly when used in conjunction with photography, have shown to aid the application of previously silenced or outcast bodies in landscape research (Myers, 2011) and to add sensate texture to representations of peoples and place (O’Neill and Hubbard, 2010; Brown and Banks, 2014).

In sum, I conducted around 86 hours of walking ethnographic data collection in Hull, and around 114 hours in Rotterdam. This was across a period of eighteen months in a journey through the seasons in which I recorded what I experienced in my notebook, and took visual images along the way. The walking ethnographic data I include in the analysis may be seen by some as subjective; for it is based on the routes *I* took and the urban spaces as *I* experienced them. However, meeting the principle of qualitative research, the use of walking ethnographic methods has been critical to the research process as it is has enabled me to *listen* to the city in the motion of its distinct urban transitions and contribute *one* story of the many that can be told about the city. As Filipa Wunderlich (2008) advocates of walking in city spaces in general, “the rhythmic quality of the practice forms an integrated and supportive part of place-rhythms and contributes to the temporal continuity and distinctiveness of urban places” (p. 136). Ultimately, my use of walking research methods (conversational and ethnographic) has been the most effective means of experiencing and re-enacting the city, and it has also harmonised with the archival and visual methods as illustrated in the brief vignette taken from my fieldnotes that now follows.

The Methods working together: A trail of two cities

The following vignette of the research methods working together is extracted from my fieldnotes covering my first research trip to Rotterdam (which was also the first time I had ever been to Rotterdam) in October 2021. At this very early stage in the research process, the plan for was to walk the city, get my bearings, and collect visual data along the way. In trying to work to chronological order (i.e.,

engaging with the analytic time-chapters in order) for sense-making, my first call was to connect to the relational histories of Hull and Rotterdam in person:

> *Hull, Monday 25th October 2021.* Its 6am and I am outside Hull station ready to catch the first train to that London. The frost is biting through my gloves. I am heading to Rotterdam on my first research trip. I'm going by Eurostar because the Hull-Rotterdam ferry still isn't running due to covid. It would have been easier to get the ferry, but at the same time it is strange to think that I will get on the train at Hull and after one change at London St Pancras I'll be in Rotterdam. Two trains and I'll be there. I've never been to Rotterdam before, but for some reason I don't feel anxious. I feel like I will just know my way around. That could be because Grandad told me only yesterday that Rotterdam is, basically, 'the Dutch Hull except nicer probably…with skyscrapers'. That was easy, I've arrived in Rotterdam. It's 10pm. It's dark, and bitterly cold, not many people out but the streets are well-lit. I've already mapped my route to the hotel so I can walk there quickly, just a two minute walk. I'm in, head hits pillow.
>
> *Rotterdam, Tuesday 26th October 2021.* I have walked *miles* today. Starting at 7am, I have walked streets, waterways, bridges, parks. I found the archives, central library, the sex work outreach centre. I feel like I've got my bearings. It's starting to get dusk so I'm walking back to the hotel now. There is a cutting wind, blowing the sleety rain about. The wind blows a pile of leaves around a corner, which isn't on my way, but something tells me to follow. I can see a lady ahead of me with a little tan dog ('Henrik', I heard her calling him as she hurried him along). I turn the corner and am suddenly on a street that literally stops me in my tracks…Graaf Florisstraat.
>
> Here in this imprint of olde-world Europe, Graaf Floristraat's tall terraces are adorned with all different ethereal front doors like you see in gothic cathedrals. There is not a soul around, the lady and Henrique have vanished into one of the houses. Yet there are comforting signs of life all around. Model ships moored on steamy windowsills, an artist's well-worn brushes in a milky jar on a ledge, carved pumpkin families on doorsteps, clusters of damp bicycles rested by the trees, flickering candles in the afternoon haze, and the strongest smell of coffee. I walk up and down the street with the oddest feeling of *déjà vu*. I've seen this street and walked the rain-washed pavement before, except not here, in Hull. To me, Graaf Florisstraat (minus the Costa, baby Tescos and the pawn shops) is an echo of Hull's King Edward Street:

Fig.3.6., Graaf Florisstraat, Rotterdam (2021, own image).

Fig.3.7., King Edward Street, Hull (2021, own image).

On my return from Rotterdam, I was uploading my images into the data bank I'd created and eventually got to the photograph of Graaf Florisstraat. Having found during the fieldtrip that *Stadsarchief* [the city archives] have built a database of Rotterdam's street names and meanings (primarily to acknowledge the colonial past). I accessed the database and typed in 'G R A A F F L O R I S S T R A A T. I found that the street is named in honour of Floris V, Count of Holland 1256-96 to whom the construction of a North Sea flood barrier is credited.[73] Without knowing anything about Dutch nobility, I *had* heard his name before. I ransacked my box of literature review notes…and there was Floris:

> *Rotterdam legend: Floris V. Reigned same time as Edward I, knew one another; hostilities grew around the time Edward acquired Hull. What happened?*

What happened was, as an archival deep-dive told me, Floris [1254-96] became Count of Holland at the age of two and therefore ruled by regent until he came of age. In adulthood, Floris was credited as a visionary and fair ruler. He reclaimed land from the sea, oversaw the urban development of the little town of Rotte-dam, enacted policies beneficial to trade, and often acted in the interests of 'peasants' at the expense of Rotterdam's merchant elite. Floris knighted forty of his 'faithful peasant mob', resulting in his nickname of 'God of Peasants'. The nickname was initially bandied in noble circles as an insult, but it became his legacy as a revered figure in the history of Rotterdam.[74]

Floris was in the eighteenth year of his reign when the 'fiery and self-confident' Edward I was crowned King of England. The towering Edward 'Longshanks' was fifteen years Floris' senior and came to the throne with a vested interest in access to the great rivers of Europe. Floris also had claim to Edward's greatest desire: the Scottish Crown. While Edward initially supported Floris' claim to the Scottish

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[73] *Street name database*. SMA, available at www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoekenontdek/straatnamen/index.xml. [Last Accessed 4th June 2024].
[74] *Florence, count of Holland to Edward I: Piracy 1289-96*. NA, ref SC1/18/119; *Florence, count of Holland to Edward I: Mercantile disputes 1289-96*. NA, ref SC1/18/114.

Crown during the Great Cause of 1292 (on the basis that their respective children were betrothed), he then withdrew his support on learning that Floris was friendly with Scotland's Robert the Bruce who, despite wanting the crown himself, would rather Floris had it than Edward. A year on from the Great Cause, King Edward acquired Hull as the perfect location to launch his Scottish campaigns, and as a direct route to Holland. Shortly after Edward acquired Hull, Floris was murdered in a plot that was allegedly co-orchestrated by Edward[75]. The stark resemblance of Floris and Edward is marked in the images below:

Fig.3.8., Floris V, Count of Holland, r.1254-1296.[76]

Fig.3.9., Edward I, King of England, r.1272-1307.[77]

[75] *Accounts of Richard Oysel, of the King's manors and lands in Holderness, 1298-1303*. *HHC*, ref UDCC/2/30; *Inquisitions made as to the roads leading from the town, 1302-1303*. *HHC*, ref CBRI/1.
[76] Courtesy of *Personality Database*, www.personalitydatabase.com [Accessed 9th November 2021].
[77] As note 82.

On a walking conversation eighteen months or so after I'd first and last seen Graaf Floristraat, a participant said "it's a bit of a walk to central west but there's a street I really, really want to show you". She took me to Graaf Florisstraat. She told me that this is a street she often walked to, to get a coffee from the old roastery on the corner and get away from "the modern edge of the city, it's too noisy at times, and too tall, it swamps me". The participant was born and raised in a small town to the North of Amsterdam. She said that Graaf Florisstraat feels like she "is still at home, but just home somewhere else".[78] I told her that I had been here before…

As an early example of the archival, visual, and walking methods working together, it is arguably coincidental that my first unmapped ethnographic walk led me to Graaf Florisstraat – and that a walking participant took me back there eighteen months later. But there are 6,402 streets in Rotterdam.[79] The walking took me there, the visual evoked some kind of connection, and the archival realised it:

That I walked to 'Count Floris' street by chance…
That it looked like 'King Edward Street' back home…
That Count Floris and King Edward were linked…
That their name-sake streets are resemblant
As the two of them were resemblant
That a participant walked me back
to a street that, to her and to me,
'Felt like home…just home
somewhere else…'

[78] Fieldnotes: walking with Fleur, Thursday 23rd April 2023.
[79] As note 79.

Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have covered the methodological orientation of this study. I have outlined the sensory and artful approach, the nature of qualitative research practice, and the value of the archival, visual, and walking methods to this study and to social research in general. I have discussed the systems of data collection I have implemented, an idea of how the data was coded and securely retained, and an overview of the walking participants in the study. I also included a brief vignette of how the methods inform one another based on extracts from my fieldnotes. It was through my provisional archival research that I identified where the 'red-light' areas were in Hull and Rotterdam at the various periods that make up the empirical chapters. The following table indicates the identified spaces and is presented as a coda to the chapter to signpost the sites that I pay an analytic visit to in the empirical chapters that follow.

Coda: 'timeline' of identified 'red-light' space for analysis.

Table.5., identified 'red-light' space in Hull and Rotterdam 1880s-2020s.

Analytic time-chapter and period:	**HULL** 'red-light area'	**ROTTERDAM** 'red-light area'
Chapter 4: *Climax* 1880s-1900s	'Everywhere town centre'	'Zandstraatbuurt'
Chapter 5: *Interwar* 1920s-1930s	'Pease Street'	'Schiedamsedijk'
Chapter 6: *Post-War* 1950s-1970s	'Hedon Road'	'Katendrecht'
Chapter 7: *Heritage* 1980s-1990s	'Waterhouse Lane'	'G.J de Jonghweg'
Chapter 8: *Culture* 2000s-2020s	'Hessle Road'	'Keileweg'

Chapter Four

Spatial analysis
part i:
'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam during the century climax of Industrial urbanisation
(1880s - 1900s)

The remarkable paradox about the [nineteenth century] period is the intensity with which it sought to combine material development and public probity.[80]

In this empirical chapter I start the spatial analysis of 'red-light' localities in Hull and Rotterdam during the late-nineteenth century years, 1880s-1900s. This is an important period in which to begin the spatial analysis because the late-nineteenth century period marks the tail-end of the rapid urbanisation of society and space that had taken place across Britain, Europe, and the wider West in rhythm with the economic and political forces of Industrialisation (Thernstrom and Sennett, 1969; Lees and Lees, 1976). In Hull and Rotterdam, this met with the exponential port growth of the cities through processes of modernisation and the expansion of dock estate (Thompson, 1990 [Hull]; van de Laar, 2000 [Rotterdam]). Thus, the 1880s-1900s period that I observe in this chapter signals the climax of a significant period of heightened social and spatial change driven by the coursing twin-streams of Industrialisation and urbanisation, and which stimulated the tenacious attempts of the fledgling field of social science to produce *moral geographies* of 'the city' (see Driver, 1988).

Accordingly in this time-chapter of analysis, I trace and comparatively examine the spatial contexts of the *primary* 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam based on my preliminary archival research. In Hull this takes us to the 'everywhere town centre'

[80] H.G. Nicholas, *Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians VII: The New Morality* (The Listener, 18 March 1948, pp.455-7). Available at *Hull History Centre [HHC]* [U/DDMM/29/153].

space and to the Zandstraatbuurt [Sand Street District] in Rotterdam. I emphasise that these are the *primary* 'red-light' sites to clarify that my focus on the given sites is not to infer that these are the only localities of female street-based prostitution in the cities during the period. The 'everywhere town centre' space of Hull and the Zandstraatbuurt in Rotterdam are however the most recurringly named spaces of concentrated female prostitution (or sites of 'concern' tied to the practice in local and external commentary) in my archival research which is referenced in-text or in footnotes throughout the chapter.

In the separate sections on Hull and Rotterdam, I first provide a brief backdrop of the urban scene for locational context which is based on findings and sources of the literature review. I then follow the path of the research questions to examine the location of the 'red-light area' in relation to the wider geography of the city and the dominant moral geographies as they were suggested in each city during the 1880s-1900s period. I also examine the extent to which locational actors of urban planning and development schema and the social actors of political, economic and cultural relations constructed the dominant moral geographies enmeshed in time-and-place, and what/whose interests this pursued. That is, against a backdrop of heightened change as the respective 'city fathers' and local communities adjusted to the intensively urbanised environments, economies, and movements of 'modern life'. In the respective sections of analysis on Hull and Rotterdam and comparative summary of the findings on which this chapter closes, I shift into the present tense. This is to engage the sensate approach of this study by articulating the findings in a liminal dialogue. I now firstly go to Hull.

In Hull, 1880s-1900s

Late-Victorian Hull is 'an industrial powerhouse'; she is Britain's third seaport – challenging the dominance of London and Liverpool – and the greatest fishing-port of the Empire (Thompson, 1990; Wilcox, 2017). Afloat, Hull's name is emblazoned on her stronghold fleets entering ports all around the world, and ashore she is a major manufacturing centre of oils, chemicals and pharmaceuticals (Atkinson *et al*., 2017: 1) of which the following contemporaneous postcard provides a glimpse:

Fig.4.1., postcard depicting Prince's Dock, Hull (c1890s).[81]

Yet beneath the steam and smoke of Industrial progress that fogs Hull's skyline as the contemporaneous postcard above depicts, her 'labouring' people are choking. According to a local ship's Captain, the majority 'working-class' population who came to find a living in Hull's commercial machine is 'dangerously surging' far beyond the scale of natural increase at the late-nineteenth century climax of rapid Industrialisation and urbanisation (Monson-Fitzjohn, 1927: 70). Marking the mid-point of the period of observation in this chapter, the 1891 census shows that the population of Hull nears 240,000 from just 20,000 at the birth of the nineteenth century.[82] The 'human surge' is by no means unique to Hull as a port or Industrial centre during the period (Lee, 1998; Lawton and Lee, 2001), but Hull is plagued with a unique trajectory of environmental difficulties. Atop the limited land area of the relatively small town, Hull is low-lying with ineffective drainage and no fresh water supply; forming fatal foundations to the overbuilt, overcrowded, ecological

[81] *Princes Dock c1890s*. HHC, ref LRH/1/121.
[82] UK Census (1891), *Office of National Statistics*. Available at www.ons.gov.uk/census [Accessed 2nd May 2022]; *Population (statistics) Bill* (1841). HHC, ref UDDG/130/357.

'horror' of late-Victorian Hull (Frostick, 1990). Just thirty years prior to the period of observation in this chapter, a state physician found Hull's environmental and ecological 'horror' was causal to Hull having the highest cholera death toll in the Kingdom (Cooper, 1853). In the late-Victorian period, the disproportionately high rates of suicide in Hull have also been linked to ecological factors of the 'squalid condition' of the town (Bailey, 1998).

In the human influx and surge, dwellings have been poorly constructed from the start on any spare footing, resulting in 'a congestion of bricks-and-mortar in the most undesirable localities' – crammed into alleys and jutted up to factories and docks (Monson-Fitzjohn, 1927: 62). In the limited land area, the rudimentary 'working-class' housing is also cheek-and-jowl with the homes and offices of the town's merchant elite (*ibid*.). Collectively, late-Victorian Hull thereby assumes the appearance of 'one gigantic slum' (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 286). The majority of the 'working-class' courts and alleys are dark, damp, and below the level of high tide; accumulating such environmental 'filth' that it is impossible for anyone to keep clean (*ibid*., p. 327). The following photographs provide a glimpse of the 'working-class' residential conditions of late-Victorian Hull:

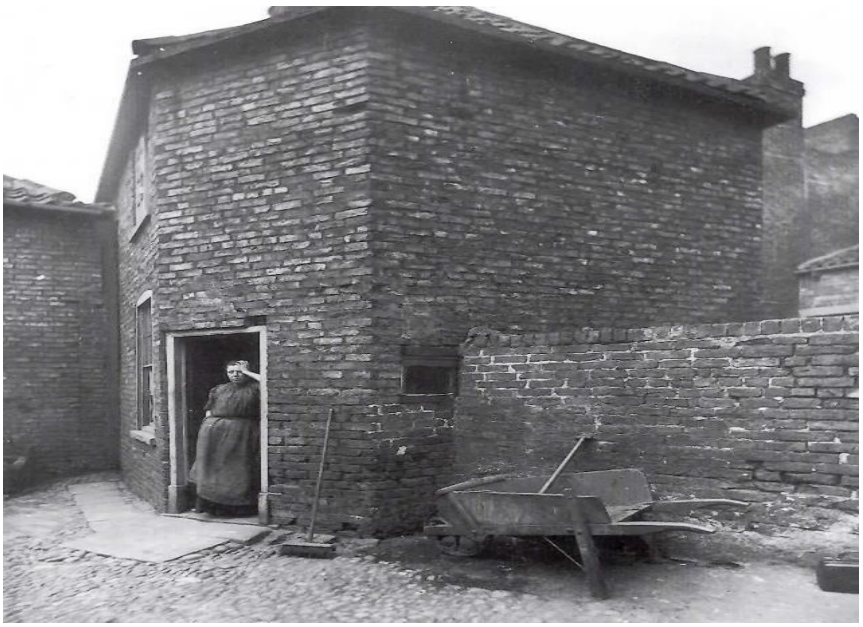

Fig.4.2., 'Unnamed Yard', Princess Street, Hull (c1900).[83]

[83] *Health Department Photograph: Princess Street*. HHC, ref LTHP/405.

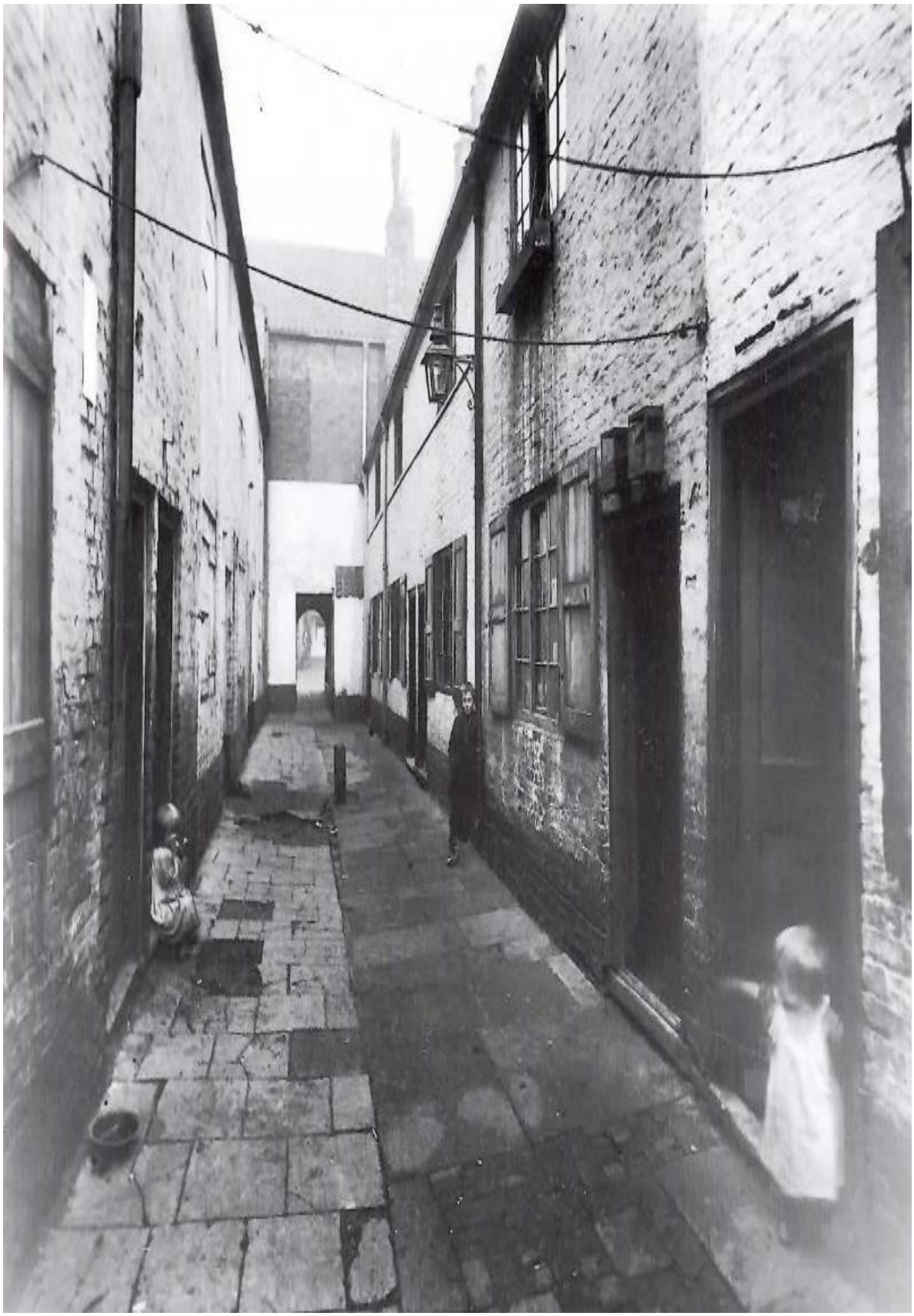

Fig.4.3., 'Clean Alley', Hull (c1900).[84]

[84] *Health Department Photograph: Clean Alley*. HHC, ref LTHP/1149.

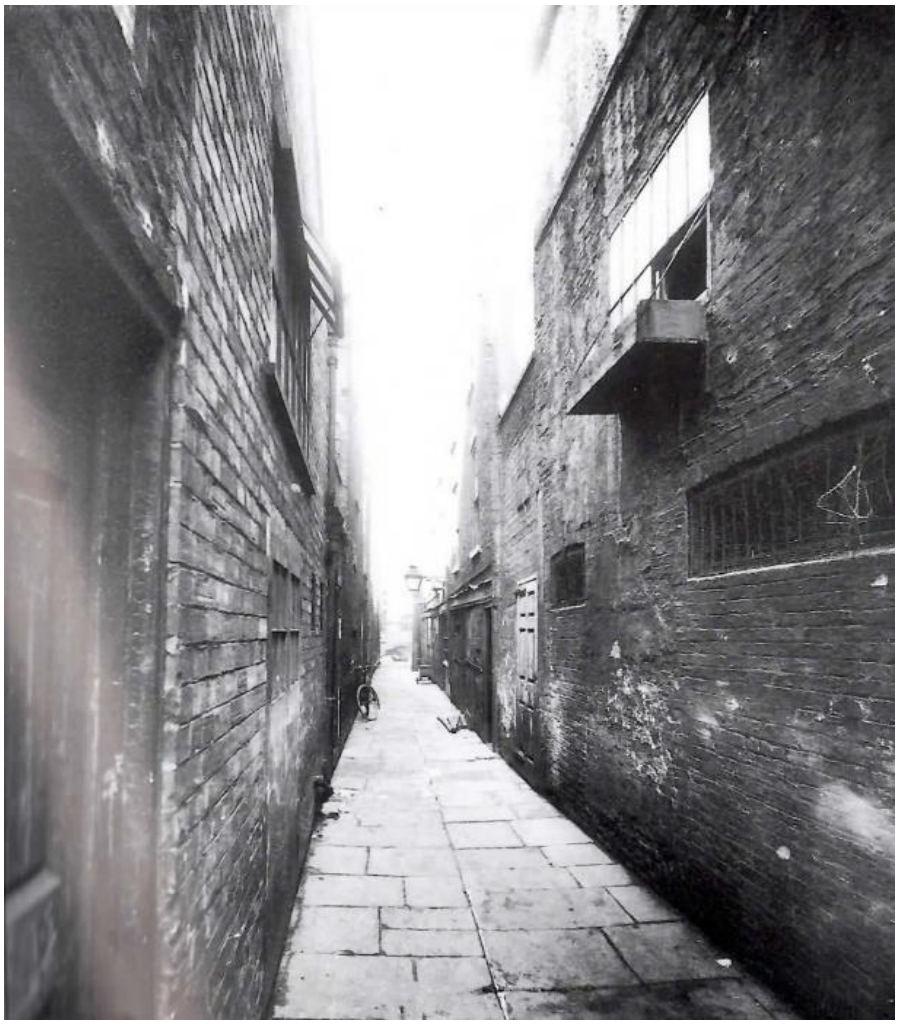

Fig.4.4., 'Queen's Alley', Blackfriargate, Hull (c1900).[85]

Of the sheer volume of photographs that exist of late-Victorian Hull (indicated in due course), I have included these particular images not just to provide a glimpse, but to draw attention to the naming of these localities. First is '*Unnamed Yard'*; a name that infers that the shoddily-built abode where a fatigued woman stands in the doorway is so makeshift that the yard is not worth naming (*fig.4.2*). Second is 'Clean Alley'; where black, putrid damp penetrates the preventative limewash as a young boy with a makeshift wooden leg supervises infants playing on the cracked, deteriorating pavement (*fig.4.3*). Third is the regally named 'Queen's Alley'; which tells a story of how an optimistic resident has installed a window box amidst the rot that has set, albeit a window box in which no flowers show (*fig.4.4*). The additional layer of contextual currency to these images is that they are part of a series taken

[85] *Health Department Photograph: Queen's Alley*. HHC, ref LTHP/1149.

by, or on behalf of, Hull Corporation's Public Health Department in the early 1900s. This indicates that the spatial economies of the 'working-classes' is of increasing concern to city leaders, as it was in many other cities during the period (see Wohl, 1983). But on a local level, the images included above are just three of around *four hundred* that were taken (or retained) of the scene in the relatively small area of Hull.[86] Furthermore, it is a significant finding that these boxes of photographs also contain a vast number of images of the exterior of public houses; indicating that the civic concern for the 'working-class' living conditions spreads further than the spatial economies of 'home'. This resonates with findings of the *Lost Pubs of Hull project* [1990s] in that there are a disproportionately high number of pubs (for a town of Hull's size) in the late-Victorian period. The estimated ratio provided by authors of the project is a pub per twenty dwellings. The authors also tell us that the pubs are generally 'squalid' but heavily patronised for 'respite from the squalor of home' (Gibson and Wilkinson, 1999: i-iii).[87] The following images lend a view of just two of the many pub exteriors captured by the Public Health Department:

Fig.4.5., Ship and Plough, Salthouse Lane (c1900).[88]

[86] *Health Department Photograph Box Files of Photographs c1900*. HHC, individually referenced.
[87] *Lost Pubs of Hull*. See www.paul-gibson.com. [Accessed 18th October 2023].
[88] *Health Department Photograph: Ship and Plough*. HHC, ref LTHP/1786.

Fig.4.6., Dog & Duck, High Street, Hull (c1900).[89]

Furthermore, the disproportionately high number and widespread geography of Hull's pubs in the late-Victorian period reflects in the observation of Hull as 'one big sailortown'; where the distinctly dock-centric urbanisation of Hull produced 'a *stretched* crop of pubs, brothels, and other attendant evils' that tended to follow in the footfall of sailors ashore (Hugill, 1968: 38, *emphasis added*). Many of Hull's pubs also operate as brothels in the late-Victorian period, indicating to sailors (and wider clientele) by hand-written codes in the windows that 'the honey pot is round the back' (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 401). Notably, the original pub signage of one of Hull's Victorian pubs, which was found in the attic by the later new owner in 2015, literally paints a picture of the mutual 'enjoyments' that could be found on the premises:

[89] *Health Department Photograph: Ship and Plough*. HHC, ref LTHP/1724.

Fig.4.7., Maid of Witham pub signage, Hull (c19th).[90]

Furthermore, the dock-centric urbanisation of Hull during the nineteenth-century, in which the stretched crop of pubs emerged, is *known* in the later part of the period to have forged 'the causal chain of poverty, drunkenness and vice' that so inflicts living and dying in late-Victorian Hull (Foster, 1988). In terms of 'vice', it is a said to have been a common sight in late-Victorian Hull to see prostitutes soliciting on the 'everywhere streets' (*ibid*.). The 'everywhere' spatiality of the practice is a dominant theme that continuously emerges in archival research of the period. In the nineteenth-century's obsession with social and moral hygiene (see Marsden, 2014), where female prostitution is labelled 'the great social and urban evil', I did expect to find that the subject would be well attended to in the contemporaneous local press. However, in Hull the potency of the 'everywhere' visibility of female prostitutes in the late-Victorian town centre constitutes a *heightened* narrative of moral panic as to the *external* reputation of Hull as one big prostitution centre. An explicit editorial in the Humber region's *Eastern Morning News* (1883) for instance, blames the 'rife prostitution' in the town centre streets for the poor external image of Hull which is 'as bad as the foulest slums in Constantinople' (*EMN*, 1883a).

[90] Courtesy of C. Foy, Facebook: *Old Hull*, 19th August 2015.

While media outlets have generally been the prime purveyors of moral panic over the centuries (Hunt, 1997), the 'rife prostitution' in Hull is of grave concern beyond the media dissemination of panic. In the 1890s for instance, the Port Chaplain has made it his mission to be dockside when ships come in. This is to warn incoming sailors to heed great caution in the streets of Hull; explicitly, to be careful of 'the landshark network' of prostitutes and their associates that 'thrives all about the town to the moral, physical and financial peril of seafarers'. The Chaplain hands the men copies of his manuscript, like a cautionary map, which opens with the words, "I feel no apology necessary in bringing this shameful story of real life in the Third Port."[91] Although the Port Chaplain's pastoral duty is naturally bound to the wellbeing of seafarers, it is continuously corroborated by wide-ranging voices in the local press of the day that networked prostitution is the 'everywhere' town centre embodiment of:

THE SOCIAL EVIL IN HULL.

Fig.4.8., headline, Hull Daily Mail (1885i).[92]

The 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution

The Port Chaplain's (1893) lament of prostitution 'all about the town' correlates with the significant finding through archival research that the town centre of late-Victorian Hull has an 'everywhere' 'red-light' geography. But from the outset, this finding is also a perplexing one. The narrative of the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution doesn't indicate how ubiquitous this was, particularly in relation to the 'politer' spaces of the town centre that did exist in the form of grand thoroughfares

[91] *Sailors among the landsharks*. R.H.A Currey (1899). HHC, ref L823.

[92] On the 'wholesale closure' of Hull brothels upon the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* 1885 (*HDM*, 1885i).

like Paragon Street. Nor, in the 'everywhere' narrative focus on the town centre, does it provide any such comparative scale of prostitution materialising in 'politer' spaces on the leafier edges of the town centre like The Avenues which was [then] occupied by the social elites, middle-classes and new bourgeoisie:

Fig.4.9., postcard depicting Princes Avenue, The Avenues, Hull (c1900).[93]

Thus, to explore the 'everywhere' spatiality of prostitution in the late-Victorian town centre of Hull on a deeper locational level, I conducted archival research of the local press of the period (1880s-1900s) as a means to identify specific streets of concern. Using the *British Newspaper Archives* digitalised platform, I inputted the keyword search term 'prostitution' (which automatically included variants such as 'prostitute'). My use of this explicit terminology in the search was fundamentally to locate the practice - as to how it was generally referred in the period - and avoid ambiguity arising over the popular use of expressions such as 'immoral woman', but also to capture how *explicitly* the practice was attended to in the local press of the day. I then refined the results by *place* of publication [Hull]. This was not to negate external voices but to focus on local voices, with local commentary being a key component of the analysis in regard to local constructions of moral geography.

[93] *Postcards c1900 collection*. HHC, ref LRH/1/129.

Finally, I refined the results by the full date range of this chapter [1st January 1880 - 31st December 1909] and after filtering out duplications (e.g., the same report printed in different publications) and alternate uses of the term (e.g., '*politician's prostituting their power*'), the search yielded 282 returns.[94]

At first, this was a much lower than anticipated volume of returns against the town centre's 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution and across the thirty-year period that this chapter spans. And also, given that those thirty years sit in an era when prostitution was considered 'the great social and urban evil' and was thereby a source of great moral panic. In due course in this chapter however, I will come to highlight that the lower volume of returns is a significant finding that relates to the distinct moral geographies of late-Victorian Hull. For now, having catalogued the returns in chronological order, I then colour coded each article by news 'type' (e.g., *general news*: red, *editorials*: orange, *public notices*: yellow, *letters to the editor*: pink, and *police-court commentary*: blue). This exercise enabled me to identify that the police-court commentary on cases of prostitution accounts for 57% of the overall returns and is also the most consistent source of locational [street] data. In some cases, the police-court commentary recites the goings-on in the court room like a soap opera, but in general the format names the woman arrested, her known address, and the street in which she was arrested for 'importuning men for the purpose of prostitution' as the following snippet (anonymised by the candidate) exemplifies:

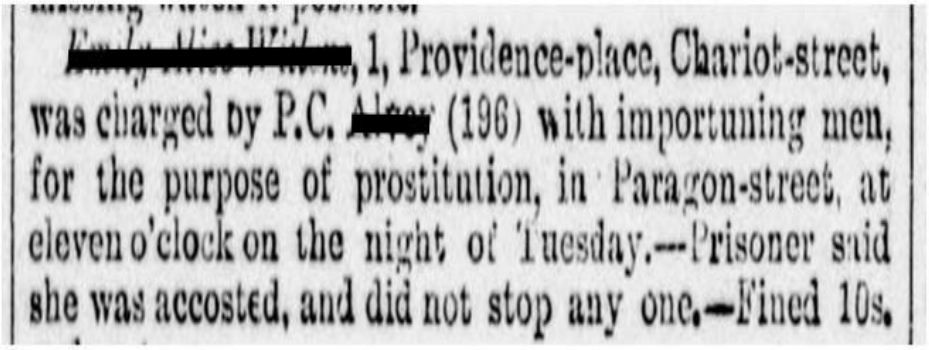
[redacted], 1, Providence-place, Chariot-street, was charged by P.C. [redacted] (196) with importuning men, for the purpose of prostitution, in Paragon-street, at eleven o'clock on the night of Tuesday.—Prisoner said she was accosted, and did not stop any one.—Fined 10s.

Fig.4.10., example of police-court commentary format (*HDM*, 1886f).

[94] British Newspaper Archives. See www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk, search date 4th January 2022. [Last accessed 3rd June 2023].

I extracted the locational data into table.6, which, in the interest of word count, is included as appendix.a. In doing so, I have also indicated the number of found arrests in each named street across the period 1880s-1900s. For ease of reading, I will reference from table.6 in-text hereafter in this chapter of analysis. Ultimately, I am using the police-court commentary as a sub-data set based on the volume of returns as a consistent source of locational data. The limitations of this is that as a *police* source, the 'truth' of the commentary rests on what the arresting officer says of thinks *he* has witnessed. Tethered to the patriarchal structures of the period, all police officers and magistrates in Hull are male in the late-Victorian setting (Clark, 1992). Collectively therefore, the data may be spurious given the likelihood that a magistrate would accept the word of a policeman over a suspected prostitute. It should not be forgotten that during the nineteenth-century the prolonged presence of a *female* figure in public space raised police and public suspicion (Nead, 2005). This is well exemplified in the following contemporaneous lithograph by the map engraver Charles Culliford (c1865) which satirises the scene outside a theatre in London's Regent Street where a 'philanthropic divine' reaches out to ameliorate 'a streetwalker' who just happens to be a woman waiting to catch a bus:

[Accompanying text]:

Scene in Regent Street;

Philanthropic Divine: 'May I beg you to accept this good little book. Take it home and read it attentively. I am sure it will benefit you.'

Lady: 'Bless me, Sir, you're mistaken. I am not a social evil, I am only waiting for a bus**.**'[95]

Fig.4.11., 'social evil' lithograph, C.J. Culliford (c1865).[96]

[95] C.J. Culliford, coloured lithograph, c.1865. In Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon* (2005: 63)
[96] As above.

Additionally, the data set may be skewed in so far as ‘mistaken identity’ could also happen in reverse. As Judith Walkowitz (1992) reminds us, even as police cleared the streets of ‘prostitutes’ to make way for ‘respectable women’ in city space, these two categories continuously overlapped at the juncture of societal ideals of public probity and female virtue. While Victorian society expected to see the vice/virtue of women ‘written onto their bodies’ (i.e., through visual codes of clothing, make-up and hair style), confusions over the binary identity inscribed upon womanhood frequently occurred. Walkowitz exemplifies that in the elegant shopping districts of Regent Street, prostitutes purposively dressed in ‘meritorious finery’ could and did pass as ‘respectable women’, while ‘respectable women’ wandering and window gazing at leisure often found themselves accosted by the police, evangelists, and also men looking to purchase sex (p. 50).

For the critical reasons outlined above, I acknowledge that the data provided in the police-court commentary does not (or cannot) provide the absolute ‘truth’, but I balance this with the notion that it paints *a* picture of the ‘everywhere’ spatial scale of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull to work from. Accordingly, based on the police-court commentary sub-data set (table.6, appendix.a), I have marked the *implicated* streets of ‘solicitation’ in red on the contemporaneous map of the town centre that follows overleaf. This is not to infer ‘red-light’ of ‘danger’ connotations but for clarity against the colour tones of the contemporaneous map:

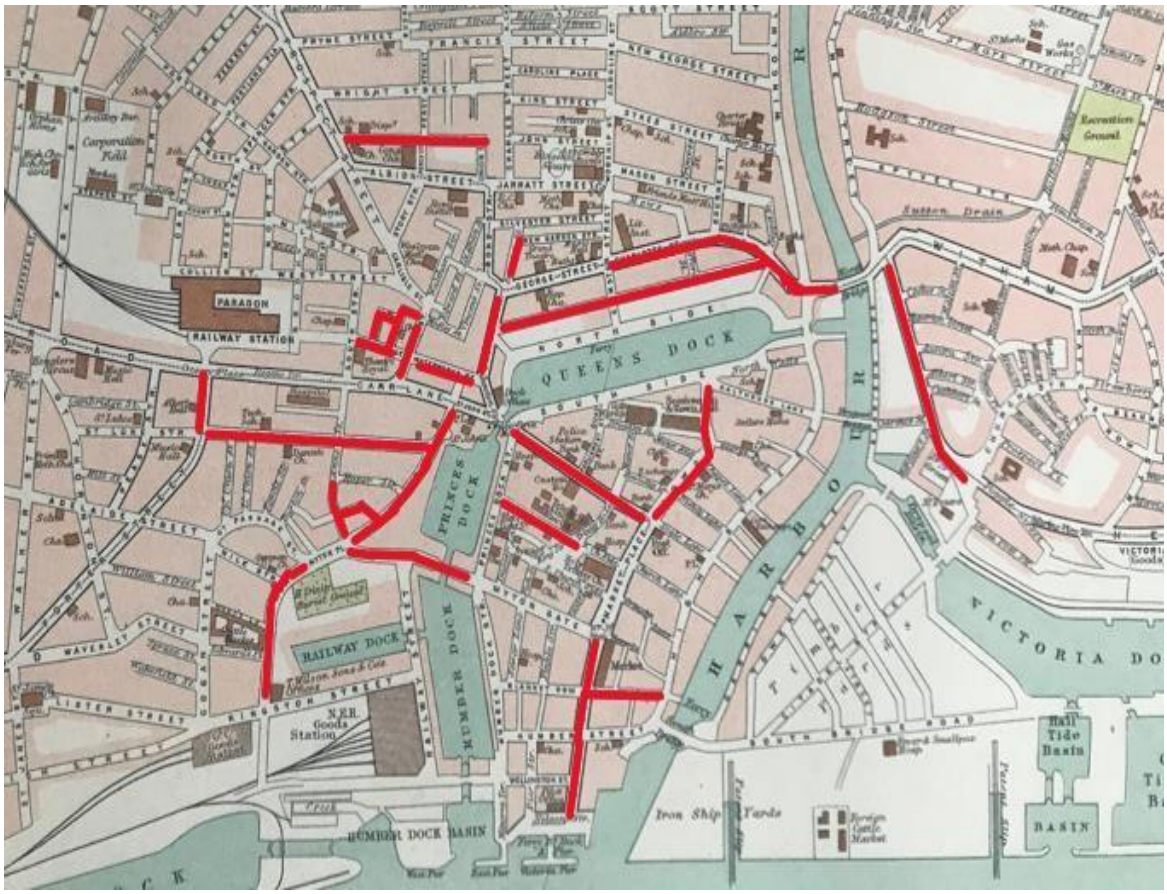

Fig.4.12., extract map of Hull town centre (1898); *implicated streets indicated in red.*[97]

At a glance, the map above makes the spread 'red-light' geography of the town centre of late-Victorian Hull visually apparent. But on a deeper level, it illustrates that the implicated streets thread into the appearance of a ***net*** that specifically enmeshes the central docks and harbour. Although literature reminds us that prostitution 'traditionally' spatialised in the vicinity of 'the dock' and 'the harbour' in nineteenth-century port cities (van Liempt and Chimienti, 2017: 1569), this is a key finding because in late-Victorian Hull we are not looking at peripheral or singular docks. The *centralised chain* of docks and harbour basins upon Hull's southern frontier with the Humber estuary significantly reinforces the spatial finding that the 'everywhere' space of prostitution entwines with the 'everywhere' dockland space in the town centre. Furthermore, it reinforces the socio-spatial relationship of the geographical ***net*** of prostitution illustrated in the map of implicated streets (*fig.63*)

[97] Cartographer John Bartholomew, *Royal Atlas of England and Wales* (1898)*;* implicated streets [based on table.6, appendix.a, highlighted in red by candidate guided by enlarged version showing street names.

and the 'landshark ***network***' of prostitutes and associates that so gravely concerns the Port Chaplain (1893). To further illustrate this conceptual link, plans relating to the gradual construction and expansion of central docks that took place during the nineteenth century attest at length across 181 blueprints that the infrastructural engineering of the centralised dock system underpins exactly what it becomes operationally known as…'the town dock circuit'.[98] The following blueprint dated 1820 shows how the town dock circuit will, by the late-Victorian period, come to constrain the urban environment within:

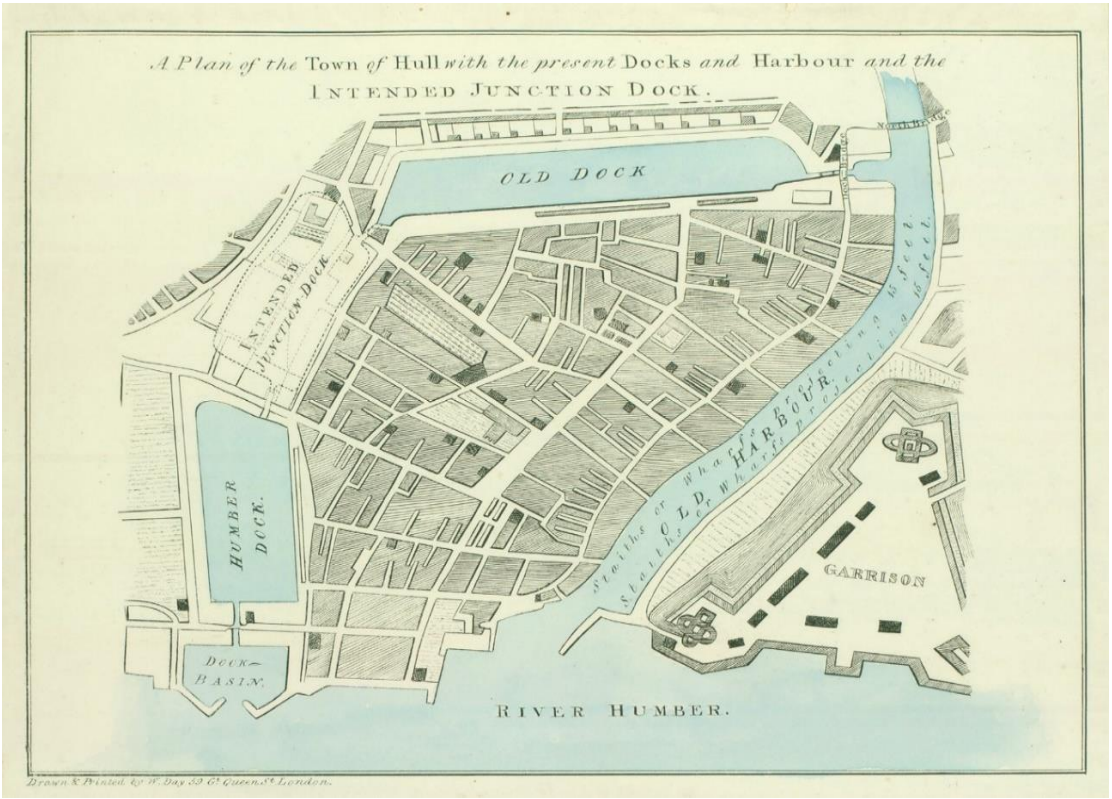

Fig.4.13., plan of the town dock circuit in progress, showing intended connection of Junction Dock (1820).[99]

As an infrastructural efficacy of the local port economy, the dock circuit succeeded in catalysing the exponential growth in Hull's shipping trade and capacity. Annual reports of Hull's Trade and Navigation Board indicate an increase in net tonnage from around 182,000 tonnes at the singular 'old dock' in 1791 to 1,900,000 tonnes

[98] *Hull Town Dock Plans c19th-c20th*. HHC, ref CDPD/5/3/1; *Plans of Hull Docks and Harbour and the proposed new dock (c1830*). HHC, ref CDMX/17/15.
[99] *Gott Collection*, East Riding Museum [ERM], ref A1.919/29.1.

at the beginning of this time-chapter [1880].[100] Kindred to this exponential growth was the increased frequency and volume of sailors coming ashore at Hull during the late-Victorian period (Thompson, 1990: 9). In spatial contradiction of Hull for not having a separate sailortown quarter as found in most other port cities of the period (Hugill, 1968: 38), the significant link between the 'everywhere' space of prostitution as the 'everywhere' dockland space is also reinforced by the idea of Hull as 'one big sailortown' (see *ibid*.). This is not to infer that sailors were the sole patrons of prostitutes in late-Victorian Hull as a group, but to connect on a deeper level with the observation that the distinctly dock-centric urbanisation of Hull during the early to mid-nineteenth century left little degree of geographical or sociological separation between 'port' and 'city' in its wake (Wild, 1990). This is reflected in the following aerial photograph of the town centre c.1900, which shows how the close proximity of 'port' and 'city' is inscribed on the landscape; saliently in the way that the buildings are seemingly stood to face the docks, the windows being the eyes *trained* upon the port 'function' of Hull's place and persona:

Fig.4.14., aerial view of Hull town centre (c1900s).[101]

[100] *Annual statements of trade and navigation late-C19th*. HHC, ref CDBH/3/6.
[101] *Photograph Album*. HHC, ref UDDMM/30/1.

With the eyeline of Hull's built form firmly fixed upon the docks, the finding that the implicated streets of prostitution enmesh the dock circuit is further reinforced by the notion of the 'everywhere' *visibility* of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull which is as articulated by retired freight-forwarder Reginald* during a walking conversation in 2022. Reginald has lived in Hull for all of his ninety-five years. As we stand side-by-side on Monument Bridge looking out over Princes Dock, Reginald brings the by-gone scene of the operational dock back into view through his memories of living and working there. Reginald recollects memoires from 'his day' [post-War], but also carries forward memories of 'the day' [late-Victorian years] through the stories that his grandfather, who worked on the docks, told him as a boy. To hear Reginald's grandfather's words in vivid detail breathes life into the long-gone age of observation; it feels like I am not just walking with Reginald but with the soul of a person who was *here*, where Reginald and I are standing, in the late-Victorian era. Poignantly, I notice that when recounting the following story, Reginald's tone shifts suddenly from jovial to sorrowful:

> Back in the day, and well into my day, it was a lark that when sailors docked in Hull, they could reach out and tap on pub windows for a pint without even stepping foot of the ship! It was all that close! And more so in my grandfather's day the ladies of the night, or day even, as he told me, lined the way. It must have been a welcome sight for those seeking female…company, shall we say, but like running a gauntlet for those who weren't! [Pause]. But by God they had it rough, my grandfather's people. The powers that be came down heavy on hardship back then. On drinking, begging, and the certain ladies I mentioned. You'll have heard the litany, '*from Hull and Hell, Lord preserve us'*. But as far as I know, from what Grandfather said - I suppose as some form of life-lesson for me - the poorer folk didn't look down on anybody else, not here, not Hull. They were, so many of them, all in the same boat.[102]

After saying this, Reginald stands silently for a while looking out over the dock that is now the waterscape base of a shopping centre on stilts [Princes Quay] that was built in the 1990s. It is as if Reginald is remembering something painful that that these waters brought to his kin, and I ask he has had enough or would like to go for a coffee. But Reginald wants to continue, he says that he is trying to find his

[102] Fieldnotes: walking conversation with Reginald* [pseudonym], 18th March 2022.

memories in the changed landscape after ‘they built over them’. By ‘they’, I think that Reginald has never been fond of the ‘powers that be’. From his inside pocket, Reginald produces a faded news clipping that contains an image of Princes Dock [where we are standing] as it was the 1950s. He points to the image and says that *this* is the Princes Dock that he will forever know. Having later that day found the same image in the archives it is included below, followed by a photograph taken from the same aspect during our walk in 2022:

Fig.4.15., the Princes Dock Reginald remembers* (1953).[103]

Fig.4.16., view of Princes Dock from the same aspect today (2022, own image).

[103] *Photograph taken by Mr Stanley Wakelin, Princes Dock 1953.* HHC, ref CDIMF/1/1.

The photograph of Princes Dock in the 1950s that Reginald brought along on the walk prompts him to talk more about his working life from that point onwards. It is possibly because Reginald was aware in advance of the subject of my research that he continually pauses to say, 'the ladies of the night would be standing there, over there, and there, all around there' back in 'the day'. Reginald continuously brings a scene back to life in which the 'everywhere' visibility of prostitution is a *part* of local life – or an occupational culture even – in late-Victorian Hull, with 'so many in the same boat' on a sea of hardship. This produces the sense that the 'everywhere' prostitution was entirely associated with the town's 'working-class' women, and thus the practice was entirely associated with the 'working-class' town centre as opposed to the 'politer' suburbs like The Avenues (*fig.4.9*) where commentators on the subject – or moral panic – of prostitution were arguably *not looking*. It is perhaps a stretch to think that prostitution would have also materialised in the vicinity of the 'finer' areas of Hull in the realms of moral geography on who and what *belongs* where. And with the local press coverage of incidents of prostitution being entirely focused on the 'town centre', I have not *found* the presence of prostitution anywhere other than the town centre in my archival, visual, and walking research.

The 'everywhere' spatial scale and visibility of prostitution in the town centre of late-Victorian Hull prevails during a walking conversation with local published historian Mark* in 2023. The first thing Mark tells me is that the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution in the town centre was noticed by none other than the reigning Queen Victoria herself during her visit to Hull in 1854. Mark recounts the Queen's visit from his own archival research. He tells me that after the Queen had sailed the town dock circuit on the event of its inauguration, she retired to her suite at the central Station Hotel [thereafter the Royal Hotel]. Gazing out over the town centre from the specially installed (and partially surviving) rose-tinted window, the 'bemused' Queen sighed and passed comment to the effect of:

'*Good grief, if one put a roof over Hull, t'would be one big brothel*'.[104]

[104] Fieldnotes: walking conversation with Mark* [pseudonym], 19th June 2022.

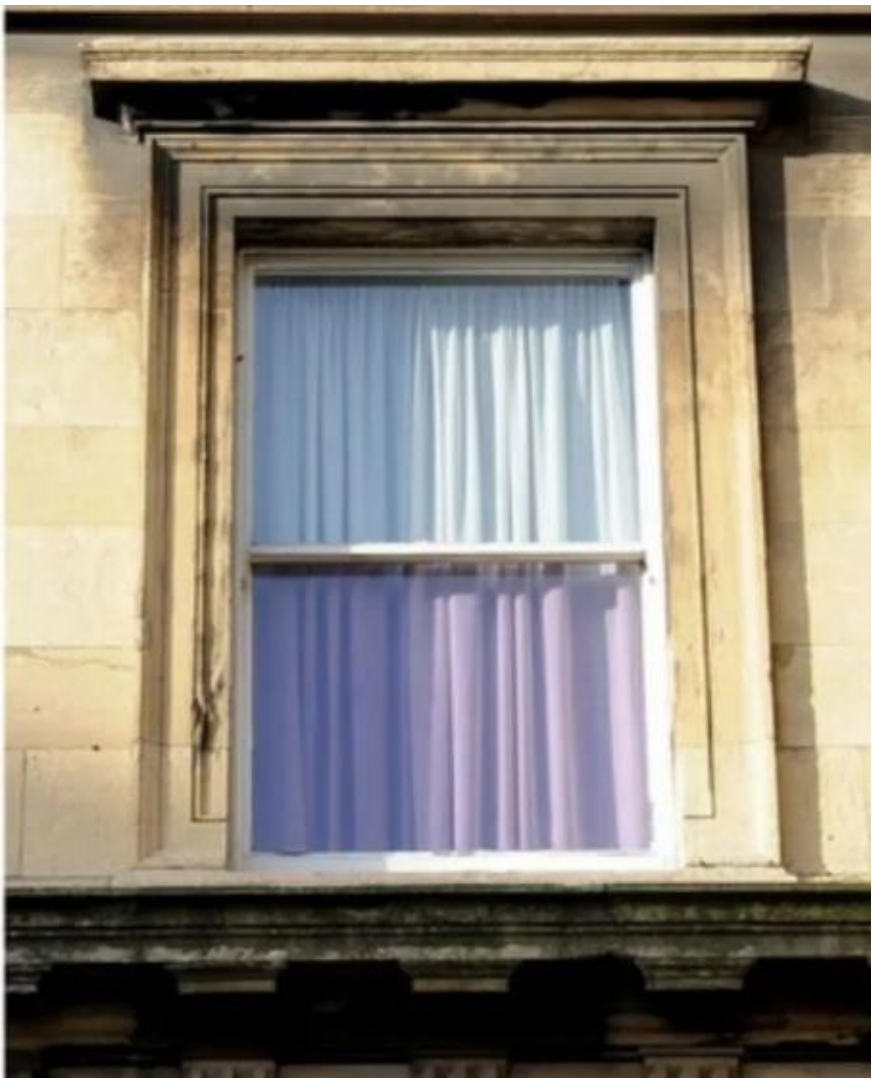

Fig.4.17., 'Queen Victoria's Window', Royal Hotel (2022, own image).

Fig.4.18., Alternative Heritage plaque; 'Queen Victoria's Window' (2022, own image).

Ultimately however, the 'everywhere' spatial scale and visibility of prostitution in the town centre is a contraction when it comes to moral geography. On one hand, the 'everywhere' visibility of the practice plays out in an almost blasé fashion. This in the sense that the visible presence of prostitution in the widescale net/network of the town centre is underpinned by an internalised moral geography that absorbs the practice as a local occupational culture of *place*. On the other, the 'everywhere' spatial scale and visibility of prostitution does constitute a grave concern as to the social and moral tone that it reflects of 'Hull' to external audiences. I will unpack this further in due course through an analytic visit to three of the implicated streets. For now, this is to say that in either case, I have found so far in this section that the moral geography of the late-Victorian town centre of Hull as *one big prostitution centre* is layered onto the locational and social actors that result in a distinct urban palimpsest as illustrated in the diagram that I have produced below:

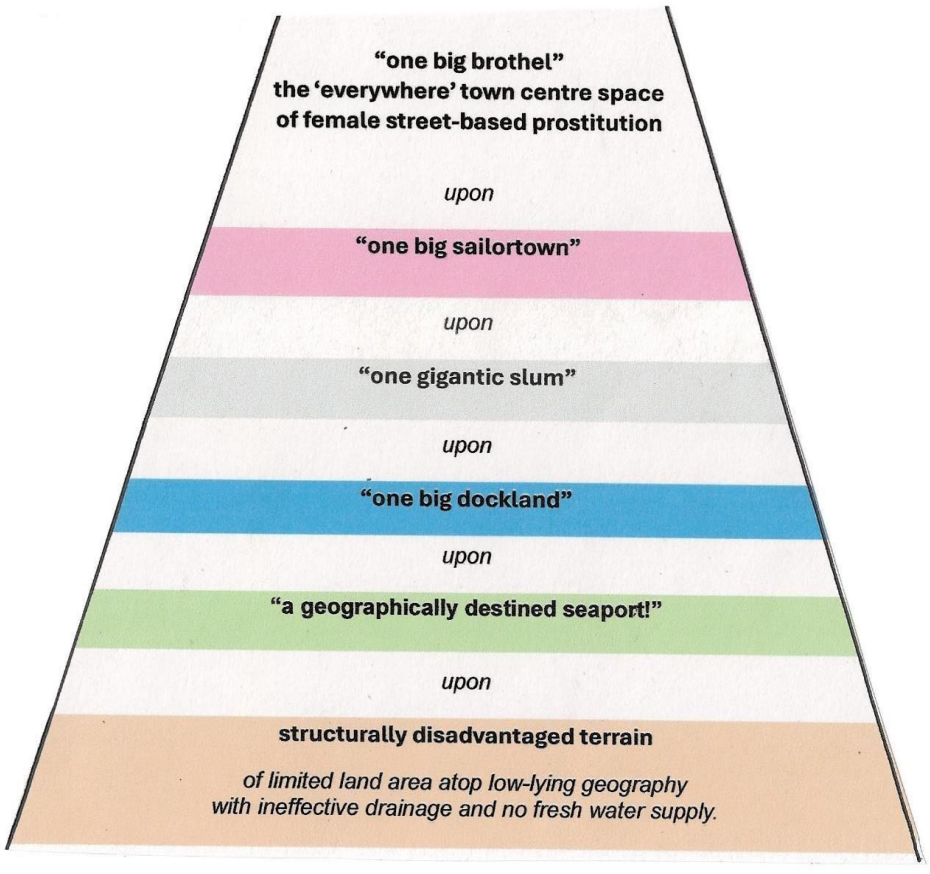

Fig.4.19., Hull: a distinct urban palimpsest, late C19th.[105]

[105] Sources from findings and literature as referenced in body of spatial analysis and in the literature review (chapter two).

The palimpsest diagram illustrates how the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution sits at the confluence of distinct actors that have produced 'one big problem' in the limited land area of Hull that is further bulging against the restrictions of the waterway boundaries. However, to the extent that this conjures the broad assumption that the implicated streets and the wider town centre constitutes one *generic* socio-urban 'problem' of 'the masses' without distinction, I will now pay an analytic visit to three of the implicated streets; namely Little Queen Street, Paragon Street, and Waterhouse Lane. This is to go further beneath the surface of the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull to find and articulate deeper spatial contexts by taking into account the differing environmental 'tone' of the three implicated streets of the visit as follows:[106]

1. Little Queen Street
   Central, *residential side-street, dead-end, 'secretive'*.
2. Paragon Street
   Central, main thoroughfare, grand architecture, 'bustling'.
3. Waterhouse Lane
   Central south, quasi-district, residential/industrial, 'nefarious'.

In the analytic visit to the three streets that follows, I take into account how factors surrounding the environmental 'tone' of each street suggests the moral geography of the locality as constructed by the social unit within, and each street's place in the wider moral geography of Hull in relation to the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution. This is important because the notion of the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution is so thematically *broad* that it infers that the implicated streets are wholly representative of the town centre without any credence given to the space at individual level. In the analytic visit, the locational and environmental overview of the streets are given in contemporaneous contexts of the 1880s-1900s period unless otherwise specified. I now begin at Little Queen Street.

[106] Street summary based on archival research of each implicated street, all of which is referenced in-text in the analytic visit.

Little Queen Street

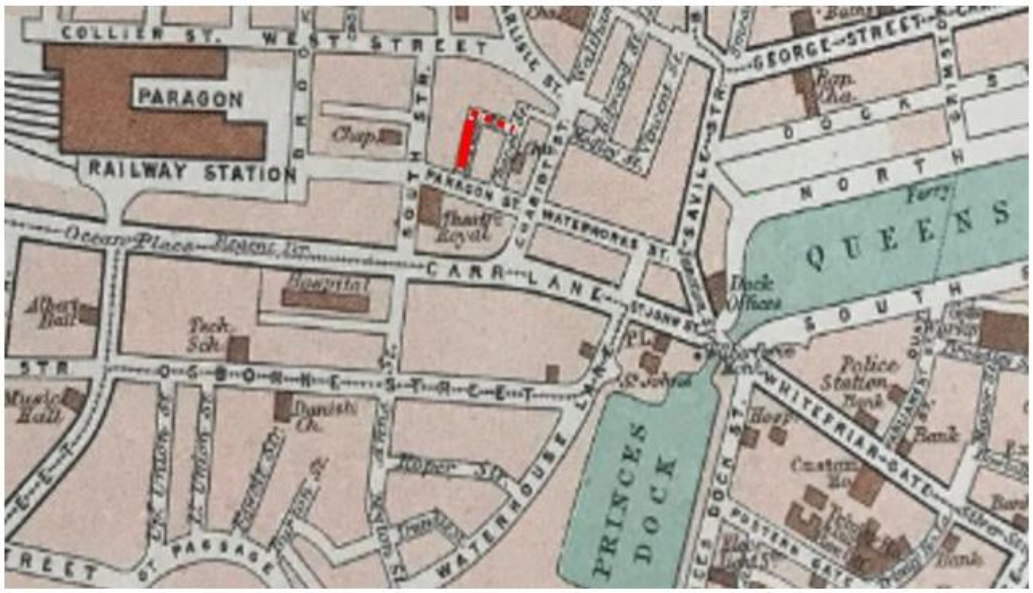

Fig.4.20., Extract plan of Hull town centre (1898); *with Little Queen Street indicated in red.*[107]

Little Queen Street is a short residential side-street situated in the heart of the town centre and lies equidistantly between the railway station and the town docks as the map above indicates. As the map above also shows, the north aspect of Little Queen Street appears a dead-end but turns into a narrow, right-angled cut-through to neighbouring Chapel Street (which is also an implicated street). To the south aspect, Little Queen Street adjoins the central, grand thoroughfare Paragon Street (also implicated). According to the census' of 1881 and 1891, Little Queen Street is home to 'working-class' residents; the dominant male occupation is given as 'labourer' and for women it is 'wife'. The residents are 'married' or 'unmarried' couples. There are few children. Most the dwellings are multi-occupancy with the majority also taking in boarders and lodgers.[108] A contemporaneous report of Hull Corporation's Sanitary Committee [1888-9] states that Little Queen Street is in 'a severe state of disrepair'.[109]

[107] Map as note 103; Little Queen Street indicated in red by the candidate.
[108] UK Census [1881, 1891], *Office of National Statistics*. Available at www.ons.gov.uk/census [Accessed 21st March 2023].
[109] *Sanitary Committee Minutes of Proceedings 1888-9*. HHC, ref CTCM/2/2/5.

Fast forwarding to the present time, an article exploring the ‘old city streets’ in the *Hull Daily Mail* (2018) describes Little Queen Street as one of Hull’s most ‘secret streets’ as “little is known about it, and there is no glaring reason to go down there and find out” (*HDM*, 2018). This assessment plausibly rests on the now largely disused streetscape as captured in the following images I took of Little Queen Street during my walking ethnography of the street in 2024:

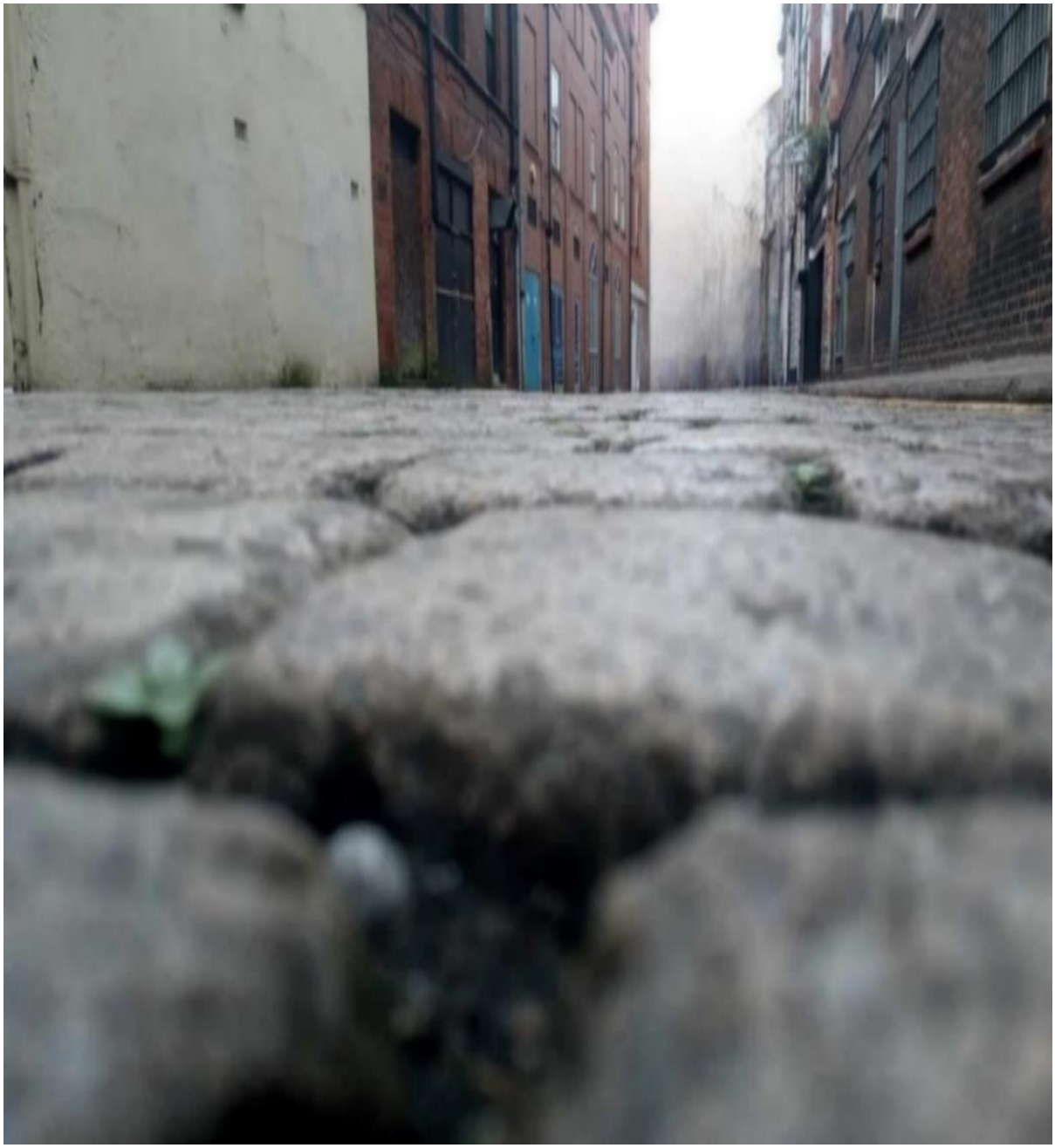

Fig.4.21., Little Queen Street (2024, own image).

Fig.4.22., view north down Little Queen Street (2024, own image).

As these images reflect however, the disused streetscape stands in beautiful decay; the aging face of the once handsome terraces keeping the secrets of the souls who came to reside within during the late-Victorian period, even though those soles are long departed. Walking up and down Little Queen Street (which takes thirty seconds each way), it has the ethereal feeling of a period drama filmset. But aside from the tattoo parlour mid-way down, the only signs of life are the ghostly branches crawling from the sills. That, and an age-warped shutter that has dislodged and billows out from an unglazed frame when the wind blows. The dislodged shutter, which is above

the green doorway of the building to the right of the tattoo parlour (*fig.4.22*), casts an eerie shadow on the old cobbles when it billows. It makes me look up at the window every time, even though I know it is the shutter, but its shadow looks like a person leaning to one side. It feels like someone, who is no longer physically there, is still keeping a look-out over the street, suspiciously eyeing whatever it is I (an outsider) is doing here.

The Kingston Tavern which stands at the threshold of Little Queen Street (on its corner with Paragon Street) has also been derelict for some time (*fig.76*, overleaf). Having long been shut-up, into a literal silence, the pub's dereliction may add to the *Hull Daily Mail* articles (2018) perception that there is not much reason to venture down Little Queen Street. But through my own archival research, I am beginning to see *why* so little is known about it. In the first instance, the only contemporaneous image of the street I have been able to find is of the pub on the corner, then known as the St Leger Hotel, taken in c.1904 (*fig.4.23,* overleaf). It is noteworthy that as the image is of the pub itself, it provides only a glimpse into Little Queen Street. Adding to the sense of Little Queen Street's 'secrecy', the photograph is not part of the Hull Corporation Public Health Department's series on housing and public houses that is retained in the archives as previously mentioned in this chapter. The photograph of the St Leger Hotel is held in its own file in the archives - in a putrid coloured folder with just this one loose image in it. On the folder, it has been noted by a member of staff in the archives that the photograph was taken by 'unknown' and donated to the archives by an 'unknown citizen'. On the back of the photograph, it is noted in swirly faded handwriting – possibly the hand of the 'unknown citizen' – that estimated date of the scene is 1904 based on the researched identity of the proprietor family in the image:

Fig.4.23., St Leger Hotel, corner of Little Queen and Paragon Street (c1904).[110]

Fig.4.24., Derelict Kingston Tavern (formerly St Leger) today (2024, own image).

[110] *St Leger Hotel, Paragon Street/Little Queen Street c1904*. HHC, ref CDPM/30/126.

The contextual currency of the photograph of the St Leger Hotel c1904 allows us to understand Banks' (2001: 7) observation that the *production* of images is an often overlooked aspect of visual research. Because although I was only able to find this *one* image that provides a *glimpse* of Little Queen Street, it gave more time to notice that *someone* took an interest in the pub (or locality) to have taken and processed the photograph, *someone else* took an interest in the photograph's subject to have researched its date and donated it to the archives, and *another someone else* in the archives felt it was worth retaining as a single item without much wider context or accompanying material. It could be that the unknown photographer's interest in the pub was part of a wider exploration of Hull street-scenes following the turn of the century given that the proprietor family are staged in the doorway in what looks to be their 'best'. However, as this is the only found image is significant because there are no images of Little Queen Street in the Public Health Department's collection, even though the Sanitary Committee [1888-9] *did* report, as previously noted, that Little Queen Street was in 'a severe state of disrepair'.

In a sense, the absence of images of Little Queen Street's severe state of disrepair tells me that nobody wanted to go down there and take photographs. Whilst this is just a 'hunch', my research on the spatial contexts of Little Queen Street as one of the implicated streets of prostitution in the late-Victorian period reinforces that it was very much a 'no-go' area. Notably, only one arrest of a woman for 'importuning men for the purpose of prostitution' is located to Little Queen Street in the found police-court commentary. But that *one* report tells us so much more. It is the case of Beth* who appears in the police-court on a September morning in 1883 after a night in gaol having been arrested outside the St Leger Hotel the previous night. The commentary begins with the magistrate having commended the five arresting officers for 'expertly apprehending' Beth whilst she was on the 'Paragon' [street] side of the corner pub; for "had she been one step more in Little Queen Street, this arrest would have been lost" (*HDM*, 1883y). Given the geographical layout of Little Queen Street with its cut-through at the farther end, it could be considered that the magistrate is meaning that the officers would have lost the arrest had Beth fled down the cut-through. However, the depiction that *five* officers wouldn't have been able to apprehend one person had she been *one step more* in Little Queen Street infers that the police do not venture into the Little Queen Street territory.

The finding that Little Queen Street is a 'no-go' area for the *police* is reinforced by a separate case in police-court commentary that same year [1883]. It is the case of Amy* who was "strategically apprehended while she was away from Little Queen Street" (*HDM,* 1883a). Amy denies the charge with what the reporter describes as 'a quiet and unmoved dignity'. The magistrate puts it to Amy that the case against her is made all the stronger by police intelligence that she lives in a brothel at Little Queen Street, to which Amy replies:

> I do live in a brothel but I am not a prostitute. I might live in a stable and not be a horse. [*Laughter in court*]
>
> (*ibid., emphasis in original*).

Whilst Amy's defiant and quick-witted response is the most noticeable aspect of this news report in the face of the patriarchal setting of the police-court, it is also significant in the contexts of this spatial analysis that that the officer 'strategically apprehended' Amy while she was *away* from Little Queen Street. The moral geography of Little Queen Street as a territorial 'spatial harbour' for prostitutes during the period further comes through during the walking conversation with local historian Mark [2023] which has taken us from 'Queen Victoria's window' to Little Queen Street in what is turning out to be a narrative geography of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull. Standing with his back to the shutters of the tattoo parlour, Mark quietly gazes left to right, up and down. Breaking the silence he says, "you wouldn't think it now, but this was the epicentre of it all [prostitution]." Mark tells me that during the 1880s and 1890s, all of the properties in Little Queen Street were brothels. Prostitution was so ingrained in the street, he says, that while Jack the Ripper was at large in London [1888], Little Queen Street was nicknamed 'Little Whitechapel' by those in the know. That said, Mark adds that this period in the life of Little Queen Street remains something of an enigma because "no one will ever really know the extent of what went on down here, the prostitution and wider criminality rarely appeared in the paper because arrests were never made – because the police would not step foot down here."[111]

[111] Fieldnotes: walking conversation with Mark* [pseudonym], 19th June 2022.

However, in the local newspaper search of Little Queen Street I conducted after the walk, I found that on a winter's midnight in 1885 the police did charge heavy-footed down the cobbles of Little Queen Street in response to a gunshot followed by cries of 'MURDER!' that pierced the still, black night. The report of the incident in the *Hull Packet* printed at daybreak says that a sailor of Liverpool who came ashore on the morning of the incident had spent his evening in the company of Adaline*, 'a known prostitute', at her home in Little Queen Street. Just towards midnight the sailor was leaving the property when he was 'jumped' by Adaline's husband in a pre-planned plot to rob the sailor of his remaining wages. In the fight that ensued, the sailor drew his revolver and shot Adaline's husband dead in the street (*HP*, 1885). It is a bleak tale all round but of immediate significance in this report is the emphasis that the report places on the *moral geography* of Little Queen Street from the outset:

> The scene of the crime is Little Queen Street, an entry leading out of Paragon Street, the majority of the residences in it being houses of ill-fame, occupied by men and women of the lowest character. It is one of the lowest quarters of the town, and is notorious for robberies from the persons who are induced to resort thither. Many men have been victims of the prostitutes dwelling here, with those selected for depredation being usually seafarers arriving from a voyage, or men visiting from the near countryside.
>
> (*ibid.*).

The emphasis on the moral geography of Little Queen Street in this article marks the locality as one of the most degraded (or 'lowest') quarters of the town where the residents are of a unitary 'low character'. Although there is no reference in the article to the 'low character' of the residents having been spatially conditioned by an environment in a 'severe state of disrepair' (per the Sanitary Committee report) as was the key argument of conceptual moral geography that popularised during the period (see Driver, 1988). There is also no mention of the locational contexts of Little Queen Street having *produced* an ideal prostitution space; as a secretive little 'dead-end' harbour in the immediate vicinity of the railway station, docks, and central thoroughfare.

However, with only a few found reports on the 'goings-on' in Little Queen Street (as a 'no-go' area for police), the article above is the first found 'warning' shot to men who may be contemplating 'resorting thither' - and thus to the residents of Little Queen Street in the article's 'exposure' of their 'way of life'. In a sense, the gunshot that ricocheted into the night in the winter of 1885 signalled the death knell on Little Queen Street's incubation of that 'way of life'. For although it was the murder that finally 'outed' Little Queen Street, it doesn't appear to the murder or wider criminality (e.g., robberies) that are of the most significance in the article's narratives of moral geography. Collectively, the moral geography *applied to* Little Queen Street as the town's 'lowest quarter' inhabited by persons of 'the lowest character' and the territorial moral geography of lawlessness *shaped by* the social unit within culminates in Little Queen Street being finally 'outed' as the epicentre of prostitution (to borrow Mark's expression) in the late-Victorian town centre. With this article being the first found 'firing shot' at Little Queen Street therefore, it is the emphasis on *prostitution* in the street that seemingly engages combative action.

A public notice printed in the *Hull Daily Mail* in the spring of 1889 states that the Health Inspector has been into Little Queen Street (notably accompanied by police officers) and declared the street 'unfit for human inhabitation'. The public are informed that the current residents are to be 'separated as a unit' and rehomed in different localities across the town. After structural repairs are carried out, the tenancies are to be handed to 'new families' (*HDM*, 1889). The census of 1901 indicates that the 'new families' have moved in, and Little Queen Street has taken on a different occupational character; having become, rather biblically, a street of carpenters.[112]

The 'cleansing' of Little Queen Street emphasises the tenacity with which the idea of moral geography informed locational actors of policy. For while Little Queen Street was not physically erased through actors of planning and development, the social 'cleansing' largely pursued the interests of the wider public. However, the *extent* of the social 'cleansing' in the breaking-up and displacement of the previous

[112] UK Census [1901], *Office of National Statistics*. Available at www.ons.gov.uk/census [Accessed 21st March 2023].

occupant unit also seems to be in the interests of preserving the reputation of the main thoroughfare that Little Queen Street adjoins. I now unpack this as I take one step out of 'secretive' Little Queen Street onto the 'all-seeing' thoroughfare of Paragon Street.

Paragon Street

Fig.4.25., Extract plan of Hull; town centre (1898); *with Paragon Street indicated in red.*[113]

Paragon Street was laid in 1802 as the main thoroughfare between Hull Paragon Railway Station and the town centre; though as a *Hull Live* (2021) feature on the history of Paragon Street says, it was not built up until the 1860s when it became, by design of the 'city fathers', 'the architectural jewel in the crown' of the late-Victorian town centre. This means that in the 1880s-1900s period of observation in this time-chapter, Paragon Street's embodiment of a flourishing, and enticing space of elegant shopping arcades, nightlife and theatre has been produced to present 'the good first impression of Hull to visitors alighting the train' (*ibid.*). In the 1880s period, Paragon

[113] Map as note 103; Paragon Street indicated in red by researcher.

Street is an object of interest to the local streetscape artist Frederick Shultz Smith [1860-1925] as can be seen in the following example of his work:

Fig.4.26., streetscape of Paragon Street by F.S. Smith (c1880s).[114]

As the streetscape above reflects, there is a London-esque appearance to Paragon Street with its wider carriageway and ornate buildings. The most ornate is arguably the Theatre Royal, which is to the right of the stationary carriage in Smith's drawing. That said, a visiting London architect is less than impressed; writing in *The Builder* (1861) that Hull's Theatre Royal is "just a magnified dolls house, both common and tasteless", and that Paragon Street itself is "an odd melee of pubs calling themselves 'supper houses', 'oyster rooms' and 'cigar depôts', as found on the continent, but out of place here" (p. 453). In the face of such criticism of its 'assumption of grandeur', Paragon Street is a feature of souvenir postcards during the late-Victorian period as the following example shows, followed by a photograph taken from the same aspect during my walking research in 2024:

[114] *Images of Victorian Hull; F.S. Smith's drawings*. HHC, ref L081.

Fig.4.27., Postcard depicting Paragon Street (1900)[115];
[*nb. young boys peer curiously down Little Queen Street; left by the horse and cart*].

Fig.4.28., Paragon Street (2024, own image).

[115] *Postcards: Paragon Street*. HHC, ref CDMX/3/2/1.

Conversely, Paragon Street, the 'architectural jewel' of the town centre in the late-Victorian era, is also the location of the highest found number of arrests relating to prostitution in the police-court commentary spanning the 1880s-1900s period of observation. As table.6 (appendix.a) indicates, this equates to just fourteen (found) arrests of women for 'importuning men for the purpose of prostitution' over the thirty-year period. Significantly however, the police-court commentary surrounding those fourteen arrests brings to the fore a dominant narrative that recurs in every single case, which is that prostitution 'simply cannot happen' in *Paragon Street.* There is no specific reference in the commentary as to how the development of Paragon Street as an elegant space of leisure and consumption simultaneously *produced* a space of prostitution; in so far as descriptives of Paragon Street run in parallel with London's Regent Street as a 'polite' locality by design that that the police needed to 'clear' of prostitution (see Walkowitz, 1992; Nead, 2005). However, the spatial contradiction of Paragon Street as 'the good first impression to Hull' but the 'worst' implicated street of prostitution recurs in the police-court commentary from the outset.

The first case of prostitution in Paragon Street found in the police-court commentary sub-data set is that of Mary* who is arrested in the high summer of 1881. Mary was apprehended after the arresting officer observed her "loitering outside a cigar room in Paragon Street for twenty minutes and giving no credible excuse for doing so" (*HDM*, 1881a). In the police-court, Mary insists that she was "just taking in the aroma, as a keen toker [herself]" which prompts 'riotous laughter in court'. Calling 'ORDER!', the magistrate rhetorically asks Mary, "is it not true madam that you have been before me eight times already this year for prostituting yourself in Paragon Street?"; to which Mary replies, "Sir, I am no scholar, so I don't know." The report concludes by saying that as laughter erupted again, to which the defendant joined in, the magistrate said with his head in hands, "Really, we must do something about Paragon Street" (*ibid*.).

It is noteworthy that the article above infers that Mary has been before the magistrate eight times already that year, but this is the first found case of prostitution in Paragon Street in the police-court commentary. It could be that the typeface reading software on the digital newspaper platform did not detect every case, or it might suggest that not *every* case was reported on given the frequency of arrests in Paragon Street. Yet, the narrative concern that prostitution is 'infiltrating' *Paragon Street* persists in

the found commentary to a degree that this narrative is not found to apply to other implicated streets. For example, in the case of Gertrude* and Amelia* [1890], the so-described 'troublesome duo' were arrested on a summer's evening in Paragon Street after being "particularly rowdy in their solicitation of men outside the Theatre Royal" according to the arresting officer's testimony (*HDM*, 1890f). The officer goes on to say that "these two strumpets were taking advantage of a particularly popular play that drew great crowds over the course of the week." Giving some indication that the attractions of Paragon Street also attracted the presence of prostitution, exacerbated by the street's centrality as the 'gateway' to the town, the magistrate angrily states that "visitors and the good people of the town should be able to frequent Paragon Street without seeing such filth." Echoing the magistrate's ire, the Chief Constable addresses the court:

> There have been many serious complaints about prostitutes infecting Paragon Street. The moral women of the town are inconvenienced, having to avoid the street altogether for fear of their good name, and men are hindered in their path at every step by troublesome women like these two creatures [Gertrude and Amelia]. This state of things must be stopped in Paragon Street, it brings shame upon the town from its very gateway.
>
> (*ibid*.).

In view of the narrative of concern that prostitutes are operating in *Paragon Street*, the finding of only fourteen pieces of associated police-court commentary over the thirty-year period becomes significant as it correlates with the finding of a police 'taskforce' that sets about 'expelling' prostitutes from Paragon Street in return for not arresting them. A general news item published in the *Hull Daily Mail* in 1883 states that the police 'taskforce' dedicated to Paragon Street has succeeded in its mission to 'expel prostitutes' from Paragon Street in an initiative to 'leave them be' on the understanding 'that they will not ply their trade there' (*HDM*, 1883m). Thus, the finding that the police are pushing prostitution *away* to other areas of the city allows us to understand the geography of the 'everywhere' space of prostitution as something that has also been produced by locational actors of policing in addition to actors of planning and development that renders the town 'one big dockland'.

That said, we can also understand how the planning and development of Paragon Street as an elegant space of leisure and entertainment has produced a lucrative ground for prostitution that is so lucrative that implicated women find ways to 'trick' the taskforce by having their male accomplices solicit on their behalf. This finding arises in the police-court appearance of Patrick* in 1883. Patrick was arrested by the Theatre Royal after officers observed him "trying to entice paying men back to his woman" (*HDM*, 1883k). In court, Patrick says that he was "just asking the toffs [wealthy] to spare some tobacco", but the magistrate accepts the police evidence that "[Patrick's] woman is a known prostitute who he lives with in a brothel at Little Queen Street" in the sentencing of Patrick. Noting that there is no legal precedent to charge a male with soliciting prostitution, the magistrate gaols Patrick for 'living on the immoral earnings of prostitution'. In his closing remarks, the magistrate says:

> Let this be a lesson to the other men and women of this sort who think they can trick the law in this way and stain the name of a fine street. And to you [Patrick], I personally recommend that you, and your woman, speak to the parson.
>
> (*ibid*).

The recurring narrative that prostitution cannot *happen* in *Paragon Street* above all other streets, but that prostitution persists there during the period, illustrates that it is particularly lucrative ground for implicated women to have found creative ways to still use the street to 'solicit' by having male accomplices solicit for them. Although the prolonged presence of a male figure in public space was altogether less suspicious than that of a female figure under the gendered structures of spatiality during the period (Rendell, 1998), this would also infer that a middle-class and elite clientele of prostitution did exist in Hull during the period given that the middle-classes and social elites were the 'desired' consumers of the elegant environment of Paragon Street laid down by the 'city fathers' (*HL*, 2021). Therefore, the police taskforce that engaged to push prostitution *away* from Paragon Street co-engineered a particularly notorious 'red-light' area within the 'everywhere' town centre spatial scale of prostitution as I now unpack as I walk a short distance away to Waterhouse Lane.

Waterhouse Lane

Fig.4.29., extract plan of Hull; town centre (1898), *with Waterhouse Lane indicated in red.*[116]

Waterhouse Lane is situated in the south-central town centre and runs adjacent to the rear of Princes Dock as the contemporaneous map above indicates. In the late-Victorian period, Waterhouse Lane has a 'quasi-district' character owing to the cross-streets and unnamed alleyways that render the area 'a dark little warren' that exists on the 'bottom edge of town'.[117] The census' of 1881, 1891, and 1901 paint a picture of a densely populated fused-environment where 'working-class' dwellings and sailor's lodging houses are compacted amongst pubs, merchant warehouses, wholesalers, foundries, stables and carriage depots.[118] During a walking conversation with local historian Mark* [2023], whom has so far taken me on a narrative trail of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull, he tells me that 'this was a dark place' that 'freaks him out to this day'. But this is not in reference to any such reputation the area had for prostitution or wider criminality in the late-Victorian period, but because Waterhouse Lane was, Mark tells me, the site of the town's gallows in medieval times. But returning to life in Waterhouse Lane during the

[116] Map as note 103; Waterhouse Lane indicated in red by candidate.
[117] *Waterhouse Lane*, Carnegie Heritage Centre. See www.carnegiehull.org. [Accessed 1st May 2023].
[118] UK Census [1881, 1891, 1901], *Office of National Statistics*. Available at www.ons.gov.uk/census [Accessed 21st March 2023].

late-Victorian era, the following photograph provides view of the street in the c.1890s:

Fig.4.30., Waterhouse Lane (c1890s).[119]

Conflicting with the quiet, Sunday morning-esque view of the street in the image above however, Waterhouse Lane is the location of the second highest number of arrests of women for 'importuning men for the purpose of prostitution' as found in the police-court commentary sub-data set (table.6, appendix.a). This equates to twelve found arrests, which, at face value, is not an incredibly high number of the course of the thirty-year period of observation. Again, this could be due to the typeface reading software not detecting all cases, or the idea that not all cases were reported on in the frequency of the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution.

[119] Images of Waterhouse Lane c.1890s, courtesy of *Memory Lane*. See www.memorylane.co.uk [Accessed 12th June 2023].

However, it is also found to reflect a collision of locational and social actors that 'tolerated' prostitution in Waterhouse Lane from the different angles of 'onlookers' and 'insiders'. In terms of onlookers, it was found in the pervious section that the police taskforce set about pushing prostitution out of Paragon Street to other areas of the town in return for not arresting implicated women. The following editorial in the Humber regions' *Eastern Morning News* dated 1883, the same year that the police taskforce engaged in Paragon Street [*HDM, 1883m*], admonishes the 'rife prostitution' in Waterhouse Lane and infers that it has materialised as result of the police having pushed prostitution out of Paragon Street and not tackled it directly. In the editorial, Watehouse Lane is described as 'the sink of iniquity', where "more prostitutes assemble than anywhere else in the town". According to the editorial, Waterhouse Lane is where "prostitutes have taken to harbour when pushed out of Paragon Street where their presence more visibly blights the appearance of Hull" (*EMN*, 1883b). In inferring that Waterhouse Lane is the murky depths (or 'sink') of the town centre, it is coincidental but salient that Waterhouse Lane is situated on the southern (or 'bottom') edge of the town, as it reinforces on a sensory level the finding that prostitution is being pushed as far 'down' as possible to keep it from the social, political, and economic 'heights' of Paragon Street where prostitution does not 'belong'.

In terms of the moral geography of Waterhouse Lane as constructed by insiders of the 'district' however, a recurring narrative in police-court commentary of cases of prostitution in Waterhouse Lane suggests that the presence of prostitution already 'belonged' in 'the dark little warren'; being ubiquitously tolerated by residents and business owners as a networked source of income. For example, the first piece of police-court commentary [dated 1880] details an undercover police operation that targeted the Royal William pub as the socio-spatial 'hub of the Waterhouse Lane community' (*HDM*, 1880ag). On the back of the police operation, the landlord of the pub, Frank*, appears in the police-court on the accusation of his 'knowingly permitting prostitutes to assemble'. Frank denies the accusation, and is notably supported by a large number of residents and business owners in the district who have provided the same statement verbatim: "*I have never seen such a thing in the Royal William, the police are mistaken*" (*ibid.*). The newspaper report states

that Frank is released without charge on the lack of corroborative evidence and returns to the running of the Royal William; an image of which (albeit undated) follows:

Fig.4.31., Royal William, Waterhouse Lane (undated).[120]

With the local residents and business owners standing by Frank in the face of police surveillance, the sense of a territorial, united front emerges. Reinforcing this finding, a later piece of police-court commentary concerning prostitution in Waterhouse Lane doesn't focus on the woman in question as much as it focuses on the situation in the 'district' overall (*HDM*, 1899a]. Addressing the court, the Chief Constable laments that the community 'unit' of Waterhouse Lane is a wall that the police cannot break:

> A great number of the dwellings in Waterhouse Lane and its cross-streets operate as brothels, including the abodes of married couples, families, the foreign folk, and even the elderly. With all of them either involved in the network of prostitution, or not phased by it, we [police] do not receive neighbourhood complaints to act on as we do in other areas of the town. The community unit in Waterhouse Lane is a very complex one, a law unto itself.
>
> (*ibid.*).

[120] As note 127.

Although the Chief Constable stresses to the magistrate that the police receive no neighbourhood complaints to act on when it comes to Waterhouse Lane, it is clear that there is a beat patrol there (as opposed to Little Queen Street, for example) to incur the number of found arrests in the police-court commentary. It is therefore a contradiction that Waterhouse Lane is the location of the second highest number of arrests for 'prostitution' during the period with it being the location that the police are pushing prostitution *to* at the same time. However, another dominant narrative theme emerging in the police-court commentary concerning cases of prostitution in Waterhouse Lane relates to members of the local beat either being in 'the pockets' of the denizens of Waterhouse Lane or use the 'way of life' there to their own end. This theme notably arises in the case of Clara* who appears in the police-court on a January morning in 1881 and is charged with 'importuning men for the purpose of prostitution' outside the Royal William the previous evening (*HDM*, 1881i). In the dock, Clara, who is described as 'a woman probably once handsome, but now very ravaged', openly says that she is a prostitute, but asserts that she was not working at the time of her arrest. Dismissing Clara's statement as 'farcical', the magistrate gaols her for thirty days and advises her to 'reflect on her life' during this time. As Clara is sentenced, she 'excitedly' calls out to the arresting officer whom she addresses very familiarly by his surname:

> Smith*! You b*****d! Tell the truth! You lifted me out of spite because I wouldn't give you my rum! Last time, when I gave you rum, you let me off, and the time before that too! I shall never speak to you again!
>
> (*ibid.*).

Thus, there are several layers to the moral geography of Waterhouse Lane as a 'tolerated' space of prostitution; as a space that prostitution is pushed towards by the police, a space that prostitution is already well-embedded within the 'walls' of the community unit as a networked income, and which further benefits members of the local beat police to their own personal gain. However, this culminates in the explicit reputation of Waterhouse Lane as one of the most nefarious localities of prostitution in the town during the period. Significantly, an editorial on the scale of prostitution in the town centre printed in the *Hull Daily Mail* in 1891 describes the

district of Waterhouse Lane as ‘the Alsatia of Hull’; in reference to the lawless area around London’s Whitefriars that was a sanctuary for debtors and criminals in the seventeenth century [Hertzler, 2009]. This reference, in its severity, is used in the article to implore that the civic priority ought to shift from tackling the ‘grave issue’ of prostitution in Waterhouse Lane to erasing the district altogether:

> In this morally pestilential locality [Waterhouse Lane], prostitutes of the most dangerous and degraded type harbour and sally forth upon their unsuspecting and often utterly helpless victims. If the whole neighbourhood were razed to the ground, and every vestige of this sanctuary of modern rascality blotted out of existence, the entire town would be less scandalised, and its moral tone vastly improved.
>
> (*HDM*, 1891f).

With the situation in Waterhouse Lane being perceived as so severe that the district is likened to *Alsatia*, the extract above provides the first found reference in the local press of the period to the idea that *demolition* would be the way forward. However, no such extreme action takes place and albeit not solely because the district is still standing, prostitution persists in Waterhouse Lane through the closure of the period of observation (*HDM*, 1909a). Notably, I have not included any photographs of Waterhouse Lane as it looks today [2020-4] in this section. This is because I revisit Waterhouse Lane in chapter seven when it re-materialises a hundred years on as Hull’s primary ‘red-light area’ during the 1980s-90s. As such, the analytic visit to the three implicated streets concludes here on the key finding that while the implicated streets are of different environmental tones, this reinforces the ‘everywhere’ scale of prostitution in late-Victorian Hull in the sense of the ‘everywhere’ characteristics of implicated localities.

Accordingly, as prostitution is found to persist in the ‘everywhere’ spatial scale in the 1880s-1900s period in Hull, we leave Hull in this timeframe on a grave notice printed in the *Hull Daily Mail* (1909) stating that the city is maligned by the ‘wave of immorality’. Adding a layer of contextual severity to the notice, it is printed within a black, ornate border, like a funeral announcement; in a sense lamenting that Hull’s moral compass is dead in the water:

How Hull is Maligned.

We are suffering now under a dreadful lapse of morality. The whole tone of moral life in Hull seems to have gone down, and we need a physician. Some of our streets are a scandal and a disgrace. The number of suicides or attempted suicides is startling. Like a wave, immorality has spread over the place, and now the city heaves with voluntary or mercenary prostitution. The frequency of crime is alarming even for a seaport.—"*Eastern Morning News*" *to-day.*

Fig.4.32., 'How Hull is Maligned', (*HDM,* 1909).

[Transcription: How Hull is Maligned; We are suffering now under a dreadful lapse of morality. The whole tone of moral life in Hull seems to have gone down, and we need a physician. Some of our streets are a scandal and a disgrace. The number of suicides of attempted suicides is startling. Like a wave, immorality has spread over the place, and now the city heaves with voluntary and mercenary prostitution. The frequency of crime is alarming even for a seaport.

From Hull, I now go 247 miles, as the crow flies, across the North Sea to similarly trace and examine the spatial contexts of the 'red-light area' in Rotterdam on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In Rotterdam, 1880s-1900s

*Fig.4.33., Postcard depicting Rijnhaven, Rotterdam (*c.late-C19th*).*[121]

Late-nineteenth century Rotterdam is a maritime *tour de force* – 'the Gateway to Europe' (Schraver, 1948: 42), as illustrated in the contemporaneous postcard above. Over the course of Industrialisation, Rotterdam's vast port estate has undergone extensive modernisation and has been expanded further by several new docks that flank the city's westerly margins (*ibid*.). Gerrit J. de Jongh (1893), the Director of the Public Works of Rotterdam on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, proudly proclaims that the inherent Dutch mastery of land-and-water management has pushed Rotterdam geographically and economically closer to the global frontier via the hydraulic feat of engineering that is the Nieuwe Waterweg [New Waterway] [1872)], a deepwater shipping canal that is carved through the Hook of Holland. As de Jongh (who is affectionately known locally as 'the harbour man' to this day) heralds, this has reduced the city's distance from the

[121] *Found on a market book stall* [1890s section]*, Markthall, Rotterdam* [in person, October 2022].

North Sea to less than 20 miles [30km] (p. ix). The following images show a plan of the proposed mouth of the Nieuwe Waterweg on the North Sea [1858], the first digging of the waterway [1866], and a film still of the waterway in operation [1924]:

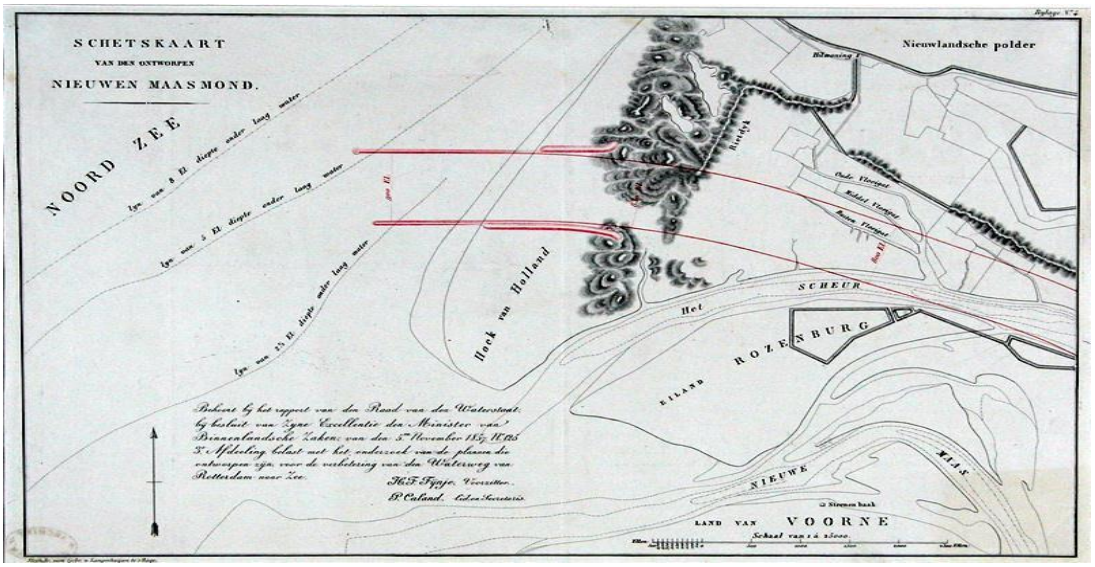

Fig.4.34., Sketch map of designed mouth of Nieuwe Waterweg at Hoek van Holland (1858).[122]

Fig.4.35., workers digging the Waterweg at Rotterdam (1865).[123]

[122] In *Report of the Council of Water Management*. Stadsarchief Municipal Archives [SMA], ref RI-90D.
[123] SMA, ref XXVIII-10-02-8.

Fig.4.36., film still of ships on the Nieuwe Waterweg at Rotterdam (1924).[124]

Alongside the exponential port growth of Rotterdam during the Industrial nineteenth-century, rapid processes of urbanisation have taken place; marking the city's major transition from 'merchant port' to 'world transit port' – or the collective 'transitopolis' (van de Laar, 2004, 2007). As the following contemporaneous view of Rotterdam c. 1890s shows, the hitherto untouched seventeenth-century Dutch harbour town-ship appearance [Schama, 1984: 375] is all at once penetrated by modern infrastructural efficacies of material progress:

[124] SMA, ref 1970-613.

Fig.4.37., Steigersgracht canal neighbourhood, central Rotterdam (c1890s).[125]

Amidst the vision of material progress however, this image evokes the sense that the quaint gables of 'Old Rotterdam' are resentful of the *fin de siècle* overwriting of the landscape. The historic, central canal neighbourhood of Steigersracht that is depicted in the image has been severed in two by the steel blade of the railway viaduct. The buildings to the right, and some to the left, appear hunched; their windows solemnly looking down to the ground as a freight train steams through. As the local author A. Gordijn (1980: 42) similarly observes of this image, "beyond the magnificent view of the viaduct, one wonders whether a characteristic part of Rotterdam has been sacrificed or whether a show of perseverance is shown."[126]

In terms of the sacrifice or perseverance of 'Old Rotterdam' that emanates from the rapidly changing urban landscape, the 'Old Rotterdammers' are also having to adjust to the social change in the form of the influx 'newcomers' who have come to work in the transitopolis resulting in an exponential population growth (Scholten *et al.*, 2020). At the beginning of the port expansion works [1850s], the population of

[125] *St. et Co*. collection, in A. Gordijn, 1980: no. 42. SMA, ref S11C15/XIB33.
[126] Translation provided by senior archivist at Stadsarchief Rotterdam.

Rotterdam was around 90,000. Just forty years on in 1891 – marking the mid-way point of this time-chapter of observation – the local population has near tripled to around 240,000 (Baedeker, 1891). As noted in the previous section of analysis on Hull, the influx population growth is by no means unique to Rotterdam as a port or an Industrial urban centre in general during the period (see Lee, 1998; Lawton and Lee, 2001). Though where other cities (like Hull) are struggling under the crushing weight of the human surge, the forward-thinking 'city fathers' of Rotterdam engage processes of annexation to minimise the risk of mass overcrowding by extending the city limits, and to simultaneously extend the reach of the municipality as the central power (van den Noort, 1992). Between 1869 and 1895, the surrounding settlements of Feijenoord, Delfshaven, Katendrecht, Charlois, and Kralingen are forcibly (i.e., through economic promise) subsumed into the city of Rotterdam as districts (*ibid*.).

Collectively however, the exponential port, urban and human growth of Rotterdam is something of a double-edged sword for the city's political, mercantile, and social elites. On one hand, the growth is embraced. This is because the local mercantile ideology that had previously rejected 'outsider' disruption to the 'traditional' ways of commerce has given way to the economic allure of modern world trading (van de Laar and van der Schoor, 2019, pp.29-30). But on the other hand, the mass influx of 'labouring classes' from 'other places' signals 'the making of Rotterdam as a working-class port city' (*ibid*.). This causes grave concern to the middle-classes and elites as to the incoming of 'Otherness' threatening the 'traditional' social and moral values of 'Old Rotterdam' (Schama, 1984: 375). Such fears are heightened by local religious figureheads who state in number that the rapid, widescale growth of Rotterdam is ultimately 'the death sentence on social and moral decency' (*ibid*.). While the fear that the building up of 'great cities' is un-building 'traditional' social and moral codes is felt far and wide across the burgeoning urban centres of the Industrialising West (Mumford, 1961, pp.468-507; Lees and Lees, 1976), the fear in Rotterdam is sensory from the outset through the medium of contemporaneous maps. As the following maps show in juxtaposition, the sentimental cartography of seventeenth-century 'Old Rotterdam' adorned with flora and cherubs is all at once overwritten by the functional representation of the late-nineteenth century 'working' city of Rotterdam:

Fig.4.38., Illustrated map of Rotterdam (1695).[127]

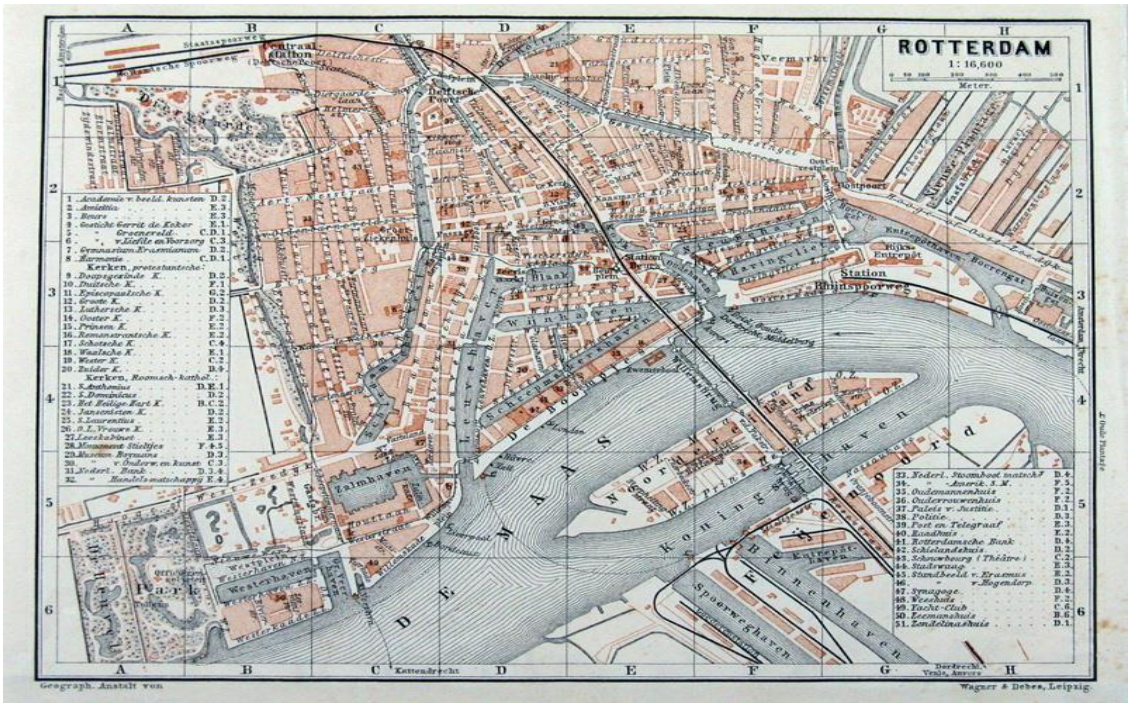

Fig.4.39., Map of Rotterdam (1880).[128]

[127] *Tabvla Roterodami Novissima* (1695-6). SMA, ref 4001/1558/RI/32/II.

[128] *Map of Rotterdam*, Karl K. Baedeker (1880-5). SMA, ref 4001/1558/KT/3129.

Furthermore, the widely-felt fear that the heightened social and urban change in late-nineteenth century Rotterdam signals the death of traditional social and moral 'norms' consistently resurfaces in my archival research of the press coverage of 'prostitution' in Rotterdam during the period of observation, 1880s-1900s. For this search shows that there is one particular district that is continually referred to as a cause for deep concern; the Zandstraatbuurt [Sand Street District]. Moreover, the contemporaneous press coverage of the district (which is commonly referred to as 'the Zandstraat' in the local news of the period) is positioned in the press as bearing the symbolic brunt of the wreckage of social and moral values in late-nineteenth century Rotterdam.

Using *the Delpher Historical Newspapers of the Netherlands* digital platform[129] (which has an auto-translate function), I input the keyword search term 'prostitution' (which on the platform automatically includes variants, e.g., 'prostitute'). I then refined the results by the full date range of this time-chapter [1st January 1880 – 31st December 1909]. In the similar search I undertook for Hull [British Newspaper Archives] in the previous section, I refined the search by 'place of publication'. But in the Rotterdam search, I found that local and regional media outlets covered multiple cities or areas within (or across) the country's historic provinces. As such, I did not refine the search by place of publication in this instance but input 'Rotterdam' as the 'key location of interest'. This produced 1,486 returns.[130]

Scrolling through the returns, I found even at cursory level that the Zandstraat's name glares like a beacon. Having therefore refined the search to specifically include 'the Zandstraatbuurt, Rotterdam' as the 'key location of interest', it was a significant finding from the outset that the Zandstraat is mentioned in 1,086 (or 73%) of the found local press references to 'prostitution' in Rotterdam across the 1880s-1900s period.[131] Therefore, in contrast to the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution in Hull during the same period that took time to navigate from the outset of the analysis, the local press coverage relating to Rotterdam in the late-nineteenth century immediately signposts us to the:

[129] *Delpher*. see www.delpher.nl. [Last Accessed 4th May 2024].
[130] As above, search date 12th November 2022.
[131] As above.

[tr. *Scandalous scenes in the Zandstraat*][132]

Fig.4.40., headline, Rotterdamsche Nieuwsblad 1898).[133]

Based on the immediate indication of the local press of the period that the Zandstraat is a heightened prostitution centre in Rotterdam during the 1880s-1900s, I now pay an analytic visit to the district to examine the contemporaneous spatial contexts of concentrated prostitution in the locality.

'De Zandstraat'

During the 1880s-1900s period of this time-chapter, the Zandstraatbuurt [Sand Street District] is a small, aging and impoverished neighbourhood situated in the heart of the city centre [*fig.4.41*, overleaf] and is home to around 2,400 residents [1904] (Jonker Jr, 1904: 5). The district is named after its principal street [Sand Street] which is why the district is commonly known as 'the Zandstraat'. Covering a relatively small area of around four acres (*ibid*., p. 2), the populous and built-up district is further compacted through its topographical situation between two canal waterways, the Coolvest and the Delftsche, which merge at the northerly point of the Zandstraat's boundaries as the plan of the district (*fig.4.42*, overleaf) shows:

[132] Auto-translation by *Delpher*.
[133] On the 'brazen prostitution' in the Zandstraatbuurt (*RN*, 1898).

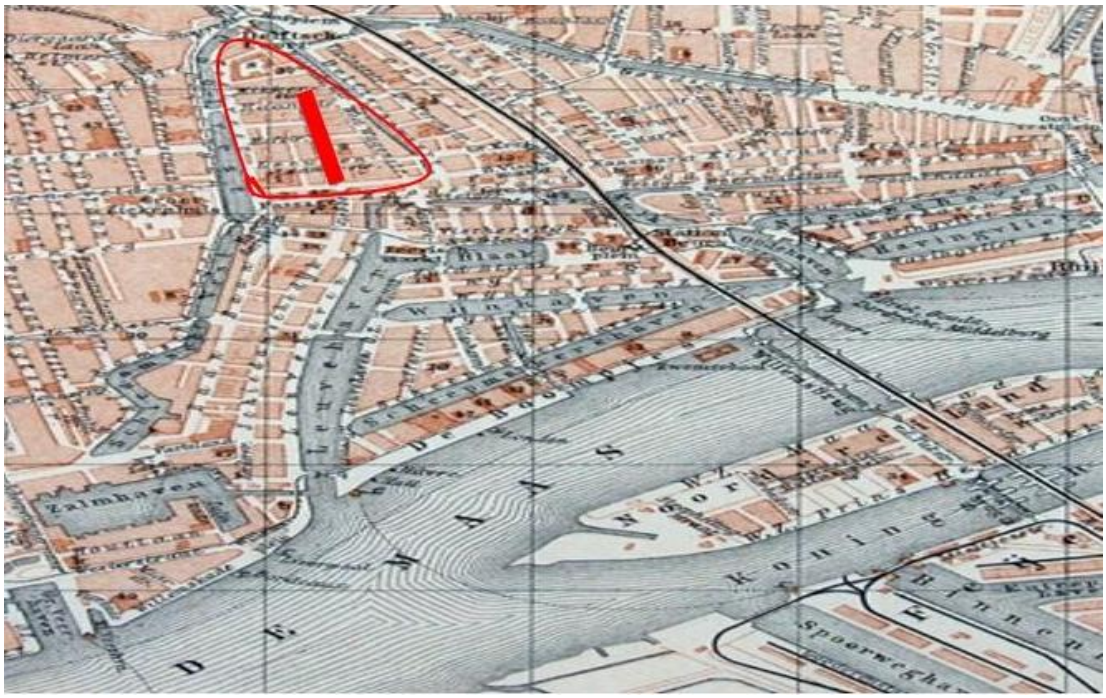

Fig.4.41., Extract map of Rotterdam (1880);
the Zandstraatbuurt's boundaries indicated by thin red line,
and principal street by thick red line (drawn on by candidate).[134]

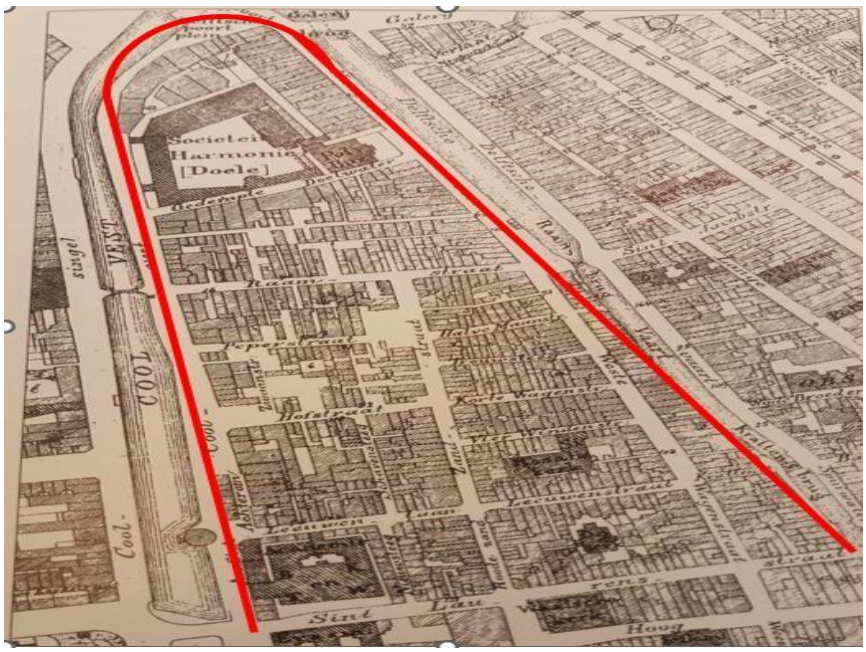

Fig.4.42., plan of the Zandstraatbuurt (1912);
boundaries indicated in red by candidate.[135]

[134] Map as note 92; Zandstraat district and principal street indicated by candidate with assistance of senior archivist at SMA (in person, 14th April 2023).
[135] In *De ondergang van de Zandstraatbuurt* [the demise of the Zandstraatbuurt] (Romer, 1999: 9); boundaries indicated by candidate with assistance of senior archivist, SMA (in person, 14th April 2023).

As the district is generally abbreviated to 'the Zandstraat' in the local press of the period, this is how I will refer to it in this section of analysis and will clarify when I am referring singularly to the principal street [Zandstraat]. Further relating to how the district is referred to during the period, it is notable that many of the traditional 'Old Rotterdammers' choose to refer to it as 'de Polder' during the period because the name 'Zandstraat' carries connotations of 'criminality, deviance, whoring and shame' (Jonker Jr., 1904: 5). Such connotations are continuously sustained by local, regional and national press narratives of the district during the period and further manifest as broad *assumptions* in news reports of incidents elsewhere in the city of Rotterdam and further afield. For example, when the freshly severed hands of a man are found discarded in rags in two separate locations around the westerly docks of Rotterdam on a summer's morning in 1893, the *Bataviaasch Niuewsblad* [Batavia newspaper], which was read throughout the colonies of the Dutch East Indies, states that "the limbs probably came from the vicinity of the Zandstraat" and "probably had something to do with a skirmish in the prostitution centre" (*BN*, 1893). In a broader assumption still, a bulletin in the local newspaper *De Massbode* that brings news of 'Jack the Ripper's' latest victim in the East End of London states that "the killer is probably connected in some way or another with the Zandstraat" (*DM*, 1888).

That said, the frequency of incidents of intoxication, robbery, violent affray, murder, manslaughter and 'assassination attempts' amongst wider criminality that do occur in the district (according to police arrests) fire out on an alarmingly weekly basis in a digital scroll of the 10,806 news returns for 'the Zandstraat' in general throughout the 1880s-1900s period[136] (see also Baptist, 2022 for graphs indicating the volume of negative press coverage of the district in the late-nineteenth century). Thus, the assumptions that the Zandstraat is 'probably' connected to incidents elsewhere is arguably bound into the reputation the district has accumulated in the suggestion of its inverse moral geography. Furthermore, a captivating body of retrospective local essays on the Zandstraat in itself indicates that there is a distinct and lasting significance to this now long-extinct district in the urban history of Rotterdam, and

[136] *Delpher*, search date 24th December 2023.

more so provides deeper insight of the socio-spatial significance of the Zandstraat as a particularly compelling microcosm of the city on the intensive threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Collectively, this small but enthralling body of scholarship demonstrates how the stark connotations of criminality and deviance applied to the district manifest in the contextual layers of its 'Otherness'. That is, as one of the most impoverished neighbourhoods in Rotterdam during the period, doubling as the city's main sailortown quarter, and tripling as the city's 'nefarious' prostitution centre. By and large however, it is the concentrated presence of *prostitution* (beyond wider sailortown 'cultures' [like drinking and gambling] and poverty *en masse*) that most underpins the district's notoriety in the broad public imaginary during the 1880s-1900s period. For at the time, the Zandstraat is not just spatially marked as the city's 'red-light zone' on a local level – it is a globally known *rosse buurt* ['red-light district'] of the continent (van Vree, 1991; Romer, 1999; Baptist, 2022).

The international awareness of the little district's 'red-light' geography is entwined to a significant extent in its sailortown character that marks the Zandstraat with a heightened flow of transience through the comings and goings from farther shores. Literature encountering prostitution in port cities well reminds us of the embedded spatial synonymity between 'the red-light area' and 'the sailortown quarter' – atop 'the impoverished neighbourhood' – during the period of observation (Hugill, 1968; Meyer, 1999; Milne, 2016; Beaven, 2021). And in the particular contexts of the Zandstraat, the finding that its moral reputation is carried far beyond Rotterdam's (and the wider Netherland's borders) by travelling seafarers is well exemplified in the following exert, dated 1909, from the popular Dutch satirical magazine of the period *De Ware Jacob* ['The True Jacob']:

> Steam to the end of the earth and ask a random sailor if he knows Holland, and he will immediately grin victoriously at you and say the historic word 'Zandstraat!'; their national compass is the two-syllable word 'Sand Street!'
>
> (p. 26).[137]

[137] Available at SMA, open access shelves: *Periodieken*, 3002.

The above exert, which is from a column on prostitution in the Netherlands, infers that sailors across the globe embrace the co-ordinates of 'Sand Street!'. Though it is salient that the Zandstraat of Rotterdam is the butt of the joke in the column and not, for example, De Wallen of Amsterdam – given that De Wallen was one of the most infamous 'red-light districts' - marked by 'debauched' sailortown revelry - on the continent at the same time (see Lee, 2013). From the outset of my physical research of the Zandstraat in the city archives however, the spatial contexts of its materialisation as a landscape of prostitution are significant from the ground up. In a published manuscript on the 'nachtwerk' ['nightwork'] in the Zandstraat dated 1904, the socio-religious commentator W. Jonker Jr. draws on the moral irony of the Zandstraat's very being upon 'a poldered swamp':

> For Rotterdammers this is absolutely no news and foreigners will be very uninterested. So why mention it? Because in the course of time the Zandstraat has also become in a figurative sense a real swamp, a cesspit of all kinds of uncleanness, a sea of iniquity. It has become notorious, not only in here our fatherland, but also, unfortunately, far beyond its borders; a place in which so many a sailor has dropped his anchor and suffered moral and physical shipwreck.
>
> (pp.5-6).

Although Jonker Jr's words read initially as overly condemning of the moral tone of the Zandstraat, it is noteworthy that he was a figurehead of the city of Rotterdam's evangelism project *Jeruël.* The project was based in the Zandstraat, as Jonker Jr. writes, to expedite *Jeruël's* ameliorative activities and save the souls of prostitutes through measures of local solidarity. Therefore, the 'nachtwerk' in the title of the manuscript relates to the nightwork of *Jeruël* amongst the *nightlife* in the district – through which the Zandstraat had also come to be referred to during the period as 'the nachbuurt' ['the night district'] of Rotterdam (*ibid*., p. 4). Thereby, the explicit narratives of contempt for the Zandstraat in Jonker Jr's passage above could also read as a desperate attempt of *Jeruël* who are seeing 'a major problem' in the Zandstraat at ground level to engineer wider collaboration in the improvement of the social and spatial conditions in the district. Notably, the manuscript is printed for public purchase:

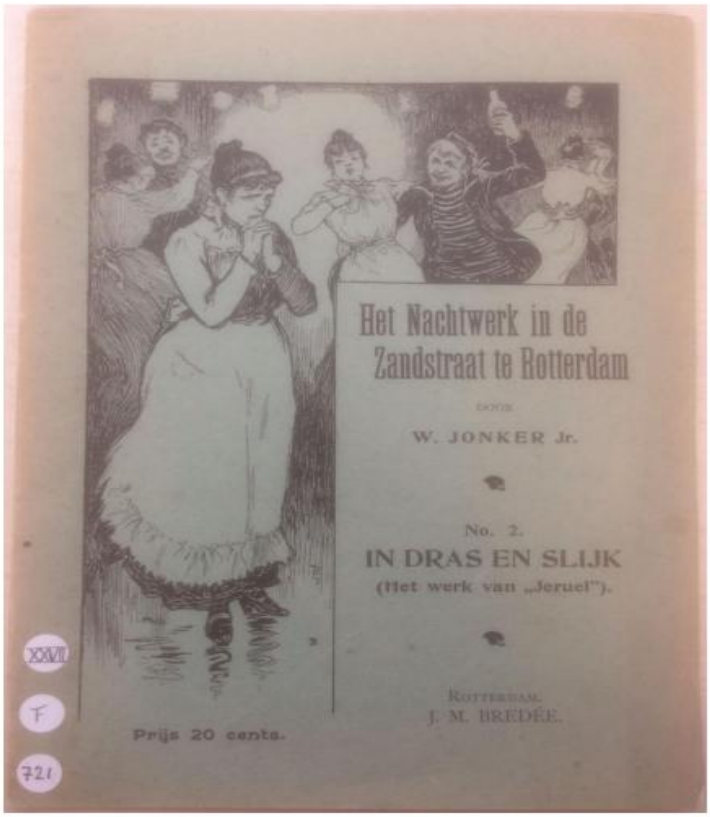

Fig.4.43., cover of In Dras en Slijk evangelist manuscript [1904] (2023, own image).

Furthermore, as this image shows, Jonker Jr's manuscript suggests from the very front cover that *Jeruël's* mission in the Zandstraat is an arduous one by the way in which the illustration contrasts a modest, pious young woman amongst an 'amoral' party crowd that includes sailors and 'women in white' (I will come to the depicted significance of the 'white' dress of the women momentarily). Ultimately, the use of this illustration on the front cover portrays that traditional notions of morality are outnumbered in the spiritual darkness of the 'nachtbuurt'. In the first pages of the manuscript, Jonker Jr. reminds the reader that when the formerly 'quaint life' on the ancient polder gave way to early urbanisation during the seventeenth century, the Zandstraat was developed into a fine and stately neighbourhood along the pleasant Coolvest canal. In a sudden change of tone, Jonker Jr castigates the excessive building up of the neighbourhood over the course of Industrialisation; implicating that this is causal to the 'excessive moral rot' that has now [1904] set in before taking the reader on what truly feels like a walk-along of doom around the Zandstraat:

> See all the brothels, pubs and dance salons filling the environment with moral tones so disgusting that we are in dangerous territory here, very dangerous territory indeed. We are in the cesspit in the bowels of a great city. They speak of Rotterdam as the Gateway to Europe? Well as is clear, the Zandstraat is the Gateway to Hell.
>
> (p. 7).

Jonker Jr's observation that the proliferation of nightlife venues in the Zandstraat sustain the 'disgusting' moral tones that fill the district's air is arguably a reflection of the core perspectives of urban evangelism, as is Jonker Jr's suggestion that the rapid, rudimentary building up of the district in the Industrial era is causal to its run down appearance. The following photograph of the Zandstraat c1900s overleaf (*fig.4.44*) provides a panoramic view of how excessively built-up the district had become.

Fig.4.44., panorama of Zandstraat neighbourhood (foreground); taken from Sint-Laurenskirk [church] tower c1900s.[138]

[138] *C. Vreedenburgh Collection*. SMA, ref 2007-2545-03.

In the image above, I notice from the outset the way in which the district forms the shape of a ship's hull – in the sense of the district appearing as a ship moored on that stagnant 'sea of iniquity' as the black smoke of a factory stack resembling a ship's funnel fills the air. My eyes are then drawn to the bottom right hand corner of the image, where the buildings are crushed in to the claustrophobic extent that these properties cannot *breathe*. I also note that this photograph was taken from the overlooking tower of Sint-Laurenskirk [St Lawrence Church] – in a sense from 'the moral high ground'. Resonating with this, Jonker Jr's (1904) socio-religious manuscript (produced around the same time as the image above) acknowledges that the building-up of the district has diminished the chances of the occupants to lead 'a moral life', but also continually lays the blame of the moral condition of the Zandstraat at the feet of its occupants - with no mention of the private speculators and landlords who *directed* the district into a 'slum quarter'. Notably, the idea that the private speculators and landlords that had directed the Zandstraat into a run-down district were also sustaining its inverted moral codes had been brought to the public's attention in a report published a year prior to Jonker Jr's manuscript. At a glance, the front cover of the report bears resemblance to Jonker Jr's text but in this case depicts a lost looking woman who stands *alone*:

Fig.4.45., Arm Rotterdam! Report [1903] (own image, 2023).[139]

[139] Available at SMA, ref XXVIII E 52.

Commissioned by the municipality's public health department, the report of 1903 shown above is the write-up of a survey of housing conditions in the Zandstraat undertaken by municipal councillor Hendrik Spiekman and local journalist Louis Schotting [1902-3]. It is salient that the report is titled *Arm Rotterdam! Hoe het woont! Hoe het leeft!* ['Poor Rotterdam! How it is housed! How it lives!'], and not '*Poor Zandstraat!'* given that the survey was only undertaken in the Zandstraat and no other impoverished areas in the city. This produces the sense that the report, which was also available for public purchase, is an attempt to stimulate public outcry as to the condition of the Zandstraat – not just in itself but as a blot on the wider landscape of Rotterdam.

In full, Schotting and Spiekman's illustrated report describes (and paints) a picture of a district in distress. Reading like the signalling of an SOS, the report seems to be fulfilling a [municipally commissioned] brief to stimulate more understanding and empathetic attitudes towards the inhabitants of the Zandstraat. A recurring theme of the report is that the inhabitants are not pathologically 'rotten' but have been *left* to 'rot' by unscrupulous 'slum landlords' who have no moral compass of their own as the living conditions of the less fortunate in society. On the first pages alone, the report describes how the occupants labour in an environment that is 'severely overcrowded', 'airless', 'rotten smelling', and 'plagued with rats' (pp.vii-i). Also of significance here is that from the outset the authors address the reputation the Zandstraat has for frequently catching fire owing to the use of paraffin lamps by intoxicated residents. Schotting and Spiekman point out the district catching ablaze is more so due to the incredibly close-quarters of the crumbling abodes upon the sandy terrain. On the crumbling state of the abodes, the authors also point out the frequency that occupants – including children – fall to their deaths in the street from the dilapidated high windows. On the drunken stereotype of the Zandstraat's residents, the authors say that intoxication is the escapism in the social and spatial 'misery' of the environment that is not so much *overrun* with prostitution, but *understands* prostitution as a locational recourse for the women along with the wider network of pubs, music and dance salons that make this 'the district of the night' (*ibid*.).

Commercial directories of Rotterdam covering the 1880s-1900s period indicate that the number of pubs, music and dance salons (collectively in the category of 'entertainment venues') tops a hundred in the confined space of the Zandstraat's four acres.[140] Furthermore, Franciscus van Vree's historical study of the district *De verlokkingen van de Zandstraat: vertier aan de zelfkant van een stedelijke samenleving* ['The temptations of the Zandstraat: entertainment on the fringes of an urban society'] (1991), tells us that if the Zandstraat's brothels were included as 'entertainment venues' in the trade directories of the period (which they were not), that figure topping a hundred would quite easily double (pp.29-30). The following photographs provide a contemporaneous street scene of the principal street, and then one of the brothels and one of the dance salons in the vicinity. Notably, the photographs are part of a series taken by the eminent Dutch photographer Henri Berssenbrugge who had an avid sociological interest in visually chronicling life in the Zandstraat between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century:

Fig.4.46., Zandstraat (principal street) (c1900s).[141]

[140] *Adresboeken Rotterdam* [1880, 1890, 1900]. SMA, ref 3023-26, 3023-34, 3023-44.
[141] *Henri Berssenbrugge Collection*. SMA, ref IX-3502-01-01-02.

Fig.4.47., A brothel in Trouwsteeg alley, Zandstraatbuurt (1908).[142]

In the image above, note the brothel is to the left which carries the sign ‘Hier Klopt Men’ meaning ‘this is where one knocks’.[143]

[142] *Henri Berssenbrugge Collection*. SMA, ref IX311/02/2.

[143] Brothel pointed out and translation given by senior archivist at SMA (in person, 14th April 2023).

Fig.4.48., Dance Salon on Zandstraat [principal street] *with Mosterdsteeg* ['Mustard Alley'] *to the right* (c1910).[137]

[137] *Henri Berssenbrugge Collection*. SMA, ref 4113.

That Berssenbrugge went off the main street and into the alleyways of the Zandstraat tells us in ways that words can't fully reach just how closely built the district was; this was a brave move on Berssebrugge's part given that the Zandstraat alleyways were 'the blackest hotspots' of criminality in the wider scale of the district, and what largely mapped the Zandstraat as Rotterdam's 'frightening slum maze' in the broad public imaginary (Baptist, 2022: 1316). And while there were other impoverished so-called 'slum areas' in Rotterdam at the time (van de Laar, 2016), the 'frightening' reputation of the Zandstraat is comparatively brought to the forefront of local press reports on the inverted moral geography of the district which extends into the narrative that the entire district does not *belong* in Rotterdam. For example, an ethnographic editorial in the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (1887) takes us on a walk around the city on the Christmas Eve of 1887. The walk initially reads as a heartwarming tale of yuletide glow where in 'the fine streets' of the city families are dining by candlelight and in 'the poorer streets' families are huddled by the fireside; each descriptive portrait framed by the gathered festive leaves around the windows. The warming tone of the tale abruptly runs cold however when the journalist ventures into the Zandstraat:

> For a district that once had the most beautiful alleyways in all of Rotterdam, the most polished front doors, the most desirable tiled doorsteps, the Zandstraat is now rotted by prostitution and the most filthy pubs and shacks that go with it. The inhabitants are a disgrace and the environment is increasingly diminishing in disgusting tones. It is a shame that the Zandstraat lies right in the heartland of our city, and not somewhere on the far beyond of the city where we can blot out its shameful existence from our minds.[144]
>
> (*RN*, 1887).

Furthermore, the immediate emphasis on *prostitution* in the extract above as the root cause of the 'disgusting' moral tone of the district (i.e., that the pubs surface alongside prostitution and not vice versa) is a recurring theme in the local press' coverage of prostitution in the district. That is, with prostitution being consistently brought into the frame in reports of criminality in the district even when prostitution is not said to be involved in an incident of crime. For example, in the high summer

[144] Auto-translation by *Deplher*.

of 1881, a knife fight breaks out between two groups of ‘drunken’ sailors in ‘one of the Zandstraat’s notorious dance salons’. The fight is said to have broken out over a gambling debt one of the sailors incurred the previous night. The report makes no mention of prostitution (or prostitutes) being involved in, or present at, the fight. But prostitution is immediately brought to the fore in the journalist’s assertion that “these problems of drinking, gambling and fighting with knives wouldn’t happen so often in the Zandstraat if the police put a stop to the prostitution once and for all, because this is why the poor sailors who visit our city go to the Zandstraat in the first place” (*TC,* 1881).

Notably, there *is* cause for a heightened police presence in the district in the form of the dedicated Zandstraat night-watch (*fig.102*, overleaf). But above the general frequency of crime in the Zandstraat, the night-watch are consistently urged by the local press to combat the *prostitution* in the district, i.e., not the drinking, gambling, fighting with knives or wider such recurring incidents. In another local news report on sailors fighting with knives in the principal street on a winter’s night in 1880, the fight is said to have broken out of a pub when one sailor stole another sailor’s coat. Again there is no mention of prostitution being involved in any way, yet the journalist says that the Zandstraat night-watch should ‘do whatever they can to stop the flagrant prostitution in the district’ – with no mention of the night-watch doing whatever they can to stop sailors flagrantly fighting in the district. The report stays firmly on the urgency to eradicate prostitution in the Zandstraat, stating that:

> It surely cannot be so difficult for the police to spot them [prostitutes]. These women parade the Zandstraat by day and by night, preying on the poor sailors who come ashore expecting to find Rotterdam a fine city but whom are rather met with the dirt and depravity of the Zandstraat. The police well know who these women are…these women have the nerve to wear white!
>
> (*DM*, 1880b).

As aforementioned in this chapter, the significance of the ‘women in white’ on the front cover of the evangelist manuscript on the district (1904; *fig.4.43*), women who worked as prostitutes in the Zandstraat wore white dresses. This was a locally-

constituted visual code to potential purchasers of sex. And with white being a colour women seldom wore in full during the period, it was also worn as an act of solidarity with women and girls of the Zandstraat who did not work as prostitutes to safeguard them from being accosted by the male clientele in the district (van Vree, 1991: 36; Romer, 1999). The following contemporaneous photographs show the police night-watch of the Zandstraat [c1900s] and street scenes that include 'the women in white':

Fig.4.49., the Zandstraat police night-watch (c1900s).[145]

[145] In *De ondergang van de Zandstraatbuurt* [The demise of the Zandstraatbuurt] (Romer, 1999: 50);

Fig.4.50., the Zandstraat [principal street i] (c1900s).[146]

Fig.4.51., the Zandstraat [principal street ii] (c1900s).[147]

[146] In *De ondergang van de Zandstraatbuurt* [The demise of the Zandstraatbuurt] (Romer, 1999: 46).

[147] As above (Romer, 1999: 47).

Far from portraying an 'unruly' landscape of prostitution where the women actively 'prey on sailors' however, the above images of the implicated women [in white] on the principal street of the Zandstraat c1900s depict an orderly and friendly scene where women chat to male and female passers-by, or are politely seated in the doorways of cafés. Further contradiction the local press' urgency for the police night-watch to stop prostitution in the district at all costs, a number of news reports that urge the police as such inadvertently indicate that there is a good working relationship and rapport between the police and the prostitutes of the Zandstraat. First, there is the finding that the night-watch use affectionate or jovial nicknames for the women such as 'Lief Duifje' ['Sweet Pigeon'] (*RN*, 1893i), 'Little Nel' (*RN*, 1895d), and 'Eiffel Toren' ['Eiffel Tower'] - on account of the woman's height (*RN*, 1893e). In the latter report, there is a sense of aggrievance on the journalist's part that when a Zandstraat policeman was asked for the true identity of 'Eiffel Toren' who had been involved in a fight with her 'much shorter' husband, the policeman would not give her real name – 'choosing instead', the journalist says, 'to preserve the prostitute's identity' (*ibid*.). Secondly, in the aforementioned news report of the sailors' brawl in the dance salon over a gambling debt - in which prostitution was seemingly without cause brought into the frame (*TC*, 1881), the reporter on the scene had questioned a Zandstraat policeman about the 'problem' of prostitution in the district. Notably, the journalist opted to include the policeman's response even though it contradicts the very premise of the news report on the urgent need to eradicate prostitution – as the 'root of all evil' - in the district. As the policeman states:

> The prostitutes cause us no problems. It is the men, always drunk and fighting, they have knives, we are unarmed. If I see drunkard sailors coming out of a pub spoiling to fight, I go in another direction. I have a family of my own, and you will understand that my wife and my baby son are too precious to risk my life on the blade of a drunk guy. As long as we do not have weapons to defend ourselves, we must turn a blind eye to a great deal. But if we turn a blind eye to the prostitutes, as you accuse us, it is because the prostitutes are not the problem here.
>
> (*ibid*.).[148]

[148] Translation given by auto-translation software of *Delpher*.

Resonating with the lighter tones of the landscape of prostitution in the Zandstraat as depicted in the previous images containing 'the women in white', the Zandstraat policeman's expressed notion that there is a major problem in the district – but that the prostitutes as a whole are not it – further connects to my archival finding of the certain spirited air of the Zandstraat. That is, the spirited air of a local community that the women in white contribute to, as opposed to being the protagonists in the frequently projected bleakness of the district's 'spiritual darkness'. The spirit of the Zandstraat is most recognisable in the influential writings on the neighbourhood as it still lived and breathed in the early 1900s by the Dutch writer Marie Joseph [M.J] Brusse who is shown in the image below:

Fig.4.52., Marie Joseph Brusse (1920).[149]

[149] Available at *Nederlandse Nationaal Archief* [National Archives of the Netherlands], *www.nationaal archief.nl*, ref 7.000SPABB 16645.

Brusse, who was widely regarded amongst the 'labouring classes' at the time as 'the prince of journalists amongst the people' (P. Brusse, 2017), emerged as the pre-eminent chronicler of life in the Zandstraat in the early 1900s. Brusse articulated the cultural imagery of the Zandstraat as 'the most spirited and peculiar neighbourhood in all of Rotterdam' [Brusse, 1917: 3] in his series of consecutive columns on the district that were printed in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* [NRC] between 1910 and 1911. With the NRC being Rotterdam's leading liberal newspaper at the time with a readership primarily consisting of wealthy middle-class merchants and port entrepreneurs, Brusse incurred criticism for his 'fond' narratives on the Zandstraat. In the wider press, he was called an 'aristocratic socialist' whose social vignettes of an outcast district were just a sellable form of 'poverty as entertainment' that served his and the NRC's bank balance, and not the 'slum dwellers' of the Zandstraat he so championed (Hopmans, 2010: 16). As Brusse defended however, his explorations of the Zandstraat – at the critical point in time that the future existence of the district was uncertain – could not have been achieved outside the liberal press environment given the importance that the NRC attached to editorial independence (*ibid*.).

Under the Brusse family publishing house (which had also published the housing survey *Arm Rotterdam!* in 1903), Brusse's columns on the Zandstraat were later published as *Het rosse leven en sterven van de Zandstraat* ['The Life and Death of the Zandstraat Red-Light District'] in 1917.[150] Across the fourteen chapters of the book, Brusse focuses on the authentic character of the people of the Zandstraat as a community who live on the margins of urban society. To a degree, Brusse is instilling in his readers a more compassionate view of the prostitutes (and wider inhabitants) of the Zandstraat as a community who are not so much inciting crime and deviance, but whom are stuck somewhere between the making of Rotterdam as a 'working-class' port city and the material advancement of Rotterdam as a city of stature. In the first few pages alone, Brusse makes the following poignant observations:

[150] Available at SMA, ref VI C 82; translation as given by institution's auto-translate software.

> Are the streets really that much worse, that much meaner in the Zandstraat than in the other, 'neat' districts of the city? […] From many people with prestige and authority, […] like doctors, for example, and leading police officers, […], I always hear a certain affection when they speak of the womenfolk living and working there. […] And really, in their own judgement, the people of the Zandstraat are not despicable people, they wish no harm to anybody, but simply live off the Zandstraat's business in all its openness.
>
> (pp.3-5).[151]

More poignantly still, Brusse's observations of the cultural spirit of the Zandstraat are expressed in the present tense. This is significant because at the time of *Het rosse leven's* (1917) publication, the Zandstraat no longer existed. The fate of the Zandstraat was sealed in 1909 on the municipality's decision to erase the district through full scale demolition (Baptist, 2022). It is salient therefore that the reprint of Brusse's 1910-11 columns as *revised* chapters in *Het rosse leven* (1917) keep the present tense. Because when Brusse rhetorically asks 'are the streets really that much meaner in the Zandstraat than in the neat areas of the city…?', he first asks this on the brink of the Zandstraat's demolition [1910] – in a sense making a last plea to Rotterdam's elite and bourgeoisie that something uniquely spirited and authentic was about to be dismantled. Although Brusse's 1917 *Het rosse leven* is a reprint of his columns, the same question is asked again when the district was already gone – in a sense suggesting that the local elite and the bourgeoisie could still learn from the irreversible burial of an authentic part of Rotterdam under 'the dull urban hypocrisy' (as Brusse saw it [P. Brusse, 2017: 144]), that surrounded it.

As we leave this time-chapter on Rotterdam, municipal planning records show that the Zandstraat is to be cleared to make way for a new, grand infrastructural tone in the city centre. This is in the form of the new Stadhuis [City Hall], which will stand upon a new stately boulevard called 'Coolsingel'. The Coolvest waterway that has run alongside the Zandstraat for centuries will be filled in to make way for the new boulevard. An image of the realised City Hall from the aspect of the Coolsingel as it looks today [2023] then follows.

[151] As note 156.

Fig.4.53., Technical design of the proposed City Hall, Rotterdam(1910).[152]

Fig.4.54., City Hall, Rotterdam (2023, ownimage).

[152] Available at SMA, ref XII-34-01-70.

In the plans to erase the Zandstraat to make way for the City Hall, the first phase of demolition comes in 1909. As a news article in *De Massbode* bluntly reports, there will be no replacement housing built in the district and the municipality are not responsible for the rehoming of the current occupants (*ibid*.). As an avid visual chronicler of life in the district, Henri Berssenbrugge returns to bear witness to the falling of the Zandstraat. As the following haunting images from Berssenbrugge's collection show, the residents hold on into the 1910s; living amongst the ruins of the Zandstraat for as long as built remnants of the district's still stand:

Fig.4.55., first phase of clearance complete at the Zandstraat(1912).[153]

[153] Henri Berssenberger collection. SMA, ref II-15-00-01.

Fig.4.56., Demolition site between the Zandstraat [principal street] and the Coolvest waterway to make way for City Hall (1912).[154]

To Vincent Baptist (2023) who writes emotively on lost 'pleasure districts' in the conflictive contexts of port city nostalgia, the Zandstraat ultimately succumbed to Rotterdam's overwhelming drift into modernity. Yet, the *erasure* of the Zandstraat

[154] Henri Berssenberger collection. SMA, ref II-15-00-01-4.

inadvertently anchored its special status in Rotterdam's urban history - as one of the most widely rejected 'red-light areas' that contrariwise came to have a distinct legacy in continuous processes of urban renewal and gentrification in Rotterdam. As Baptist observes, Brusse's *Life and Death of the Zandstraat red-light district* that called for a reprieve of the Zandstraat's sudden death sentence beneath the bulldozers was reprinted in the 1970s when urban renewal and gentrification initiatives would come to dominate Rotterdam's political agenda (pp.76-9). For now, the demolition of the Zandstraat is a fitting point at which to summarise the comparative findings of this chapter.

Chapter summary

In this empirical chapter, I have explored the spatial contexts of the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution in Hull and the 'red-light district' of Rotterdam's Zandstraat neighbourhood as the primary 'red-light' localities in the cities on the climax of rapid urbanisation on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At this critical juncture, social commentators across Britain, Europe and the wider West are abundantly aware that the raising of Industrial communities to serve 'the city's' commercial machine results in a breakdown of traditional social and moral 'norms' (Lees and Lees, 1976) which is intrinsically linked to the idea that prostitution has reached unparalleled heights in the urban centres of the Industrialising West (Henriques, 1962: 17). Yet, this is found to spatially manifest in very different ways in Hull and Rotterdam; with prostitution reflecting a spread geography across the 'everywhere' town centre space of Hull but being relatively confined to one district (the Zandstraat) in Rotterdam. That said, constants are also found to emerge in these contrasting spatial contexts.

A major constant is that the 'red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam in the period reflects the notion that prostitution is not just a crime of poverty, but a locational culture connected to the comings and goings at the port. In Hull, I connected this to the distinct urban palimpsest of Hull with the 'everywhere' 'red-light' space being layered onto the 'everywhere' impoverished and sailortown space. Similarly in Rotterdam, the 'red-light area' of the Zandstraat is layered on the impoverished and sailortown dimension of the district during the period. In relation to this, there

are also relational but distinct environmental factors to both the unconfined (Hull) and confined (Rotterdam) 'red-light' space in the cities. That is, in Hull the town centre itself is of an 'everywhere' dockland function, and Rotterdam's Zandstraat district sits like a ship's hull at the confluence of the busiest waterways leading into the city from the port. It could be said therefore that the distinct urban palimpsest of Hull is very much implicated in the materialisation of the 'everywhere' 'red-light' geography in the period. And similarly for Rotterdam, an article on the Zandstraat on the local city archives website explicitly states that "it is thanks to the Nieuwe Waterweg that Rotterdam became the Gateway to Europe in the late-nineteenth century, but at the same time it is because of the Nieuwe Waterweg that the Zandstraat became the prostitution centre of Rotterdam."[155]

In relation to the seafaring relationship between prostitution and the port in Hull and Rotterdam during the period of observation, another constant in the 'red-light' spatial contexts of the cities is the extent to which prostitution materialises as a locally embedded occupational culture. In Hull, the analytic visit to three of the implicated streets provides deeper insight of the 'everywhere' 'red-light' geography of the town centre; which at times plays out like a form of entertainment in the local police-court commentary. Simultaneously however, the local press make recurring reference to the 'shocking' scale of prostitution in the town centre. To this effect, the locational and social actors of erasing prostitution from some localities, and to a far lesser extent from others, demonstrates significant collisions in the locally constituted suggestions of moral geography. That is, the narrative that prostitution does not 'belong' collides with the self-constituted moral geographies of entire community units within which prostitution is a well embedded way of life. This is also found to be the case in Rotterdam's Zandstraat, where the moral castigation of the district's 'flagrant prostitution' to external audiences is met with refute from the local police watch that 'the prostitutes are not the problem'.

In Hull, the quasi-district of Waterhouse Lane bears echoes of the Zandstraat in the sense of prostitution being a networked source of income and as such incurs no neighbourhood complaint. And while the quasi-district of Waterhouse Lane is

[155] *The Zandstraat neighbourhood* (2023). Available at www.www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/de-zandstraatbuurt. [Accessed 12th February 2023].

not as beloved as such for its peculiarities as the Zandstraat district appears to be through the chronicles of Brusse, the similarities between these two localities (and other streets examined in Hull) is that prostitution is found to constitute a culturally embedded part of the community-constituted moral geography. In turn, there are similarities in the ways in which the moral geographies of the 'red-light' contexts of Waterhouse Lane in Hull and the Zandstraat in Rotterdam garner the attention of moral commentators. Waterhouse Lane is slammed as the most 'morally pestilent' locality in Hull by a local journalist who opines that the district ought to be razed to the ground in the interests of the moral tone of Hull. Meanwhile, local journalists commenting on the Zandstraat continuously *blames* prostitution for the criminality of the district even when the local police watch state otherwise, and tenaciously disseminates into the public imaginary how the district reflects badly on the wider reputation of Rotterdam.

While it is expressed that Hull's Waterhouse Lane ought to be bulldozed to the ground in local commentary however, this does not happen as it does in Rotterdam. The Zandstraat district goes under the first phase of demolition towards the end of the period of observation. This is not to forget that prostitution is not just confined to Waterhouse Lane in Hull but spreads across the town centre like a net that enmeshes the 'everywhere dockland space'. Thus while it would be impossible to demolish the entire town centre of Hull in one swoop, similarities between the 'red-light' spatial contexts of undemolished Hull and the demolished Zandstraat district of Rotterdam present. This is in the form of the construction of the new City Hall in each of the cities as follows.

In Hull, following the attainment of city status [1897], the City Hall is completed in 1907 and is notably situated in the heart of the city centre. The central location is arguably as would be anticipated of such a civic structure. But in the contexts of this study, it stands like an authoritative figure that stands to attention in the middle of the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution; in a sense signalling with its observatory tower that 'everything' is now under the direct gaze of civic supervision as the following contemporaneous postcard reflects:

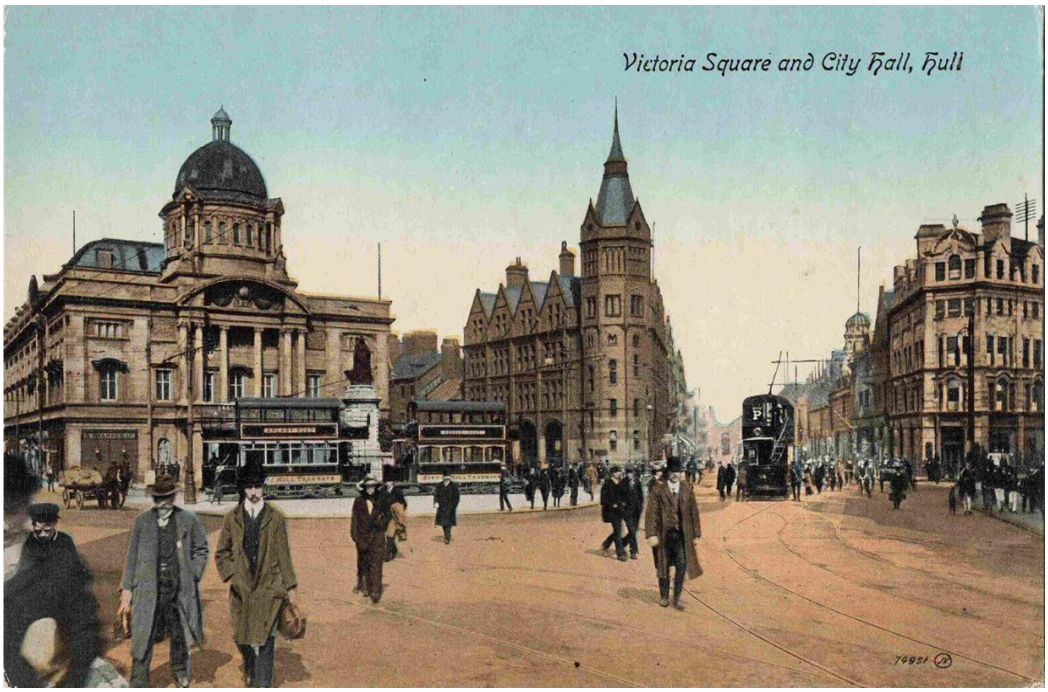

Fig.4.47., Postcard depicting City Hall [left]*, Victoria Square, Hull* (1910).[156]

In Rotterdam, the full scale demolition of the Zandstraat district to make way for its own palatial City Hall reflects a more severe and very real urban transformation, but one that incurred a moral conflict of its own. The moral conflict that seemingly arises between the Zandstraat being so widely rejected and the active demolition of a part of the city's past is largely found to be in the *displacement* of the people who lived and breathed the district – those who watched their neighbourhood being dismantled around them. One of the latest artifacts to represent the municipal erasure of the Zandstraat and its history is a scale model of the City Hall made by Bert Diepstraten for the Rotterdam Museum [2017] which shows the City Hall as a skeletal structure over the lost buildings of the Zandstraat. The main purpose of Diepstraten's scale model (overleaf) is to positively showcase the sheer magnitude of Rotterdam's City Hall to locals and visitors alike. In doing so however, the model demonstrates the sheer discrepancy in size between the colossal civic structure and the rejected settlement of some 2,000 people that it came to replace; appearing in a sense like a coffin for the neighbourhood that was expunged in the earth beneath:

[156] Artist unknown, found in Dove House charity shop, Whitefriargate, Hull (in person, 3rd March 2022).

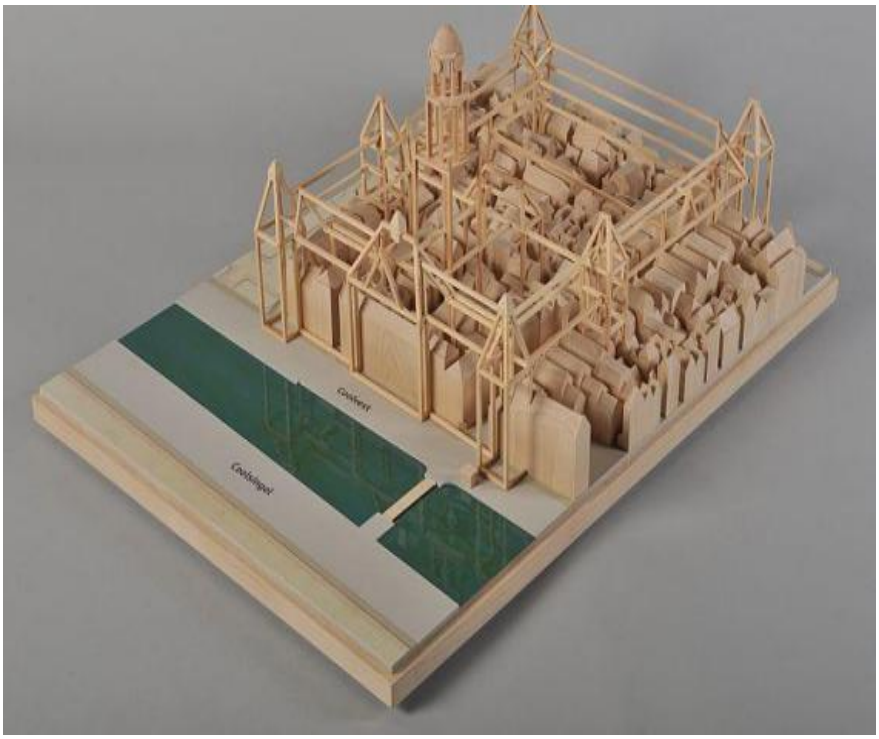

Fig.4.58., scale model of City Hall over the Zandstraat [2017].[157]

Fig.4.59., same corner aspect of City Hall as in the scale model above (2023, own image).

[157] *Museum Rotterdam*, www.museumrotterdam.nl/collectie/item/91657. Inventory number 91657.

In terms of the overwriting of the Zandstraat's history however, it is difficult to negate that the entire district had fallen into such structural disrepair that urban renewal schema to repair the district in order for it to *remain* were likely untenable. But in the wholesale removal of the residents of the Zandstraat whom had long been categorised as 'undesirables' in the local press, the clearance of the district to make way for the new moral order inscribed on the City Hall's structure signifies how significantly a certain moral geography was being pursued in the interests of Rotterdam's social, economic and political elite. For the Zandstraat was not just one of the most 'impoverished' and structurally decaying neighbourhoods in the city, it was known far and wide as the city's four acre 'red-light district' which reflected badly on the overall reputation of Rotterdam as a burgeoning 'city of stature'.

The demolition of the Zandstraat timed in with dominant social policies across the Netherlands at the time which engaged puritanical initiatives to intervene in the landscapes of 'nightlife' that also brought the morality of music, dancing and the fairground into question (Baptist, 2023: 78). As described in the opening to this section on Rotterdam, those puritan efforts were instilled in the middle-class fear of districts like the Zandstraat - as 'forewarned' by local religious figureheads that the building up of the city would be the 'death sentence' on traditional social and moral values (Schama, 1985: 375). This resonates with the analytic visit to Hull which concluded with the curious notice in the style of a funeral announcement that projected the idea that Hull's moral compass is dead in the water because of the 'everywhere' scale of prostitution (*fig.4.32*). But in Rotterdam, conversely it was the outdated ideals of puritanism that were seen as 'the death sentence' on the Zandstraat by its inner community. On the eve of the first wave of demolition, a funeral card is placed in the windows of every property in the Zandstraat. The eulogy to the district was notably penned, printed and placed by two members of a particular group who were said by external commentators to have so 'aggrieved' the district, but whom led the mourning party for the loss of the community: two Zandstraat prostitutes who went by the affectionate name of 'Call me Jet' and 'Messy Hair Kate':

[Translation]
Today, after a long and joyful existence, the Zandstraat passed away.
Only those who knew her alive can fully realise what a painful loss this is.
On behalf of the mourning committee, 'Call me Jet' and 'Messy hair Kate'.

Fig.4.60., eulogy to the Zandstraat (c1909).[158]

In sum, a recurring theme of the findings in this chapter is that of the grave impact of prostitution on a city, whether that is with prostitution being 'the death sentence' on a locality (Hull) or that is has resulted as 'the death sentence' on a particular district (Rotterdam). Therefore, this resonates with the sentiment aforementioned in chapter one (introduction) regarding the particularly unwanted presence of the female prostitute figure in the portrait of great cities, but in this case that sentiment transposes onto the particularly unwanted spatial presence of the 'red-light' area on the map of great cities. Though how long the moral geographies concerning the great cities of the modern-age could be upheld in the face of the First World War and the social change that came in the aftermath is an underlying question that connects to the next time-chapter of spatial analysis which is set against a backdrop of the interwar years of recovery in Hull and Rotterdam.

[158] SMA, ref XXIV C 741. Translation as given by senior archivist, in person 14th April 2023.

Chapter Five

Spatial analysis
part ii:
'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam during the interwar period of economic recovery
(1920s - 1930s)

These great cities have done their work…
They were the best which society largely based on selfishness and rapacity could construct, but they are in the nature of things entirely un-adapted for a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition.

Ebeneezer Howard, 1902.[159]

This chapter provides part ii of the spatial analysis of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam; against a backdrop of the interwar years of economic recovery. Having left Hull and Rotterdam on the turn of the twentieth century in the previous time-chapter, the interwar period is an important time in which to continue the analysis because in the wake of the Great War, the 1920s-30s era in Hull and Rotterdam is marked by the significant trajectories of recovery for relational yet distinct reasons. Primarily, the targeted bombing of Hull during the 1914-18 conflict left Hull with considerable urban scars (Credland, 2014). Meanwhile, Rotterdam escaped urban disfigurement owing to the Netherlands' neutrality (Abbenhuis, 2006). However, with Netherlands bordering and being surrounded by countries at war, Rotterdam – as a major port – did not escape the severe economic strains brought by the Great War (Moeyes, 2001). Accordingly, this time-chapter of analysis is set against a backdrop of social and urban change in Hull and Rotterdam that was mirrored in the remedial schema of urban planning and housing development in each of the cities.

[159] Ebeneezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902 [1946], pp. 145-6). Originally published as *Tomorrow: A peaceful path to real reform* (1898).

During the course of interwar urban planning, the respective ‘city fathers’ of Hull and Rotterdam engaged with the Garden City ethos developed by Ebeneezer Howard earlier in 1902 (Howard, [1902], 1946). In the wake of the Great War, the Garden City movement flourished across the urban West, with urban planners embracing Howard’s concept of constructing ‘model housing’ developments on the green land outskirts of cities that would, Howard proposed, simultaneously encourage ‘social flowering’ amongst ‘working communities’ (Hall, 2002). In this empirical chapter therefore, I examine the spatial contexts of the primary ‘red-light area’ in Hull and Rotterdam alongside local efficacies of the new moral order infused in Garden City planning and development. I also pay attention to the moral conflict enmeshed in the re-writing of the landscape. For on one hand, the Garden City ethos coming to fruition was heralded by social, economic and political elites as the pressing of the ‘reset’ button on the spatially conditioned moral miasma of the nineteenth-century city. But on the other, the movement was likened by many of those displaced from the inner-city to a New Jerusalem sentiment that essentially swept ‘undesirable’ categories of urban dwellers to the farther edges (Dunne and Gill, 2005: 1). As I further explore in the backdrop of this time-chapter, the new moral order inscribed on the trajectories of outer-edge social housing was also confronted by the sheer contradiction between those who wished to reverse the ‘moral laxities’ that were felt to have surfaced during the years of war, and those felt or understood the wont for social release, nightlife and adventure in the ‘roaring twenties’ (Moore, 2015).

Accordingly, this chapter proceeds as follows. Following a similar structure to the previous time-chapter of analysis, I will open each section on Hull and Rotterdam with a backdrop of aspects of the contemporaneous scene. In this chapter, this will include a brief interlude of life in the cities through the advent of the Great War. I will then follow the path of the research questions to find and articulate the spatial contexts of the primary ‘red-light areas’ in the cities (as per my preliminary archival research), and examine the locational and social actors that suggest and underpin the moral geographies of the interwar time-place setting and whose interests these

moral geographies were pursuing. In Hull, I pay an analytic visit to Pease Street, and in Rotterdam I visit the Schiedamsedijk. I now firstly return to Hull.

In Hull, 1920s-30s.

Fig.5.1., postcard depicting King Edward Street, Hull (1925).[160]

Out of the socio-urban darkness of the Victorian period, Hull is said to have entered the twentieth century a vibrant and self-confident city (Gurnham, 2007: 13). Following Hull's attainment of city status in 1897, the dawning of the 1900s in Hull is marked by the new civic buildings such as the neo-baroque City Hall [1907] and the Guildhall [1914] which breathe a new air of stature about the city centre. Notably, Hull's first full decade of city status met with the lighter, leisurely tones of the Edwardian era (see Hattersley, 2006); and as the postcard above depicts, citizens promenade the shops, cafés and wider features of the city's flourishing thoroughfares like King Edward Street. Furthermore, Hull's philanthropic 'fathers' had embraced the Garden City ethos as early as 1910 when a model village for

[160] Hull History Centre [HHC], ref L RH/1/232.

the workers of Reckitt's pharmaceuticals and household products - one of the city's chief employers – was constructed to the east of the city. Designed and funded by Sir James Reckitt himself in partnership with fellow local philanthropist Sir Thomas Ferens (see Houlton, 1982), the development was quite literally named 'Garden Village' and is depicted in the contemporaneous postcard below:

Fig.5.2., Postcard depicting Garden Village, Hull (1910).[161]

To the west of Hull, another local benefactor, the 'rags-to-riches' trawler owner Christopher Pickering bequeathed fifty-acres of land for a public park which was presented to the city of Hull in 1911. In the grounds of Pickering Park, Pickering and hist daughter funded and developed a version of a model village that included community buildings, alms houses, and a children's home (Houlton, 1982) as the following image shows:

[161] *The Garden Village 1910*. HHC, ref LRH/3/344.

Fig.5.3., entrance to Pickering Park showing alms houses (1911).[162]

These contemporaneous views of model village typologies in early-twentieth century of Hull abundantly reflect *air*; that is, the air of a lighter landscape in general but also the breathable air of *space*. The fresh air about life in Hull inscribed on the local efficacies of the Garden City movement coincides with a curious manifesto printed on the front page of the *Hull Daily Mail* on new year's day in 1910 (overleaf) in which 'the people of Hull' pledge to 'behave themselves' from now on:

[162] *Pickering Park 1911*. HHC, ref LRH/3/368.

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS.

(BY "NIMROD.")

To-day is the day when we all turn over new leaves. The page for last year is disfigured with blots and other tokens of slovenliness, and as we look at the beautiful spotless page for 1910, we make up our minds that the exit of another year shall find it heaps cleaner than its predecessor. We are filled to overflowing with good resolutions. It makes us miserable to contemplate what hardened sinners we have been, and how we have fairly flown in the face of Providence, and, in our remorse, we draw up a code of virtue for our guidance during the forthcoming year. We set our teeth and clench our fists, and determine that we will not only lead godly, righteous, and sober lives, but that our conduct shall evoke the admiration of all mankind.

[Transcription]:

> Today is the day when we all turn over new leaves. The page for last year is disfigured with blots and other tokens of slovenliness, and as we look at the beautiful spotless page for 1910, we make up our minds that the exit of another year shall find it heaps cleaner than its predecessor. We are filled to overflowing with good resolutions. It makes us miserable to contemplate what hardened sinners we have been, and how we have fairly flown in the face of Providence, and, in our remorse, we draw up a code of virtue for our guidance during the forth-coming year. We grit our teeth and clench our fists, and determine that we will not only lead godly, righteous, and sober lives, but that our conduct shall evoke the admiration of mankind.

Fig.5.4., new year's resolutions of Hull (*HDM*, 1910).

It could be that the new year's pledge of the people carries an undertone of sarcasm given the historically self-deprecating character of Hull (see Beaumont, 2014). But whether the pledge was written and published in sincerity or jest, there *was* a light back in Hull's eyes as city leaders and citizens alike eagerly awaited the completion of a major new dock that was set, according the contemporaneous local press – to change *everything*. Having obtained unique powers to construct the new dock under the *Hull Joint Dock Act 1899*, the colossal structure was designed by Sir Benjamin

Baker who also consulted on the Aswan Dam. It was to be the first fully electrified dock in Britain and the largest on the east coast north of London.[163] But far deeper than being a major infrastructural and economic feat for Hull, the new dock was considered 'a new child born to Hull' that would heal her past darknesses as the following news report on the opening ceremony of the dock in the summer of 1914 captures:

> It was an unaccustomed sight of pageantry. The feeling that something great has happened has truly made a deep impression on all ranks in Hull. We are admittedly a drab but stoic city. This is a place of work where heavy burdens are borne. Yes, we are burden bearers in Hull. Alas a new child is born to us, the labour of the past will bear fruit now and in the future, these stones will outlast us.
>
> A divinely implanted instinct is that of the builder as work will be found for thousands and the hungry will be fed. A dock is a productive effort in line with nature. Our struggles have been vast, but our will to build unbreakable. We must not acquiesce in fitting our local population to this new opportunity. The more of us living in decent, self-respecting conditions the better. As old as Hull is tired, as her people are said to be, she has not lost her vitality. The dock stood radiant in the sun as the King stepped forward to christen our new child; God Bless You, now and always, our King George Dock.
>
> (*HDM*, 1914d)

However, just three weeks after the euphoric opening of King George Dock, crowds gathered again on the announcement that Britain was at War (*HDM*, 1914e). In a cruel twist of fate, the new dock heightened Hull's strategic importance as a port which, alongside Hull's geographical prominence on the coastline, rendered the city a direct target through which she became one of the first cities in Britain to experience the aerial bombing of civilians (Credland, 2014). The axis bombed rained on Hull in a concerted campaign of attacks throughout the 1914-18 conflict as exemplified in the following images that are just a bare handful of the hundreds of photographs of the immediate aftermath of air-raids on Hull that are retained in the local archives:

[163] *King George Dock Files 1909-14*. HHC, ref L RH/1/089.

Fig.5.5., aftermath of an air-raid on Porter Street, Hull (1916).[164]

Fig.5.6., aftermath of an air-raid on Collier Street, Hull (1916).[165]

[164] *Hull and the Zeppelins: pictorial records, 1914-18*. HHC, ref C DIME.
[165] *Hull and the Zeppelins: pictorial records, 1914-18*. HHC, ref C DIME.

Fig.5.7., aftermath of an air-raid on Ella Street, Hull (1916).[166]

Fig.5.8., aftermath of an air-raid on Market Place, Hull (1916).[167]

[166] *Hull and the Zeppelins: pictorial records, 1914-18*. HHC, ref C DIME.
[167] As above.

Although these images provide just a glimpse of the aftermath of the air raids on Hull, it is documented that around 95% of Hull's housing stock was damaged or depleted during the 1914-18 conflict. Many citizens were living in bombed-out homes or temporary shelters in conditions that were worse than they were pre-War (Credland, 2014). As such, the *Hull Corporation Redevelopment Committee*, which established as early as 1915, faced an almighty task. In the minutes of a meeting held in 1919, the Chair of the redevelopment committee notes that social housing accounted for 47% of the residential dimension of Hull on the outbreak of War, and stresses that 'slum-clearance' atop 'bomb clearance' is Hull's upmost priority. This housing priority, it is minuted, would be undertaken in line with the passing of Britain's *Addison Act 1919* and the deeply-felt national sentiment to build 'homes for heroes'.[168]

Though whether it is due to the intensified priorities around the active conflict, the exponential bomb damage in the city centre, the new air of the landscape in the coming of King George Dock and model village typologies – or some combination of all, the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution that was said to 'malign' Hull in the previous time-chapter appears to have subsided. Using the keyword search term 'prostitution' in the local press holdings for Hull between the 1st January 1920 and 31st December 1939, I found no intimation across the 86 returns that the 'everywhere' spatial scale of prostitution persisted in the interwar years in Hull.[169] To a degree, this was an expected finding – even if it does not reflect the whole story – because the local press would arguably have been pre-occupied by the events of War that also deeply impacted Hull on the home front. This extends to the underlying notion that the city had spent four years under blackout restrictions, it was a widescale bombsite, and the priority shifted to the rebuilding of the city in quick succession. Though while the 'everywhere' space of prostitution seemingly subsides, the local press references to 'prostitution' during the period indicate that in the 1920s a 'red-light area' materialised in a street close enough to the city centre for accessibility, but apart enough that it was not yet on the priority list for 'clearance' as I now explore in an analytic visit of the:

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[168] *Minutes and press cuttings relating to housing C19th-C20th.* HHC, ref CDBHT/5/355.
[169] *British Newspaper Archives* (search date 4th September 2022).

Fig.5.9., headline, Hull Daily Mail (1921a).[170]

Pease Street

During the 1920s-30s period, Pease Street is a short residential side-street situated on the western boundary of the city centre as indicated on the map below. Laid in c.1844[171], Pease Street is an aging street that adjoins the main Anlaby Road at a junction that is particularly synonymous with nightlife in Hull's 'roaring twenties'.[172] As the map below further illustrates, Pease Street's junction at Anlaby Road also faces the rear of Paragon Railway station:

Fig.5.10., extract street plan of Hull (1920); *with Pease Street indicated in red.*[173]

[170] Article on prostitution in Pease Street (*HDM*, 1921).
[171] *Board of Health notices to owners* (1869). HHC, ref CDBHT/5/28/3.
[172] Pease Street, *CHC*. See www.carnegiehull.org/pease. [Accessed 1st June 2023].
[173] Cartographer J. Bartholomew & Son, *Maps and Plans* (1921-31). HHC, ref UDEW2/23/60. Pease Street indicated in red by candidate.

Local historians have described Pease Street in the 1920s-30s as ‘a crowded warren’ that was spared from excessive bomb damage during the 1914-18 conflict but which had nevertheless fallen into structural disrepair though the natural course of the street’s aging.[174] To look a little deeper, I looked to the 1921 census. Beyond the insight into ‘who lived where’ that historical census’ provide, these records are like a window into life in the ‘crowded warren’ in the moment in time that the information on the households was gathered from the occupants. The census shows that around 450 people live in Pease Street and its courts and alleys in 1921. The dominant male occupations are attached to the docks and railways. Many of the male residents are recorded in their absence as being away at sea. The predominant female occupation is given as ‘house duties’. While the majority of occupants are born in Hull there are many other nationalities recorded, including Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Belarus, Russia, and from the farther shores of Sierre Leone, Ghana, Bahamas, and Australia. With many of the properties providing lodgings for travelling seafarers, there is an additional tone of transience to ‘the crowded warren’ of Pease Street.[175] The following contemporaneous photographs of Pease Street (overleaf) illustrate the terraced frontage and one of the narrow passageways [Pease Place] that leads to residential courts and alleys within:

[174] As note 181.

[175] *UK Census 1921*, Office of National Statistics. Available at www.ons.gov.uk/census. [Accessed 8th December 2023].

Fig.5.11., Pease Street, with Pease Place entry to right of bicycle (c1930s).[176]

Fig.5.12., Pease's Place, off Pease Street (c1930s).[177]

[176] *Health Department Photographs c1930s*. HHC, ref LTHP/215.
[177] As above, ref LTHP/212.

The images above are from a series taken in the 1930s for Hull Corporation's Public Health Department as the wave of interwar 'slum clearance' reached the edges of the city centre. Though while the images do portray a sense of crowding in the closely built dimensions of the residential courts and alleyways (*fig.5.9*), there are no 'slum' overtones. The images do not portray excessive 'decay' for instance, and there are no tired, gaunt faces of occupants staring back at us as previously seen in the Public Health Department photographs in the previous time-chapter. Overall, the images depict a quiet scene of everyday domesticity in a 1930s Hull street. On the other hand, the absence of presence is salient. There is not a soul around in the images but there are very recent signs of presence. For example, in the cloth and wrapped groceries on the bicycles which suggests they have just been parked up, and in the tin bath and mangle as if someone had just started the wash. This stimulates the sense that the dwellers of visitors who were there in the moment the photographer arrived retreated into the houses. For the front doors are closed or partially closed, and in the first image (*fig.5.8*) all the curtains are drawn or part-drawn in the daylight hour of the snapshot. This is significant because at the time these photographs were taken, Pease Street had been widely marked in the local press as 'one of the worst red-light districts Hull had ever seen' (*HL*, 2019).

Whilst not to infer that prostitution did not occur in other parts of the city, the spatial materialisation of 'the red-light area' at Pease Street is immediately identifiable in the local news references to 'prostitution' during the 1920s-30s period. Of the 86 returns spanning the 1st January 1920 to 31st December 1939 search parameter[178] the first found reference relates to 'the trouble in Pease Street' headline which is included in the opening of this section (*fig.5.6*). Dated January 1921, the given article is an editorial on 'rife prostitution' in Pease Street in which the locality is described as 'a cloaked and crowded area that lends itself to the moral mire of the night' (*HDM*, 1921a). Notably, the next found article in the chronological series of returns covers the court case of a recently married couple who are petitioning against the Corporation's notice to house them at Pease Street. In the hearing, the couple plead for an alternative option on the grounds of the 'bad reputation' of Pease Street. The couple's defence states that:

[178] *British Newspaper Archive*, see www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk. Search date 4th April 2022. [Last accessed 17th July 2024].

> It is highly unreasonable to ask the tenant and his wife, people of good moral character, to reside in a neighbourhood where women of ill-fame ply their trade, and foreign seamen lodge when in port.
>
> (*HDM*, 1921b).

The journalist in court notes that the magistrate is 'very sympathetic' and accepts the couple's concerns as valid but also suggests that "on the contrary, it would be rather favourable for a good married couple to be installed at Pease Street, to lead by example and raise the moral tone of the place" (*ibid*.). I have not been able to trace the outcome of this court case, but the hearing in itself tells us that the moral reputation of Pease Street is so apparent to the local public and authorities alike that people *pleaded* against being housed there or being associated with the 'red-light' connotations of its name. The public *knowing* of the 'red-light' landscape of Pease Street garners the attention of a local journalist who spends several evenings observing the goings-on street in the summer of 1922. The journalist's observations culminate in an ethnographic editorial titled *A profitable livelihood in Pease Street* which, in its delivery, tells a story of the social and spatial players of prostitution in the locality:

> On these Halcyon summer evenings, prostitutes assemble by the pubs, cafés and dance clubs at the Pease Street junction, and to the rear of the railway station. Occasionally they signal to one another across the way. The prostitutes amble back into Pease Street with their catch, walking arm-in-arm as if a betrothed couple. A café owner tips one of the prostitutes off that the police are in the area, to which she laughs and says 'they won't catch us, we're too smart for them.' The atmosphere is rather jovial, there is no sense of trouble or threat, just a strangely excitable air of misdeed.
>
> (*HDM*, 1922a).

It could be coincidence, but just a month on from such ethnographic storytelling of the 'red-light' workings of Pease Street to the local readership, a general news article reports on a police surveillance operation that has taken place in Pease

Street over a ten-day period (*HDM*, 1922b). In this article, it is stated that officers observed 'the same group of females loitering at the Pease Street junction' and 'entering and exiting two neighbouring properties in Pease Street on a frequent basis, each time with 'different, unidentified males'. The article goes onto say that the properties in question are occupied by women whose husbands are away at sea. Both women are convicted of keeping a brothel, and the article summarises that the 'breaking' of these 'houses of ill-fame' signals 'a cleansing of Pease Street' (*ibid*.).

The police 'breaking' of brothels at Pease Street continues over a six month period in 1922-3, with two further females and one male at three separate addresses in Pease Street being convicted of keeping a brothel (*HDM*, 1922d, 1923a-b). Thus the combative police action that sets out to 'cleanse' Pease Street of prostitution appears to be targeting 'the space' as opposed to 'the prostitute' for there are no found news reports or police-court commentary that refer to the arrests of women for 'soliciting' or 'importuning' men for the purpose of prostitution in or around Pease Street during the 1920s-30s period of observation. It could be that the women are 'too smart' for the police as the aforementioned ethnographic exposé notes; that is, if the policeman cannot prove that the women's 'catch' are not their 'legitimate' partners as they walk arm-in-arm from the nearby nightlife venues or the railway station to a private dwelling, in a way that creates 'no air of trouble or threat' (*HDM*, 1922a).

Though whether the women who work as prostitutes in the vicinity of Pease Street are out-smarting the police, or whether they are simply not 'troublesome' on the whole, the finding of no arrests of 'prostitutes' associated with Pease Street during the period correlates with a piece of police-court commentary dated 1924 in which the Chief Constable addresses the court during the hearing of another Pease Street resident charged with brothel keeping. On being questioned by the magistrate as to why the police operations in Pease Street are proving to be no absolute deterrent, the Chief Constable states the following:

> We have had good results from our operations there [Pease Street], we have put a stop to many of the houses of ill-fame. There is only so much we can do going forward as the prostitutes themselves are a challenge. When on their own, we question their purpose in Pease Street, they tell us they are visiting a sweetheart in port. They knock on any door, and any male present vouches for them, leaving us with no option but to walk away.
>
> (*HDM*, 1924a).

Meanwhile, the last found reference to 'prostitution' in Pease Street comes in the spring of 1924 which suggests that the 'red-light' life of Pease Street was not active for very long. It is the police-court commentary of another woman, Louisa*, who is charged with brothel-keeping (*HDM*, 1924). Like a shining key in a pit of sand however, this piece of commentary takes us beyond the front doors of Pease Street, behind the closed curtains, into Louisa's home. Answering to the charges of brothel-keeping, Louisa, who is described as 'a very presentable and handsome woman of middle-age', was summonsed following an undercover police operation in which a plain-clothed recruit was dispatched into her home on the Saturday afternoon previous. The use of a 'rookie officer', Benjamin*, for this exercise infers that there is a police concern that seasoned officers have become too identifiable to the those involved in prostitution in Pease Street. Of further significance in the commentary is the eagerness (or naivety) of the police recruit as the evidence he garners is infused with descriptive storytelling as to the fine furnishings and jolly atmosphere of Louisa's home. It reads as if Benjamin is seeing something truly astonishing. The descriptives are articulated to the court by the Chief Constable:

> Upon knocking at the door in Pease Place, [Benjamin] was let in by a young woman of similar age to himself who took his story of stopping by before the football match without any question as to the purpose of his visit. He was shown to the front parlour where the accused and four unknown men were seated by candlelight as the heavy velvet drapes were drawn. The party were welcoming, the air was jolly. [Louisa] was sipping fine port and smoking French cigarettes. A working gramophone played a fashionable tune quietly. Benjamin likened the scene to an afternoon party. A small monkey ran amok up and down the drapes to much fun and merriment. Benjamin observed a tall walnut cabinet displaying, in his words, the finest china this side of Holland [*Laughter in court*]. He passed comment to Louisa that his mother would love such a fine collection [*more*

> *laughter*]. On the table was a crystal bowl of pawn tickets. Louisa offered him a ticket, and said that his wait should not be too long, and that there were some pretty young things coming in and out today. As a group of men were already in wait, as expected from our prior surveillance, Benjamin was able to make his excuses as leave to get to the football, as we had prompted him to do.
>
> (*ibid.*).

Whilst Benjamin's lyrical account of what he saw and experienced in Lousia's home prompts laughter in court, it is significant that the Chief Constable does not omit the words of Benjamin's child-like wonder from the evidence given in court. Because the inclusion of the atmospheric detail underlies the sense that the Chief Constable is spelling out just *how* profitable 'immorality' is in Pease Street; in demonstrating that a widow living alone in a 'poorer street' of the city can afford 'heavy velvet drapes', 'a working gramophone', 'a walnut cabinet displaying the finest china', 'a crystal bowl', 'fine port', 'French cigarettes', and the keeping of an exotic pet. In essence, the Chief Constable is floating the idea that occupants of Pease Street are not just living on the earnings of prostitution to get by, but are made very comfortable from it. This is not lost on the magistrate who asks Louisa how it is she comes to have 'such fine things'. Louisa says that her husband has 'just nicely died' and left her with good means. As the next bout of 'laughter in court' subsides, the magistrate asks her more sternly the meaning of letting an unknown male into her home without question, the meaning of the pawn tickets, and the meaning of 'the pretty young things'. Louisa states that the tickets are for dance lessons that she frequently facilitates from her home for extra income and company, and that she had thus assumed that Benjamin had called for a dance lesson. The magistrate says, "would it not strike a reasonable person as odd that a fellow on his way to the football would call in unannounced at Pease Street for a quick dance lesson beforehand?" Louisa replies, "to each his own, Sir." Louisa is convicted of keeping a brothel (*ibid*.).

From this point onwards in the local press coverage of 'prostitution' in Hull during the 1920s-30s period, there are no further found incidents involving prostitution in Pease Street. Primarily, this correlates with the tenacious police surveillance of the street that in 'breaking' the brothels is gradually breaking the wholesale 'belonging' of prostitution as a profitable livelihood for the residents which is further furnished by the

close proximity of Pease Street to nightlife venues and the railway station. However, the ebbing of reports of 'active' prostitution in Pease Street around the mid-1920s is found to correlate with the spatial relocation of concentrated prostitution from the Pease Street 'base' out to 'ships in harbour'. In a striking sermon re-printed in the *Hull Daily Mail* in the January of 1926, the Port Chaplain calls Hull 'a wicked city' for "turning a blind eye to prostitutes going aboard ships just to keep this filth from the streets" because, he says, "this merely reinforces the appalling tendency of Hull to accept immorality as a matter of course and does little to protect the mercantile mariner from the evil of these women" (*HDM*, 1926a).

The Chaplain's castigation of Hull as 'a wicked city' prompts a flurry of responses from citizens of all walks of life in letters to the editor, which plays out like a modern-day 'Facebook War'. Three distinct but intertwining arguments thematically emerge in the responses. The first is support for the Port Chaplain for 'telling the harsh truths of Hull' so that something can be done to remedy the 'moral illness' of both the port and the prostitute. The second is criticism of the Chaplain for 'casting stones' at 'our fallen sisters' as opposed to helping them up from the mire, and for laying immorality at the feet of women in general as opposed to the male purchaser of sex. Thirdly, there is the criticism of the Chaplin (that he arguably did not foresee) for 'staining the name of the mariner'. This is in the sense that by stating that sailors as a group need protecting from the 'evil' of prostitutes, the Chaplain is insinuating that sailors are the sole demand for prostitution's supply in a port city. The following extracts of letters to the editor show how these three dominant arguments play out in the press:

> I should like to support the remarks of the Port Chaplain. It is evident by the many letters in the *Mail* during the last week that the people of Hull do not like to be told the truth about their city. Rather than white-washing the truth or slandering the brave priest for calling attention to it, we should face the truth in order to make it right.
>
> *'Doctor's Wife',*
> 27th January 1926.[179]

> Is the Port Chaplain aware that if our fallen sisters were not permitted or smuggled on board, they would have no cause to be at the docks?

[179] *HDM*, 1926d

Is he aware that if more opportunities were granted to our sisters, they would not fall?

'*A clean-minded man"*
27th January 1926.[180]

Having travelled widely in the Merchant Service, what amuses me of the Chaplain's remarks is the laying of blame on the women. What of the men? It seems to me that women are blamed for everything in this country. If fallen women did not receive patronage, immorality would cease to exist. Before we condemn these poor unfortunate outcasts, which is surely unmanly, let us remember that there are bigger sinners in our midst, who, to outward appearances, are respected citizens.

'A Steward',
25th January 1926.[181]

A few words on behalf of my brothers, all sailors. We are smarting under aspersions that we rampage for loose women the minute the anchor drops. This may have been the way once but the world has now changed. After 1914-18, we should like to go home to our wives and children. I suggest the Port Chaplain looks at the landlubbers of this city who lock these women into their torment, and let us put an end to the staining of the spiritual name of the mariner.

'Sailor Jack',
25th January 1926.[182]

I think instead of blaming the women of our town, attention ought to be given to the men. I work in a factory so have no time to shop-gaze by day. I went in the evening to shop-gaze in King Edward Street last week and was spoken to insultingly by a man of means old enough to be my father, and was accosted by two more men, drunks, who were causing much trouble. Thankfully the policeman saw it my way. Hoping the Chaplain will stop insulting our sailors so.

'Just a Girl',
26th January 1926.[183]

[180] *HDM*, 1926d
[181] *HDM*, 1926b
[182] As above.
[183] *HDM*, 1926c.

Notwithstanding that the Port Chaplain's castigation of Hull as 'a wicked city' hit a deep nerve amongst citizens from all walks of life, a full page public notice appears in the *Hull Daily Mail* a year later in the February of 1927. It informs the public that the *Ministry of Transport* have agreed to the insertion of a clause in the Hull by-laws to ban prostitutes from entering seafarers lodgings and from 'prowling or loitering at any time within the docks" (*HDM*, 1927). In the notice, a spokesperson for the *Port Sanitary Authority* states that it has been a collaborative effort with *Hull Sanitary Committee*, *Hull Vigilance Society*, and the *Police Watch Committee* to have the said spatial exclusions of prostitute women enforced "for the protection of seafarers from imposition" (*ibid*.). In the issue of this notice, the *Port Sanitary Authority* possibly pre-empted the same 'backlash' incurred by the Port Chaplain for 'casting stones' at 'fallen women' and for solely equating prostitution with sailors as the last line reads like an authoritative final word to 'remind' the public that:

> These bad women embody the promiscuity of this seaport, and pose a very real threat to the physical and moral health of the mariner.
>
> (*ibid*.).

There is no indication in the local press of the period that prostitution relocated back to Pease Street on the announcement of the spatial by-laws concerning the docks. However, given that a great many of the dwellings in Pease Street provide lodgings for travelling seafarers as the census of 1921 reflects, the banning of prostitutes from seafarers' lodgings would have impacted on any such 'red-light' relocation back to Pease Street. In essence, prostitute women could no longer say to the police on being questioned as to their presence in Pease Street that they were visiting a sweetheart in port. This appears be the case across Hull in general as Pease Street was by no means unique as a concentrated space of seafarers lodgings.[184] However, this also correlates with further social and spatial policy interventions that come into play in the latter years of the 1920s. In 1928 for example, the *Hope House Sheltering Home for Fallen Women* – which has notably established in the vicinity of Pease Street – issues its annual report to the *Hull*

[184] Pease Street, *CHC*. See www.carnegiehull.org/pease. [Accessed 1st June 2023].

Daily Mail. The report informs the public that there has been a noticeable decline in the number of illegitimate babies born to prostitute women which had, the report states, "sent Hull's illegitimacy rate soaring above the inland towns and other ports in the not too distant past" (*HDM*, 1928). On one hand, these words carry forth the stigma surrounding *illegitimacy* and *immorality* and layer this two-fold onto the body of 'the prostitute'. However, the matron goes on to press that at *Hope House* prostitutes are considered 'more sinned against than sinning', and reminds the public that the sheltering home is not 'a punishment or a gaol' but "a place of kindly religious spirit and domestic education where the lives of fallen women are rebuilt" (*ibid*.).

The ameliorative narrative emerging in Hull during the period is echoed a year later in 1929 when the Mayor addresses the subject of prostitution in Hull during a public meeting covered in the local press. In a reflective tone, the Mayor says that "a great many of the women who fell by the wayside needed our care" (*HDM*, 1929). But whilst the Mayor acknowledges the past mis-treatment of prostitute women in Hull and heralds the social works like *Hope House* that have set about remedying the 'disorganised' lives of prostitute women, he then shifts to a narrative which suggests that these social and spatial interventions are more so heralded in the walls of City Hall for remedying the reputation of Hull as 'a wicked city'. As the Mayor says, "the moral educating of prostitutes and their re-entry into society has been wholly dependent on the organised persons of this great seaport to the envy of many other cities upon which prostitution remains a dark stain" (*ibid*.).

Though whether the narrative surrounding prostitution in Hull at the time is one of fear/disgust for the women as a 'social danger' or one of empathy and altruism for 'fallen women', these polar narratives culminate in a new moral order by which prostitution has no place in the city as Hull continues to recover from the Great War in social and spatial contexts. The finding of literally 'no place' of concentrated prostitution in Hull in the local press covering the late-1920s brings us back full circle to the locational actors of urban clearance and the depopulation of the city centre through the development of new, peripheral housing estates that inscribes the new moral order on the changing landscape. As the following images show, Hull's initiatives of 'slum clearance' continued well into the 1930s:

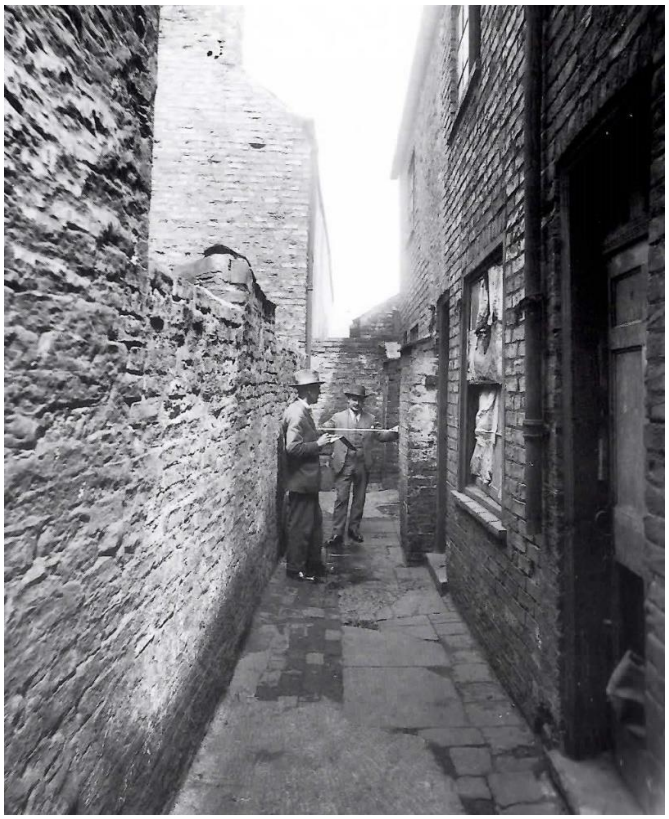

Fig.5.13., preparations for slum clearance, New George Street, Hull (c1930s).[185]

Fig.5.14., 1930s municipal housing, North Hull Estate, Hull (2019, own image).

[185] *Health Department Photograph, New George Street c1930s*. HHC, ref L THP/1016.

The emphasis on the development of *housing* in Hull during the period is critical to the spatial analysis of prostitution in relation to moral geography. For as early as 1919, on the passing of *the Addison Act*, a spokesperson for Hull Corporation's *Redevelopment Committee* is quoted in the local press as saying, "it is from the bad houses that criminals and prostitutes mainly emerge, and it is our duty to correct the standard of living and give the children a fighting chance" (*HDM*, 1919). As the new housing estates come into occupation during the 1930s, the minutes of a *Redevelopment Committee* meeting held in the autumn of 1934 record that the new social housing has proven a 'tremendous success'.[186] In particular, the North Hull Estate (pictured above, *fig.5.11*) is heralded in the minutes as showcasing what the new estates were designed to do, which was to 'raise the morale of the occupants'. The minutes recap on the blueprint of morale with each home having a private garden with an apple tree, a privet hedge to the front, indoor bathrooms, electricity, and being built on wider tree-lined streets with recreational space and local amenities. Though in terms of inscribing a new moral order onto the social and urban landscape of Hull, there is an undertone in the minutes that these idyllic features gave the tenants 'no excuse' to be disorganised or deviant. For each tenancy, as the minutes outlines, include strict by-clauses on housework, garden maintenance, personal cleanliness, neighbourly behaviour, and the appropriate keeping of children and pets.[187] Accordingly, it is difficult to dismiss the notion that the new council housing typologies were designed to 'raise the morals' as opposed to the 'morale' of the occupants and to distance them entirely from the city centre.

However, the coming of the interwar housing estates does appear to have had an effect on the 'red-light' geography of Hull given that as aforementioned there is no place of concentrated prostitution identifiable in local press returns on the subject well into the 1930s. This is not to infer or suggest that prostitution simply ceased to exist in Hull in the latter part of the interwar period, but seemingly there was some sort of shift set into the social and moral 'tone' of the city – which is as recognised by the Port Chaplain himself in his refreshed opinion on 'the wicked city':

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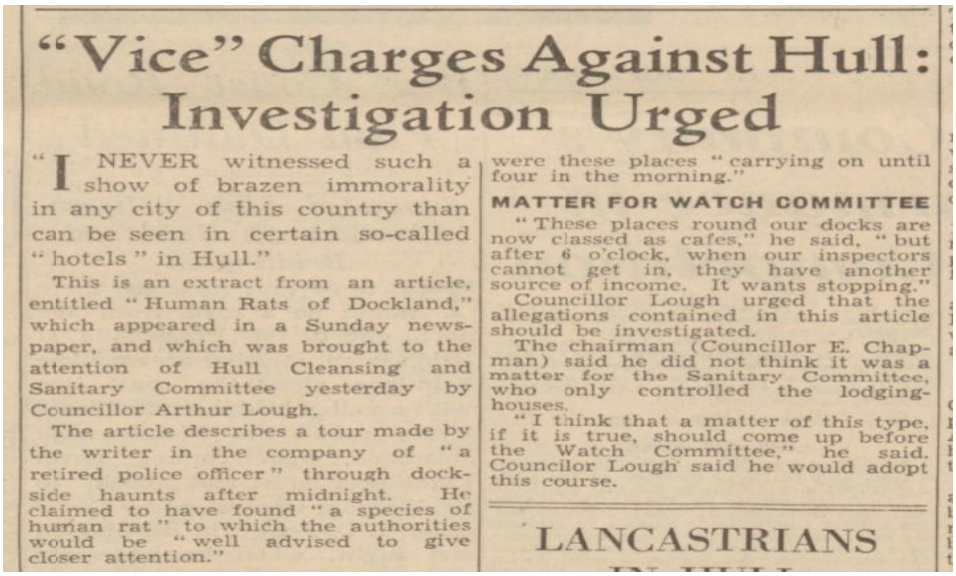
[186] *Minutes and press cuttings relating to housing C19th-C20th.* HHC, ref CDBHT/5/355.
[187] As above.

> Our streets are so much cleaner than they used to be, it is rare to see immorality infiltrating our streets. It is not long ago Hull had that awful notoriety because of women trespassing on the docks, getting their living by prostitution on the ships, I never hear of that now.
>
> (*HDM*, 1934a).

In addition to this, local news items on 'prostitution' in the 1930s period are largely informed by 'major prostitution scandals' *elsewhere* including Cambridge (*HDM*, 1930), Manchester (*HDM*, 1931), Norfolk (*HDM*, 1932a-c), Leeds (*HDM*, 1933a), London (*HDM*, 1933b-c, 1934e, 1935a), Edinburgh (*HDM*, 1933d-m), Brighton (*HDM,* 1934f-h), Scunthorpe (*HDM*, 1934c), Liverpool (*HDM*, 1935b), and Birmingham (*HDM*, 1937a). However, just as the local press is illustrating the new moral order of Hull by highlighting problems with prostitution in elsewhere towns and cities, a London journalist looking inwardly at Hull tells an entirely different story. On a tour of Hull's docklands on an early summer's night in June 1939, the journalist writes, "I never witnessed such a show of brazen immorality in any other city", and describes the prostitutes in Hull's docklands as "a new species of human rat" (*HDM*, 1939a). Commenting on the London editorial titled *Human Rats of Dockland*, a local councillor brings the allegations to the attention of the *Hull Cleansing and Sanitary Committee* and urges an investigation:



"Vice" Charges Against Hull: Investigation Urged

"I NEVER witnessed such a show of brazen immorality in any city of this country than can be seen in certain so-called "hotels" in Hull."

This is an extract from an article, entitled "Human Rats of Dockland," which appeared in a Sunday newspaper, and which was brought to the attention of Hull Cleansing and Sanitary Committee yesterday by Councillor Arthur Lough.

The article describes a tour made by the writer in the company of "a retired police officer" through dockside haunts after midnight. He claimed to have found "a species of human rat" to which the authorities would be "well advised to give closer attention."

were these places "carrying on until four in the morning."

MATTER FOR WATCH COMMITTEE

"These places round our docks are now classed as cafes," he said, "but after 6 o'clock, when our inspectors cannot get in, they have another source of income. It wants stopping."

Councillor Lough urged that the allegations contained in this article should be investigated.

The chairman (Councillor E. Chapman) said he did not think it was a matter for the Sanitary Committee, who only controlled the lodging-houses.

"I think that a matter of this type, if it is true, should come up before the Watch Committee," he said. Councilor Lough said he would adopt this course.

LANCASTRIANS

Fig.5.15., Article on 'Human rats of Dockland' allegations (HDM, 1939a).

However, if prostitution had re-materialised in the vicinity of Hull's dockland cafés and hotels as the London article infers, the timing of this article and the subsequent urging of an investigation coincides with the greater priorities afoot in relation to the turbulent undercurrent of another War as Hull braced herself once again. It could have been the nearing clouds of another world conflict, the allegations made against Hull in the London article, or a combination of both, but notably the Port Chaplain immediately resurrects the narrative of Hull as 'a wicked city' in a public sermon in July 1939 in which he says:

> Thousands upon thousands of brave mariners and servicemen will pass through our docks in the near future. We owe it to them not to show them this wicked city, but a place of self-respect. Each and every citizen of this seaport should be committed to the protection of our brave men from the moral ills of prostitutes who infest our docks once again with their putrid evil.
>
> (*HDM*, 1939b).

This is the last found reference to prostitution in Hull in the local press covering the 1920s-30s period. And whilst the moral panic around the protection of servicemen from 'the moral and physical peril' of prostitute women inevitably heightened in the event of War (Woollacott, 1994), this means that we leave the interwar period in Hull on the resurfaced narrative of 'the wicked city' despite the reformative efforts of the interwar housing estates. Saliently, the last of Hull's interwar housing estates was completed on the eve of the Second World War's outbreak (Wild, 1999: 250). In regards to Pease Street, its imminent position in the final wave of city centre 'clearance' (as illustrated by the Heath Department photographs in this section) was put on hold. It was not until much later in the post-War rebuilding of Hull during the 1950s-70s that Pease Street was condemned to make way for a mixture of high-rise flats and low-rise maisonettes that would gradually overwrite 'the crowded warren' of Pease Street and its passageways. That said, Pease Place, the passage where police recruit Benjamin* once knocked as part of the undercover operations in 'brothel breaking', lingered like a lost soul long into the 1990s as the following image shows:

Fig.5.16., Pease Place under dereliction (1991).[188]

[188] Courtesy of *Pease Street*. Carnegie Heritage Centre. See www.carnegiehull.org. [Accessed 1st May 2023].

Notably, none of the walking conversations undertaken in Hull led to Pease Street and there is little to write in terms of my own walking ethnography. The street is 'just there', sitting on the quiet sidelines of the city centre as the photograph below reflects.

Fig.5.17., Pease Street today (2024, own image).

On my walk of Pease Street, the 'crowded warren' has been opened up into a non-descript side-street where nothing, or no one, seems to move. The nightlife venues of the roaring twenties that popularised at Pease Street's junction with Anlaby Road (the aspect from which I took the above photograph) that befitted the 'red-light' life of the street are now a row of convenience shops. The main thing I noticed on my walk of Pease Street was the sound: the constant sound of flowing traffic on Anlaby Road amidst the sirens of ambulances coming and going from nearby Hull Royal Infirmary, and the constant sound of silence in Pease Street itself. Thus, Pease Street in sight and sound bears no trace of its former life as a bustling, community constituted 'red-light area'. I reiterate the idea of Pease Street being a community constituted 'red-light area' during the 1920s period in Hull because although the contemporary local

press *Hull Live* describe the street on recollection as 'one of the worst red-light districts Hull has ever seen' (*HL*, 2021), I found it to be one of the quietest; where prostitution materialised behind the closed doors of residents in 'the warren' and as such bearing no found reflections of 'troublesome' behaviour attributed to the 'red-light area' itself, nor impacting on the wider public. But as we leave this time-chapter on Hull, the last reference to 'prostitution' in the local press is a letter to the editor dated 1939 in which a merchant seaman wishes to leave his perspective on the subject of prostitution in Hull before he is deployed. In the letter, the seaman refutes the resurfacing of the Port Chaplain's narrative on 'the wicked city' in the turbulent undercurrent of a second war. The seaman writes, "we [Hull] are not a wicked city, we are a lost city, and if the Port Chaplain looked a little closer at our North Sea neighbours, he would find that Rotterdam, for instance, is so much worse" (*HDM*, 1939c). On that note, I now return to Rotterdam to examine the spatial contexts of the primary 'red-light area' during the interwar years; in the aftermath of the Great War and since the full-scale demolition of the Zandstraat 'night' district.

In Rotterdam, 1920s-30s

Fig.5.18., postcard depicting Deltsche Port building on the Hofplein (1920).[189]

[189] *Picture Postcards*. SMA, ref PBK-1744.

On the dawning of the 1920s, Rotterdam appears a bright and bustling city as the contemporaneous postcard of the central Hofplein above illustrates. Under the Dutch neutrality in the 1914-18 conflict, Rotterdam had not endured urban loss beneath bombs (Abbenhuis, 2006), but did not escape the severe social, economic and political strains brought by the Great War and left it its wake (Moeyes, 2001). Aside from the Netherlands being surrounded by countries at War, the active years of conflict brought major disruption to Rotterdam's global transhipment economy; a disruption heightened by Rotterdam's geographical and economic bonds with two of the most powerful belligerents in the conflict – the United Kingdom and the German Empire (*ibid*.). Having historically traded and shared shipping routes with allied powers situated along the North Sea corridor and the axis industrial giant of the German Rhine-Ruhr, Rotterdam's geographical situation between the UK and Germany resulted in Rotterdam becoming the biggest spy centre in the world during the 1914-18 conflict (Ruis, 2016). The British secret service [now known as MI6] took offices on the Boompjes, a busy quay of Rotterdam's Nieuwe Maas, and not far from there in a white castle-like building the German Imperial Consulate co-ordinated the secret agents of the Kaiser (*ibid*.). Notably, the Dutch exotic dancer and 'courtesan' Mata Hari, also known as Agent H-21 of the allied powers, was based in Rotterdam during the Great War. At the end of the War when Hari faced a French firing squad under accusations of assisting the Germans, the facilitators of her execution called her a harlot. Right before the trigger was pulled Hari exclaimed, "a harlot?...Yes! But a traitoress… never!" (Waagenaar, 1965, p. 258).

In a similar sense of the suspicion that fell on Mata Hari as a double-agent, there was also a degree of suspicion falling on Rotterdam as a *place* that had (willingly or reluctantly) accommodated both sides of the conflict as a locational 'spynest' (Ruis, 2016). This further impacted the immediate recovery of Rotterdam's core 'Gateway to Europe' port economy when peace was declared (*ibid*.). Despite a fleeting upturn in the local economy in the mid-1920s, Rotterdam, as a global transhipment port, was plunged back into economic decline during the Great Depression of 1929 (van Zanden, 1998). Thus, Rotterdam's interwar years are largely marked by buoyant economic stability which prompts 'the city fathers' to sanction the clearance of inner-city 'slum' areas to make way for infrastructural

investments in offices and industry. This is not just to channel the city's economic recovery in the immediate sense but to seal her future economic health (*ibid*.). In quickly acting on interwar revisions made to Dutch state housing law concerning the improvement of pre-War living conditions [*Woningwet* 1901], the municipality's urban development committee engage with the Garden City Ethos (see Howard, 1902 [1946]) in the planning and construction of municipal housing 'villages' on the city outskirts. This includes the harbour worker's village of Heijplaat [1920], the port worker's complex of Justus van Effen [1922], and the model town of Kiefhoek [1930s] built for workers of the Van Nelle tea, coffee and tobacco factory which was a dominant employer in the city at the time (Beekers, 2012). The following images provide views of the given interwar housing developments:

Fig.5.19., postcard depicting the harbour worker's village at Heijplaat (1920).[190]

[190] SMA, ref OJK-1987-137.

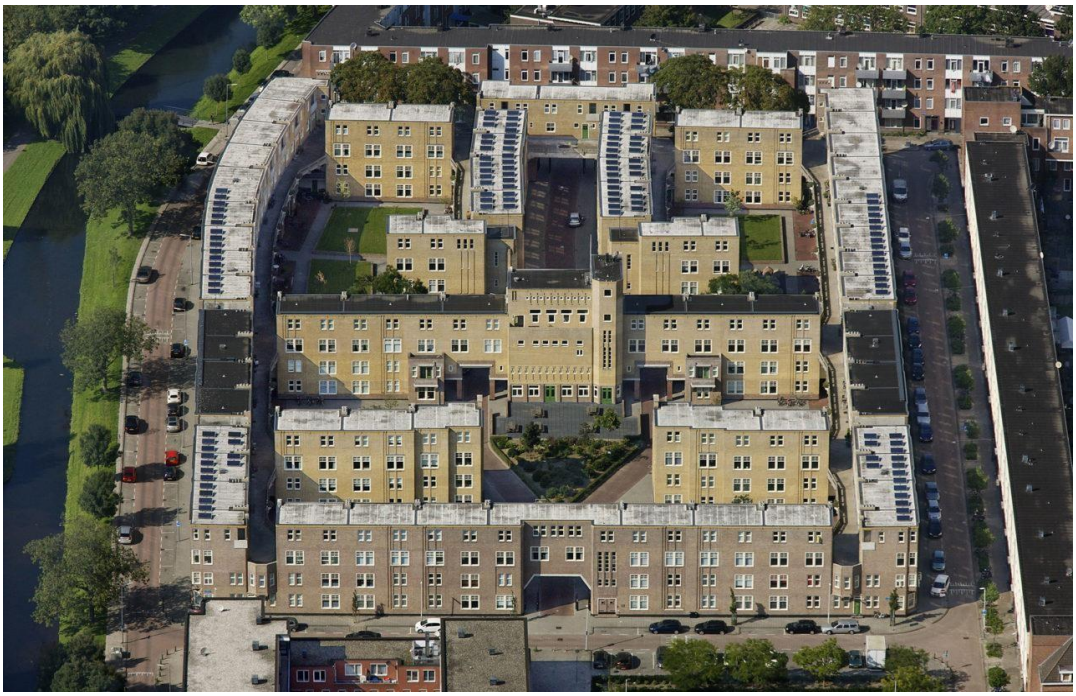


Fig.5.20., Justus van Effen port workers' complex [1930s] at Spangen (2017).[191]

Fig.5.21., view of the Van Nelle factory worker's town at Kiefhoek (c1930).[192]

[191] Courtesy of Archi-Re (2017). See www.archi-re.com. [Accessed 4th April 2024].
[192] *Rotterdam Topography 4202*. SMA, ref 1978-2933.

It is documented that the municipality's investment in these model villages was not solely to improve the pre-War living conditions of the 'working-classes', but that the improvement of the 'social condition' would positively reflect in the productivity and overall economic recovery of Rotterdam (Beekers, 2012). In which case, with the interwar urban development of Rotterdam in terms of housing and industry being collectively geared towards economic advancement, the displacement of inner-city 'working' communities to the city outskirts bears somewhat extreme measures of the writing of a new moral order into the landscape. For instance, the traditional-looking harbour workers village at Heijplaat (*fig.5.19*) was essentially built on an 'island' in the annexed district of Chalois. Heijplaat is still today only accessible by land via one road that runs through what is now an industrial estate. And notably, the first occupants of Heijplaat [1920s] were workers of the Rotterdamsche Droog-dok Maatschappij [Rotterdam Dry Dock Company], one of the largest shipbuilders in the country at the time, went to and from work by boat and did not have to pass through (or arguably be 'seen') in the city centre. Furthermore, this workers village was built from the first to have its own churches, schools, shops, library, café, pub, theatre, and bath house. In essence, this provided the clean, open space and local amenities typical to Garden Village typologies, but it also kept the residents 'in place' and *away* from the city centre (see Beekers, 2012).

Similarly, the Justus van Effen complex for port workers constructed at Spangen to the far west of the city centre [1922] (*fig.5.20*) appears in its built form as a place of confinement. It was built to the concept of a shared private space as opposed to a 'village', with the inner courtyard overlooked by three-story maisonettes. But whilst 'attached' to the city centre in mapped contexts, it is difficult to dismiss that the complex looks like a prison, or at least some form of institution. That was my first impression when looking up at the complex during my walking ethnography of Rotterdam, and is arguably reflected in the image above. On the other hand, there is also a feeling that the Justus van Effen 'block' provides an early reflection of the architectural experimentalism that was to become an integral part of Rotterdam's character; particularly when looking up at the upper story which features a three meter wide continuous gallery described as a 'bovenstraat' ['street in the sky'] by its designer Michiel Brinkman (see Beekers, 2012).

By far the most experimental of Rotterdam's interwar housing estates in terms of architecture however is the model town of Kiefhoek which was built for Van Nelle factory workers (*fig.5.21*). Located to the south of the city in the annexed district of Feijenoord, also a former 'island', the functionalist design of social housing with its own shops and amenities was particularly heralded by interwar city leaders as the socio-spatial paradigm of 'the minimal but rational environment for workers' (see Beekers, 2012). As the given image of Kiefhoek shows, the uniformed low-rise rows of housing tapering into the appearance of a ship's hull resembles a holiday camp; but in which case where there is also a sense of confinement. For reasons of feeling pushed away from the city centre and confined at Kiefhoek, the very first occupants during the 1920s voiced that Kiefhoek abundantly reflected a new moral order of belonging/exclusion under Rotterdam's moralistic paternalism during the interwar period (*ibid*.).

Completed in 1920, the palatial new Stadhuis [City Hall] projects an air of authority and stature over the city centre, and arguably stands tall as the beacon of the new moral order of Rotterdam with the former 'red-light area' of the Zandstraat district's four acres buried beneath its foundations. But at the same time City Hall dictates its airs and graces over Rotterdam, and 'workers' are being displaced out to the new social housing typologies on the outskirts to make way for economic growth, a new 'red-light area' has materialised *in* the city centre. The interwar 'red-light area' is also just a short distance away from City Hall as I now explore in an analytic visit of the Schiedamsedijk.

De Schiedamsedijk

The Schiedamsedijk is a historic street situated in the heart of the city centre, and runs along the Leuvehaven [harbour] which filters into the Nieuwe Maas. As the following contemporaneous maps shows, the Schiedamsedijk [solid red line] is just a stone's throw from the demolished Zandstraat district [dashed red circle]:

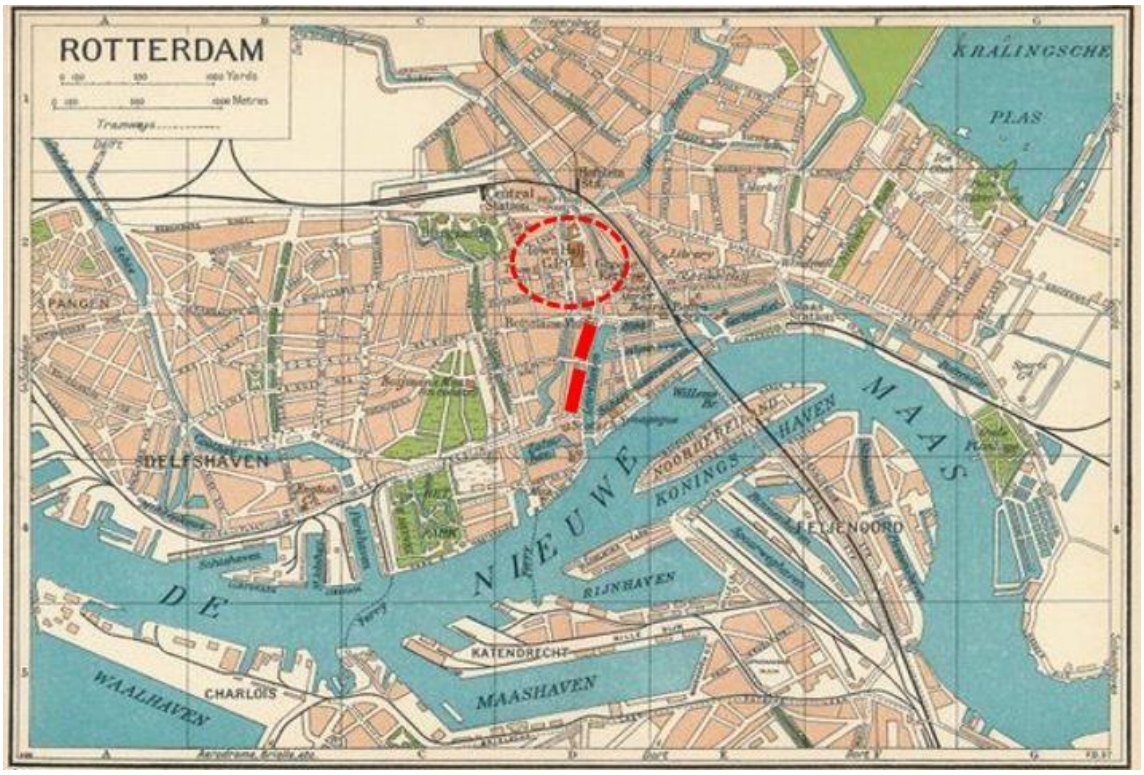


Fig.5.22., Map of Rotterdam (1933), *indicating Schiedamsedijk* (solid red line) *and where the Zandstraatbuurt stood* (dashed red circle).[193]

The Schiedamsedijk began its life as a component of the medieval *Schielandse Hoge Zeedijk* [Schielandse High Sea Dike] which spans the Schie at Rotterdam to the Gouwe at Gouda, and remains one of the Netherland's most important flood barriers.[194] As a street, the Schiedamsedijk was laid in c.1598 to accommodate the deepening of the Leuvehaven and was known as 'Schotesdijk' ['Scot's Dike'] owing to the large population of Scottish seafarers who settled there before it was officially named Schiedamsedijk (Catterall, 2002, pp.99-100). Around 1830, the Schiedamsedijk became more known as Rotterdam's Jewish quarter.[195] In the early-twentieth century, the Schiedamsedijk which was still a thriving centre of Jewry emerged into a sailortown 'outpost' of the Zandstraat, in a sense 'a baby Zandstraat'. Thus, it is where many of the occupants of the Zandstraat migrated to

[193] Cartographer John Bartholomew in *The Blue Guides' Holland and the Rhine* (1933). Schiedamsedijk and the lost district of Zandstraatbuurt indicated by candidate with the assistance of a senior archivist at the *Stadsarchief Municipal Archives* [in person 17th April 2023].
[194] *ONS* Rotterdam [Historical Society], Jrg. 44, no. 1, (pp.21-3). *SMA*, ref P1497.
[195] *The population of Rotterdam around 1830* (Dr A.C. Kersbergen) in Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje [Rotterdam Yearbook], 1935. *SMA*, reading room open access shelves.

as a unit on the demolition of their neighbourhood.[196] The following image is a contemporaneous impression of the *Zeemanskroegen* [Seamans' Pubs] at the Schiedamsedijk in c.1915 by the renowned Dutch artist Johannes Neuhuys; a friend of the Hague School of painters and founder of the Lauren School (see Sillevis and Tabak, 2004, pp.323-30):

Fig.5.23., Artists impression of Zeemanskroegen [Seamans' Pubs], Schiedamsedijk (c1915).[197]

Notably, it was not through the local press of the period but through art, memoirs, and journals held in the local archives that I identified the Schiedamsedijk as the primary 'red-light area' of Rotterdam during the 1920s-30s period. The example of Neuhuys' work above depicts the thriving *sailortown* scene of the Schiedamsedijk on the demolition of the Zandstraat, but not necessarily a scene of concentrated *prostitution*. Yet, the materialisation of 'the red-light area' at the Schiedamsedijk in the 1920s-30s is reinforced by citizen's memoirs including Peter Troost's '*Red-light*

[196] *The end of the Zandstraatbuurt*, *SMA* (2024). Available at https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoek-en-/een-nieuw-stadhuis/themas/een-nieuw-zandstraatbuurt. [Accessed 21st April 2024].
[197] Available at https://www.joodserfgoedrotterdam.nl/schiedamsedijk. [Accessed 12th April 2023].

life on the Schiedamsedijk' (2002) and '*the girls of the Schiedamsedijk'* (2008).[198] In each of these memoirs, Troost outlines the provenance of his recollections from the outset, which is, he writes, based on the 'dubious pleasure' he had of living his childhood and adolescent years in the 'working-class' Schiedamsedijk during the 1920s-30s. With Troost having felt enough of the locality to self-publish his lived experience of the Schiedamsedijk into the world, we can know that when the municipal announcement of the Zandstraat's imminent demolition came [1909], many occupants of the Schiedamsedijk 'saw the storm coming'. Troost writes that many of his neighbours in the Schiedamsedijk sold their homes and moved away, citing the incoming 'flood' of the Zandstraat's people and practices as the cause of their sudden departure. In his memoirs, Troost writes that his family remained in the Schiedamsedijk and thus saw first-hand the street's materialisation into the city's main 'red-light area'. As the change set in, Troost recalls the metamorphosis of the Schiedamsedijk from 'decency' by day and 'delinquency' by night affected on a daily basis. Yet, he writes with warm nostalgia that the relocation of the 'red-light area' to the Schiedamsedijk, bringing 'the spirit of the Zandstraat' with it, conversely forged inherently close-knit community bonds that had not existed on the same scale beforehand. As Troost recounts, the Schiedamsedijk developed and displayed its own codes of spirited Otherness as a site of music, dancing, drinking, and 'pleasure girls'.[199]

Having found and read the art and memoirs attached to the Schiedamsedijk's 'red-light' life in the city archives, it at first seemed conflictive that my search of local press references to 'prostitution' in Rotterdam during the 1920s-30s period yielded only fleeting mention of the Schiedamsedijk; fourteen articles to be specific.[200] To decipher this contradiction, I repeated the local press search using the keyword term 'Schiedamsedijk' to see if the practice of prostitution was described under a different (e.g., more modest) terminology during the period. However, I found that the vast majority of the 327 local press returns mentioning 'the Schiedamsedijk' in general news discourse are advertisements for the sale of every breed of dog

[198] SMA, ref XVIIF12/34 and ref XXXIIE96 respectively.
[199] As above.
[200] *Delpher: Historical Newspapers of the Netherlands*. Available at www.delpher.nl. Search refined by place [Rotterdam] and full-data range of chapter [1st January 1920 – 31st December 1939]. Search data as access date. [Accessed 14th February 2022].

imaginable, Siamese cats, exotic birds, reptiles, rabbits, and monkeys. Alongside this, there are incidents of crime located to the Schiedamsedijk during the interwar period that tend to involve affray between sailors, drunkenness, and pickpocketing - which bears echoes of the Zandstraat as the Schiedamsedijk's 'predecessor' but on a far, far lesser scale of occurrence. The fleeing mention of 'prostitution' in the returns therefore remained a strange contradiction. This is not lease because of the anticipated moral narratives around 'a red-light area' as we saw in the previous time-chapter with the Zandstraat. But because the 'red-light area' materialises in the interwar period at the *Schiedamsedijk* – which is in the *heart* of the city centre and close to City Hall at the same time that the city centre is being 'cleared' of 'working-class' communities to make way for the new moral order encompassing economic investments in offices and industry to stimulate Rotterdam's long term economic health (see Beekers, 2012). However, as I unpacked the data disjoint between nostalgic citizen memoirs and the reticence of the local press that led me to question whether 'the red-light area' *was* ever located at the Schiedamsedijk, the lack of attention paid to the contemporaneous 'red-light' activity in the locality presents one of the most significant findings in this time-chapter on Rotterdam as follows.

At some moment in the early to mid-1920s, the famous Austrian-Czech journalist Egon Kisch visits the Schiedamsedijk during a wider visit of Rotterdam as part of his *Wagnisse in aller Welt* ['Ventures all over the world'].[201] Published in 1927, Kisch's travelogue describes the Schiedamsedijk as "a long central street that predominantly caters to the flux of sailors ashore" and calls it 'the Reeperbahn of Rotterdam' in reference to Hamburg's historic (and still today) *touristic* 'red-light district' (p. 64). Illustrating to us in words the touristic and cosmopolitan air of the Schiedamsedijk in the 1920s, Kisch detects German amongst a multitude of other languages floating down the street. At the same time, Kisch observes the spatial contradiction of the Schiedamsedijk being 'a poor neighbourhood' which is (at the time) home to the city's central 'poorhouse', but also 'a world famous amusement street' in character (*ibid*.). The following photograph, which I have found to be a

[201] *Wagnisse in aller Welt* ['Ventures all over the world'], Berlin:Universum-Bücherei für alle. Available at SMA, ref G000045101.

familiar feature in texts on the history of Rotterdam, lends a contemporaneous view of what Kisch was seeing:

Fig.5.24., De Schiedamsedijk (c1920s).[202]

Reinforcing Kisch's view of the Schiedamsedijk as a thriving 'amusement street' is an excerpt in *Rotterdammers about Rotterdam* (1947), which is a collaboration of local citizens commemorating various parts of 'old' Rotterdam in the wake of the

[202] Available at https://rotterdamkaart.nl/albums/schiedamsedijk. [Accessed 12th April 2022].

Second World War bombing of the city. In this text, the interwar 'heyday' of the Schiedamsedijk is economically recollected; telling us that it was Rotterdam's 'most famous street to foreigners and tourists, on a par with the Kalverstraat' – the Kalverstraat being Amsterdam's premier shopping and leisure street during the interwar period (p. 173). Though apart from the frequent use of the image of the Schiedamsedijk above (*fig.5.24*) in literature on the history of Rotterdam, I have found that very few of these texts pay much attention to the Schiedamsedijk's 'fame' as the interwar 'red-light area' of Rotterdam. For instance, in books on the port history of Rotterdam that encounter culturally entwined themes of 'port' and 'prostitution', the Schiedamsedijk is only briefly mentioned as the locality that 'the red-light area' relocated to upon the demolition of the Zandstraat (e.g., van de Laar, 2000: 294; Paalman, 2001: 499). Furthermore, in Marlite Halbertsma and Patrica van Ulzen's *Interbellum Rotterdam* (2001), a rich volume on art and culture in Rotterdam in the interwar era, the Schiedamsedijk is only mentioned in passing as 'an entertainment street' (p. 18). That said, Halbertsma and van Ulzen remind us that during 'the roaring twenties' of jazz, dancing and increased social freedoms and interactions in general, 'entertainment spaces' cropped up all over Rotterdam (*ibid*.)., and thus it is possible that the Schiedamsedijk did not stand out as such as the *only* locality in which nightlife and adventure could be found.

While 'entertainment space' cropped up all over Rotterdam in the excitement of 'the roaring twenties' however, an article in the socialist newspaper *Voorwarts* dated February 1930 tells us that in the Schiedamsedijk "sailors and their girls of pleasure dance with more heartiness and *joie de vivre* than anywhere else in the city" (p. 3). But after narrating life in the Schiedamsedijk in such favourable terms even for a socialist publication, the narrative on the convivial, spirited air of the Schiedamsedijk comes with the expressed caveat that "the particular enjoyment of the Schiedamsedijk does have a dark side" which is written in reference to the notion that where prostitution is so densely spatialised, wider risks and criminality inevitably manifests (*ibid*.).[203]

[203] Periodicals: *Voorwarts* (1930, issue 9), *SMA*, reading room open access shelves.

In further exploration of the 'dark' connotations of threat and criminality applied to the Schiedamsedijk juxtaposed with its convivial, spirited air as articulated in the *Voorwarts* article above, I consulted the commercial directories of Rotterdam that are held in the local archives. I looked to the 1927 volume to coincide with Kisch's view of 'the world famous amusement street', and with 1927 being the mid-way point in this time-chapter of analysis. Significantly, the commercial directory of 1927 paints a picture of the Schiedamsedijk as a virtually uninterrupted course of pubs, dance venues and music halls – generally reflecting nautical, cosmopolitan or exotic names as reflected in due course – amidst seafarers lodging houses, tobacconists, tailors, barbers, shops, coffee houses and eateries.[204] To touch on the number of dance venues in the Schiedamsedijk, it is noteworthy that during the interwar era in the Netherlands 'the dance venue' came under particular moral scrutiny in relation to the dominant Dutch socio-political discourse on dancing as 'an immoral practice' of modern culture (Kaal, 2001, pp.905-6). In short, it was felt by those of 'traditional' values that as the tempo of 'new' music trends (e.g., jazz) had gotten faster, 'improper' bodily contact on the dancefloor increased (*ibid.*). By this measure, a certain moral value was applied to 'the dance hall' in itself. To apply this to the Schiedamsedijk however, the following view of the interior of the *Cosmopoliet* dance venue (overleaf) - which dominates the forefront of the frame in the previously included street view [*fig.5.24*] – contrariwise shows a distinct tone of propriety to the venue with its formal seating area laid with white linen, and with the lamp-lit, floral adorned room generally projecting an elegant ambience:

[204] *Adressboeken Rotterdam* (1927). *SMA*, open access shelves.

Fig.5.25., interior of the Cosmopoliet dance hall, Schiedamsedijk (c1930s).[205]

Though while the quiet view inside the *Cosmopoliet* doesn't stimulate feelings of 'an immoral space' that could have affected the wider connotations of 'deviance' applied to the Schiedamsedijk as per the *Voorwarts* article, the above photograph provides just a glimpse inside one of the dance venues in which there is also an absence of presence (e.g., the dancing and 'close contact' is missing). On the topic of what is missing from portraits of the Schiedamsedijk, it is significant that the commercial directory [1927] – which does include residential addresses – does not include the numerous alleyways that run off the Schiedamsedijk and which are visible in the following cadastral map:

[205] *SMA*, ref OJK-1987-314.

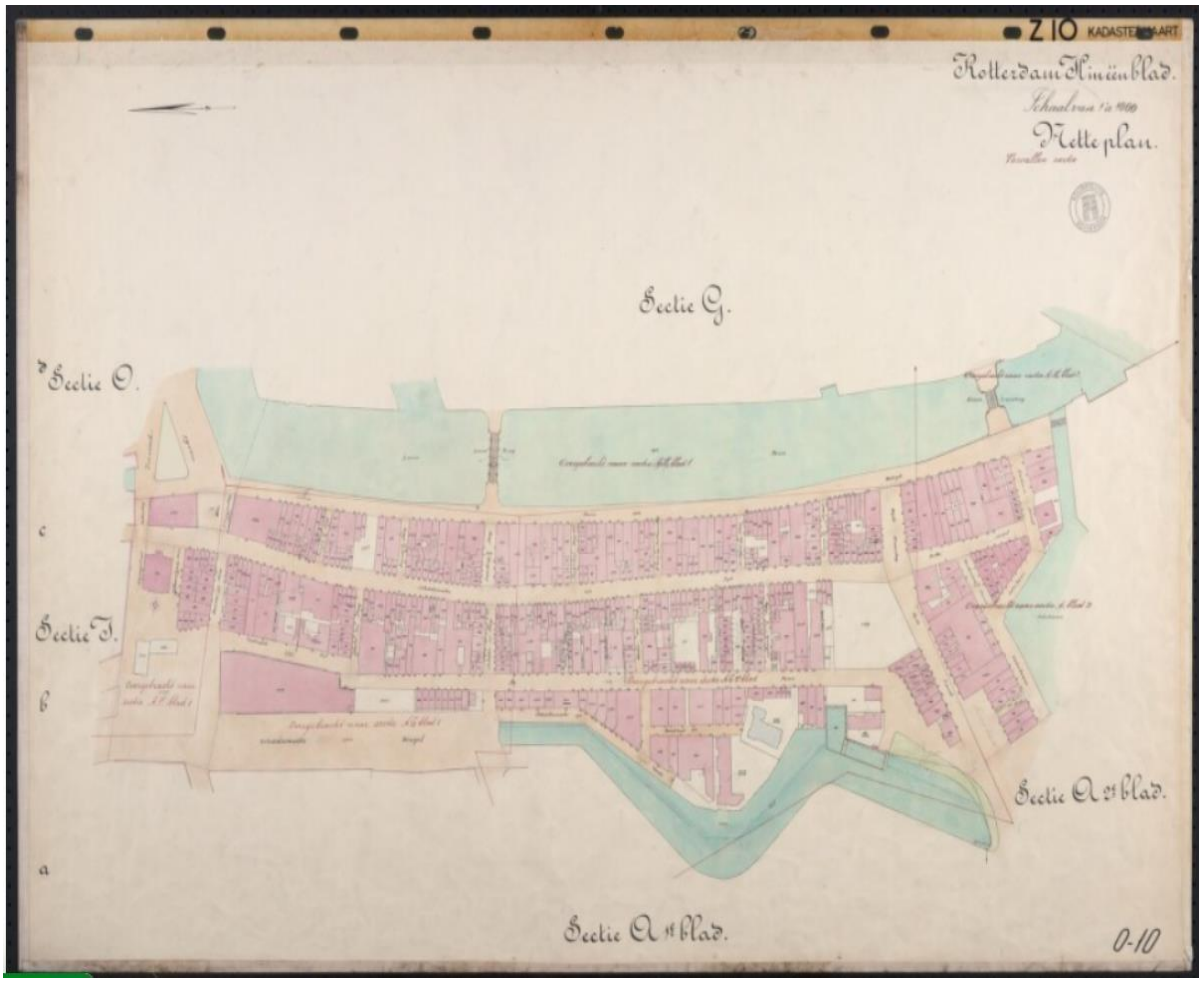


Fig.5.26., cadastral map of the Schiedamsedijk (1938).[206]

What unfolded in those alleyways is therefore unknown. The city archives hold a limited number of contemporaneous photographs of the Schiedamsedijk, many of which are strictly copyrighted. On being informed by an archivist that I could not include those images, I found this significant in itself in terms of *why* a handful of historical views of general street-scenes remain restricted almost a hundred years on, and long after the re-modelling of the Schiedamsedijk in the post-War period. In the sense that, whatever is being protected is long gone. What I can transcribe into words to furnish a secondary gaze of the restricted images is that behind the *joie de vivre* façade of the Schiedamsedijk's main concourse, with its inviting flora and bunting, those alleyways look dark and desolate. So dark and desolate that even in the secondary gaze, there is a feeling of the alleyways being 'no-go areas'.

[206] *Cadastral map of Rotterdam, section Q, 2nd sheet: the area around the Schiedamsedijk. 1938. SMA*, ref 40110-Z10.

The images take me to the Schiedamsedijk in the interwar period to the extent that I can see, hear and feel what Kisch did of its cosmopolitan air. But if I was truly there in that moment, I would not deviate from the 'light' of the Schiedamsedijk's main concourse down those alleyways. This sentiment constitutes my own visual analysis, and may not be similarly felt by another reader of the images. However, to corroborate my observation of the Schiedamsedijk's alleyways, a local text by Herman Romer titled *Passengers on the dike* (1983), which is a social history of the Schiedamsedijk, states that during the 1920s-30s period, the alleyways are 'known to house many prostitutes' (p. 40). Whilst this is a rather blunt assessment that equates the 'darkness' of the alleyways solely to 'prostitution', a rather strange little booklet that I found in the archives goes into more depth. The self-published booklet dated 1925 describes the Schiedamsedijk's alleyways as 'Rotterdam's robber-dens' and uses images of the alleyways at night (which arguably adds a contextual layer of 'danger' by narrating the 'darkness' of the alleyways under the accusatory tone of nightfall). This also makes the images too dark and grainy to include here, but of significance is that the author of the booklet, notably a local clergyman, brings the subject straight back to prostitution. It is as expected for the socio-religious narrative that underlies the booklet, but is nevertheless significant that the author laments how 'the prostitutes' of the Schiedamsedijk are looked upon so favourably by the neighbourhood. As the booklet reads:

> It is a moral sin that the prostitutes are allowed to promenade up and down the Schiedamsedijk, rising with no shame from the alleyways as the dark night falls. But it is so because it is in agreement with the barkeepers and proprietors of the dance salons, for the prostitutes lure customers who will buy lots of drinks.[207]

There is a degree of ire in this statement that women working as prostitutes in the Schiedamsedijk, with the indication that many of whom live in the neighbourhood, are not treated with moral contempt by the local community as would be *expected* in the clergyman's expressed opinion. The clergymen infers that the prostitutes do not have need to 'conceal' their profession to the alleyways as they 'promenade' the main street of the Schiedamsedijk in all openness. The 'belonging' of 'the

[207] *De Rotterdamsche roofholen en hun bevolking* ['The Rotterdam robber dens and their population'] (van Dijkhuizen, 1925). *SMA*, ref IXH20. Translation by auto-translate software at SMA.

prostitutes' in the Schiedamsedijk in conjunction with local entertainment venues is a particular controversy in the clergyman's booklet, but Kisch's travel writing offers the contrasting viewpoint that "these [wonderful] women truly make the pavement in the Schiedamsedijk" (1927: 64). The wider sense of the *belonging* of 'red-light' activity in the community-constituted moral geography of the Schiedamsedijk that both Kisch's travel writing and Troost's memoirs illustrate therefore correlates with the lack of moral scrutiny paid to the Schiedamsedijk's 'red-light' and wider 'night' life in the local press of the 1920s-30s period. Further underpinning the sense of the Schiedamsedijk being an unproblematic 'red-light area', Troost (2002) tells us that when the principal 'red-light area' sequentially relocated from the Zandstraat to the Schiedamsedijk, the dedicated police watch of the Zandstraat moved with it. Thus, based on the findings in the previous time-chapter that the Zandstraat police watch had an amiable working relationship with the local prostitutes, it is possible that the few found references to prostitution in the Schiedamsedijk in the local press of the period reflects the positive familiarity between the 'red-light' and 'blue-light' groups that collectively relocated to the Schiedamsedijk to walk its pavement alongside one another.

To reinforce this, of the 327 local news returns for 'the Schiedamsedijk' across the 1920s-30s period of observation in this chapter, only two of the returns refer to incidents involving prostitutes. The first is a general news item that reports on a fight breaking out between two Schiedamsedijk prostitutes whom, it is said in the report, have been 'at odds with one another for some time'. It is reported that the fight came to a stop when one of the women realised that their handbags, which had been set down on the pavement to commence the fight, had been stolen. On realising this, the two women walked off together to find a policeman and report the theft (*DV*, 1938). The second article is also a general news item reporting that a man dining in the *Cosmopoliet* on a June afternoon in 1939 realised half-way through the meal that his wallet was missing. On summoning a policeman, the man accused 'the two prostitutes' who were taking coffee at the next table. The two women agree to the policeman searching their handbags and pockets, but the policeman finds nothing. One of the women, Aleta* says, "we have not left this table since we arrived, and why would we need to take this man's purse? We

probably make more [money] than he does." (*TP*, 1939).[208] Overall, it is a bulletin in the Dutch daily morning paper *De Volkskrant* (a newspaper of Roman Catholic origin that placed itself to the left of the political centre) dated 1935 that illustrates that the municipality have no reason to be concerned by the 'social conduct' and the particular moral geography of the Schiedamsedijk (as a 'red-light area' or 'an amusement street' in general) because it is perceived to be a 'neat' and orderly locality as the succinct bulletin elaborates:

> THE NEAT SCHIEDAMSEDIJK: In the past, there were exceptions for pubs and dance halls for the Schiedamsedijk, including closing hours and music permits. They have now been lifted. The conduct of the public in this district does not differ in any way from that in other parts of the city. From now, the same licensing provisions have been laid down for this harbour and seamen's quarter as for the rest of Rotterdam.
>
> (*DV*, 1935).

To place this in the contexts of wider locational and social actors however, in the year the licensing restrictions on the Schiedamsedijk are lifted in 1935, it is shortly afterwards that the municipality designate the Schiedamsedijk as the 'base' of a week of festivities that take place annually across Rotterdam. The festivities are organised by the *Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (VVV) [tr. Association for Aliens Traffic], a national organisation for the stimulation of local and regional tourism that still exists today.[209] Whilst the municipality have recognised that the Schiedamsedijk is neat and orderly, and we know from Kisch of its cosmopolitan and touristic air, it still seems strange that the municipality have designated the city's 'red-light area' – as it is essentially is – as the cultural base of the festivities. However, the commemorative magazine of 'VVV' week, 1935 retained in the local archives sheds light on this. It appears from the magazine that there has been some form of downturn in the entertainment economies of the Schiedamsedijk,

[208] Translation by auto-translate software on Delpher.nl.
[209] See www.vvvnederland.nl [Accessed 4th April 2024].

and, significantly, that the Schiedamsedijk is a key economic component of the *city's* coffers. For in basing the festivities from the Schiedamsedijk, the article urges citizens 'not to give up on the Schiedamsedijk' and to 'help it though its hardship in the same way that the Schiedamsedijk significantly contributed to the city's upkeep after the 1914-18 War'.[210] Thus, whilst it at first seems strange to base the tourism-boosting festivities in the heart of 'the red-light area', it becomes clear that just as the improvements to social housing are geared towards boosting the city's economic health through measures of improving workers' productivity, the 'tolerance' of 'the red-light area' at the Schiedamsedijk is also intrinsically linked to the wider economy of the city.

Maritime historian Graeme Milne (2016) reminds us that through the early quarter of the twentieth century, travelling seafarers remained vital economic actors in port cities; projecting large sums of money into sailortown quarters on a scale that had no real parallel with other poorer districts (p. 66). Local historians also remind us that the Great Depression that ushered in the 1930s was deeply felt in Rotterdam owing to the decrease in shipping traffic, which also meant that fewer sailors were coming ashore in the early years of the 1930s (van de Laar and Hage, 2010: 139). In light of the municipality lifting the licencing restrictions on the Schiedamsedijk and designating the area as the base of VVV week in 1935, it is difficult to dismiss the sense of scepticism that the economic strain felt in sailortown Schiedamsedijk was more critically felt in the counting houses of City Hall that had expunged the former sailortown and 'red-light area' of the Zandstraat beneath it, and thus the municipality now *needed* the Schiedamsedijk to thrive in the Zandstraat's wake.

That said, the efforts made to include the Schiedamsedijk in the VVV festivities of 1935 pay homage to the sailortown character of the street as opposed to its 'red-light' cultural associations. As the following photograph from the commemorative magazine of 1935 shows, the VVV situated a full-scale ship replica (funded by the municipality) on the Schiedamsedijk for the week of festivities, with its dining deck positioned as if the 'ship' is sailing down the street:

[210] *De Rotterdamsche VVV week 1935*. SMA, ref P1418. Translation by auto-translation software, SMA.

Fig.5.27., ship's replica for VVV week at the Schiedamsedijk (1935).[211]

Again, every individual will read different things from images. But in my own visual analysis of the image above, the way in which the ship's replica appears to sail the Schiedamsedijk symbolises the Schiedamsedijk's sudden importance to the city in cultural and economic terms. In a sense, the placement of the ship's replica sends an optimistic signal that maritime-related prosperity *will* return to Rotterdam with a nod to the Schiedamsedijk role in that. For what is clear (and also poignant) in this image is the way in which a copied nautical artefact and the entertainment street that established its spirited sailortown culture around the port economy are all-at-once brought face to face with one another in a powerful mirror image.

[211] *De Schiedamsedijk from the corner of the mainland with the city poorhouse on the left during VVV Week 1935. SMA,* ref 2002-1588.

And so in sum, in stark contrast to the 'unwanted' Zandstraat, the moral value that the municipality assigns to the Schiedamsedijk is significant for 'a red-light area' – both under the new moral order inscribed on the landscape, and in general. The acceptance of the 'red-light' space of the Schiedamsedijk is however found to be a matter of timing in the sense that the street is valued for its economic contributions to the wider city, particularly during the significant period of buoyant economic fortunes that marks the interwar years of Rotterdam. That is, as outlined in the opening of this section, through the economic strains of the 1914-18 conflict, the struggles of Rotterdam to recover economically in the immediate aftermath owing to her 'use' as a 'spynest', and the Great Depression amongst other factors that includes the changing in shipping operations that saw fewer sailors coming ashore for days at a time. Arguably, the moral acceptance of the Schiedamsedijk as an economic contributor means that the 'red-light area' was not erased by the hand of the municipality as the Zandstraat was. But for how long the 'red-light' life of the Schiedamsedijk would have been accepted for is a question that can never be truly answered. The erasure of the Schiedamsedijk comes towards the end of the period of observation in this time-chapter – by the hand of War.

The destruction of the Schiedamsedijk came in the early afternoon of Tuesday the 14th May 1940. The neighbourhood was razed in under the sudden thundering of German bombs that decimated the wider city in the space of an hour (Steenbeek, 1973). The decimation of the Schiedamsedijk, along with the wider city, is most poignantly told in visual form, in a way that words can't fully reach. The following photographs that are held like vivid, traumatic flashbacks in Rotterdam's memory through the medium of the local archives, therefore follow to tell the story of the ending of the Schiedamsedijk:

traumatic flashbacks in Rotterdam's proverbial memory in the form of the city's local archives:

Fig.5.28., postcard depicting the Schiedamsedijk (1920).[212]

Fig.5.29., still smoking ruins of the Schiedamsedijk (1940).[213]

[212] *Picture postcards collected by the Rotterdam City Archives 4029. SMA*, ref OKJ-2004-242.
[213] *Still smoking ruins of buildings in the vicinity of the Schiedamsedijk. SMA*, ref 1987-1685.

Fig.5.30., looking over the ruins of the Cosmopoliet dance venue, Schiedamsedijk (1940).[214]

[214] *Ruins of the Cosmpoliet, Schiedamsedijk*. *SMA*, ref 2001-1854.

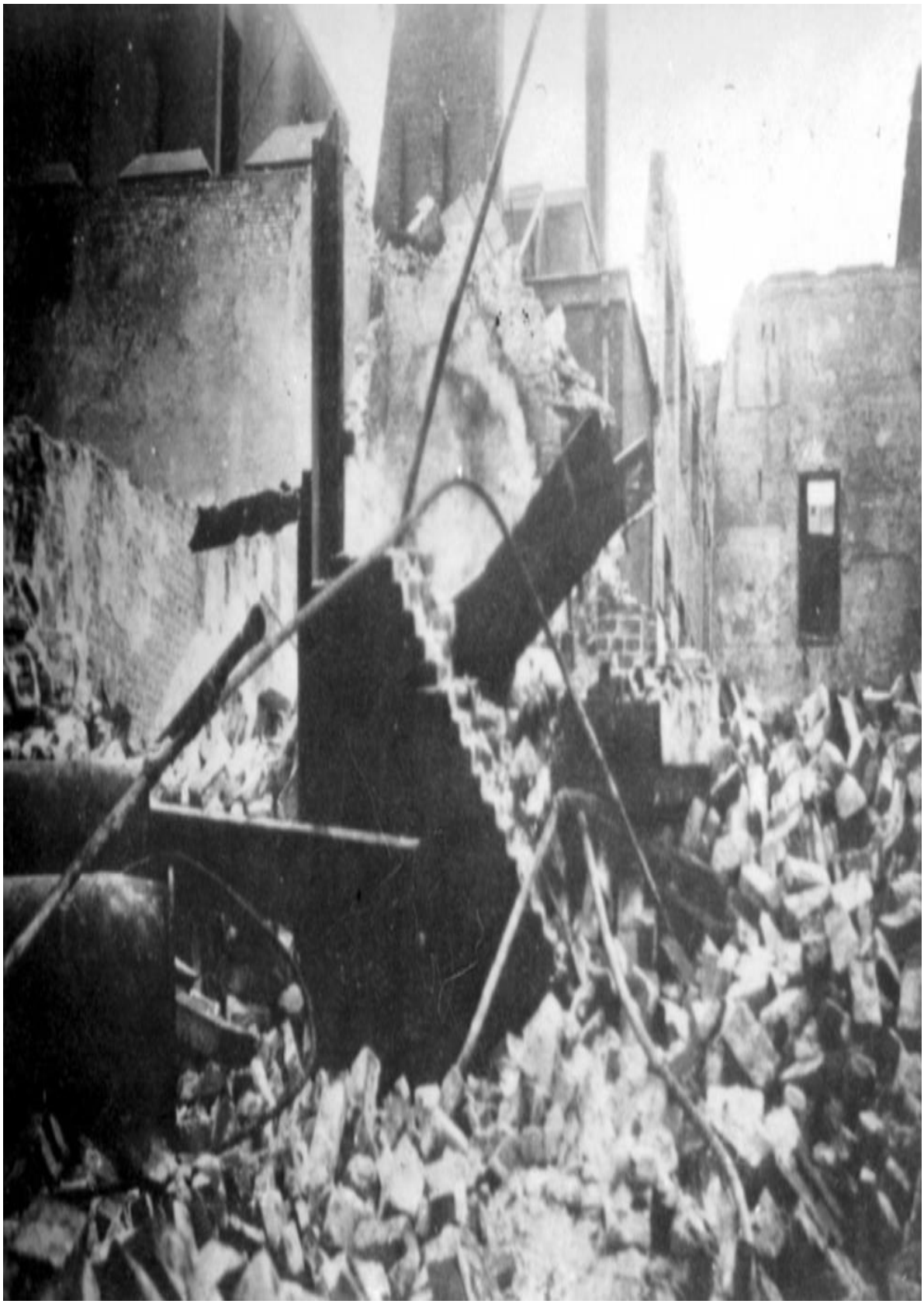


Fig.5.31., inside ruins of the Cosmpoliet dance venue, Schiedamsedijk (1940).[215]

[215] *View inside the ruins of the Cosmopoliet, Schiedamsedijk. SMA*, ref XXXIII-569-39-02-12.

Fig.5.32., remains of houses on the Schiedamsedijk (1940).[216]

Despite the municipality having looked upon the Schiedamsedijk 'night district' and sailortown quarter so favourably, the street was only rebuilt on the east side during the post-War urban reconstruction of Rotterdam. As the following image of the re-built Schiedamsedijk in 1961 shows, the row of apartment buildings and business premises to the east side has a clear view over the Leuvehaven [harbour] that was left open and is where the colossal Maritime Museum now stands:

[216] *Remains of houses on the Schiedamsedijk. SMA*, ref 1987-891-24.

Fig.5.33., view over the rebuilt/rebuilding Schiedamsedijk; with Destroyed City sculpture in the foreground (1961).[217]

Only one walking conversation led me to the Schiedamsedijk. Mieke*, a history student and tour-guide, brought me here to show me the harbour space affixed to the Maritime Museum where historical vessels are moored for public view. Whilst in the vicinity however, Meike also wanted to point out Ossip Zadkine's twenty-one foot high bronze sculpture *De Verwoeste Stad* ['The Destroyed City'] that stands to the front of the Maritime Museum, and which can be seen in the image above. As Meike tells me, the stylised figure with a gaping hole in its chest unveiled on this site in 1953 is deeply important to Rotterdammers. It commemorates how the heart of Rotterdam was ripped out on the fateful day in 1940, but also symbolises how the figure – representing the city – stood back up and reached for the sky.[218]

[217] *Photo Collection General 4100. SMA*, ref 2005-8880.
[218] Fieldnotes; walking conversation with Meike* (Rotterdam, 25th February 2022).

At the end of the walk with Meike, I returned to the Schiedamsedijk to undertake my own walking ethnography. Walking by the pleasant Leuvehaven, there is just no feeling that this was once that bustling, spirited 'red-light area' – or any such 'red-light area'. The street is so open in its outlook, where tourists queue for the museum and locals drink coffee on the benches by the historical vessels moored in the harbour. Crossing over to walk the east side of the street in the shadows of the apartment buildings, there is a visceral sense of nostalgia when walking in the footsteps of 'the pleasure girls' who once 'made' this pavement according to Egon Kisch, and danced with *joie de vivre* without the level of contempt for their bodies – and space – that had been applied to the Zandstraat. And all at once, jazz music floats out from one of the higher apartment windows which makes me look up. I hear the chinking of glasses. It is purely coincidence, but in that moment the spirit of the Schiedamsedijk resonates – even if only in sound beyond the spatial grave. I end my walking ethnography back at the *Destroyed City* sculpture and as I take a photograph (included below), I note that the post-War apartment buildings that in a sense came to overwrite the Schiedamsedijk's 'red-light' history nevertheless 'nod' in the background:

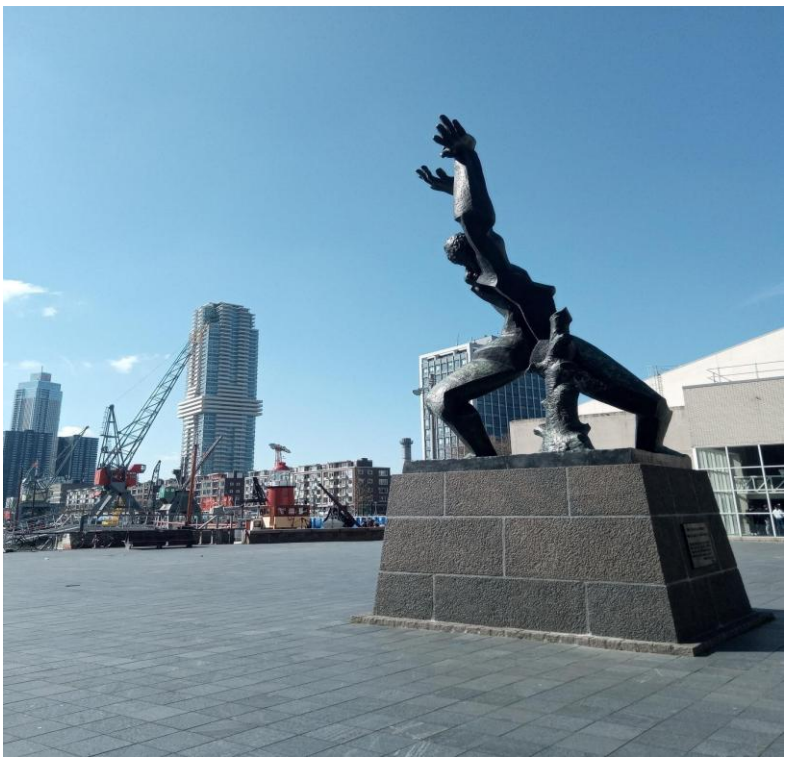


Fig.5.34., Destroyed City sculpture, with row of apartments on the Schiedamsedijk in the background left (2023, own image).

Standing here, where the image above is taken, I have a wave of feeling that the sculpture is so bittersweetly placed. For the prominence of the figure with its heart ripped out in front of the Maritime Museum speaks to the importance of the city's urban loss. But the placement of the statue also foregrounds the Schiedamsedijk - a street that was, in the period leading up to the Second World War, the *spiritual* heart of the port function of Rotterdam. This ethnographic finding brings me to a fitting close to this time-chapter on Rotterdam.

Chapter Summary

In this empirical time-chapter set in the interwar era of Hull and Rotterdam, I have paid an analytic visit to the cities' primary 'red-light area' during the period; to Pease Street in Hull and to the Schiedamsedijk in Rotterdam. The location of both streets is significant from the outset, with both streets being *in* the city centre at a time when significant inner-city clearance is taking place. That is, with the city leaders of Hull and Rotterdam each engaging with the Garden City movement to relocate 'inner-city' dwellers (or 'workers') to social housing typologies on the city outskirts to improve 'the social condition' in line with state housing law. In each case the finding that the 'red-light' contexts of Pease Street [Hull] and the Schiedamsedijk [Rotterdam] have spatially materialised under a community-constituted moral geography in which prostitution is an integral part of a network income – and thus accepted in the neighbourhood - also produces differences. In Hull, the prostitution in Pease Street is a profitability to residents whereas the 'red-light economies of Rotterdam's Schiedamsedijk is a profitability of entertainment venues that in turn contributes to the economic health of Rotterdam. For this distinct reason we see an eventual 'clearance' of prostitution in Pease Street through spatial by-laws implemented to ban prostitutes from entering seafarers' lodgings, whereas no such policies relating to the clearance of prostitution from the Schiedamsedijk are actioned.

In each case, the prostitute women in Hull and Rotterdam in the interwar period are not found to be perceived as 'problematic' in the local press of the period as they were consistently reported to be in the previous time-chapter. This is found to transpose on the moral value assigned to the sites in that Pease Street and the

Schiedamsedijk are not found to consistently be consistently named in newspaper reports on ‘prostitution’ during the period as a locational source of moral ‘concern’. Furthermore, the Schiedamsedijk ‘red-light area’ of Rotterdam is looked upon favourably by the municipality (not directly, but in its attachment to sailortown economies) to the extent that the Schiedamsedijk designated as the base of a week of festivities to boost tourism. Accordingly, whilst Pease Street is ‘cleared’ of prostitution by locational actors of policy, the Schiedamsedijk is accepted for the role it plays in the wider economic health of the city and is only erased by the hand of the Second World War. Rotterdam’s Schiedamsedijk was therefore found to have a more sensory legacy than Hull’s Pease Street based on my independent walking ethnographies of each site. Notably however, both Pease Street and the Schiedamsedijk were not re-built until the late post-War period. And while Pease Street and the Schiedamsedijk were rebuilt into a similar landscape of apartments (on paper), Pease Street is found to be ‘just there’ in the quiet background of Hull city centre, whereas the Schiedamsedijk is now a prominent street alongside the repurposed Leuvehaven through its transformation into a historical maritime quarter through which the quiet legacy of the Schiedamsedijk amusement street of the interwar period still dances on the pavement – if you look closely enough.

Chapter Six

Spatial analysis
part iii:
'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam during the post-War period of urban reconstruction
(1950s – 1970s)

There is a sense in which the demolition that [has taken] place through the war has not yet gone far enough…We must therefore continue to do, in a more deliberate and rational fashion, what the bombs have done by brutal hit-or-miss, if we are to have space enough to live in and produce the proper means of life.

Lewis Mumford, 1945.[219]

This chapter provides part iii of the spatial analysis of the 'red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam, and is set against the critical backdrop of urban reconstruction in the post-War biographies of the cities reduced to ashes. The catastrophic bombing of Hull and Rotterdam is arguably the most critical juncture in the urban histories of the cities. Not least in their shared experience beneath targeted bombardment, but as this resulted in the Hull and Rotterdam's relatively unique experience of *carte blanche* urban reconstruction (Cooper, 2017 [Hull]; Reinhardt, 1955 [Rotterdam]). Thus, the post-War years of urban reconstruction is an important period in which to continue the analysis as it takes into account the heightened scale of urban loss and processes of rebuilding and the significance of 'the red-light area' within.

Having left Hull and Rotterdam in the previous time-chapter on the coming of the Second World War but picking up the analysis in the 1950s, I begin this chapter with a brief interlude on the impact of the active years of the 1939-45 conflict on the social and urban geographies of Hull and Rotterdam. As follows, the interlude is presented through juxtaposed images of the cities' in ashes because to borrow the

[219] Lewis Mumford, *City Development* (1945: 157).

emotive, mirrored expression of Winifred Essen of Hull and Wilhemina Steenbeek of Rotterdam – two women who have published their childhood memories beneath the bombs in their respective home city - when it comes to describing the shock of seeing their city reduced to ashes, 'words fail' (see Essen in Pinder, 2024: 2 [Hull]; Steenbeek, 1973: 7 [Rotterdam]). With only a secondary feeling of the sick assault on the senses that the smouldering and contorted wreckage of a place called 'home' must have conjured, I include the following archival images of bombed Hull and Rotterdam as a way to articulate the ineffable:

Fig.6.1., film still of German Heinkel bombers over the North Sea (1940).[220]

[220] Courtesy of Museum Rotterdam '40-'45 Now. In person, October 2021.

Fig.6.2., Hull [Newbridge Road] (May, 1940).[221]

Fig.6.3., Rotterdam central (May, 1940).[222]

[221] In *Photographs 1940-1. Hull History Centre [HHC],* ref CDILN/1/1.
[222] Courtesy of Museum Rotterdam '40-'45 Now. In person, October 2021.

In the wake of the catastrophic bombing of Hull in a concerted series of attacks throughout the 1939-45 conflict (Cooper, 1917), and the razing of Rotterdam in the space of an hour on 14th May 1940 (Reinhardt, 1955), the 'city fathers' of each city were all at once faced with the almighty prospect of rebuilding the 'home' city from the ashes. Notably however, during walking conversations undertaken in Hull and Rotterdam (that is, with two different people, in two different cities, at two different times), a mirrored sentiment emerged in relation to the targeted bombardment having done Hull and Rotterdam a favour as the following extracts from my walk with local published historian Mark* in Hull [January 2022] and with public space architect Dora* in Rotterdam [April 2023] outline:

> *Mark*: I doubt anyone ever said it out loud, outside the walls of City Hall anyway, but the bombing did Hull Council a favour. It did the ground work for them, wiped out the last of the Victorian decay in a full-scale blitz.[223]

> *Dora*: To the municipality, the bombing was a blessing. It meant they could realise the dream more quickly of a modern city for the middle-classes. Of a city of stature. Though this would never, ever, never at any time, have been said to the public of course.[224]

The idea that the bombing of Hull and of Rotterdam was an unsaid 'blessing' to the 'city fathers' of each city is an unsettling one, but it is reinforced by the energy with which city leaders of Hull and Rotterdam respectively set about reconstructing the home city to a utopian ideal whilst the War was still raging. In Hull, the city leaders commissioned eminent urban architects of period Sirs Edwin Lutyens and Patrick Abercrombie, a duo widely regarded as 'the diagnosticians of environment' to plan 'a fairer, nobler city' whilst Hull was still enduring concerted air-raids on civilians (see Jones, 1998). And in Rotterdam, a wave of 'reconstruction euphoria' played out in a series of municipal exhibitions like *Rotterdam in the Near Future* [1947], *The City on the Maas Gets Back on its Feet* [1949] and *A City Rises Again* [1950] where scale models of Rotterdam's skyscraping future were proudly displayed to

[223] Fieldnotes; walking conversation with Mark* (Hull, 12th January 2022).
[224] Fieldnotes; walking conversation with Dora* (Rotterdam, 14th April 2023).

the public with the expressed sentiment of 'the higher the buildings, the higher the morals' of the people (Reinhardt, 1955: 67). However, the projected, mirrored sentiment that Hull and Rotterdam would 'rise from the ashes' in their rebuilt form of a utopian city (Markham, 1993: 152 [Hull]; Steenbeek, 1973: 158 [Rotterdam]) came to contrasting fruition as I explore further in this chapter. For now, this is to say that as the adrenaline-fueled call of the respective 'city fathers' to remodel the home city into moral high-ground, the primary 'red-light area' in each city relocated outside of the city centre boundaries for the first time in the wider sample period as I now explore in an analytic visit to Hedon Road in Hull and to the Katendrecht in Rotterdam. I firstly return to Hull.

In Hull, 1950s-70s

Fig.6.4., war is over! crowds gather outside City Hall, Hull (May, 1945).[225]

[225] Still from 'City and County of Kingston-upon-Hull 'Victory in Europe' Celebrations May 1945 (Dir. E.F. Symmons, 1945: 00:03:48), Yorkshire Film Archive. Available at https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/ film/hull-victory-celebrations-1945-onlinevictory-celebrations-1945-online. [Accessed 20th September 2023].

On a wave of unbridled optimism, Hull's 'city fathers' commissioned the eminent urban architects of the period Sirs Edwin Lutyens and Patrick Abercrombie to plan the reconstruction of the destroyed city of Hull into 'a fairer and nobler city' whilst the Second World War was still raging (Jones, 1998). Lutyens and Abercrombie were not just widely regarded in the period for their bricks-and-mortar planning, but as 'the diagnosticians of environment' concerned with 'the total health of the civic organism' in social and economic contexts (*ibid*., p. 302). As the following sketch shows, Lutyens and Abercrombie had reimagined old Hull into the portrait of a utopian ideal:

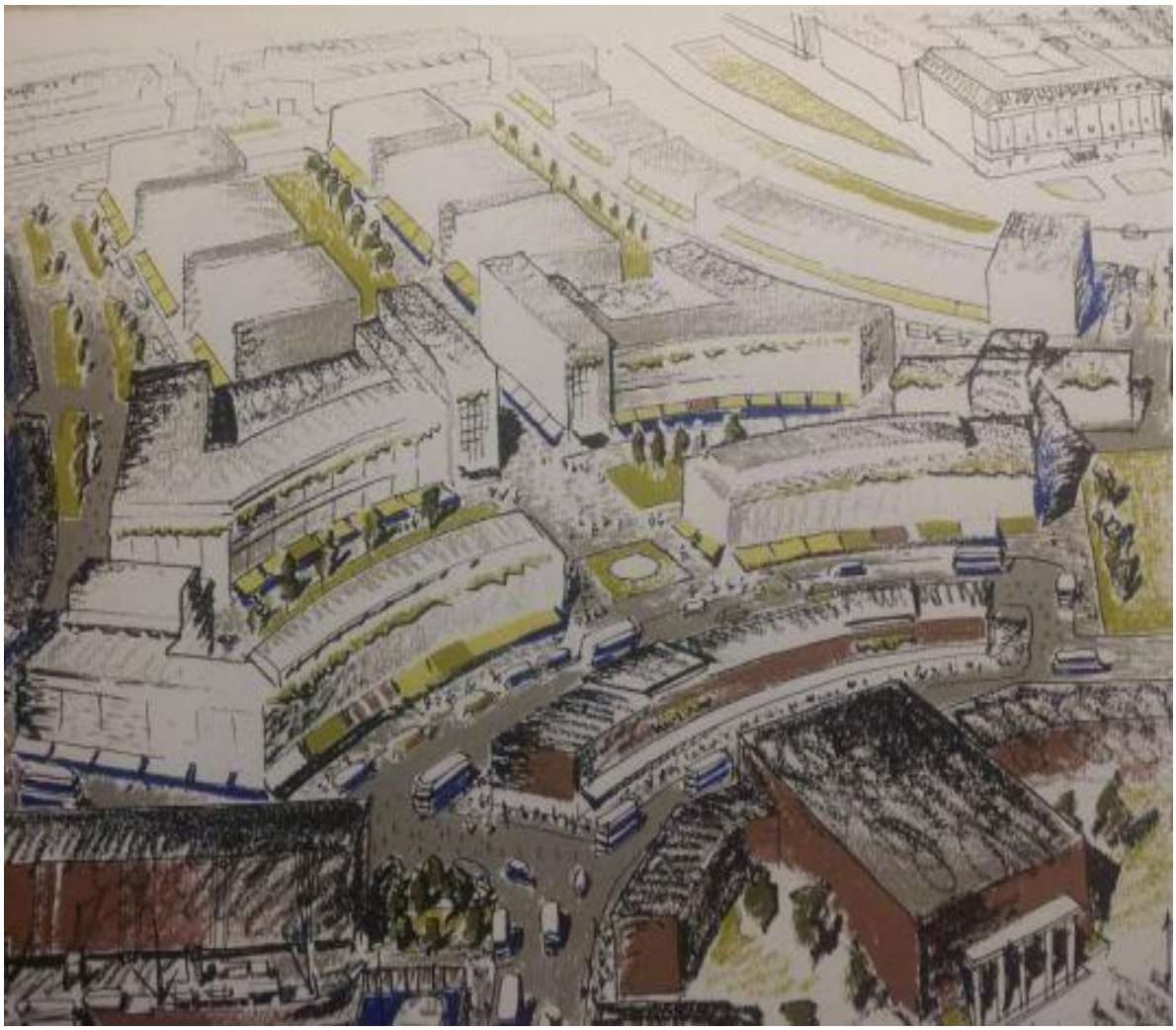


Fig.6.5., Hull: 'a fairer and nobler city', Lutyens and Abercrombie (1945).[226]

[226] In *A plan for the city and county of Kingston-upon-Hull: prepared for the city council by E. Lutyens and P. Abercrombie 1945*. *HHC*, ref L711.

Beneath the fairer and nobler face of Hull, Lutyens and Abercrombie (1945)[227] also laid the foundations of a social and spatial reorganisation of the city into an ordered city as can be seen in the following zonal blueprint:

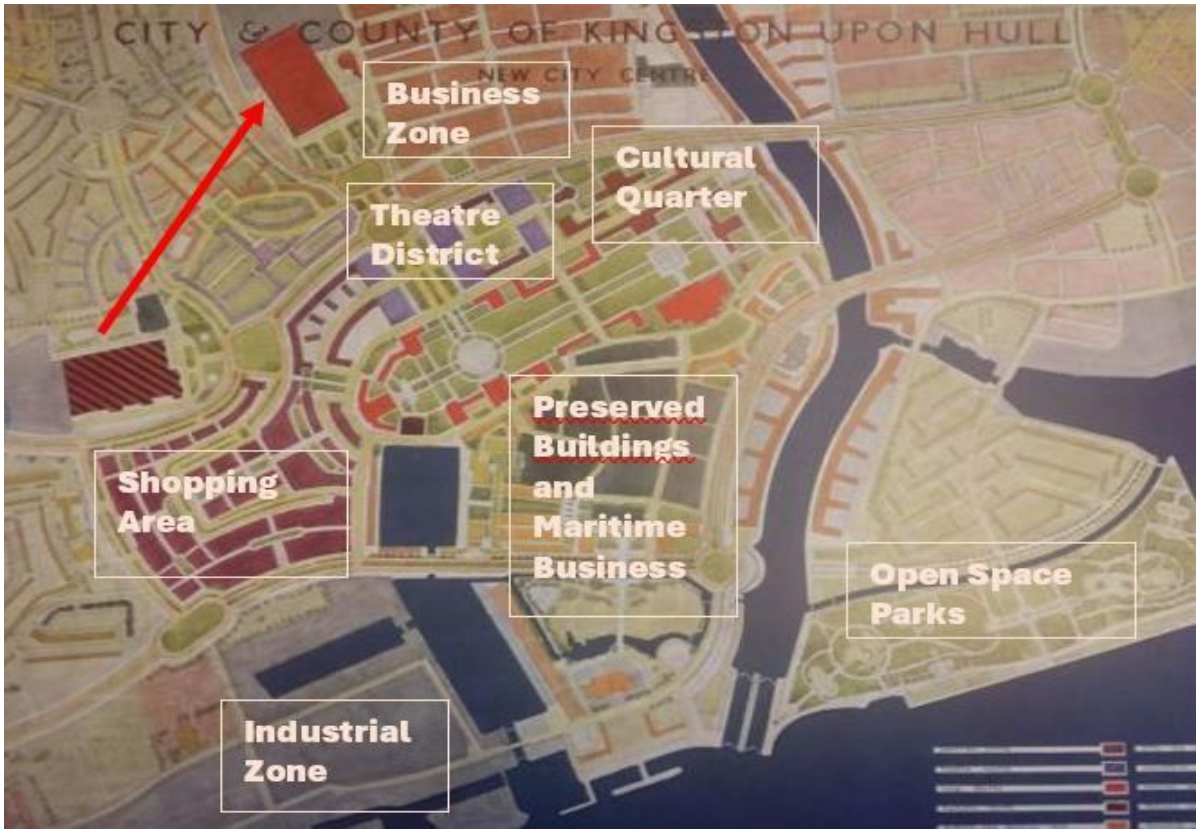


Fig.6.6., Lutyens and Abercrombie's 'zonal' plan for the new city centre (1945).[228]

In the image above, the zonal labels are added by me for clarity as the original labels on the map are unclear when the image is scanned. As the plan shows, City Hall was to be joined by a new series of civic buildings that would overlook the central Queen's Gardens (indicated on the plan at source by the orange buildings around the central green oval). This new civic quarter would then adjoin a theatre district and a cultural quarter of museums and galleries. As the plan further shows, a designated business zone would sit a little way up from Queen's Gardens, which would involve the relocation of Paragon Railway Station further north of the city centre (indicated by me in the use of a red arrow). The cluster of

[227] *A plan for the city and county of Kingston-upon-Hull: prepared for the city council by E. Lutyens and P. Abercrombie 1945*. *HHC*, ref L711.
[228] In above.

buildings to the south of Queen's Gardens (in the event of their survival) would be the maritime quarter in which Hull's port heritage would be commemorated upon the repurposing of the surviving buildings as offices for local maritime commerce. To the east of Queen's Gardens would be a pedestrianised shopping zone. And to the south of the city centre at the Humber's edge would be an industrial zone on one side, and public parks and open space to the other. In short, everything would have its place.

In a cruel twist of fate however, these plans would never be realised. In 1946, Hull learns that she has been omitted from the British government's initial post-War re-building budget. Poignantly, it was a source of civic pride that during the 1939-45 conflict, 'no ship from this port missed a tide' as an important national supplier. But it was owing to Hull's strategic importance to the war effort (both in military force and as a national supplier) that the British government censored Hull's ordeal through a media blackout of the 'Hull blitz' to preserve national morale (see Geraghty, 1989). This meant that Hull did not, or could not, feature on the priority list for immediate compensation as was afforded to London and Coventry amongst other UK cities (*ibid*.). Accordingly, Hull's blitzed appearance lingered long into the 1950s [where this time-chapter begins] as the following images show:

Fig.6.7., emergency pre-fab housing, Mason Street (1947).[229]

[229] In *Hull and District Trade Council 1947*. *HHC*, ref UDSTC/2/37.

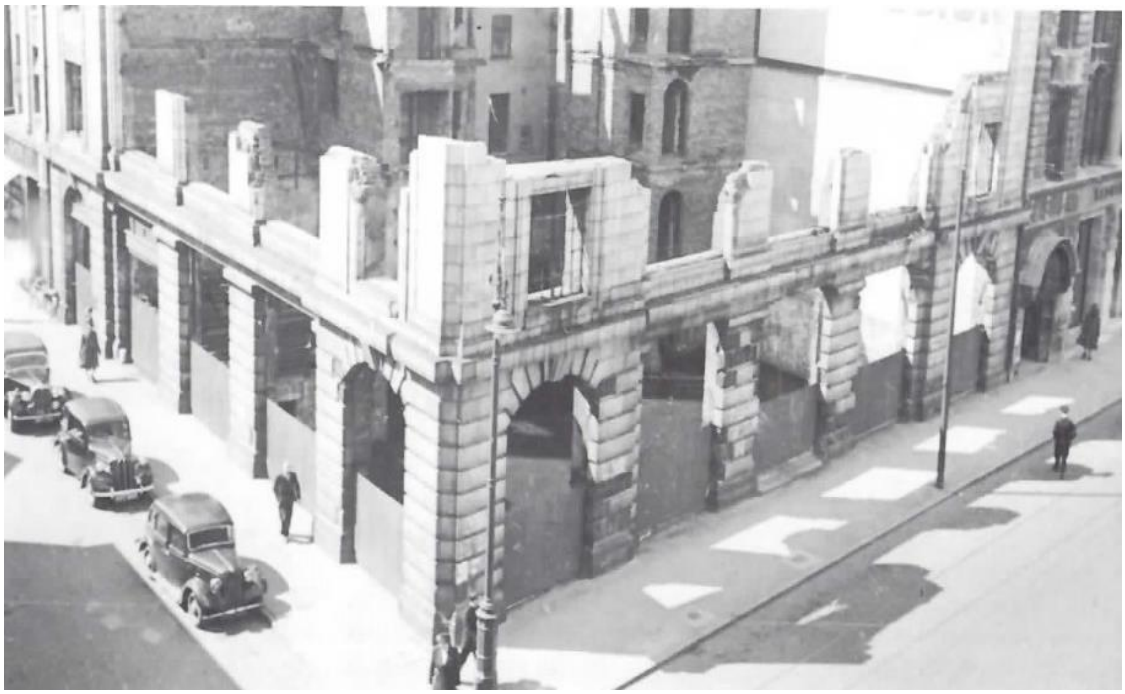


Fig.6.8., Jameson Street (c1950s).[230]

Fig.6.9., Ferensway (c1950s).[231]

[230] *Photograph by Mr Stanley Wakelin of Hull, 1950s. HHC*, ref CDIMF/2/2.
[231] *Photograph by Mr Stanley Wakelin of Hull, 1950s. HHC*, ref CDIMF/2/4.

And poignantly, as blood-red poppies suddenly flourished in the silent battlefields of France, the poppy's botanical cousin – the rose-bay willow – which was hitherto unseen in Hull, swathed the city's bomb sites with a spiky violet resonance of War (Markham, 2003: 152). With this vivid reminder provoking echoes of a painful past long into the 1950s, Hull Corporations' 'more practical' reconstruction plan gained Ministerial approval in 1954 – albeit resembling 'an emergency blitz and rebuild exercise' (Jones, 1998: 302). The annual report of the town planning committee dated 1960 shows that the interwar housing estates on the city outskirts were being extended and the construction of new estates was underway to provide housing for those still living in 'emergency prefabs and un-fit sham fours'.[232] A year later in 1961, an annual civic periodical delivered to every home in Hull keeps the public abreast of the 'clean sweep' of remaining 'slum streets' to replace 'the chaotic mixture of bomb damage and old houses with low-rise maisonettes and high-rise tower blocks.'[233] The following photograph taken in 1959 shows old terraced housing side-by-side with a new block of maisonettes in St Luke's Street to the west of the city centre, where a family of the part-derelict terrace are sitting outside with their belongings as if finally succumbing to the erasure of their home.

Fig.6.10., Old and new housing side-by-side, St Luke's Street, city centre west (1959).[234]

[232] *Hull Corporation; Town Planning Committee: Planning in action*, 1960. *HHC*, ref L13102.
[233] *Hull Corporation*; *Development Committee*: *Kingston upon Hull*, 1961. *HHC*, ref L97806.
[234] *In Records of City Architect's Department: Housing Division 1950s*. *HHC*, ref CTAH.

The following images provide a view of Hull's high-rise housing solutions that were completed in the late-1960s and 1970s:

Fig.6.11., Thornton Estate, Anlaby Road, city centre west (1970).[235]

Fig.6.12., Bransholme estate, north Hull (1968).[236]

[235] *Thornton estate completion 1970. HHC*, ref BHB/1/46.
[236] *Bransholme estate area 2 1967-8. HHC*, ref BHB/1/22.

Alongside the priority housing developments as reflected in the images above, Hull Corporation carried forward an echo of Lutyens and Abercrombie's [1945] plan in the curation of a designated shopping zone in the city centre. The annual civic periodical distributed to every household in Hull dated 1970 proudly proclaims that the work that has gone into the new 'floral adorned shopping district' has proven to be one of the greatest feats of the Corporation's thoughtful planning that is shaping Hull into 'one of the finest cities in the north'.[237] Alongside this, it is stated that the redevelopment of the bombed Riverside Quay into a passenger ferry terminal [1957] has resulted in a rise of overseas visitors who are primarily attracted to Hull's shopping thoroughfares, and that Hull is 'forging ahead as a major port and city of stature' (*ibid*.). This sense of optimism is arguably tethered to the event that Hull is experiencing a post-War boom in the lifeblood fishing industry as the years of war had enabled fish stocks in the North Sea to recover. As a result, an average of 190,000 tonnes are landed at Hull annually in the 1950s-70s period which, to put this in perspective, represents a quarter of all UK landings in the post-War fishing sector (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 12). The following photographs provide a view of the boom at Hull's St Andrew's Quay:

Fig.6.13., Landings at St Andrews Quay (1961).[238]

[237] *Hull Corporation*; *Development Committee: Kingston upon Hull, 1970*. *HHC*, ref L97806
[238] *St Andrews Dock black and white photograph 1961*. *HHC*, ref CDPD/7/1/2/9.

Fig.6.14., Trawlermen at St Andrew's Quay (1961).[239]

However, the fishing boom results in a series of violent skirmishes at sea (known as 'the Cod Wars') between Hullensian and Icelandic trawlers [1958-61, 1972-3, 1975-6] (Johannesson, 2004) which results in a final blow for Hull. As the Cod Wars escalate in the 1970s, the British government agree to 200-mile restrictions being placed on Icelandic waters alongside fishing quotas for Hull. Persuaded by the importance of Iceland's Keflavik port to N.A.T.O, the UK government's decision in 1976 collapses Hull's lifeblood industry overnight (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 12). The restrictions and quotas also impacts the economies of other fishing ports across the UK, but the loss cuts very deeply in Hull. Trawlermen, representing a third of Hull's post-War population, struggle to find work and an alternative way of life on land. Poignantly, as the local photographer and author Alec Gill (2003) who has deeply-rooted generational connections to Hull's fishing community attests, in the moment that the British government killed all that Hull was, the 'clack-clack' of the bobber's [trawlerman's] iron-soled clogs that had been a familiar sound on the streets of Hull for centuries suddenly fell silent.

[239] *St Andrews Dock black and white photograph 1961. HHC*, ref CDPD/7/1/1/1.

Cutting deeper still, work that *was* found for redundant trawlermen included the dismantling of rusting trawlers for scrap and the demolition of remaining 'slum streets' around Hessle Road which had been the spiritual heart of Hull's fishing community for centuries (Gill, 1989: 99). In essence, Hull's trawlermen were to dismantle every remnant of their being themselves to get by. On the collapse of the lifeblood industry, Hull on the whole fell into a rapid socio-economic decline with dis-used docks being scars on the landscape in the late-1970s, and which still mark the landscape today as the following images reflect:

Fig.6.15., dis-used dock by Lord Line, St Andrew's Quay (1979).[240]

Fig.6.17., Lord Line in recent years (2017, own image)

[240] Courtesy of Hull Daily Mail (*HDM*,2022).

Against this backdrop of the piecemeal re-building of a city blighted by cruel twists of fate throughout the 1950s-70s period, and plummeted into a lasting decline, the 'red-light area' relocates outside of the city centre to port-side Hedon Road on the eastern periphery. I now explore the spatial context of the Hedon Road 'red-light area' which is known locally during the post-War period as the:

Fig.6.17., headline, Hull Daily Mail (1950).[241]

Hedon Road

In the 1950s-70s period of observation (and still today) Hedon Road is a busy main carriageway that connects the city centre of Hull to the Holderness parish of Hedon some five miles east of the city. Running approximately three-miles long and contouring the River Humber, Hedon Road is the main vehicular gateway to Hull's major docks (Victoria, Alexandra, and King George Docks) and the Saltend power jetties a little farther east.[242]. The following maps indicate the location of Hedon Road in relation to the city centre (*fig.6.18*) and the expanse of Hedon Road along the major docks (*fig.6.19*):

[241] Article on Hedon Road being known as 'the road to hell' as the site of the cemetery, prison, and emerging prostitution (*HDM*, 1950).
[242] *Hedon Road Lights 1969. HHC*, ref UDPU/914.

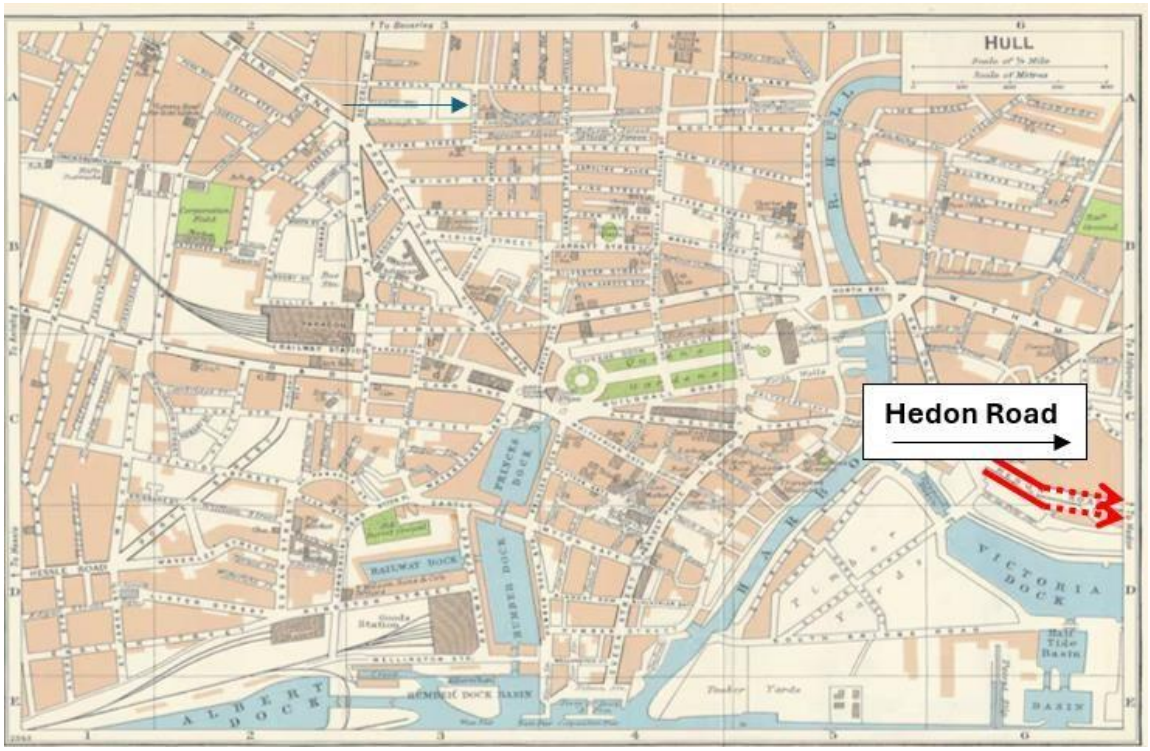


Fig.,6.18., Map of Hull (1965*); with location of Hedon Road in relation to city centre indicated by red arrow.*[243]

Fig.6.19., Extract of map of Hull (2024); *showing Hedon Road in green, with black dotted line added to indicate expanse.*[244]

[243] Cartographer John Bartholomew in *HC*, 1965; direction of Hedon Road away from city centre (red arrow) indicated by candidate.

[244] Courtesy of Streetview, see www.streetview.co.uk. [Accessed 4th April 2024]; Hedon Road span and connecting localities (black dash line) indicated by candidate.

The trade directories covering the 1950s-70s that are held in the local city archives show that while a number of residential side-streets course Hedon Road in a grid like fashion, Hedon Road itself is largely of an industrial aesthetic in its proximity to Hull's major docks and as the main vehicular accessway into the docklands. Across the 1950s-70s period, Hedon Road is the base of factories, oil and chemical plants, raw mills, engineering firms, haulage yards and transport depots interspersed with heavy-duty industrial railway.[245] As the trade directories of the post-War period also show, Hedon Road includes in its industrial number many Hull-born manufacturing giants like Seven Seas Cod Liver Oil (since acquired by Proctor and Gamble), Fenner's Polymers (since acquired by Michelin Tyres), and Imperial Typewriters (acquired in the 1960s by Litton Industries USA). In and around the port-side industry, a number of public houses and cafés serve the locale and are heavily patronised by the 'wagon drivers' and seafarers passing through the port according to the *Lost Pubs of Hull Project.*[246] The following image lends a view of Hedon Road in c.1960:

Fig.6.20., view of Hedon Road from Craven Street footbridge (c1960).[247]

[245] *Trade Directories of Hull and District* (1950-79), Available at *HHC*, open-access shelves, in person.
[246] *Lost Pubs of Hull*. See www.paul-gibson.com. [Accessed 18th October 2023].
[247] Courtesy of Memory Lane, see www.memorylanehull.com. [Accessed 4th April 2023].

In the 1950s period, 'the red-light area' materialises at Hedon Road. This is based on a local newspaper article dated 1950 which references the 'emerging presence' of prostitution at the Hedon Road 'gateway' to the port (*HDM*, 1950). In this rather strange article, notably published on Halloween, Hedon Road is described as 'the road to Hell' as per the headline previously included in this section [*fig.6.17*]. The article brings no news of such but writes of the connotations of darkness, deviance and death that local folklore has historically assigned to the locale. That is, as the article continues, with Hedon Road being the home of a twenty-three acre gothic cemetery [1873-] said to be haunted by the dark spirits that come out at night from the unmarked graves of those 'fresh off the gallows' from the next-door prison. In terms of the prison [1870-, today HMP Hull], the article reminds the reader that the infamous Hull gaol has been home to some of Britain's most evil killers. And, as the article summarises, the presence of prostitutes 'emerges' [1950] from the fog of the port's gateway by nightfall (*ibid*.).

Local folklore aside, the materialisation of the 'red-light area' at Hedon Road could be conceived as a result of the urban reconstruction taking place in the immediate city centre. Though as Hull's reconstruction plan doesn't gain Ministerial approval until 1954 (Jones, 1998), the 'red-light area' had already materialised by the major port gateway to the east of the city centre prior to the plans being approved. It is evident that something pushed prostitution to the eastern periphery of the city, but this is not easily recognisable in the local press because in a search of references to 'prostitution' in the local press of the 1950s-70s, there are few found articles that mention (or even implicate) Hedon Road. However, a physical search for material in the local city archives produces a significant finding as to why prostitution moved to Hedon Road in around 1950, and why there is not much reference to the post-War 'red-light area' of Hull in the local press. This finding comes in the form of the memoirs of a City of Hull police officer whose regular beat included Hedon Road in the 1950s-70s.[248] The policeman's memoir not only corroborates that the Hedon Road 'red-light area' (or 'patch', as the officer calls it) was very active during the post-War period, but also indicates exactly where on Hedon Road 'the patch' was. Based on the memoir, the 'red-light area' ran approximately 100 meters long from

[248] *Diaries of a City of Hull police officer 1950s to 1980s. HHC*, ref L365.

the junction with Southcoates Lane to the prison – as indicated (by me) on the following map:

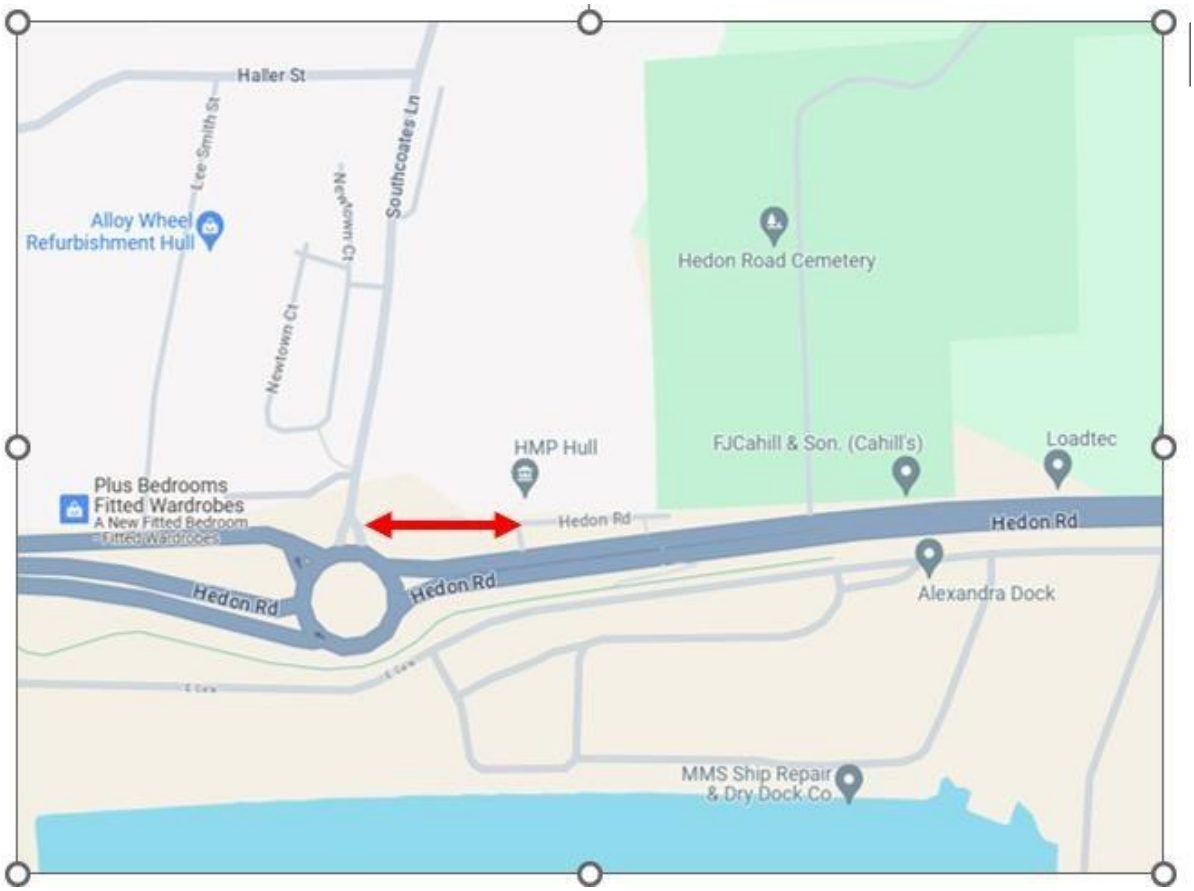


Fig.6.21., map showing 'old' Hedon Road behind new expanded carriageway (2024); '*red-light patch' indicated by red arrow.*[249]

It could be that the location of the 'red-light' 'patch' at Hedon Road is 'out of sight, out of mind', so to speak, and *away* from the urban planning that is taking place in the city centre for the rebuilding of Hull into a 'fairer and nobler city' (see Jones, 1998). Yet, the reticence of the local press' moral commentary on the presence of prostitution in Hedon Road is somewhat contradictory given the attempts to 'clear' prostitution from the docklands through policies of strict spatial by-laws as found in the previous time-chapter. Furthermore, it is strange that the local press is 'silent' on 'prostitution' in Hull altogether during the period of observation, given that the

[249] Map as note 285; span of 'red-light area' based on officer's memoir (note 261) indicated with red arrow by candidate.

materialisation of ‘the red-light area’ at Hedon Road in the early-1950s coincided with widescale debates of sexual morality that dominated socio-political discourse in 1950s Britain. At the time, parliamentary debates centred on the so-perceived greatest immoralities – female prostitution and male homosexuality – prompting the investigation and publication of the landmark Wolfenden Report [1957] (Self, 2004). Focusing on ‘the moral question of vice’, the Wolfenden Report proposed that female prostitution and male homosexuality are, in short, none of the law’s business until such sexual behaviours or conduct affront public decency (1957: 80). Notably, it is only after the Wolfenden Report is released in 1957 that local press attention is paid to Hedon Road in one of the few found mentions of the presence of prostitution there (*HDM*, 1957). As the following capture of the local article’s headline shows, the journalist is questioning *why* it has taken so long for the Wolfenden ‘Vice’ Report to be released:

THE DAILY MAIL

ESTABLISHED 1885. INCORPORATING THE HULL PACKET (1787) and the HULL EVENING NEWS

HEAD OFFICE: Jameson Street, Hull (Telephone: 15100).
LONDON: Carmelite House, E.C.4 (Telephone: Fleet Street 6000).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1957

VICE REPORT: WHY ALL THE DELAY?

Fig.6.22., headline, Hull Daily Mail (1957).[250]

Notably the article is the leading headline on the front page, and with the article pre-occupied with the delay of the anticipated report as opposed to outlining the report’s key findings, this infers that there is a degree of moral concern around the presence of prostitution in the city. For as the article continues, the delay of the report (amounting to state interventions on prostitution according to the article) is

[250] *HDM*, 1957

blamed for prostitution becoming ‘even more deeply embedded in Hull’ (*HDM*, 1957). Furthermore, the presence of ‘the red-light area’ at *Hedon Road* is a source of contention for as the article laments, ‘it shamefully marks [Hull’s] very gateway’:

> A massive document is set before the public today. It is the long awaited report of the Wolfenden Committee on Homosexuality and Prostitution: it runs to 90,000 words and has taken three years to produce. Three years! Why?, it is reasonable to ask. For years, since the Victorian age, vice has flourished not only in London but in our city too, and in most cities. The facts have long been known to all in Hull and were plain enough for all citizens to see. Why then, the inordinate delay of London in publishing their conclusions? For in the interim, prostitution has become even more deeply embedded in Hull to the extent that it now shamefully marks our port’s very gateway.
>
> (*HDM*, 1957: 1).

The Wolfenden Report [1957] may have been long-awaited by city leaders all over the country as this article infers, but it culminates in the first major wave of sexual legislation since the Victorian age. Namely, the *Street Offences Act* 1959 makes it a criminal offence for ‘the common prostitute’ to ‘loiter or solicit in the street or in a public place for the purpose of prostitution’ [s.1(1)]. Yet, even after the passing of the legislation surrounding the presence of prostitution in public spaces, the local press shifts back into silence on the ‘red-light’ activity in Hedon Road. As I have found in my experience of historical newspaper research in previous time-chapters however, the silence is often found to speak volumes. In this case, I followed the press’ silence and revisited the City of Hull policeman’s memoirs of his designated patrol of Hedon Road during the 1950s-70s period and found something significant on the spatial contexts of the ‘red-light area’ at Hedon Road in the post-War social and urban experiences of Hull as follows.

Whilst understanding that memoirs are reflexive and do not always provide the full story based on the narratives of an individual’s experience, and also through the

sad reality that memories *fade*, the officer's vivid recollection of the Hedon Road 'patch' are telling for three key reasons. Firstly, he specifically mentions that 'the patch' is tolerated under some form of 'unwritten' spatial agreement between the prostitutes and the police because:

> Enforcement of the soliciting law would simply cause the women to move elsewhere. Moving the prostitutes away from the Hedon Road patch means the situation cannot be easily contained, and the risk of frustrated foreign seamen seeking out some not-so-easy women in the city centre would be greater and much more troublesome.
>
> (p. 75).

Secondly, the policeman reminds us that there is a heightened police presence in Hedon Road in view of the prison and port security. And through this, he says, the women "are far less likely to cause trouble here [Hedon Road] than in other, less patrolled areas of the city" (pp.49-80). Thirdly, and most significant of all, he writes that the toleration of prostitution at Hedon Road also reflects a locally-constituted 'handshake' with Hull's seafaring community (accounting for a third of the local population at the time as aforementioned in this section). The critical reason the presence of the 'red-light area' at *Hedon Road* is advantageous to the seafaring community of Hull – and also arguably to local politicians and key stakeholders in the lifeblood fishing industry of Hull – is because, the policeman's memoirs reveal, the prostitute women acted as spies during the violent Cod Wars [1950s-70s] that brought a heightened level of paranoia to post-War Hull. As the officer writes, the women acted as informants on information obtained from 'their Icelandic sailors'. Self-publishing is memoirs in his retirement in the 1990s, long after the Cod Wars and the collapse of Hull's fishing industry, the policeman says that he can now tell on just what the women did for Hull during that heightened period of unrest, "in short", he says, "the prostitutes that pranced about the pavement in Hedon Road became the city of Hull's spies – and bloody loyal ones at that" (p. 83). It is a key finding therefore, that the spatial materialisation of 'the red-light area' at port-side Hedon Road under the distinct contours of Hull's post-War economic fishing wars

reflects an *ideal* spatial arrangement that serves the city and the citizens of Hull in and under the intensified threat to Hull's lifeblood industry.

This significant spatial finding is reinforced by the information, also coming from the policeman's memoir, that the 'red-light patch' of Hedon Road gradually 'self-dispersed' towards the end of the 1970s (p. 88). For this timeframe coincides with the eventual collapse of Hull's fishing industry in 1976 after the British government agreed to two-hundred mile restrictions on Icelandic waters along with strict fishing quotas (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 12; Johannesson, 2004). At the same time, the local Chief of Police writes in his annual report of 1976, released on the close of 1976 on 31st December, that "prostitution is not the serious problem one might expect in Hull, the *Street Offences Act* accomplished the objective of clearing our streets of this type of nuisance long ago."[251]

The urban transformation applied to 'the red-light area' at Hedon Road that had been of certain service to the city for deeply social, political and economic reasons distinct to post-War Hull is also found to link with the infrastructural investments made in Hull following the collapse of the fishing industry. It was on the sudden sinking of Hull's lifeblood industry and the socio-economic decline that fell into its depths that city leaders conceded that Hull's future prosperity 'now' depended on infrastructural communication with the wider 'mainland' UK as stated in the annual civic periodical of 1976.[252] Soon after, Hull became the last city along the northern corridor to be linked to the M62 motorway via an A-road link (Martin, 2008, 2010), which also connects to the redevelopment of Hedon Road into a dual carriageway [1978]. Planning records of the redevelopment of Hedon Road into a fast-moving dual carriageway document that the linkage of Hull to the M62 has resulted in increased traffic, particularly lorry traffic, passing through the port from the inland UK, and thus Hedon Road's transition in to a dual carriage way proposes to ease the flow of traffic and make way for new businesses to establish at the port.[253]

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[251] *Annual report of the Chief Constable for the year ended 31st December 1976*. *HHC*, ref L3522.
[252] *Hull City Council*; *Development Committee: Kingston upon Hull, 1976*. *HHC*, ref L97819.
[253] *Hedon Road expansion, planning file 1978-80*. *HHC,* ref CDIX 149 28B.

As the following photograph of Hedon Road as it looks today shows, there are no traces of ‘the red-light area’ (which would be just to the left where the hedgerows have established). Notably, there is no ability to stop; I took this photograph as a passenger in a moving car:

Fig.6.23., Hedon Road today;’ the patch’ was to the left (2023, own image).

Finally, none of the walking conversations undertaken in Hull brought me to Hedon Road. This was as expected given its distance from the town centre, and with it now being a dual carriageway. As such it was also impossible for me to undertake a walking ethnography, only as a passenger in a vehicle. However, for what is now ‘just Hedon Road’, a mundane, fast-moving route in and out of Hull to the east that one may pass without thought, I couldn’t help but smile when I was driven up and down Hedon Road the day I took the above photograph; because where the ladies of the Hedon Road ‘patch’ stood, now a patchwork of hedgerows, they were acting as Hull’s spies in the line of their work…‘and bloody good ones at that’. Having visited Hedon Road, I now return to the Netherlands to explore the spatial contexts of Rotterdam’s ‘red-light area’ in the post-War period.

In Rotterdam, 1950s-70s.

Fig.6.24., the liberation of Netherlands by Canadian forces, Amsterdam (7th May 1945).[254]

The liberation of the Netherlands by Canadian forces on 7th May 1945 is met with the sheer joy and relief of Dutch citizens as reflected in the image above. In the Rotterdam however, local author Wilhelmina Steenbeek (1976), who as a child saw the bombing of Rotterdam first-hand, remembers the liberation as profoundly bittersweet. Not least, she writes, because of the years the historically diverse city had spent under a strict occupation that wanted absolute conformity to an imposed ideology of race, but because whilst other cities of the Netherlands rejoiced – the city of Rotterdam had had its heart ripped out beneath the bombs (p. 7).

To forestall interference by the German forces in the plans to rebuild Rotterdam, the *Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam* ['Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam'] which came into effect during the German occupation presented its pre-emptive rebuilding schemes to the reinstated municipal chambers in the days following the liberation (Rooijendijk, 2006: 182). This was the *Scheme Witteveen*, named after W. G. Witteveen who was the city's Chief urban architect at the time (*ibid.*) and who is depicted in the image below:

[254] *Canadian Army Photographs*. Government of Canada National Archives, ref 3623205. Available at www. recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca. [Accessed 14th May 2023].

Fig.6.25., W. G Witteveen (centre foreground) and team at work on the first reconstruction plan for Rotterdam (1945).[255]

In the room above, in the moment of this snapshot, Witteveen and his team are intending to solve the city's pre-War urban decay and post-War urban destruction in one go as the archival caption on the image states. With attention paid to the changing social needs of urban denizens in the post-War climate, the plans also rested on carefully executed surveys on housing, industry, leisure and waterfronts amongst other aspects, but at the same time the sentimental Witteveen proposed to rebuild the old form of Rotterdam around its historical street plan, with a city centre dominated by banks, offices and high-quality shopping areas (Mens, 2007). Thus, *Scheme Witteveen* mapped out a functionalist approach as opposed to a rebuilding that rested on Utopian ideals (Rooijendijk, 2006: 182). As such, with the social contexts of the Netherlands suddenly changing in the aftermath of the 1939-45 conflict, with Dutch peoples realising that society is not God-given but shaped and nurtured by humankind, 'the city fathers' rejected Witteween's plan as it did not reflect the municipality's more ambitious goal of creating 'the new Rotterdam' – a Utopian Rotterdam (Wagenaar, 1992: 27).

[255] *Collection of history photos. SMA*, ref XXXIII-592.

Accordingly, the Municipality replaced Witteveen in 1946 with C. H. van der Leeuw, an esteemed urban architect in his own right who had played a central role in the interwar construction of social housing in Rotterdam (Wagenaar, 1992: 28). van der Leeuw became the driving force behind the second reconstruction plan, known as the *Basisplan*, which abandoned the idea of rebuilding the old form to construct an entirely new city without sentiment as the modern foundation of Rotterdammers as a collective society freed from the burden of history (*ibid*.). Since, the *Basisplan* has become widely regarded by urban scholars and sociologists as a turning point in urban history overall. This is primarily because its realisations of a collective society based on productive socio-economic urban planning reflected in the early phases of the reconstruction of Rotterdam as a city organised around four core functions of life: dwelling, work, leisure, and transport – but which were to be set into a landscape of modernist and experimental architecture that signalled the new artful edge of Rotterdam (*ibid*., p. 29).

Accordingly, in the 1950s opening of this time-chapter, Rotterdam is undergoing a substantial transformation with the emergence of zonal functions and an emphasis on improved transport and traffic infrastructure including wider roads, bridges, and pedestrianisation in the city centre, and further residential development on the city outskirts (McCarthy, 1999). In addition, the development of new port areas such as Botlek [1955-66] and Europoort [1957-70] forges Rotterdam's rise to become the largest port in the world in 1962 (*ibid*.). With harbour activities being pushed to the port's shoreline, the derelict harbours in the city centre are regenerated into urban waterfront concepts that integrate the blue of water, the grey of concrete, and the green of space in the modernist landscape of 'a floating metropolis' (*ibid*.). Though while the foundations of Rotterdam's modernist metropolis are being laid in the post-War period, a historical continuity between the old and new Rotterdam remained in so far as the social and urban form continued to identify as 'a port city' (*ibid*). And through Rotterdam's rise into the world's largest port [1962], the city saw a massive increase in seafarers' ashore (Meyer, 1983). Coinciding with this, and as Rotterdam continued to recover from the urban scars of the 1939-45 War, one of the most notorious 'red-light areas' in Rotterdam's history materialised at the city's 'new' sailortown quarter as I now explore in an analytic visit of the:

[tr. Sex War on Katendrecht]

*Fig.6.26., newspaper headline, from news cutting bundle about prostitution at Katendrecht (*1968).[256]

Katendrecht

Katendrecht is a peninsula-like neighbourhood in Rotterdam south, and is separated from the city centre by the Nieuwe Maas. Katendrecht sits in the district of Feijenoord; one of the historic settlements annexed to Rotterdam in the late-nineteenth century to accommodate the port and urban expansion works of the Industrial period (van den Noort, 1992). According to a senior archivist at the city archives, there are three theories as to how Katendrecht assumed the first part of its name, *Katen*. Some say it relates to a noble Zeeland family, some say it derives from a Germanic tribe of cats who roamed the peninsula prior to human occupation, and some say it carries the word 'caten' meaning a small, simple house. What we can know, the archivist tells me, is that *drecht* means ford and that this relates to the medieval poldering of 'Katen' into a diked floodplain.[257] As indicated on the contemporaneous map below, the poldered peninusla of what is since Katendrecht is situated between the Maashaven and Rijnhaven [harbours]:

[256] *Volume of newspaper cuttings; articles relating to prostitution on Katendrecht 1950s-70s*. SMA, ref 426/435. Translation by institution's in-house translation software.
[257] In conversation with senior archivist at *SMA*. In person, 17th April 2023.

Fig.6.27., Map of Rotterdam (1961); *with Katendrecht indicated inside red box*.[258]

On the annexation of Feijenoord [1874], the polders surrounding Katendrecht were quickly excavated to create the Neiuwe Maas harbours of Maas and Rijn (van den Noort, 1992: 9). This forged the peninsula-like geography of Katendrecht by which it became locally known as *De Kaap* ['The Cape'] – a name locals still use to refer to Katendrecht today (*ibid*.). It is coincidental that the shape of Katendrecht forms that of a ship, as can be seen in the map above, for I have found no evidence that it was *shaped* this way. It is nevertheless ironic that Katendrecht was to become the new sailortown quarter of post-War Rotterdam (see Davids, 1987). Prior to the annexation of Fejinoord into the municipal limits of Rotterdam, Katendrecht was a separate village where the Rotterdam elite summered at private country estates (van den Noort, 1992: 10). One of the last standing estates, *Lommerrijk*, depicted in the artists illustration below, was demolished soon after the annexation in a reverse form of gentrification that saw Katendrecht transition from a green oasis of the elite to a grey industrial landscape of port-related industry and workers as is reflected in the juxtaposed images overleaf:

[258] John Bartholomew & Son in *The Blue Guides Holland* (1961); Katendrecht indicated by candidate.

Fig.6.28., 'Lommerrijk', one of the last standing country estates at Katendrecht (1900).[259]

Fig.6.29., aerial view of Katendrecht (c1970s).[260]

[259] *Johannes Verheul Dzn Collection*. *SMA*, ref 4081.
[260] *the Rotterdam peninsula* (c.1970s*). SMA*, ref X XXIX D19.
[262] *Adresboeken Rotterdam* [1910s-30s.*] SMA,* reading room open access shelves.

Whilst the aerial view of Katendrecht above was taken much later in the 1970s, the residential and commercial directories of Rotterdam covering the early-twentieth century reflect how Katendrecht was changed into a gritty landscape of industrial silos, the world's first electric coal-tip, and other port-related works interspersed with heavy-duty dockside railway amidst 'cheap' housing for workers and 'cheap' lodging houses for travelling seafarers[261] that seemingly resulted in a collision of diverse social and cultural interactions along Katendrecht's harbour edge. Around 1911-12, the 'working-class' enclave of Katendrecht became home to an influx population of Chinese migrants whom were initially employed as 'cheap labour' following a wave of docker strikes at the port (Künnemann and Mayer, 2011). On settling, the Chinese community brightened the industrial grey of Katendrecht by establishing exciting eateries and entertainment venues leading to the vibrant re-characterisation of Katendrecht as Rotterdam's 'Chinatown' (*ibid*.). And although the urban phenomenon of 'Chinatown' is by no means unique to Rotterdam, the relatively small Katendrecht by surface area of 0.5 miles² [1.18km²] became the largest 'Chinatown' in Europe by the 1920s. The following commercial postcard reflects the tourist allure of Katendrecht's thriving Chinatown:

Fig.6.30., advertisement postcard for Tsong San Lao restaurant at Katendrecht (1935).[262]

[261] Addressboeken Rotterdam [1910s-30s], SMA, reading room open access shelves.
[262] *Picture postcards collected by the Rotterdam City Archives*. *SMA*, ref PBK-1993-1075.

On the destruction of the former sailortown quarter of the Schiedamsedijk beneath the bombs in 1940, the sailortown space migrated into Katendrecht. This was not just a product of the spatial holdings of 'cheap' seafarers lodgings at Katendrecht as reflected in the trade directories of the period however. The sailortown culture followed the proprietors of the Schiedamsedijk's bars, music and dance halls who relocated to Katendrecht to reestablish their entertainment venues in an existing place of 'Otherness' - as Katendrecht's 'Chinatown' was perceived to be (Meyer, 1983). Thus with the relocation of sailortown culture and post-War nightlife to the existing excitement of Chinatown, the 'red-light area' relocated almost directly from the Schiedamsedijk to Katendrecht towards the end of the 1940s (*ibid*.). Notably however, the relocation of 'the red-light area' to Katendrecht had been predicted by M.J. Brusse, the avid chronicler of life in the 1880s-1910s 'night' district of the Zandstraat (chapter four). On the announcement of the Zandstraat's demolition [1909], Brusse revealed his locational prediction:

> And what about the debauchery that was largely localised here [the Zandstraat]? Will it resettle in a particular neighbourhood, which will then become the new Zandstraat? Does the geography of apparent old-Katendrecht, around the harbours, already given an indication?[263]
>
> (1917: 14).

Brusse's prediction that the 'red-light area' would resurface at Katendrecht at some point in Rotterdam's future plausibly rested on the locational contexts he observes of Katendrecht as an isolated 'old area' around the harbours. Because Brusse made no expressed reference to the emerging social and spatial contexts of Katendrecht as a melting pot of 'Otherness' along Rotterdam's maritime shores in view of the emerging Chinatown-come-Sailortown character of Katendrecht atop the industrial 'working-class' enclave. However, both the 'distance' of Katendrecht from the city centre and its geography of 'Otherness' are equally significant to the timing of the materialisation of the 'red-light area' at Katendrecht in the post-War period. Because in the post-War period city leaders are pre-occupied with remodelling the city centre into a modernist gallery of living and working. And with the city's former amusement areas like the

[263] Translation by senior archivist at *SMA*, in person 17th April 2023.

Schiedamsedijk being transformed into upgraded urban areas (as found in the previous time-chapter), the ‘red-light area’ is arguably *pushed* towards isolated old Katendrecht and *away* from the city centre reborn – in this case to an ‘island’ where it can be readily constrained. For in the reconstruction of Rotterdam, the city leaders arguably did not forget the inherent tendencies of many people, whether that be urban dwellers, visitors, or sailors ashore, to seek out nightlife and thrill in the temptations of ‘the port city’ (see Milne, 2016). In short, the ‘red-light area’ would have materialised somewhere in the port city of Rotterdam following the destruction of the former amusement street of the Schiedamsedijk in 1940 – and Katendrecht in its social and spatial isolation from the moral gaze of the city centre was perhaps considered to be the least worst option.

However, in terms of the moral gaze of the city centre, the post-War period in the Netherlands is dominated by socio-political discourses of social and sexual morality (Oosterhuis, 1999). Therefore, as is similarly found in the previous section on post-War Hull, this placed the *idea* of ‘the red-light area’ at Katendrecht – however distant from the ‘mainland’ city centre – as something on the outside of society’s moral ideal. While authors on the ‘red-light’ life of Katendrecht in the post-War period observe the concentration of prostitution there in the post-War era as something that absorbed nostalgically into the spirit of sailortown on the Cape (Meyer, 1983; Davids, 1989), the dominant theme that emerges in my archival research is that the presence of prostitution was contrariwise seen by local residents as an ‘infestation’; to the extent that prostitution – beyond any other vices associated with the Cape like drinking, dancing, gambling and opium (see Künnemann and Mayer, 2011) – incited a twenty-year long ‘sex war’ on Katendrecht as the headline included at the opening of this section captures (*fig.6.26*).

A self-published booklet by ‘an anonymous resident’ of Katendrecht written in 1952 painstakingly tells the reader that the people of Katendrecht ‘accepted the Chinese, accepted the entertainment venues, and accepted the sailors’ – but, the anonymous resident laments, ‘are we also to accept the prostitution as a matter of course too?’. It is a rhetorical question being asked of anyone who will listen, but a question that is laden with the resident’s regret that the presence of ‘the red-light area’ has led to the

Cape notoriety as ‘a socially abnormal’ neighbourhood[264] But, if the intention of the booklet is to incite public outcry as to the peninsula’s ‘landscape of vice’, the scene lingers long into the 1960s as the following photographs reflect:

Fig.6.31., a row of pubs and brothels at Katendrecht (1965).[265]

Fig.6.32., Katendrecht by day (1965).[266]

[264] *The turbulent life on the Rotterdam peninsula* (1952). *SMA*, ref XXXIXD19.
[265] *Topography Rotterdam. SMA*, ref IX-3070-001-01a.
[266] *Collection C. Tholens, SMA*, ref 2006-15090.

The neighbourhood protest against the presence of prostitution at Katendrecht rises to intensified heights in the 1970s, with the Cape's name glaring like a beacon from the thousands upon thousands of local press returns referencing 'prostitution' in Rotterdam during the 1970s period.[267] The sheer volume of returns rendered it impossible for me to even scratch the surface of the local press coverage. But even scrolling through the returns at cursory level enabled me to find and follow a distinct narrative path through which the desperate calls of residents that prostitution had 'taken over' the neighbourhood are purposely not being *heard* by the municipality. And in which case, those who chose to resort the red-lit landscape are in a sense given the freedom of the Cape in its daring glow by the municipality, with no thought for those who call the Cape 'home' and live dimly-lit evenings behind closed curtains to avoid being mistaken for a brothel.

This dominant narrative of the residents desperation for Katendrecht to be cleared of prostitution and its 'red-light' connotations is exemplified in an article of Rotterdam's leading socialist newspaper *De Volkskrant* dated 1970. At first, the article reads as if the journalist is eager to see the new wave of 'window prostitution' that has lit-up the night at Katendrecht. To the journalist's view, Katendrecht is beginning to resemble Amsterdam's *De Wallen* with window prostitution having 'cropped up all over the neighbourhood' at the time. Arguably, 'the window' is symbolic of all that can be *seen* in Katendrecht that is not, or cannot, be seen in the immediate localities of Rotterdam reborn. Like a human zoo. But with the journalist recognising the spatial *spread* of red-lit windows amongst the 'homes of residents in their contrasting darkness', the tone shifts from excitement to moral concern. For instance, the journalist writes that the windows have made 'illicit sex' far too transparent, not helped by the number of sex-related venues like striptease bars, sex clubs, and porn cinemas cropping up 'at every turn' on the Cape. The journalist summarises Katendrecht as 'seedy' and expresses sympathy for those 'who are having to live amongst all this' (*DV*, 1970b). Notably, the article further narrates the moral inversion of Katendrecht through the following photograph which shows a scantily-clad sex worker standing in the street outside a brothel as diners are sitting at a nearby pavement café:

[267] *Delpher*, see www.delpher.nl. [Search date 12th June 2023, Last accessed 17th July 2024].

Fig.6.33., female sex worker outside a brothel of Katendrecht (1970).[268]

Of particular note in this image is that although the presence of 'the prostitute' is not preventing or deterring people from eating at the pavement café in the background, the diners are partially turned *away* from her, looking in the opposite direction of prostitution's visibility in the neighbourhood. In another *De Volksrant* article on the increasing visibility of prostitution at Katendrecht dated 1972, local residents are interviewed on the subject in exchange for full anonymity. One of the interviewees is 'a housewife' who says:

[268] In *De Volkstrant* (DV, 1970).

> It is painfully difficult for me, as a mother and a moral woman to walk my children to and from their school. Just knowing what their tender eyes are seeing. I have also been mistaken for a prostitute many times and accosted by strange men asking my price when I am out doing my errands. We have tried to do something, we have given our case to the [municipality] for years. But as long as they uphold in their silence that prostitution is allowed to overrun this neighbourhood, and they will do nothing about it, then of course our lives will be damaged by it.
>
> (*DV*, 1972).

A deep sense of anguish surrounding prostitution's damage to the neighbourhood is particularly poignant in the housewife's words above; mixed with the blame that the community apportions to the municipality for the spatial scale of visible prostitution in the neighbourhood owing to the lack of action that is being taken to remedy the local residents quality of life. However, just as the housewife gives the above statement to the journalist, another housewife interjects:

> We have no problem with the prostitutes. They are women just like us. It is their pimps and bullies we object to, taking control of the area and having the prostitutes stand in the street barely-clothed in all weather, with everyone looking at them as if they are circus freaks.
>
> (*ibid*.).

The second housewife's statement reveals that there is sense of empathy for the prostitutes who have also been 'taken over' by 'pimps' who openly operate in the Cape's business of sex in the 1970s correlates with the significant finding that the community action group behind 'the sex war' that seeks the removal of prostitution and sex-related venues from the locale does not target *the prostitute*. According to the records of the community action group which established in 1970 to campaign against the Cape being 'used' as Rotterdam's 'red-light area', the group set out to target the 'pimps' and the proprietors of striptease bars, sex clubs and porn cinemas;

to ‘make their lives as difficult as possible, as they have done to [the residents].’[269] As the records outline, the action group decide to take this action because the first wave of the campaign failed to strike a chord in the municipal chambers despite its attempts to hit two key nerves of the municipality in its moral paternalism around the reconstruction of Rotterdam. That is, through the presence of prostitution threatening the moral welfare of the next generation and as an ‘environmental pollution’ as can be seen in the following campaign poster that was distributed all over the city by the action group:

Translation:

Environmental Pollution

REALLY HUH…
GOVERNMENT!

Do something about it

Action Group for the Young People of Katendrecht.

Fig.6.34, anti-prostitution poster distributed by the Katendrecht community action group (c1975).[270]

With the first wave of the campaign to rid Katendrecht of prostitution failing to hit the municipality’s so-described nerve points, the second wave involves the community action group collecting used condoms discarded in the neighbourhood and littering

[269] *Archive of the Katendrecht Residents Association 1968-2000, SMA,* ref 896.
[270] Courtesy of Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands [RCE]. Ref AB15324-B; Translation by Google Translate software.

them on the steps of City Hall.[271] When this action also fails to gain support from the municipality, as it inevitably would, the third wave of the campaign involves the more extreme measures of the action group throwing bricks through the windows of sex-related venues as the following image also attests:

Fig.6.35., boards covering the brick damage of windows of sex entertainment venues at Katendrecht (1977).[272]

With the 'sex war' escalating to such levels, city leaders begin to address the issue of prostitution at Katendrecht towards the end of the 1970s. Notwithstanding the fierce uprising of the community action group however, the sudden erasure of the 'red-light area' at Katendrecht after the twenty-year moral crusade of the residents times with

[271] *Archive of the Katendrecht Residents Association 1968-2000, SMA,* ref 896.
[272] *DV*, 1977.

the municipality decision to gentrify the Cape into a trendy, vibrant hotspot of creative entrepreneurship, food culture and New York style apartment lofts. As the following postcard of Katendrecht taken from the air in 2023 reflects, the once distant (or distanced) industrial grey of the Cape now faces the city centre head on, puffs out its chest and signals through light across the water that *this* is 'the new Katendrecht':

Fig.6.36., postcard of Katendrecht (2023).[273]

It was under urban planning initiatives called 'Nieuw Katendrecht' ['New Katendrecht'] that the gentrification of the neighbourhood was gradually rolled out in waves to the extent that processes of transformation in the district are still taking place today. As Vincent Baptist points out in *Taking a walk on the gentrified side* (2024), the patterns of demolition and eviction that typically underly processes of gentrification were not immediately undertaken; but rather a cultural zone of 'commercial gentrification' was gradually introduced around Katendrecht's historical form. Accordingly, the levels of gentrification applied to the former 'red-light area' of Katendrecht involve renovation.

[273] Purchased at Rotterdam Centraal Station, in person, April 2023.

That is, the renovation of housing and warehouses (as opposed to their demolition) which preserves the Cape's maritime legacy and balances this with the 'trendy' raw industrial aesthetic complemented with a green quay, a man-made beach, and the permanent mooring of the SS Rotterdam which is now a floating hotel. In short, the new Katendrecht draws many crowds (*ibid*.). That said, a consistent finding in local tour and tourism literature is the marketing of Katendrecht as 'the most controversial area in Rotterdam' to explore based on its 'checkered history', which produces the sense that the urban schema surrounding the *renovation* (i.e., not demolition) of 'old Katendrecht' is also a way of cashing in on the Cape's infamous past.

However, for an area so well promoted in tourism literature on the city, none of the five walking conversations undertaken in Rotterdam led me to the Cape – with each participant saying the Cape is 'a little too far to reach on foot'. Whilst reminding me of the convenient distance of Katendrecht from the city centre during its 'red-light' life, each of the participants nevertheless implored me to visit Katendrecht during my time in Rotterdam. Not least as one of the most notorious 'red-light areas' of Rotterdam in living memory given the topic of the study, but just to *see* 'the coolest place in all of Rotterdam'. As was already in my plan, I allowed an entire afternoon to undertake my own walking ethnography of Katendrecht in May 2023. I took the metro from the city centre to Wilhelminaplein which is the closest station to Katendrecht. Walking into Katendrecht, I can hear the music of bars and street singers mingling together in the warm air. The pavement cafés and bars burst with flowing drinks, laughter and laid back conversation, the people are happy, relaxed and *free* in the afternoon vibe on the Cape as the following image (overleaf) reflects:

Fig.6.37., Deliplein, Katendrecht (2023, own image).

Because much of Katendrecht has been renovated to balance the old with the new way of life here, I can recognise places that I have seen in archival images – particularly around bustling Deliplein Square in the heart of the Cape, which includes the 'Tattoo Bob' studio that I have seen in so many post-War photographs of Katendrecht. The distinctive yellow signage of the studio almost smiles at me like an old friend as I think to myself, 'my God, Tattoo Bob is still here?!' More poignantly however, what is also still here in Katendrecht is a lasting legacy of 'the red-light area'. Much of the renovations centre around the Cape's *maritime* past' which is authenticated at every turn in the street art and nautical nostalgia inscribed on the names of bars and cafés. But the 'red-light' area also has its legacy. There is the 'De Oudwehoer' ['Old Whore'] pub (*fig.6.38*, overleaf) inside of which, as I notice when I peep through the window, has reclaimed some of the original red-lit windows as interior décor and the benches outside are engraved with sailorgirls (*fig.6.39*). Nearby, the restaurant Matroos en het Meisje ['the Sailor and the Girl' also features red lighting around its windows in a nod to the past (*fig. 6.40*). There is also the pedestrianised Rijnhavenbrug [Rhine harbour bridge] connecting Wilhelminapier

(also an upgraded urban area) to Katendrecht. On the opening of the bridge in 2012, Rotterdammers were quick to give it a nickname: 'the hoerenloper' ['whore hopper'] - in reference to the Cape's 'red-light' past. I learned of this nickname from several of the walking participants who implored me to visit Katendrecht. But there are things I can also see as noted above, which look and feel like continuous cultural symbol of Katendrecht's legacy as captured in the following photographs:

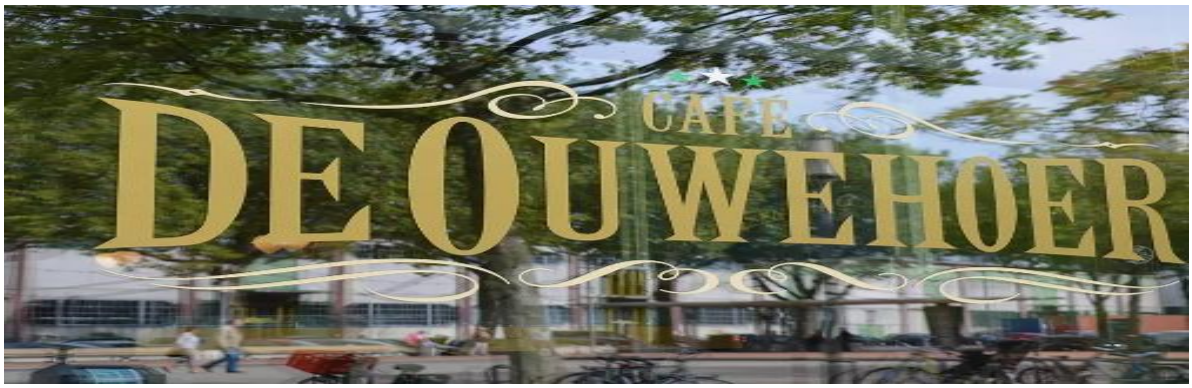

Fig.6.38., Window signage of Café de Oudwehoer [Old Whore] (2023, own image).

Fig.6.39., benches of de Oudwehoer engraved with sailorgirls (2023, own image).

Fig.6.40., restaurant Matroos en het Meisje (2023, own image).

The cultural symbolism as illustrated above that continues to mark the 'red-light' legacy of Katendrecht brings me to a close of this section on post-War Rotterdam; with Katendrecht being one of the greatest spatial contradictions in the study so far. That is, as I leave Katendrecht and head back to the metro station, I am puzzled by the notion that one of the most notorious, contested and rejected 'red-light areas' in the city's living memory is so *romanticised* on its erasure through the quiet little hints in signage and symbols that still sing in the background song of the 'red-light' Cape.

Chapter summary

In this empirical chapter I have looked at Hedon Road in Hull and Rotterdam's Katendrecht. A key finding from the outset is that the main 'red-light area' of each city during the 1950s-70s is relocated outside of the city centre for the first time in the wider sample period [1880s-]; meaning that women who worked as prostitutes from the given sites who did not live in the immediate vicinity would have to *travel* to these peripheral localities. In Hull, that is to port-side Hedon Road on the city's easterly edge, and in Rotterdam to the peninsula of Katendrecht. Highlighting the social and spatial distancing of 'the red-light area' in the cities during the post-War period, the relocation of the 'red-light area' to the far margins correlates with key locational and social aspects of the period. Firstly, the materialisation of the 'red-light area' on the geographical margins of each city links to the urban planning and reconstruction schema taking place in the respective city centre under the full gaze of city leaders, economic stakeholders, and the public alike. Notably, the mirrored sentiment for the bombed cities to 'rise from the ashes' was found not just in terms of the built form for the provision of lost housing and business continuity, but as a diagnostic of the social and spatial environment. That is, to lay the foundations of a collective society freed from the dark urban ecologies that history had produced. Secondly, the relocation of the cities 'red-light area' far from the public gaze of the city centre correlates with the state conversation on sexual morality that dominated socio-political discourse on the so-perceived moral laxities that emerged through the years of war in Britain and Netherlands alike. Therefore, it was anticipated that in the post-War backdrop of Hull and Rotterdam, 'red-light' activity would relocate (or be pushed) towards to the spatial margins.

Comparatively however, beneath the urban, social and moral constants around the post-War rebuilding of the bombed cities and society's pre-occupation with sexual morality, stark differences between the spatial contexts of the post-War 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam present. Both Hedon Road and Katendrecht were seen at the time as a place of Otherness. But, Hedon Road is found to have been perceived as a locational Other owing to the dark connotations associated with the existing presence of the cemetery, prison, and foggy port entry by nightfall - thus as a place of eerie, isolated Otherness. In contrast, Katendrecht is found to have been perceived as a locational other owing to the 'different' presence of Chinatown and sailortown – thus a place of Otherness as a different and 'socially abnormal' neighbourhood. Accordingly, the moral 'war' on prostitution in the backdrop to this time-chapter takes a different course in Hull and Rotterdam. The local press is remarkably reticent in the moral condemnation of the 'red-light' activity at Hedon Road given the timing infused with societal notions of sexual morality – but a key spatial finding in this respect is that the 'red-light' locality of Hedon Road served Hull with prostitutes acting as the city's informants during Hull's 'cod wars' with Iceland. Meanwhile at Katendrecht, the notion that prostitution was increasingly 'taking over' the neighbourhood ignited community protest that escalated to such heights to be monikered in the local press as 'the sex war' on Katendrecht.

The eventual erasure of Hull and Rotterdam's post-War 'red-light' areas comes in the form of the expansion of Hedon Road into a dual-carriageway to further furnish Hull's necessitated communication with the wider UK on the collapse of the fishing industry, and Katendrecht saw the groundwork laid for the extensive processes of gentrification that have transitioned the area into a cultural Cape of cafés, bars, leisure and touristic attractions. That said, the spatial contexts of the post-War 'red-light' areas of the cities ultimately mirror in that they both relocated outside the city centre reborn where they *could* embed in the existing social and cultural inter-actions of 'Otherness' that took place, albeit for starkly different reasons, along Hull and Rotterdam's maritime urban shores. And as as Hull's lifeblood industry collapses, and the municipal plans for the gentrification of Katendrecht outweigh the convenient constraint of prostitution to Katendrecht, 'red-light' activity migrates

back in to the respective city centre as I explore in the next empirical chapter that leads directly on from the 1970s period.

Chapter Seven

Spatial analysis part iv:

'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam during the post-industrial period of urban regeneration and port heritage
(1980s - 1990s)

There was a grand plan for Hull to arise phoenix-like from the ashes

Len Markham, 1993.[274]

Rotterdam has risen from the ashes

Wilhelmina Steenbeek, 1973.[275]

This chapter covers the penultimate part of the analysis, observing 'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam during the post-industrial years of urban regeneration in relation to port heritage (e.g., waterfront regeneration). This is a shorter chapter which bridges the post-War era to the contemporary scene, but this is an important bridge as it considers the schemes and efficacies of post-industrial urban change in Hull and Rotterdam (1980s-90s). This period of post-industrial urban change is a key turning point in my case study of port cities as I encounter a mixture of 'external' consumer driven urban development (e.g., shopping centres, retail and leisure parks, and chain hotels, bars and eateries) as a generic feature of post-industrial urban landscapes. And then 'internal' culturally driven urban regeneration (e.g., dockland revival and waterfront regeneration) that memorialises the cities' port heritage on the spaces repurposed. In terms of the latter, I am engaging with the 'newness' of 'oldness' in the cities' urban form in this time-chapter, whilst also considering the wider processes of post-industrial urban transformation and the impact that this has on the spatial contexts of the 'red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam in the 1980s-90s period. In this chapter, I pay an

[274] *Great Hull Stories* (1993: 152).
[275] *Rotterdam: Invasion of Holland* (1973: 158).

analytic visit to Waterhouse Lane in Hull, and to G.J. de Jonghweg in Rotterdam. I firstly return to Hull.

In Hull, 1980s-1990s

The 1980s in Hull is an era still reeling from the collapse of the lifeblood fishing industry, and in a knock-on effect Hull's associated industries like shipbuilding are struggling (Byrne and Ombler, 2017). Along with many other northern cities in the 1980s, unemployment rates are high in Hull; which, on a locational level for Hull is largely due to deindustrialisation and the finality of the closure of docks, factories and warehouses (*ibid*.). Hull's post-War housing estates like Bransholme and Orchard Park, known for their 'misery maisonettes' are home to thousands, with Bransholme being one of the largest council estates in Europe at the time (Walsh, 2017). Adding to the wider landscape of urban decay and social deprivation, the crime rate is high (*ibid*.). Notwithstanding Hull's link to the M62 that connected the city to the northern corridor in 1976, Hull is still seen as geographically isolated (Gillett and McMahon, 1980: 186). A major infrastructural feat towards bridging the gulf between Hull's communication with the wider UK is the colossal Humber Bridge completed in 1981. It stiches Hull to Lincolnshire on the south bank, and to the farther south beyond - but to many citizens of Hull it is seen as 'a bridge from nowhere to nowhere' (*ibid*., p. 186). A photograph of the Humber Bridge under construction follows overleaf:

Fig.7.1., the Humber Bridge under construction (1979).[276]

The above photograph reminds me, as so many images looking out from the north banks of the Humber do, of Larkin's poetry on the strange of nihilism of Hull's gaze; stubbornly turned towards Europe beyond the estuary, and ignoring the rest of the UK over its shoulder. That and the feeling of many Hullensians like myself at times that there is no way out. To apply such sentiment to life in 1980s Hull and the rise of neoliberalism, by the time the Humber Bridge was completed Margaret Thatcher's government had been in power for two years. The economic policies of Thatcherism (e.g., deindustrialisation, privatisation) are controversial in 1980s Hull. It is deeply felt that such policies are hitting northern 'working-class' communities the hardest, and that Thatcher's overall disdain for the kinds of municipal power and ambition that had shaped and reshaped Hull's 'independent' character for centuries would result in the loss of Hull's identity as 'a place apart' (Bustamante, 2021). As the acclaimed photographer Luis Bustamante, a Chilean refugee who

[276] Slides: Humber Bridge Construction 1970s-80s, HHC, ref U DX400/4/27.

made Hull is home in the 1970s, writes as he wanders the streets of Hull in the early 1980s; he could see the ground being cleared for a new world in which "people [are] forced to exchange their freedoms and sense of civic identity for cheap goods and a more affluent social setting, to which they only [have] non-member rights" (*ibid*.).

Accordingly, local resistance movements, trade unionism and political activism (particularly from the Labour left) are very active in Hull during the 1980s period, as epitomised by the city's infamous Docker Strikes (Turnbull, 1992). In short, 1980s Hull is a city faced with major challenges, but in the face of Hull's socio-economic decline the groundwork for later regeneration efforts and cultural expression are lain. A key example of this is the Princes Quay shopping centre completed in 1991; a shopping centre on stilts in the disused Princes Dock featuring four 'decks' of retail outlets, eateries, and, in its nearer history, a cinema, bowling alley, and an amusement arcade:

Fig.7.2., Princes Quay Shopping Centre (2024, own image).

Princes Quay, and the wider civic schema of waterfront regeneration that lays the foundation for future developments shaped by Hull's maritime heritage reflects that Hull in the 1990s is a city embarking on a distinct journey of urban transformation; socially, economically and culturally (Byrne and Ombler, 2017). Unemployment rates remain high in Hull in the 1990s, but there comes a significant shift towards service-based economies (e.g., public sector, leisure and retail) in connection to the changing landscape (see Turnbull, 1992). That said, as change is afoot in the city centre, 'the red-light area' re-materialises in Waterhouse Lane a hundred years on from its former life as a site of concentrated prostitution in the late-Victorian period as I now explore in an analytic re-visit of Waterhouse Lane as:

Fig.7.3., headline on plans to regenerate Waterhouse Lane (1995).[277]

Waterhouse Lane

As introduced previously in this study, Waterhouse Lane is situated to the south-west edge of the city centre and was, in the late-Victorian period of observation in chapter four, a 'quasi-district' with a fused environment of dwellings, sailors lodgings and pubs amidst warehouses, workshops, foundries and stables.

[277] Hull Daily Mail: Industrial Review (27th September 1995).

In the 1980s-90s period of observation in this time-chapter, Waterhouse Lane is no longer residential and the majority of the old commercial properties are derelict apart from a handful of the old-time pubs. The following photograph provides a view of the disused streetscape of Waterhouse Lane in 1987:

Fig.7.4., Waterhouse Lane (1987).[278]

Adding to the urban decay that manifests in the disused streetscape as the image above reflects, Princes Dock which runs adjacent to Waterhouse Lane is also in a state of disuse by the 1980s period as the following contemporaneous map of Waterhouse Lane illustrates:

[278] Courtesy of Mick Hartley Politics and Culture. See www.mickhartley.typepad.com/blog/archives.html. [Accessed 29th April 2024].

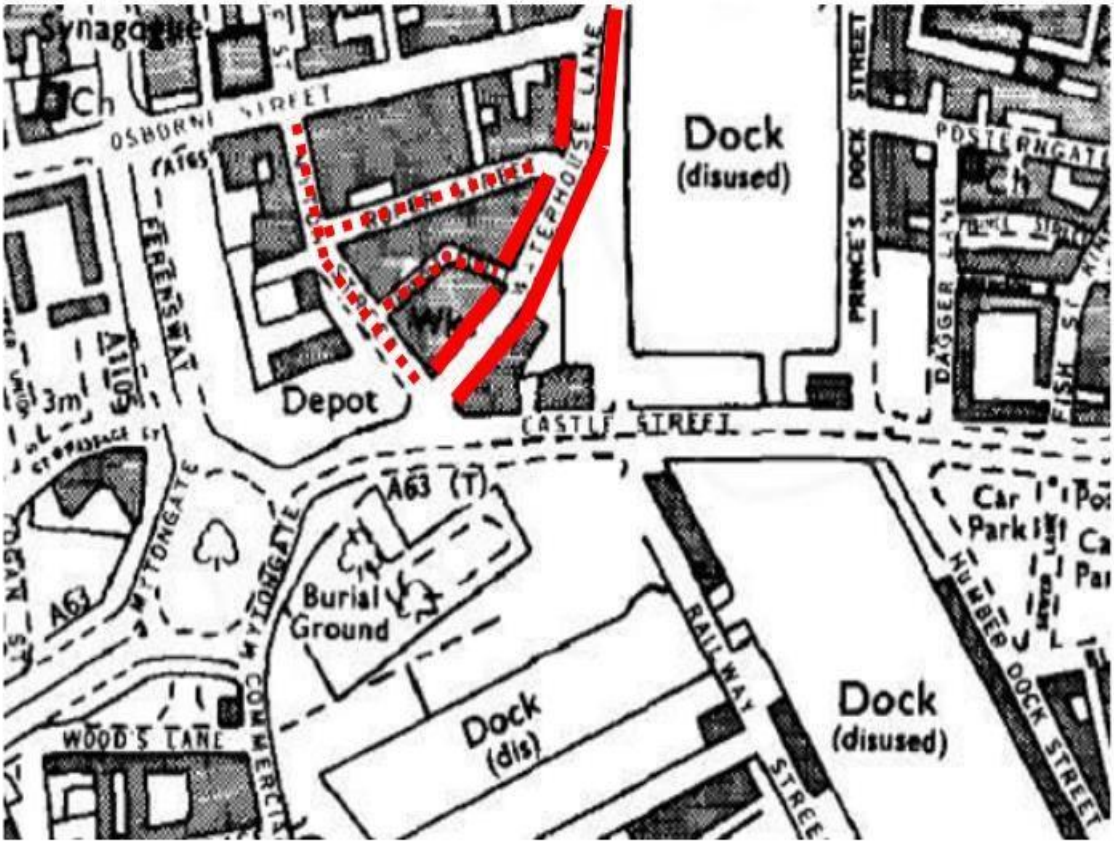

Fig.7.5., Extract of Ordnance Survey Map Hull (1980).[279]

On the map above, Waterhouse Lane is indicated (by candidate) by the thick red line. The red dashed lines (also added by candidate) indicate the adjoining and cross streets; Myton Street to the left, and then Roper Street and Trundle Street connecting the two. As the map makes visual, this is the triangular zone of Hull's 'red-light area' in the 1980s-90s which, as Karen Sharpe (1998) identifies in her contemporaneous study of prostitution and police in the locality, is known to the 'prostitutes, punters, and police' alike as 'the patch' (p. 25). In which case, 'the patch' has carried its name from its former location at Hedon Road during the post-War period to Waterhouse Lane where 'the red-light area' has re-materialised at some time in the 1980s when Hedon Road became less accessible through its transition into a dual-carriageway (see chapter six).

[279] *Ordnance Survey Maps* [OS Maps 1949-present], available at *HHC* open access shelves [in person]; Waterhouse Lane and adjoining streets that make up 'the patch' indicated in red by candidate.

In locational contexts, the spatial situation of Waterhouse Lane as a 'red-light area' – or 'the patch' - in the 1980s-90s is as significant as it was in the late-Victorian 'red-light' life of the locality; being close enough to the city centre for mobility and footfall, but apart enough in its separate 'quasi-district' character to have its own community-constituted moral geography that gave prostitution a social and spatial 'belonging'. However, in the 1980s-90s period of observation, Waterhouse Lane is no longer perceived as such as a 'quasi-district', but rather a decaying patch of 'ghost-town' backstreets where there is no residential community and people seldom go (Sharpe, 1998, pp.25-6). This, alongside the view of Waterhouse Lane taken in 1987 (*fig.7.4*), produces the sense that Waterhouse Lane is, in the period of observation, a 'grey area' of the city – literally and metaphorically.

However, as aforementioned a few of the old-time pubs of Waterhouse Lane are still surviving during the period. One of which is the Royal William that I encountered in my analytic visit to Waterhouse Lane in the late-Victorian period (see chapter four). Notably, in the 1990s when the 'red-light' life of Waterhouse Lane has been active for over a decade, the Royal William is spatially associated with prostitution in the locality again as it is named in the local press as one of the few surviving pubs in the locale that allows prostitutes inside its doors. The journalist visits the Royal William to find out *why* – as the journalists outright asks – '*why is the landlord letting the prostitutes in*?' The landlords are a husband and wife team who have at the time held the lease for five years [since 1987]. The couple give a territorial and noticeably empathetic answer to the journalist's question by saying that they will not exclude prostitutes from the pub because the prostitutes were there *before* them:

> We knew we were taking on a pub in the red-light area, and we don't ban the prostitutes from coming in because they were here before us. The girls are welcome here like anybody else. They know that if they are found to be touting [soliciting] on the premises they will be barred. But that's down to the individual, not the group. It shouldn't stop folk from coming for a drink here, I can assure you that our customers will not be accosted by the girls. And the girls have our assurance that if they get into any difficulty they can come here, like a safe haven. We rarely have any trouble from them because we are decent to them, as we are to everybody from all walks of life.
>
> (*HDM*, 1992).

The sceptical among us however may consider that the landlords hold an economic stake in the active 'red-light area' outside of its doors. This is because another pub in Waterhouse Lane, the Earl de Grey – one of Hull's most famous pubs owing to its 'colourful' history – is also spatially associated with prostitution in the period. In its historic view over the docks, the Earl de Grey was formerly known as the Junction Dock Tavern in its early-nineteenth century beginnings and legend has it that press gangs used the tunnels beneath to storm the pub, seize drunken sailors and force them into service on waiting naval ships (Young, 2020). With a predominantly sailor-town history, the Earl de Grey has long provoked a degree of infamy both internally and externally to Hull, but it became most notorious in the 1980s-90s period through its direct 'attachment' to the 'red-light area' of Waterhouse Lane (*ibid*.):

Fig.7.6., the Earl de Grey pub (1980).[280]

[280] Courtesy of Hull Daily Mail (Young, 2020).

In the 1980s-90s, prostitutes are known to frequent the Earl de Grey and *contribute* to its commercial success as much as it's notoriety. In 2020, the *Hull Daily Mail* called for local people to send in their memories of the Earl de Grey in its 1980s-90s 'heyday', with a number of the commentators (predominantly men) hinting at the ways in which prostitutes enhanced the pub's takings:

> [Steve*]: The best night out in Hull, oh to go back. I remember the ladies of the night coming in and taking turns to dance naked in the cages for drinks. The landlord was happy! Tits and takings.
>
> [Paul*]: The girls would sit at the bar and had their price written in marker pen on the sole of their shoes. On a stag do we asked one of them to get with our mate the stag. The landlord made sure we bought them all [the sex workers] a round [of drinks] first. They all asked for doubles! Probably cost us more then [sic] the shag [sex] did.
>
> [Robert*]: I remember they had parrots flying about, sitting on the toms [prostitutes] shoulders at the bar. The girls would also flutter in and out and used the toilets to clean themselves up. I remember one of them came in all dishevelled, came out the toilet looking sharp again, knocked back a gin she had on lay-by from earlier, and walked straight back out to get another punter. Also, the better looking toms were always in on a weekend. I'd spend my entire wage packet in there on a Saturday night.
>
> (*ibid*.).

The reflections the above commentary gives of an economic agreement between the prostitute women of Waterhouse Lane and the Earl de Grey pub in the 1980s-90s era carries echoes of the spatially constituted network of prostitution that had previously existed in Waterhouse Lane in its late-Victorian life (per chapter four). Accordingly, it is not difficult to understand why the Royal William pub comes under local press fire for allowing prostitutes' entry, even if it is for territorial reasons beyond the scale of the economic allure that the presence of prostitutes is providing to the Earl de Grey. The sense of the 'tolerance' of prostitution in Waterhouse Lane by local business owners (e.g., pubs) further extends to police tolerance. In her interviews with police officers of designated 'vice squad' - who frequently patrol Waterhouse Lane in the 1990s, Karen Sharpe (1998) identifies that the police tolerance of 'the patch' is

largely in the spatial contexts of Waterhouse Lane being a disused, 'grey area' of the city. As one officer says:

> No one lives here, so no one complains. And we could move them on but where do we move them too?...it's better the devil you know.
>
> (cited in Sharpe, 1998: 134).

It is also not lost on the local police force [by this time Humberside Police] that many of the 'punters' are coming in from 'out-of-town' which expedites the need to constrain prostitution in one, disused area as a means for the police to effectively monitor and control it (*ibid*., p. 138). We know from the time-place backdrop of this chapter that under the socio-economic collapse of Hull, the 'city fathers' have relented to the idea that Hull's future prosperity depends on communication with the wider UK, resulting in the infrastructural investments in Hull's link to the M62 [1976] and the Humber Bridge [1981]. However, these infrastructural investments are also found to be implicated in the spatial relocation of 'the patch' from Hedon Road to Waterhouse Lane. As one of the women working as a prostitute who has relocated with 'the patch' from Hedon Road to Waterhouse Lane tells Karen Sharpe in conversation, Waterhouse Lane is 'a better patch', it is 'more central', and 'the out-of-town punters' who 'don't want to get caught with a prostitute in their own town' have easy and direct access via the M62 link and the Humber Bridge into 'the hidden heart' of Hull's 'red-light area' (p. 132).

In relation to the vehicular 'accessibility' of Waterhouse Lane and its spatial contexts as an uninhabited 'grey area' of the city to which the police constrain it to prevent it from spreading or relocating anywhere else in the city as Sharpe (1998) finds, I have also identified an additional layer of 'tolerance' applied to 'the patch's' materialisation at Waterhouse Lane in the 1980s. In the late-1980s, Hull City Council implement a one-way traffic system around the triangular 'patch', which the news report on the new traffic system writes, is to ease the flow of vehicular traffic of 'kerb crawlers' to prevent traffic and noise nuisance (*HDM*, 1988). The direct reference to 'kerb crawlers' in this news article shows a level of acceptance that, in a sense, that prostitution is *just what happens* in Waterhouse Lane. The following image of

Waterhouse Lane taken in the late-1990s shows the one-way system:

Fig.7.7., one-way traffic system, Waterhouse Lane (late-1990s).[281]

At the time the above photograph was taken however, we can see that black bollards have been placed across the near end of Waterhouse Lane. In preventing the flow of traffic around the triangular 'patch' by the late-1990s, this coincides with the time that 'red-light' activity is eventually erased from Waterhouse Lane. In the image above, notably devoid of prostitute women as well as cars, we can see the multi-story car park of the 'new' Princes Quay shopping centre at the far end of the street. It is the development of the shopping centre that is ultimately found to erase prostitution from Waterhouse Lane; despite 'new' legislation coming into play much earlier in the 'red-light' life of Waterhouse Lane in the 1980s that would have directly impacted the 'red-light' 'use' of the street much earlier than the coming of Princes Quay as follows.

[281] In *HDM*, 2019.

In 1985, revisions to Britain's *Sexual Offences Act*, 1985 makes it a criminal offence for a male to 'persistently kerb-crawl women' and accordingly to 'persistently solicit a woman or different women for the purposes of prostitution' [s.1, 2]. But in echoes of the police constraint of the former Hedon Road 'patch' where the women were ideally situated to act as police informants in the height of the Cod Wars as found in chapter six, the passing of legislation that targeted 'kerb-crawlers' in 1985 did not entirely fit into the locational contexts of enforcement in Hull in the time-place setting. As the memoir of the same police officer whose regular beat was Hedon Road, who goes on to patrol Waterhouse Lane in the 1980s reveals:

> We [the police] seldom enforce the kerb-crawling law at Waterhouse [Lane], only if we are tipped off by the women that a certain male is a nuisance or a threat to them. If [prostitution] is not here, it would just be in some other area, or worse case it would spread to a number of areas. Then we would potentially have kerb-crawlers bothering women walking along all over town. We know what these men are kerb-crawling for here [Waterhouse Lane] and we can supervise it – for the want of a better word – more effectively if it is happening in one set area.[282]
>
> (pp.104-5).

Echoing the sentiment of the police officer interviewed at the time by Karen Sharpe (1998), the local police stance appears to be that it is 'better the devil you know' when it comes to the police management (or control) of 'the red-light area' at Waterhouse Lane. Notably however, it is only when the plans to develop the disused Princes Dock into a multiplex shopping centre are released in the early-1990s[283] that Humberside Police *do* begin to enforce the kerb-crawling law under the *Sexual Offences Act* 1985 in the locale two years after the legislation is passed. Under a police initiative known a Operation First Class [1987], police officers attached to the 'vice squad' set about recording the registration numbers of cars seen in Waterhouse Lane. If the same vehicle is seen and recorded at Waterhouse Lane on more than three occasions, a 'letter of shame' is sent to the vehicle owners home address. The letter states that the owner's vehicle has been seen in Waterhouse Lane on three or

[282] *Diaries of a City of Hull police officer 1950s to 1980s. HHC*, ref L365.
[283] *Proposals and plans relating to retail development on Princes Dock 1987-91*. HHC, ref L27589/04.

more occasions, and is thus the owner is suspected of kerb-crawling and has been marked by the police as 'a user of prostitutes'. Notably, the details I have given on Operation First Class are as reported in the local press (*HDM*, 1987), which infers that the 'leak' of the operation's missive is also to deter 'local punters' (and the wider public) from going anywhere near Waterhouse Lane from that time on.

It should not be forgotten that around this time, Waterhouse Lane had also begun to incur darker imaginings of spatial 'deviance' owing to the drug-use associated with the area in the coming of a hitherto unknown drug: heroin. As literature reminds us, the 1980s-90s era in Britain (and farther afield) is marked by a heroin crisis in which social and spatial associations were categorically made between prostitutes, heroin-use and the AIDS virus, alongside the violence brought by drug-dealing activity (e.g., Bergman, 1987; Gossop *et al*., 1993; Scambler and Scambler, 1997). To apply the heightened narrative of fear/disgust surrounding prostitution and its 'relationship' with heroin and AIDS in 1980s-90s Britain to Waterhouse Lane, a walking conversation with published local historian Mark* sheds light on the coming of 'heroin prostitution' in the locale:

> I worked at a gym here when I was sixteen, it was my first job. I just did the cleaning. This was back in 1984 to around 1987. The gym was above an old carpet warehouse, just up there [points to a derelict building]. I'd leave about 10pm and the girls were all out, I say girls they were more like housewives. They'd smile and nod, recognising me, but never bothered me. But around 1987 everything got a bit dark round here. The housewives were gone, and in their place was women who were quite clearly junkies. Skinny, gaunt, dirty, ragged hair. They were homeless-looking, and like zombies. I'd see those poor lasses injecting in the doorways, or passed out slumped against a wall. That was awful, and it didn't surprise me at all that the rozzas [police] starting clamping down on kerb-crawling, I doubt those lasses were in any state to consent but it fed their habit.[284]

However, it is found to be the coming of Princes Quay shopping centre that finally erased 'the red-light area' from Waterhouse Lane. The sudden police initiatives to target kerb-crawling in 1987 (Operation First Class) two years *after* the passing of

[284] Fieldnotes: walking conversation with Mark* [pseudonym], 19th June 2022.

the national kerb-crawling law (*Sexual Offences Act* 1985) coincides with the plans for Princes Quay being released, and thus arguably facilitated the clearance of 'red-light' and heroin activity from the street for the developers to move in. But the 'red-light' activity didn't fall silent overnight, as many construction workers report seeing a small number of prostitutes still soliciting in Waterhouse Lane well into the 1990s (*HDM*, 1992). But towards the completion of Princes Quay, the structure itself acts as arguably the most significant deterrent to kerb-crawlers which is something that I recognised through my own walking ethnography of Waterhouse Lane far later in time in 2023. Firstly, Waterhouse Lane is (as it was on the completion of Princes Quay) now just the primary access way into Princes Quay's multi-story car park. It doesn't feel like a road in its own right with literally nothing there to access on foot or otherwise. It is also a dead-end after the car park's entry and exit point, which adds to the sense that Waterhouse Lane today is literally just is the way in and out of Princes Quay by car, like an extension of Princes Quay's property almost. And, as arguably expected of a retail centre and car park in today's urban world, there is CCTV surveillance *everywhere* around Waterhouse Lane following the perimeter of Princes Quay. The following photograph shows how Waterhouse Lane looks today in relation to Princes Quay:

Fig.7.8., way into Princes Quay car park, Waterhouse Lane (2023, own image).

Whilst the above image captures the changed landscape of Waterhouse Lane at ground level however, the following view out across Waterhouse Lane taken from the 'top-deck' of Princes Quay's multi-storey car park poignantly shows that the decaying skeleton of bricks-and-mortar around the triangular 'patch' still remained intact as late as 2014. It stands still like a silent echo some forty years on of the 'red-light' life of Waterhouse Lane in the 1980s-90s, and indeed over a hundred years on from its 'red-light' life in the late-Victorian era when the streetscape that stands still before us today in the following image was scorned as the most 'morally pestilent locality' in the city of Hull (*HDM*, 1891f):

Fig.7.9., view across Waterhouse Lane from multi-storey car park (2014).[285]

Traces of Waterhouse Lane as it was continued to remain two years later, albeit amidst the rubble on the land adjacent to Princes Quay to make way for the new £37,000,000 Bonus Arena [2018] as the following images show:

[285] Courtesy of Ian S. *Geograph*. Available under creative commons policy at www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4100992. [Accessed 9th August 2023].

Fig.7.10., clearance for the construction of Bonus Arena, Waterhouse Lane (2016).[286]

Fig.7.11., Bonus Arena, Waterhouse Lane (2018).[287]

[286] Courtesy of Ian S. *Geograph*. Available under creative commons policy at www.geograph.org.uk/photo/5120264. [Accessed 9th August 2023].
[287] Courtesy of Ethan Harding. *YorHub*. www.yorhub.com/projects/bonus-arena/ [Accessed 9th August 2023].

Today, the urban transformation of Waterhouse Lane in to a retail and leisure space of the city so far is extending to further redevelopment of the land behind Bonus Arena to include a hotel and restaurant. Notably, the artists' impression of the new space includes the infamous Earl de Grey pub, which is to be dismantled brick-by-brick and rebuilt brick-by-brick within the new quarter:

Fig.7.12., artists' impression of the new Waterhouse Lane, with Earl de Grey at the centre (2019).[288]

With the development of the scene above now very much underway, the former 'red-light' life of Waterhouse Lane will soon be all but erased. Yet through the inclusion of the Earl de Grey, and its *centralisation* in the scene above, there will be a living memory. For the Earl de Grey is arguably not just a monument to Hull's sailortown past, but a lasting memory of the women who walked Waterhouse Lane. From Hull, I now return to Rotterdam to examine the spatial contexts of the 'red-light area' in the city during the 1980s-90s.

[288] Courtesy of Yorkshire Post (2019).

In Rotterdam, 1980s-90s

Rotterdam in the 1980s is a city on the verge of a major urban transformation. Somewhere in the middle of recovering from wartime destruction and redefining itself as a fresh, forward-looking metropolis, a 'gritty', raw energy permeates from the city (Batten, 2019). Concrete high-rises amidst disused docks and industrial zones omit 'a depressing air' of the 'grey' landscape of a 'blue collar' port city (*ibid*.). Yet, this also anticipates the dynamic future of a city in transition. Amongst the port city 'grey', experimental architecture signals the iconic architectural identity of the city of Rotterdam today. This is epitomised by Piet Blom's Kubuswoningen [Cube Houses] completed in 1984; a quirky row of bright yellow, tilted houses on stilts that overwrite a disused dock:

Fig.7.13., architect Piet Blom with his model of cubehouses over a disused dock (1978).[289]

[289] *Architect Piet Blom presents his plan for the development of the Old Docklands*. *SMA*, ref 1978-2732.

Fig.7.14., the cubehouses over a disused dock (2006).[290]

Translation:

Hey what is this? Is it a place or is it a fair?[291]

Fig.15., sign on the cube houses:' is it a palace or a fair?' (2023, own image).

[290] In Dirk Verwoerd (2022), courtesy of Dirk Verwoerd.
[291] Translation by Google Translate software.

Whilst the ‘city fathers’ are laying the cornerstones of Rotterdam’s quirky reputation as an architectural melting-pot, attention is also being paid to the automating and wider modernisation of the city’s port operations which is to maintain Rotterdam’s competitive edge in the maritime world. In the 1980s-90s period, Rotterdam is still the largest port in the world; a ranking in which it will not be surpassed until 2004 by Singapore (see Steinhuis *et al*., 2015). Subsequently, Rotterdam’s petrochemical companies are booming in the 1980, but this also signals new avenues of urban issues as the ‘city fathers’ grapple with the ‘modern-day’ environmental concerns surrounding the central port economy of Rotterdam, in addition to forward planning of economic diversification (*ibid*.). As such, waves of urban planning in the 1980s incorporate a focus on transport systems that make living and working in the city more accessible (e.g., the expansion of the Rotterdam Metro occurs), with further emphasis on widening roads, functional zones, and the separation of pedestrian, cycling, and motor areas which reflects the modernist ethos of the city (see van de Laar, 2000).

In a further refection of the modernist ethos of Rotterdam, there is a growing under-ground scene of counterculture in the city in the 1980s era, which is influenced by punk, techno and house music entwined with experimental art, drama and poetry that sees the making of Rotterdam’s creative class (van Ulzen, 2013). Coinciding with a significant wave of immigration from Suriname, Turkey, Morrocco, and the Dutch Antilles, Rotterdam remains one of the must multi-cultural and superdiverse cities in the Netherlands in the 1980s period (Schotten *et al*., 2020).

Into the 1990s, Rotterdam continued to see bold architectural statements written into the landscape. A prime example is the deconstructivist Kunsthal [‘Art Hall’] by the renowned Rotterdam architect Rem Koolhaas [1992] (*fig.7.16*, overleaf). And notably in the 1990s era, the iconic Erasmusbrug [‘Erasmus Bridge’, 1996] links Rotterdam north and south, and graces the water with its elegant design for which it is known locally as ‘the Swan’ (*fig.7.17*, overleaf). As the images overleaf attest, this wave of architectural experimentalism embeds in Rotterdam’s burgeoning cultural identity as one of the most avant-garde cities in the Netherlands in the 1980s-90s period of observation in this time-chapter:

Fig.7.16., Rem Koolhaus' Kunsthal (2023).[292]

Fig.7.17., Erasmusbrug, Rotterdam (2023).[293]

[292] Courtesy of Rotterdam: Make it Happen (2023).
[293] As above.

With the shaping of Rotterdam into an avant-garde, modernist city of urban cultural expression in the 1980s-90s period, the 'red-light' area is relocated – notably by the municipality – to the city's first 'official unofficial toleration zone' (or 'tippelzone') at G. J. de Jonghweg [road] as I now explore as I pay an analytic visit to the:

Tippelzone naast
hoofdkantoor GEB

[*Tr.* 'Tippelzone next to GEB head office']294

Fig.7.18., headline on the new 'tippelzone' at G.J de Jonghweg (1984).295

G. J. de Jonghweg

G. J. de Jonghweg is a road situated in the neighbourhood of Dijkzigt to the far west of the city centre.296 In the 1980s-90 period, it is a secondary access road.297 As the map overleaf (*fig.7.19*) shows, the city centre is pre-shaded in orange with G. J. de Jonghweg indicated by a solid pink line (by the candidate) and pointed to by a black arrow for clarity:

294 Auto translated by Delpher.nl.
295 (*HVV*, 1984a).
296 *Rotterdam Neighbourhoods*, Erasmus University. See www.eur.nl/orientation. [Accessed 4th March 2024].
297 *Rotterdam Straatnamen* [Street Name Index], SMA. See https.//stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoek-en-ont dek/ straatnamen/index.xml. [Accessed 3rd April 2023].

Fig.7.19., map of Rotterdam indicating G.J. de Jonghweg in relation to city centre (2024).[298]

As the following close-up of G. J de Jonghweg's location (extracted from the map above) further illustrates, G. J. de Jonghweg is an arch shaped road that follows the contours of Coolhaven [harbour] basin which is just across the Nieuwe Maas from the western tip of Katendrecht. To the north end of G. J. de Jonghweg, the road adjoins the main thoroughfare of Rochussenstraat, and sits equidistantly between the metro stations of Coolhaven and Dijkzigt. At the south end, G. J. de Jonghweg meets the Westzeedijk ring-road which places G. J. de Jonghweg in close proximity to the Maastunnel – a major traffic tunnel that goes under the Nieuwe Maas to link Rotterdam north and south. Also to the south aspect of G. J. de Jonghweg is the lush green expanse of Het Park ['The Park'] and the Euromast observation tower which has provided 360-degree views over the city since the tower's completion to mark the Netherlands' first *Floriade* (in Het Park) in 1960.[299]

[298] *Rotterdam Interactive Map*. Available at www.streetwise.world/maps/Rotterdam. [Accessed 28th February 2024]; G. J. de Jonghweg indicated by candidate.
[299] *Floriade* was a national horticultural expo that took place in a different Dutch city every ten years, starting with Rotterdam [1960] and ending with Almere [2022] when it was scrapped for no longer attracting visitor numbers for the event to be financially viable.

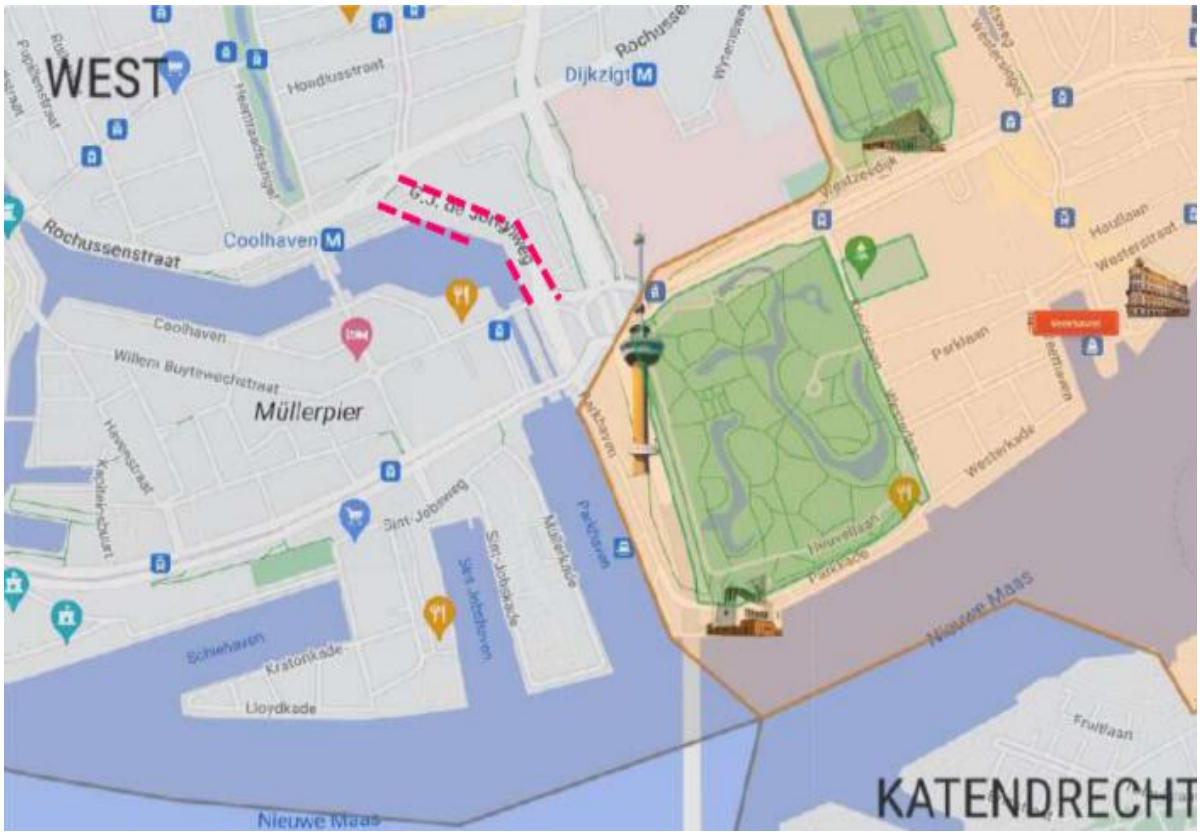

Fig.7.20., map indicating close-up location of G.J. de Jonghweg (2024).[300]

Following the erasure of 'red-light' activity from the Katendrecht peninsula in the 1970s after a heightened campaign of community protest and the municipality's plans to transform the neighbourhood (see chapter seven), concentrated pockets of prostitution have materialised, as the municipality feared that it would, across various areas of the city. According to the local press of the early-1980s period, the area most 'blighted' by prostitution following the 'recent' erasure of the 'red-light district' at Katendrecht is the Middelland district [which coincidentally is in close proximity to G. J. de Jonghweg]. As a general news article in *De Volkstrant* dated 1984 tells us, the residents of Middelland are being impacted by the noise of cars driving up and down in the early hours and 'the idling engines of drug dealers, pimps, and men looking for sex' alongside the littering of used syringes, used condoms and human waste (DV, 1984a). An

[300] *Rotterdam Interactive Map*. Available at www.streetwise.world/maps/Rotterdam. [Accessed 28th February 2024]; G. J. de Jonghweg indicated by candidate.

article in national tabloid *Algemeen Dagblad* published in the same week states that the quality of life of Rotterdam's Middelland residents is further impacted by the '*heroïnehoertjes*' ['heroin hookers'] taking shelter in the residential porches (*AD*, 1984b). To combat this, the police have reportedly adopted 'a hunting policy' to 'chase down the heroin hookers' and 'run them out of the neighbourhood' (*ibid*.). As local (and national) press attention continues to focus on the 'red-light' activity in the Middelland district, it is reported that the Middelland streets of Claes de Vrieselaan and 'the once gentile' Heemraadsingel are the most impacted by the 'prostitution nuisance' (*HVV*, 1984a) – with these streets becoming significant to the analysis in due course. With the local press coverage of Rotterdam's 'prostitution nuisance' in 1984 reaching national press attention, this infers that the situation is escalating and stimulating negative reflections of the city to external audiences. And in light of this, the municipal council in conjunction with Rotterdam's incumbent Chief of Police set up the city's first 'official unofficial toleration red-light zone' (or 'tippelzone') at G. J. de Jonghweg in the summer of that year as the following journalist on scene reports:

> Monday 5th June, 1984. On this early summer's evening, a policeman arrives at G.J. de Jonghweg. Outside the GEB building, he paints a solid white line across the width of the pavement. Walking 50 meters on towards the Academy of Fine Arts, but stopping well short of the Academy, he paints a second white line. Moments later, he makes an official announcement to the television crew: 'any prostitute soliciting between the white lines on G.J. de Jonghweg will henceforth be left alone by the police.'
>
> (*HVV*, 1984a).

The GEB building is [at the time] the high-rise office tower of the municipal energy company. It's grounds have been designated as the 'base' of the city's new 'tippelzone' to prevent complaint from non-municipal companies and because the locality is unused at night (*ibid*.). The following map indicates the approximate location of the 50-meter stretch of designated 'red-light' space at the north end of G. J. de Jonghweg:

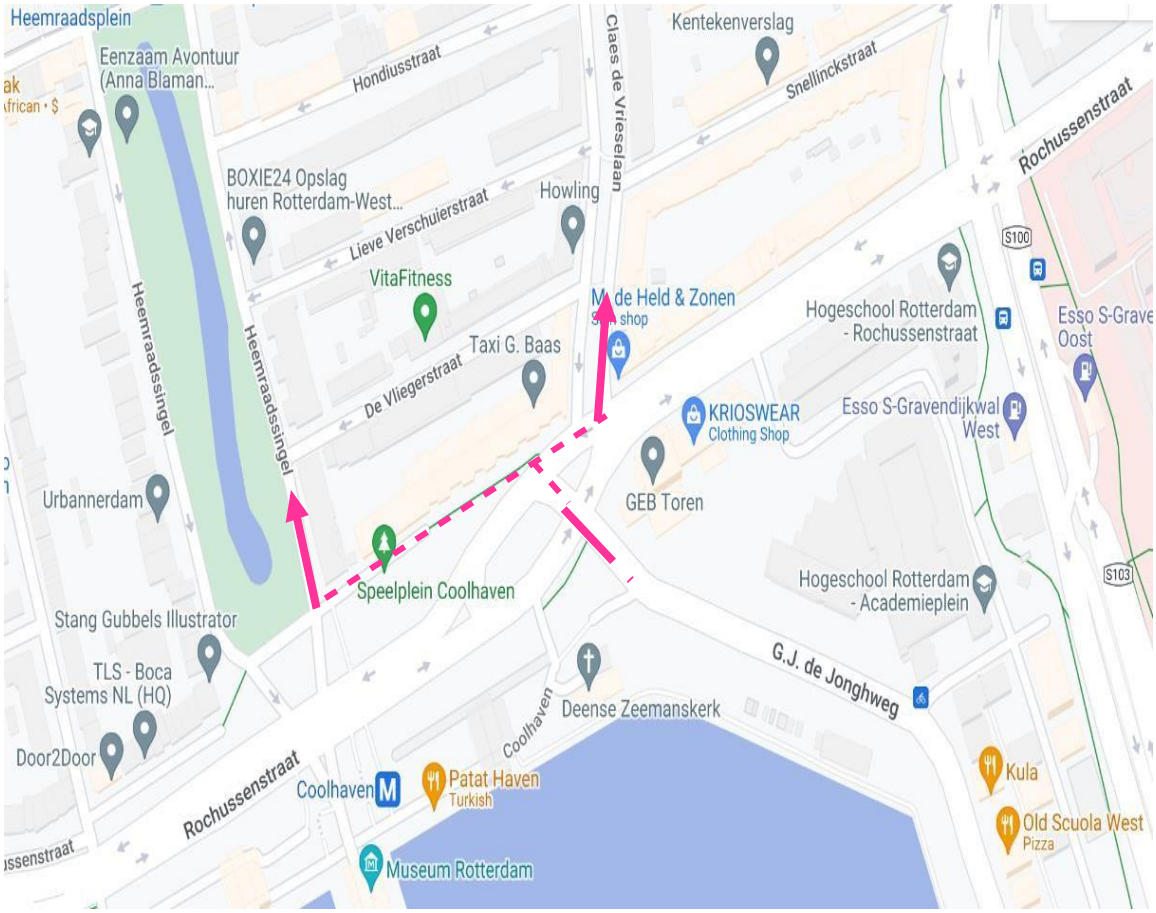

Fig.7.21., map indicating 'tippelzone' on G.J. de Jonghweg (pink solid line), and vicinity of Heemraadsingle and Claes de Vrieselaan (dotted line and arrows) (2024).[301]

On the map above, the solid pink line indicates the stretch of designated 'red-light' space at the north end of G. J. de Jonghweg in the vicinity of the GEB building (or tower). This is indicated by the candidate based on the description of 'the white lines' painted by the policeman in the aforementioned article. The pink dashed line meets the pink arrows which indicate the proximity of the new 'tippelzone' to the Middelland streets of Claes de Vrieselaan [right] and 'the once gentile' Heemraadsingel [left] that are reported to have been the most impacted

[301] *Rotterdam Interactive Map* (powered by *Google Maps*). Available at https://streetwise.world/maps/ Rotterdam. [Accessed 6th March 2024].

by ‘prostitution nuisance’ in the months leading up to the designation of the ‘red-light zone’ at G. J. de Jonghweg (*HVV*, 1984a).

Notably the same journalist that observed the painting of ‘the white lines’ for *Het Vrije Volk,* the regional socialist-democratic newspaper based in Rotterdam at the time, returns the following evening to observe its ‘opening night’. The ethnographic editorial on ‘the opening night’ printed the following morning reads as if the opening of the new ‘tippelzone’ is met with some excitement by the *HVV* reporter and the women working as prostitutes there that the reporter engages with. In a sense, the ‘red-light’ zone next to the energy building is met with energetic narratives:

> Finally, finally it seems that after all these years of prostitution misery, Rotterdam has a real eros area [sex area] again! Until late into the night yesterday, hundreds of motorists drove past! Wildly enthusiastic girls of pleasure comment: ‘what a relief!’, ‘the police don’t hunt us like animals anymore!’, and ‘it’s really crazy this place…we are tipping [soliciting] between the start and finish line!’
>
> (*HVV*, 1984b).

In this article, two of the women have agree to the following photograph (overleaf) being taken of them standing within the white lines on the opening night. As can be seen in the image, one of the women makes a light-hearted joke that stepping over the line will result in a fine. Although the journalist affirms in the article that the lady has agreed to her photograph being taken, her identity is obscured by the candidate for ethical considerations:

Fig.7.22. the new 'tipplezone', G.J. de Jonghweg; "a light-hearted joke is made by a prostitute that stepping over the line results in a fine" (1984).[302]

In contrast to the written and visual enthusiasm and light-heartedness of the *HVV* article, the geographical designation of the new 'tippelzone' at G. J. de Jonghweg (particularly at the north end of the street) is of major concern to residents of the Middelland district given that the 'tolerance zone' is just a stone's throw from the neighbourhood that had so recently been impacted by 'prostitution nuisance'. In response to these concerns, municipal councillors appear to distance themselves

[302] Image in *HVV*, 1984b; caption in original, translation by auto-translate software on Delpher.nl.

from the designation of the ‘tippelzone’ at G. J. de Jonghweg; the Mayor himself refers to it as a ‘police toleration zone’ and infers that it was a spatial strategy of the police – not the municipality – and so all concerns should be directed to the police. As the Mayor is quoted:

> As far as we [the municipality] are concerned, the police now have the space they wanted to try and combat prostitution nuisance in Rotterdam. If they think they can achieve that by tolerating solicitation in one place then we support that method, until it turns out that the nuisance does not decrease. Any concerns should be addressed to the Chief of Police.
>
> (*HVV*, 1984a).

However, the Mayor goes on to say that the specific spatial designation of G. J. de Jonghweg (or a stretch of) as the prostitution tolerance zone *was* ‘offered’ to the police as municipal leaders feel G. J. de Jonghweg is ‘the least worst option’; being ‘far enough away’ from the city centre, with ‘wide enough access for cars to circle without causing traffic jams and engine noise’, ‘non-residential’ and ‘dead at night’ (*ibid*.). In the extract above, there is a tone of ire to the Mayor’s comments on the new ‘tippelzone’, and a sense that he is not optimistic that the spatial constraint of a tolerance zone in general will reduce or remedy the ‘prostitution nuisance’. This is significant because in an article written by a sex work outreach worker who based herself in the G. J. de Jonghweg ‘tippelzone’ when it was first active recollects that prior to the designation of the tolerance zone by the GEB building, the municipality had been in and out of the Supreme Court seeking legal permission to construct an indoor Eros Centre [Sex Centre] Multiplex on the outskirts of the city in which all prostitution and sex-related commerce would be confined and out of public view. As the outreach worker elaborates, the municipality had drawn up plans for the Eros Centre at the same time as they were ‘abolishing’ prostitution at Katendrecht to prevent it from spreading elsewhere. However, the Judge had rejected the plans time and time again. The rejections tended to be on the grounds of the proposed location (e.g., on a berthed ship), or that any such structure and operation reflected a commercial enterprise to the

municipality's own ends and financial gain. That is, that the municipality would be *facilitating* prostitution by funding the construction of a purpose-built venue and then regulating the commercial activity there. As such, this is plausibly why the Mayor's comments on the new 'tolerance zone' at G. J. de Jonghweg contain narratives or ire and also the expressed distancing of municipal leaders from the spatial designation of a tolerance zone in general. For as the out-reach worker quotes from a meeting she attended at City Hall on the proposed plan to designate a tippelzone at G. J de Jonghweg earlier in 1985, the Mayor says to the attendees, "Let's not even call it a tippelzone because the Judge will think we [municipal leaders] are just wanting to play pimp again."[303]

While the Mayor is quoted as saying, in a sense, that prostitution has to be 'placed' *somewhere* to keep a handle on it, and that G. J. de Jonghweg is the 'least worst option' (*HVV*, 1984a), there is an underlying spatial significance to the designation of G. J. de Jonghweg that bears histo-geographical echoes of Katendrecht. Like Katendrecht, G. J. de Jonghweg began its life as a green oasis on the far reaches of the city. The site that G. J. de Jonghweg is laid on was a part of the former *Land of Hoboken*; the 56 hectare private estate of the wealthy van Hoboken shipping family between the 1800s and 1920s. The estate, as it once was, is identifiable in the image below by the green expanse of meadowlands surrounded by forestry upon which the urban conurbation of Rotterdam appears to be closing in at the point at which the aerial photograph (taken on behalf of the municipal council) was taken in c.1920:

[303] Yolande van Klaveren (2015), *The workplace: the tippelzone on Rotterdam's G. J. de Jonghweg until 1989*. Sekswerkerfgoed [Sex Work Heritage Research Platform]. See https://sekswerk erf goe d.nl/de-werkplek-detippelzone-aan-de-rotterdamse-g-j-de-jonghweg-tot-1989. [Accessed 6th March 2024].

Fig.7.23., aerial view of the Land of Hoboken (c.1920)
Nb. the Katendrecht 'peninsula' is visible to the top left-centre .[304]

As a local docu-film on *the Lost Land of Hoboken* tells us, the municipality had long coveted the estate for urban development but the van Hoboken family long refused to relinquish the land. When descendants of the family finally agreed to sell [1922], the Coolhaven was immediately dug to make way for the innovative urban plan for the area by the city's Chief architect W. G. Witteveen [whom went on to draft the first post-War reconstruction plan of Rotterdam]. In the urban development of the Hoboken oasis, Witteveen had envisaged 'cultural buildings of a particularly public nature' to integrate the arts, education and local authorities with a 'highly desirable' residential dimension in overall cohesion with the natural environment. Central to Witteveen's plan, the roadway of G. J. de Jonghweg took prominence along the harbour and was named in honour of Gerrit J. de Jongh [a.k.a 'The Harbour Man'], the late Director of Rotterdam's public works between 1879-1910. The docu-film tells us that de Jongh had advocated for the digging of

[304] Film still from *The Lost Land of Hoboken*, part 2: *the city fills in* (dir. Boomsluiter and Romeijn, 2021: 00:21:41). Available at *SMA*, open access media library.

the Coolhaven on the land as early as 1887. Thus to the municipal development committee, it was seen as 'a parting give from above' following de Jongh's death in 1917 that the land had finally fallen into municipal hands. The digging of the Coolhaven was swiftly initiated by de Jongh's successor, A. C. Burgdorffer (himself a proven engineer of waterfront urban spatiality) in symphony with Witteveen's plan. In contrast to the development of Katendrecht into a 'working-class, industrial zone' however, the 'city fathers' held high hopes for the roadway of G. J. de Jonghweg [laid 1930]. The GEB tower was completed in 1931; standing the highest office tower in the Netherlands until 1968. Next to the GEB, the Academy of Arts (today the University's Applied Sciences campus) was completed in 1940.[305]

However, the utopian urban plans for G. J. de Jonghweg and its environs stall, not least in the event of the Second World War and German Occupation but because Rotterdammers already perceived the area as a 'separate wedge' of the city that was faced *away* from the city centre in its westerly-turned aesthetic. Thus failing to entice businesses and institutions to relocate there other than the GEB, Academy and a handful of harbour-related works, the 'sitting void' of G. J. de Jonghweg only served of initial 'use' as an emergency base for businesses to temporarily locate to on the bombing of the city centre.[306] After the war, when businesses relocated in droves back to the city centre, G. J. de Jonghweg falls back into the isolated 'grey' of isolated, peripheral harbour activity. In the 1980s period, architectural spatial specialists describe the street as "an inhospitable and infrastructure-dominated place stagnating somewhere in the lee of urban life between the port, the urban renewal districts, and the city centre."[307] This observation strongly resonates in the following contemporaneous view of G. J. de Jonghweg taken in February 1980:

[305] *The Lost Land of Hoboken*, part 2: *the city fills in* (dir. Boomsluiter and Romeijn, 2021: 00:21:41). Available at *SMA*, open access media library.
[306] As above.
[307] European Union Architecture (EUMies). See www.miesarch.com. [Accessed 29th February 2024].

Fig.7.24., view north on G.J. de Jonghweg with GEB tower in the background (1980).[308]

For the image above to have been taken in winter and developed in black and white this arguably adds an additional tone of 'grey' to the portrait of G. J. de Jonghweg in this moment in 1980. The 'grey' and rather isolated landscape of the so-perceived 'separate wedge' of the city allows us to understand its designation as the city's first prostitution tolerance zone in 1984, but the elements of the seasons does come into play in the spatial analysis because, as we know, the almost euphoric opening of the tippelzone at G. J. Jonghweg in the early summer of 1984 shifted to a rather cold reality as the bleak winter nights crept in. When

[308] *General Image Collection: Part one*. SMA, ref 1980-594 (4100).

the HVV send a reporter to observe the scene of the tippelzone's first 'Christmas season', one of the women, Talitha*, who has been working as a prostitute there since its beginnings is quoted as saying, "The whole of G.J. de Jonghweg is nothing. Winter comes and we are dying out here in the bitter cold. I am so cold. I cannot feel my legs. I am afraid of the dark" (*HVV*, 1984c). In extension to this, Talitha* speaks of the 'openness' of G. J. de Jonghweg that no one seemingly foresaw in relation to its practicalities as a space in which to constrain prostitution. As Talitha* says:

> [G.J de Jonghweg] is nothing for us, and nothing for the customers either. Everyone passes by here, including the tram. The people on the tram look at us, including people we might know, who know right away that we are playing the whore. The anonymity is gone. A good client of mine got into trouble with his wife as their car was seen here. And now he does not come back. Many clients are afraid to stop here in case they are seen. We are missing so much custom because of this. We have started to walk back to the Claes de Vrieselaan or to the Heemraadssingel as it is more anonymous for us and for the customers, and we can take shelter away from the freezing wind off the harbour that cuts our faces.
>
> (*ibid.*).

As the article goes on to reflect however, the event that some of the women have started to migrate back to the Middelland district to solicit is a source of contention to other women working as prostitutes at G. J. de Jonghweg as one of the women, Anneka*, is quoted as saying:

> Those stupid girls. Don't they understand they can ruin everything for us? We finally have our own area, and they will go and provoke the police, and then the police and the mayor will say, '*that's it*, *it's over*, *you're causing a nuisance*', and the whole song starts again. There is no place for me anymore at Katendrecht, the place I knew. There is no place elsewhere for me in this city that I am allowed to be. And now this place could be taken away too. I could sing this song to you over and over again.
>
> (*ibid*.).

However, just days after this article is printed and reveals that some of the women have started to cross 'the white lines', a follow up article by a *HVV* reporter makes it clear that the women are not just relocating back to the Middelland district for better anonymity and custom, but for poignant reasons of their own safety. As the article tragically reports, as the dark nights have fallen in there has been a flurry of violent attacks against women working as prostitutes at G.J. de Jonghweg. The women only brought this to light because Talitha*, the woman the reporter spoke with just days ago, the woman who was so cold she could not feel her legs and was afraid of the dark, has been murdered; her body discarded under a hedgerow at the south end of G.J. de Jonghweg. Talitha's body was found by a port worker heading to work at around 6am on a Tuesday morning in December. Talitha lay under a fresh blanket of snow, the only indication of her body being there was her little blue tin shoes pointing out of the snow. Talitha was stripped and strangled. The reporter concludes that Talitha's murder has prompted the women to say they do not feel safe at G.J. de Jonghweg and that attacks against them are not uncommon, but they do not report it because they feel the police will say, 'if a woman works as a prostitute it is to her own peril' (*HVV*, 1984d).

Following this line of enquiry on the dangerous, isolated and bleak spatial contexts of the 'red-light area' at G. J de Jonghweg, a *HVV* article printed a few weeks' after Talitha's* murder brings the police response to the violence the women are facing to the public attention. A police officer whose regular beat is G. J de Jonghweg says that the whole point of the tippelzone being based at G. J. de Jonghweg is *because* it is an isolated, non-residential area and so the women can get into a car and park on the opposite side of the road to 'finish' in the close vicinity of the zone without being overlooked and/or affronting public decency. In relation to this, the police officer says, "when a woman gets into some guys car and leaves the area and they drive away from the designated zone to finish, that is a risk she takes, no policeman can do anything about that" (*HVV,* 1984e). The officer affirms that the police are in regular surveillance of the tippelzone, but that this is precisely his point in that 'it is not the police's responsibility to follow the cars outside of the tippelzone'. He does say that a digital clock has been installed in the tippelzone

for the women to better remember the date and time they are victims of attacks (*ibid*.).

The wave of violent attacks against the women alongside the bitterly cold winter conditions upon the harbour's edge of G. J de Jonghweg prompts outreach workers to install the Keetje Shelter ['Katie Shelter'] in the spring of 1985. Named after the Dutch film *Keetje Tippel* [1975] about a prostitute named Katie which was directed by Paul Verhoeven of later *Basic Instinct* [1992] fame, the Keetje Shelter is a porta-cabin structure with a lounge, toilets and wash facilities, and is manned by outreach workers whom provide hot drinks and soup, condoms, sanitary products and clean needles (*HVV*, 1985a). In the Christmas of 1985, the second 'Christmas season' of the tippelzone, a *HVV* reporter returns and with the *HVV* being a publication the women have come to trust, as the journalist writes, the women invite the journalist into the Keetje Shelter. Through this, we can get a feel of life in the tippelzone for the women after the Keetje Shelter is assembled:

> The prostitutes allow me [the reporter] into the Keetje Shelter as I am a trusted face to them, the *HVV* has always been on their side. I am told 'no photos' and I respect this. On this Siberian night on the G. J., the shelter is warm, the windows steamed. A very small but brightly lit Christmas tree brightens the lounge. Wham's *Last Christmas* plays on the radio. It is a particularly busy night on the G.J., the women tell me it's the Christmas rush. I am offered hot chocolate by one of the women who tells me her children love hot chocolate at Christmastime. Suddenly, a woman bursts in and shouts 'WHITE MERCEDES, BIG FAT WHITE GUY, [LICENCE PLATE]' and another woman writes it down. This is how the women are looking out for one another, by recording the details of the clients cars. The register stays in the Keetje Shelter at all times and is meticulously kept by the women.
>
> (*HVV*, 1985a).

However, shortly after this article is published, two more prostitutes are murdered in the vicinity of the tippelzone. The killer at large is suspected to be the same person and is nicknamed 'the butcher of G. J. de Jonghweg' (*HVV*, 1986). As a result, the women begin to migrate in greater number back to the Middelland

district, to be in view of houses for their own safety, but this provokes the intensive community protest of the residents and increasingly combative measures. It is reported in the press that residents lay spikes to pop the tyres of kerb-crawlers and drug-dealers, and bag-up filled condoms, used syringes and human waste discarded in the neighbourhood to deposit on the steps of City Hall (*AD*, 1987). Yet, amidst the community protest, an empathetic narrative as to the lives of the prostitute women emerges. In a letter to the editor of the *HVV* dated 1989, one Middelland resident writes:

> I live in the middle of the neighbourhood [Middelland] and experience just about all the decay our district comes to bear since the decision was made to make G.J. de Jonghweg the tippelzone. But it has made me realise that someone else's misery much greater than my own is out there in the black of night. For the tippelzone to work, it must be made safe. This should have been the priority from the start. What did a member of the local council say in response to prostitutes taking clients into the bushes to finish? He jokes that less thorny shrubs can be planted for them. In those bushes women have been found hurt or dead. Maybe instead of planting less thorny shrubs, the municipality might plant forget-me-nots because their experiment with a toleration zone at G.J. has failed.
>
> (*HVV*, 1989).

Notwithstanding the expressed failings of the 'G.J tippelzone' in the broad public perspective, it remains active at G. J. de Jonghweg until 1994. On the same day of its official closure on a bleak winter's day [1st November], the 'red-light area' is relocated the very same day by the municipality to a disused harbour further west of the city as I explore in the next time-chapter of analysis. For now, this is to say that from 1994 onwards all traces of the 'red-light' life of G. J. de Jonghweg are erased in the major wave of gentrification that has eventually come to realise Witteveen's utopian ideal for the locality as I find in my ethnographic walk of the street in April 2023 as follows.

I begin my walk from the open air platform of the Euromast to look out over G. J. Jonghweg from 185 meters above. I do this because in the ten-years that the

tippelzone was active [1984-94], it seems so strange that the ‘red-light’ activity would have been visible from the observatory as one of Rotterdam’s major tourist attractions that (still is) accessible at night as the following images capture:

Fig.7.25., Euromast observatory from the ground (2023, own image).

Fig.7.26., approaching the open-air platform of the Euromast at 185m (2023, own image).

Fig.7.27., view over G. J. de Jonghweg from Euromast (2023, own image).

From the view over G. J. de Jonghweg from the Euromast above, I can see the GEB building at the far end and the campus alongside it, but the cluster of red-brick buildings in the foreground are 'new' to me from the images I have seen of G. J. de Jonghweg in the 1980s-90s period. I descend the Euromast, feeling slightly woozy as I am terrified of heights, and walk the short distance to G. J. de Jonghweg. At ground level, my immediate impression of the street is that I could be in Manhattan's west village district. The cluster of red-brick buildings are upmarket apartments, a quick google search tells me that it would take a lottery win to live here. I also find the apartment complex is known as 'Little C', and as the following image from the developer's website tells me it is designed to be 'an urban ensemble of modern utopia that has won architectural awards for urban design, sustainability, and the lifestyle that Little C radiates'[309]. The following view of Little C proudly features on the developer's website:

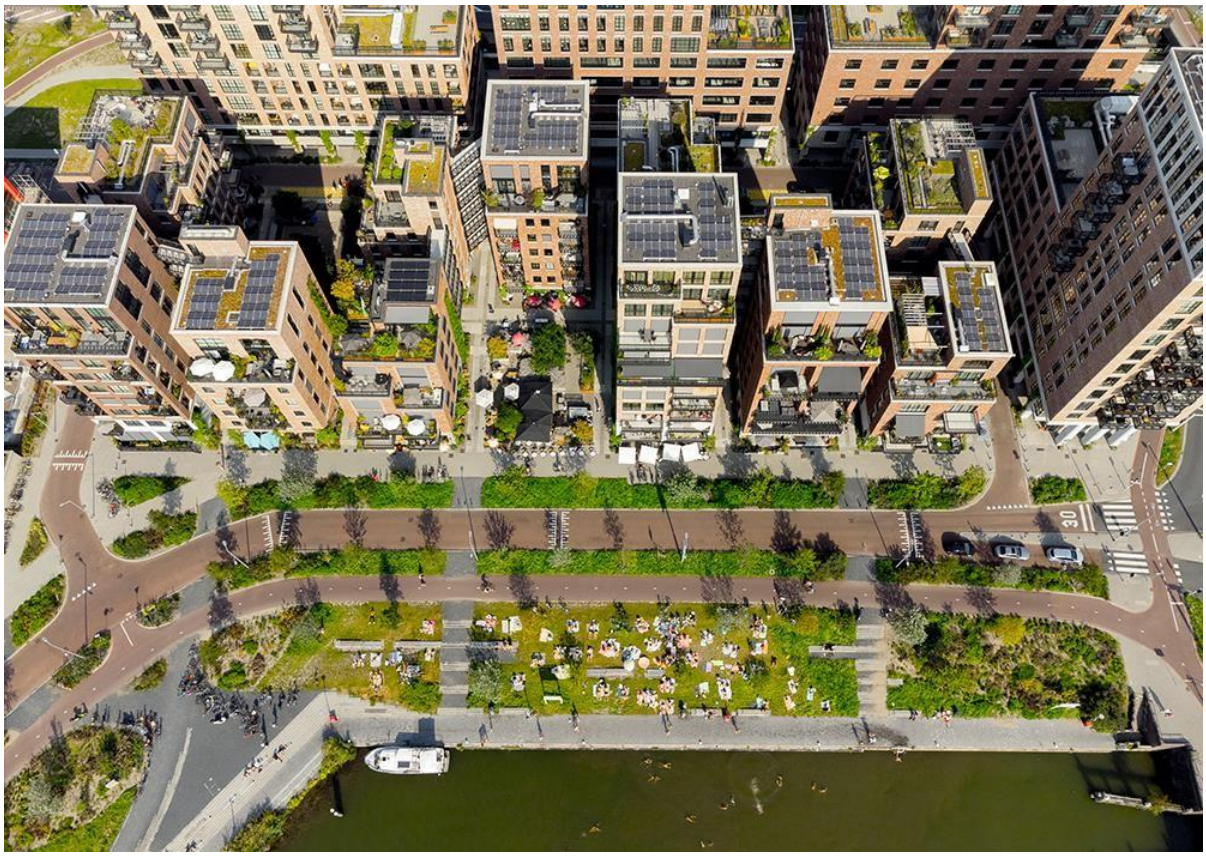

Fig.7.28., aerial view of 'Little C', G.J. de Jonghweg (2024).[310]

[309] *Little C*. See www.littlecoolhaven.nl. [Accessed 17th April 2023].
[310] Image courtesy of above.

As I walk northwards to the GEB building, I look longingly at the pavement patios of the ground floor apartments interspersed with pavement cafés; adorned with topiary in modernist pots and angelic statues. The scene sings of a lifestyle few can afford in the sense of something that you can look at as you walk by - but will never touch. I feel like I am watching peoples' lives through bricks and mortar.

Fig.7.29., pavement patios of 'Little C', G.J. de Jonghweg (2023, own images).

It is strange because the atmosphere is friendly at G. J. de Jonghweg; many people I pass smile and say ‘hallo’. But I still feel like I don’t belong here. It is perhaps not the price-tag of living here, but because I am walking in the footsteps of women who were once ‘placed’ here and told ‘this is where you work from, don’t cross the white lines’ – only to find themselves ‘spatially organised’ into a place where they endured violence and threat. Today, there is perhaps no safer place to be than here in G. J. de Jonghweg with its quiet village atmosphere of cafés and bursts of zesty green space overlooking a beautiful harbour scene.

But there is a lasting legacy that manifests when walking this living efficacy of green gentrification whilst carrying a visceral feeling of the fear this place once evoked in the women who walked here on those dark Siberian nights along the bitterly cold Coolhaven. That and the image of Talitha’s* dead body discarded just to the side where the pavement patio’s now lay. For when the prostitute women’s presence was no longer wanted here, when the ‘red-light zone’ was cleared to make way for ‘west village’ lifestyle of Little C, at some point car-width grass verges were planted between the pavement and the roadside. Arguably, the verges could be considered a safety feature, or an aesthetic parking prevention measure in keeping with the pleasant tone of the locale. But to me, the verges appear like a blockade that says ‘never again can prostitutes solicit here’ given the gulf between the pavement and the roadside. As the verges stretch the length of the street, they also reflect some form of memorial to me; for where those women walked, some like Talitha into their eternity, the wildflowers grow…

Fig.7.30, the green pavement verges of G. J. de Jonghweg (2023, own image).

Taking this sentiment with me as I leave G. J. de Jonghweg, this brings me to a close on this section on Rotterdam in the 1980s-90s period and to a summary of the findings of this chapter which follows overleaf.

Chapter summary

In this empirical chapter, I paid an analytic visit to Waterhouse Lane in Hull and to Rotterdam's G. J. de Jonghweg. A key finding from the outset is that both 'red-light' localities constituted the first 'official unofficial' tolerance zone of prostitution in the cities in the wider sample period [1880s-]. In Hull, the relocation of the 'red-light area' back into the city centre following the collapse of the fishing industry saw the materialisation of 'red-light' activity at Waterhouse Lane. In a sense, this was a return to Waterhouse Lane a hundred years on from its 'red-light' life in the late-Victorian period (chapter four). In Rotterdam, the erasure of prostitution from Katendrecht following heightened community protest and municipal plans to gentrify the Cape saw prostitution spread into the neighbourhoods of Rotterdam West, and as such the municipality designated G.J. de Jonghweg – albeit a stone's throw from the affected neighbourhoods – as the 'official unofficial' tolerance zone. The findings of this chapter show that in both Hull and Rotterdam, the containment of 'red-light' activity to Waterhouse Lane and G.J de Jonghweg provided the 'least worst solution' in keeping prostitution *away* from the city centre and from spreading out into numerous localities across the city centre in general.

However, the waves of urban transformation taking place during the heritage years of waterfront generation in the cities would see the erasure of the 'official unofficial toleration zone' in each city when the time came. In Hull, this came in the form of the development of Princes Quay shopping centre on dis-used Princes Dock, and in Rotterdam on the extensive gentrification of G.J de Jonghweg into an upgraded residential area that overlooks the Coolhaven like a green oasis. In a sense, living Witteveen's vision of the locale a hundred years on. This is not to forget that the moral geographies of 'the red-light area' are marked by drugs and the AIDS crisis in this time-chapter, owing to the wave of heroin – a hitherto unknown drug – being layered onto the stigma of prostitution. The connotations of 'drugs and disease' applied to the 'red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam respectively during the period arguably contributed to the erasure of prostitution from Waterhouse Lane and G.J de Jonghweg, through this would mean that the 'red-light area' would relocate, or be relocated, elsewhere in the city as I explore in the next and final empirical time-chapter.

Chapter Eight

Spatial analysis
part iv:

'the red-light area' in Hull and in Rotterdam
during the contemporary years of cultural placemaking
(2000s - 2020s)

A city isn't so unlike a person.
They both have the marks to show that they have many stories to tell.
They see many faces.
They tear things down and make new again.

Rasmenia Massoud, 2013.[311]

This chapter covers part iv of the analysis; the final empirical chapter in which I examine the spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam. In this time-chapter I observe the cities' primary 'red-light area' during the contemporary years of cultural placemaking during the 2000s-20s. There are many sociological themes that could inform the backdrop to this time-chapter, such as sustainability, social justice, or the implications of technology in the making of 'smart cities' – all of which are key themes (amongst many others) in the contemporary nexus of urban scholarship (see e.g., Broto and Westman, 2021; McKenna, 2022; El-Kayed and Blokland, 2024). However, in examining the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in the particular urban contexts of Hull and Rotterdam in recent years, the backdrop of cultural placemaking is critically important. Not least because the contemporary years in the urban biographies of Hull and Rotterdam are marked by the cities' respective attainment of City/Capital of Culture status [Hull in 2017 and Rotterdam in 2001][312]. In which case, observing the cities' primary 'red-light area'

[311] *Broken Abroad* (2013: 45).
[312] Hull was the second city to attain *UK City of Culture* status [2017] following the inaugural year of Derry-Londonderry in 2013. Hull was succeeded by Coventry [2021]. Rotterdam's *Capital of Culture*

alongside a heightened period of cultural placemaking enables me to connect the analysis of 'red-light' space against the cities' relational yet distinct shifts towards an urban evolution based on cultural consumption and social interaction in the urban efficacies of port heritage. This is important, not just to the case study of Hull and Rotterdam but in terms of reading contemporary cities in general; for as the eminent urban sociologist Sharon Zukin (1995) pre-empted:

> With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities - the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that cater to it fuels the city's symbolic economy, and its visible ability to produce both symbols and space.
>
> (p. 2).

To apply this to the particular urban contexts of Hull and Rotterdam, neither of the 'grey' port cities held much 'touristic' allure prior to their attainment of City/Capital of Culture status as authors have well-observed (Tommarchi and Bianchini, 2021 [Hull]; Richards and Wilson, 2004 [Rotterdam]). Though as I have found through my research of urban development in Hull and Rotterdam in the 2000s-20s, the abundance of City/Capital of Culture campaign material held in the respective city archives strongly emphasises the mirrored desires of the cities to improve their reputation to external audiences and weave themselves into the lucrative markets of art and culture and simultaneously reinvigorate the city's identity as a foundation to its future prosperity.[313] Accordingly in this time-chapter, I navigate the 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam against a backdrop of cultural placemaking; paying an analytic visit to Hessle Road, and to the Keileweg in Rotterdam. I firstly return to Hull.

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status [2001] was shared with Porto, Portugal. Proceeded by a collective nine European capitals in the millennium year of the long-running award, Rotterdam [and Porto] were succeeded by Bruges and Salamanca in 2002.

[313] *Our 2017* (2013-19). *HHC*, ref UCOC/1/1/11/22/5 [Hull]; *Rotterdam candidacy for Cultural Capital of Europe for 2001* (1997). *SMA,* ref XVIIG19 [Rotterdam].

In Hull, 2000s-2020s

On the dawning of the millennium, Hull is gearing-up to a significant era of urban transformation. The 2000s decade in Hull's urban history is marked by major urban regeneration projects. Substantial urban investments are made in projects including *The Deep* – the public aquarium and research centre which is also billed as the world's only submarium [2002] (*fig.8.1*), *St Stephen's* retail and leisure centre [2007] (*fig.8.2*), and *Hull Marina* which continues to be revitalised with new restaurants and apartments established in in the dis-used warehouse aesthetic of Dock Street today (*fig.8.3*). The following images attest to the feats of urban regeneration undertaken in Hull during the 2000s:

Fig.8.1., The Deep, Hull (2023).[314]

[314] Courtesy of *Visit Hull*, see www.visit.hull.org. [Accessed 4th January 2023].

Fig.8.2., St Stephen's, Hull (2023).[315]

Fig.8.3., The Marina, Hull (2023).[316]

[315] Courtesy of *Visit Hull*, see www.visit.hull.org. [Accessed 4th January 2023].
[316] As above.

Into the 2010s, the city leaders are pre-occupied with Hull's campaign bid for UK City of Culture which launched in 2013. It was a deeply sociological campaign that rested on Hull's deeply-rooted civic pride as 'a place apart' - and proved to be successful. Hull's year as UK City of Culture in 2017 marks a major turning point in the city's history, with Hull's sudden, unexpected presence in the world having generated substantial investments in the local infrastructure and economy. A key example of this is the £310 million investment into Alexandra Dock by the German-Spanish energy giant Siemens Gamesa which steered Hull's transition into a major 'green port' and a key location in the UK's offshore wind industry (Nicholas, 2019). Alongside this, Hull received a £30 million cash injection from the City of Culture coffers for investments in arts and cultural institutions (*ibid*.). From my own lived experience of Hull, there has been a significant growth in performance art venues between the 2000s and 2020s - such as the historically *avant garde* Hull Truck Theatre which was relocated from 'a backstreet' to a more prominent position (next to St Stephen's) in time for Hull's year as the UK City of Culture. Hull's Freedom Festival [established 2007] was also expanded in the 2010s to spread the annual arts and cultural festivities that commemorate the city's 'finest son' – abolitionist William Wilberforce – across the city over the course of a week as the image below depicts:

Fig,.8.4., scenes from the Freedom Festival, Hull (2021).[317]

[317] Courtesy of *Visit Hull*, see www.visit.hull.org. [Accessed 4th January 2023].

Into the 2020s, run-down areas of the city centre continue to be revitalised with one of the most recent upgrades being the regeneration of the dis-used Fruit Market into a vibrant cultural quarter of art galleries, independent shops and restaurants:

Fig.8.5., The Fruit Market, Hull (2023).[318]

As the above images reflect in their tone as much as their content, the city centre of Hull is increasingly a place of light and colour during the 2000s-20s period of observation. Notably, the above images are all taken from the *Visit Hull* website which I have purposely included to hit on the city's stepping into tourism markets.

[318] Courtesy of *Visit Hull*, see www.visit.hull.org. [Accessed 4th January 2023].

Meanwhile however, those who live and breathe the city can still see the areas that have fallen into decay behind the shadows of the illuminated façade that visitors see. This brings me to the temporary relocation of 'the red-light area' in the 2000s-20s period. On the displacement of 'the patch' from Waterhouse Lane to make way for Princes Quay shopping centre [1990s] as found in the previous time-chapter, 'red-light' activity migrates to the Thornton Estate which is not far from Waterhouse Lane and also the former, interwar 'red-light area' of Pease Street (chapter five). Situated along the arterial Anlaby Road opposite Hull Royal Infirmary, the Thornton Estate is a densely populated residential area. Thus when 'the red-light area' materialised there in the late-1990s, community protest quickly mobilised. Speaking to the *Hull Daily Mail* in 1998, a resident laments that people living on the higher floors endure 'a birds-eye-view' of prostitutes assembling and then 'finishing' in parked cars or in the open air of the communal grounds. The residents states that the entire block is suffering from the 'all night noise of kerb crawlers and drug dealers' that the prostitution attracts. Notably, this news report carries the head-line '*Hull's High-Rise of Hell'* (*HDM*, 1998d).

Where the 'red-light area' had been more hidden from view in the city's dis-used post-Industrial void of Waterhouse Lane, the migration of 'red-light' activity to the residential Thornton Estate has rendered prostitution entirely *visible*. Not least in prostitution's *physical* visibility to the residents of the estate and people in the high-rise hospital opposite, but in terms of making the *subject* of prostitution visible to the public via the local press' pre-occupation with prostitution taking place at the estate to a far lesser degree than was reported on Waterhouse Lane. The local press attention paid to prostitution at the Thornton Estate takes the reader on a narrative path of moral conflict that either signposts Hull's 'streets of fear' or the 'streets of shame' as follows.

'the streets of fear'

The 'streets of fear' narrative recurs in local news reports of the many occurrences of violence against women working as prostitutes at Thornton Estate which tells a dark story of sexual assaults (*HDM*, 1998g), rapes (*HDM*, 1999a, 2000), beatings

(*HDM*, 1999a, 1998g), suspicious death (*HDM*, 1998a), attempted murder (*HDM*, 2000), and separate cases of murder (*HDM*, 1998c/h/f). The increasing scale of violence against the women is reported with empathetic narratives of the women's vulnerability; of women "locked in a downward spiral because of drugs and whom live in a dangerous twilight world" (*HDM*, 1998d). On the number of 'prostitute killings' that have taken place at the Thornton Estate, a magistrate says:

> prostitutes are a particularly vulnerable group in our society, as we all tragically know. It is essential that they, as much as anyone else are protected.
>
> (*HDM*, 1998d).

'the streets of shame'

Running in a conflictive parallel [notably in the same publication (*Hull Daily Mail*)], the 'streets of shame' narrative recurs in reports on the 'nuisance' and 'criminality' of prostitutes at Thornton Estate; involving reports of the prostitutes drug-dealing (*HDM*, 1998a, 2000b) and burgling the flats (*HDM*, 1998d). The local press is also quick to point out that the first people in Hull to be sanctioned with an ASBO [Anti-Social Behaviour Order] under the national *Crime and Disorder Act* 1998 [s.1] are prostitutes at the Thornton Estate (*HDM*, 2003a). Collectively, the narrative of 'shame' projects the 'threat' of the prostitute figure (as opposed to a 'vulnerable' figure), with the presence of prostitutes said to have plunged the estate into social misery as the following resident states:

> It's just misery, absolute misery. I'm scared to leave my flat, I've been threatened by several of the prostitutes. One told me to 'mind my handbag' and laughed. I'm scared to go out in case they come into my flat. They robbed my elderly neighbour's flat while he was at a doctor's appointment. I can't have my grandchildren over. I can't live like this.
>
> (*HDM*, 1998d).

The same resident rhetorically asks, “when Waterhouse [Lane] got shut down by those idiots at the council, where did they think the prostitutes were going to go? Poof! Into thin air?! They were never just going to go away where they? Was there no contingency plan?” (*HDM*, 1998i). In all, the scale of neighbourhood complaint regarding the materialisation of ‘red-light’ activity at Thornton Estate alongside the scale of criminality carried out by or upon prostitute women operating from there sets in motion a coalition approach to erasing prostitution from the locality. There is a heightened police presence to the extent of a mounted patrol and the estate is chosen – through its reputation for prostitution and associated criminality – as the national pilot for a groundbreaking CCTV system (*HDM*, 2000d). In this news item on the CCTV system, the journalist writes that the city leaders have given the pilot CCTV scheme their wholehearted backing in the interests of the residents, and in the hope that it will rid the estate of prostitution by means of ‘camera-shy punters’ (*ibid*.). Furthermore, the Mayor is quoted as saying, “I am confident that the pilot surveillance covering the entire estate will serve the residents well, and the city in general as it will remedy the negative image of Hull as an isolated city plagued by prostitution” (*ibid*). Ultimately, the CCTV scheme appears to have an effect as in the early 2000s the ‘red-light area’ relocates to what was once the spiritual home of the fishing community: Hessle Road.

Hessle Road

Hessle Road is a busy arterial road leading to and from the west of the city centre. Hessle Road has historically served as a traditional shopping district with numerous residential off-streets comprised of aged terraced housing and newer maisonettes spanning its five miles. The following images indicate Hessle Road’s location on the city map, and a view of Hessle Road:

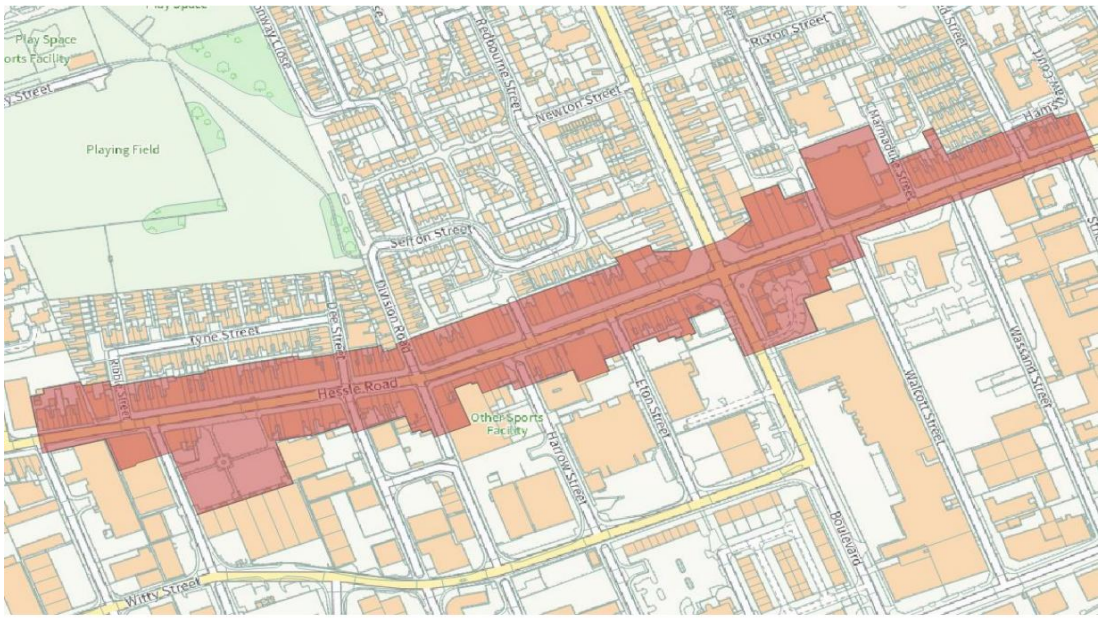


Fig.8.6., location of Hessle Road (shaded red) (2024).[319]

Fig.8.7., view of Hessle Road, junction with Dee Street (2024, own image).

[319] *Hessle Road Character Appraisal and Management Plan*, Hull City Council (2024). Available at www.ehq-production-europe. [Accessed 27th December 2024].

Located in the St Andrew's and Docklands electoral ward, the 'quasi-district' of Hessle Road was the spiritual heart of Hull's fishing community for centuries and generations until the collapse of Hull's fishing industry in the 1970s (Gill, 2013). Still today, many citizens of Hull – including those not even attached to the ghost of the fishing community by blood – consider Hessle Road to be hallowed ground; a place steeped in folklore, superstitions born of the sea, and a particular way of life that only the hardiest of Hull's fishing folk understood (*ibid*.). The spiritual sentiments still attached to the Hessle Road area are inscribed in street art on many of its surviving buildings and the following photographs attest:

Fig.8.8., St Andrew's Ward Mural, Hessle Road (2023, own image).

Fig.8.9., fisherman's mural at the Halfway Tavern, Hessle Road (2023, own image).

While the seafaring life of Hessle Road is now only a memory, emotive reflections of Hessle Road's fishing legacy continue to feature prominently in *Fishing News*, a national weekly newspaper which has been the voice of the fishing industry since 1913.[320] Similarly, the Hull-born photographer Alec Gill, himself a son of Hessle Road, has published many books and given many talks on the by-gone life of the area – not least to keep the memory of Hessle Road alive, but in the sense of being committed to a lifelong project on something or *somewhere* that he cannot let go of (see Gill, 1987, 1991, 2013; 2020). In these texts, Gill uses his evocative black and white photographs of everyday life in Hessle Road during the 1970s to communicate 'the spiritual backbone of Hull' in all its grit and rawness. Gill's photography is strictly

[320] See www.fishingnews.co.uk [Accessed 22nd March 2023].

copyrighted so I am unable to include it here, but a digital archive of his work relating to Hessle Road is available online.[321]

On the collapse of the fishing industry in the 1970s many of the off-street terraces were demolished to make way for maisonettes though much of the 'mainframe' of Hessle Road still stands. As an aging and 'lost' landscape, Hessle Road stagnated as urban regeneration schema was undertaken in the city centre during the 2000s-2020s as outlined in the opening of this section. And as the coalition approach of the police and local authorities cleared prostitution from Thornton Estate, the 'red-light area' relocated (or was arguably pushed) out of the city centre to the stagnating and untouched landscape of Hessle Road. Thus while many people in Hull still think of Hessle Road as a standing memoriam of Hull's lost fishing community, in the 2000s onwards Hessle Road became more known to both internal and external audiences as 'prostitution central' (*HDM*, 2012).

In the years that 'the red-light area' became established at Hessle Road in the mid-2000s onwards, a *Hull City Council* Housing Report (2008) characterises the entirety of Hessle Road as 'a severely deprived area' (para.3-4). Coinciding with this, the spatial distribution of female street-based prostitution is not confined to a particular 'zone' but spreads the span of Hessle Road's five miles according to a local news report in the *Hull Daily Mail* dated 2014 (*HDM*, 2014). In this news report, the details of Humberside Police report are cited to underpin the article's ament that between 2006 and 2008 the vehicles of some 10,000 known kerb-crawlers were logged by officers on a monthly basis in Hessle Road (*ibid*.). To have been logging the said vehicles, it could be that the police were seeking to combat the prostitution in the locale as they did when the city leaders finally needed prostitution clearing from Waterhouse Lane in the 1990s (chapter seven). I have found no evidence of a police operation to support this, but nevertheless the idea that *10,000* 'punters' visit Hessle Road on a monthly basis gives to the sense of the intensified scale of prostitution in the area. Further reinforcing the idea of five-mile Hessle Road becoming 'prostitution central', the local press speak to local residents. One resident describes the scene as 'chaotic', and a massive impact on the quality of life with used condoms and used, uncapped syringes littering the pavement. In his lament, the same resident also

[321] See www.alecgillhessleroadphotoarchivebook.com. [Accessed 4th April 2023].

paints a disturbing image of prostitutes having sex up against resident's windowsills and using the front gardens as toilets – which "the bairns [children] are having to see every night from their bedroom windows" *(HDM,* 2014). In this shocking article, another resident corroborates all of the above and elaborates that it is happening by night and *day*. The resident is a male parent who says that when pulling up to the traffic lights at the end of his road whilst on the school-run, there have been several occasions when prostitutes have physically opened the car door offering all manner of sexual services *(ibid.*).

On the grounds of the escalating impact of 'red-light' activity on the quality of life in the Hessle Road area, *Hull City Council* had established a committee to 'get to grips' with the situation as early as 2008. In the first strategy report of the committee dated 2008, it is documented that around 90% of the 300 women working as prostitutes at Hessle Road on a daily and nightly basis are impoverished and/or victims of drug and alcohol addictions (para.3.5.2). For such reasons, the committee's early approach is an ameliorative one that seeks to support the women out of poverty and addiction in conjunction with the Lighthouse Outreach Project – a local body which facilitates a solely female patrol of the Hessle Road area for the support and safety of prostitute women.[322] In 2012, a local [female] journalist accompanies a Lighthouse outreach worker on a nightly patrol of Hessle Road who tells the journalist the following:

> these women are trapped in an inexorable cycle of poverty, abuse, exploitation, low self-esteem and despair. Many women who are new to prostitution are taking to the area as a means to clothe and feed their children.
>
> *(HDM,* 2012).

However, around the same time local residents come forward to spell out to the press the intolerable situation of used condoms, needles, human defecation and sex in people's front gardens [2014], there is a noticeable shift in the city council committee's ameliorative stance on Hessle Road prostitutes. In a report dated 2014, there is far less empathy for the women and more outrage on behalf of the

[322] See www.hulllighthouseproject.co.uk [Accessed 26th July 2024].

residents. In the major concern for the wellbeing and quality of life of Hessle Road residents that emerges in the report, it is unanimously agreed that infrastructural change would be the best course of action to erasing prostitution from the area. That is, through 'the sealing-off of side-streets at one end' to prevent accessibility for kerb-crawlers (para.2.2.4). It is also stated in the report that the committee will work in conjunction with Humberside Police (almost u-turning from the Lighthouse Project) to support police initiatives to remove prostitutes from Hessle Road once and for all. The shift of the committee from ameliorative to combative resonates in the Chief of Humberside Police's statement to the local press the same year:

> Previously, we have treated prostitutes under one category as victims, but it is no longer a black-and-white issue. For the sake of the residents of Hessle Road, we will be using heavier enforcement tactics from now on.
>
> *(HDM,* 2014a).

The Chief Constable's statement on the use of heavier enforcement tactics comes on the back of the report in the same article that five sex workers who work from Hessle Road (three sisters who are the nieces of a 'notorious' Hull prostitute according to the article), have been sanctioned with ASBO's and 'ordered out of Hessle Road' in 'one clean sweep' (*ibid*.). It is unclear as to how effective such sanctions have been given that just one month later in the December of 2014, Hull becomes the only city in the UK to be granted emergency powers of spatial injunction under the *Local Government Act* 1972 [s.222] to legally exclude female prostitutes from the Hessle Road area (*HDM*, 2014e). Specifically, the injunction is intended to prevent the women from:

> loitering or soliciting for prostitution, approaching pedestrians, drivers or passengers for the purposes of prostitution, and having sexual intercourse and urinating, defecating or exposing oneself towards members of the public.
>
> (s.222, *Local Government Act* 1972).

Alongside the powers of spatial injunction, a heightened police presence is placed in Hessle Road by night and day to carry out on the spot 'arrest and conviction' tactics on 'known prostitutes' in the locality of Hessle Road (*HDM*, 2014c). It is notable however that the sudden scale of such enforcement tactics, alongside the council committee's narrative shift towards removing the 'nuisance' as opposed to the 'victimhood' of prostitutes, comes just weeks after it is announced that Hull's campaign bid to become UK City of Culture has been successful. And coinciding with Hull's optimistic preparations for the City of Culture year that is set to 'raise the wreckage of Hull from the depths', the s.222 powers of spatial injunction are renewed in 2016 (*HDM*, 2016).

To external audiences, the news that *Hull* is to be UK City of Culture 2017 is met with mockery, confusion and shock as 'a place known only for remoteness and decay' (Nicholas, 2019). And in getting a feel for 'Hull' in the run-up to the City of Culture year, national journalists descend – but make a point of going to Hessle Road as the street Hull has garnered national notoriety for having been the only city in the UK to be granted emergency powers of spatial powers of injunction for its 'major prostitution problem' (*ibid.*). A London-based reporter for the BBC visits Hessle Road and speaks to women who are still working as prostitutes in the area in the face of the s.222 injunction. Prior to interviewing the women, the reporter speaks to a police officer to advise her on what he is doing (i.e., not looking to purchase sex). The police officer forewarns him, "okay, but be careful, this isn't *Pretty Woman* I'm afraid" (*BBC*, 2017). The London journalist stumbles upon Millie*, a sex worker standing by the fisherman's mural, who agrees to speak with him providing he ensures her anonymity [Millie* is the pseudonym given in the article]. Millie tells him that she is still working from here [Hessle Road] because, in short, the injunction doesn't work. For one thing, Millie says, many of the 'toms' [prostitutes] live in the Hessle Road area, thus it would be difficult to ban women from the street they live on. And secondly, and Millie poignantly points out:

> Generation after generation of women from the fishing families have worked Hull's streets. Back then they called us 'unfortunates'. They call us different names now, horrible names, but we are a part of Hull and always will be. They can't send me away from Hessle Road, it's the only place I've ever known. (*ibid*).

The BBC article cited above reads as if the London journalist came to find fault in Hull's 'prostitution problem', but instead found something do much deeper lying beneath – a generational tale. Though while this article projects a sensitive (if unexpected) narrative of prostitution as a historically embedded culture of Hull, a reporter for the national tabloid *The Sun* (2017) continues with the jeering narrative that in a sense says, *how the hell can Hull be UK City of Culture with a prostitution crisis on its hands?*:

> If we are going to take the time to go to Hell (sorry, Hull) to see the so-called "city of culture", which culture are will they be showing us exactly? The real one, the prostitution crisis on its beloved Hessle Road, or the staged one, with a shopping centre on stilts in an old dock, or a rusty old trawler that hasn't seen the sea for decades for us to marvel at? Will the streets be lined with prostitutes waving fish-themed bunting of misery to greet us? I'd give it a swerve.
>
> (*ibid*.).

Following the attempts to erase prostitution from Hessle Road through the greater enforcement tactics of the police and landmark legislation, and whether such task-forces were mobilised to protect Hull's reputation during the City of Culture events, the spatial scale of 'the red-light area' at Hessle Road did being to wane towards the 2020s. During a walking conversation with Alex*, an emergency services worker who has lived in Hull all his life, we walk along Hessle Road. The purpose of leading our walk to Hessle Road, Alex tells me, is to show me the exterior of some abandoned buildings as he is a keen urban explorer in his spare time. Standing outside a long-derelict shop, Alex gets on to the subject of prostitution as he says it was hard to do any urban exploring of Hessle Road until recently through fear that the police might mistake him for a 'punter'. On the recent history of 'the red-light area' at Hessle Road, Alex says:

> It was rife down here not that long ago, the sex work. I'd see it all, especially on a night shift. I remember one time I was parked up in the van [ambulance], doing some paperwork after a job down here, and a sex worker started banging on the window. She was so frantic we thought she was hurt or needed help. I wound the window down

> and she asked me if I was looking for a turn [sex]. She clocked that my crew mate was female and said 'sorry darlin', didn't see you there', but then looked back at me as if to say…well are you interested? I'll never forget that. I felt for her. But it's quieter down here now. You still see the odd sex worker down the darker end from time to time, but I suppose the internet has taken over now.[323]

The idea that it was the internet that erased the reason for the 'red-light area' in Hessle Road (and 'red-light areas' in general) resonates with the findings of sex work research on the shift of sex work from the public to the private (e.g., digital) space (Jones, 2015; Sanders *et al*., 2017). In relation to Hull, the shift towards the operation of sex work via the internet reflects in the gradual dispersal of 'the red-light area' as more and more sex venues crop up all over the city. Discreetly billed as massage parlours that provide full sexual services according to the small print on their websites, regulated sex venues such as *Discretion*, *Seductions*, *Angels*, and *Amor* advertise online with illustrated profiles of sex workers and provide an online booking service. These venues offer 'full sexual services in private, clean bedrooms with bathroom and wash facilities, towels and refreshments'. Details of where to discreetly park are given to the client upon booking. In a *Hull Live* article dated 2023, a journalist visits the given establishments and provides insight as to how Hull's sex venues have erased the need for a 'red-light area' in the city:

> [The sex venues] are found on industrial parks, in backstreets, or in some cases on Hull's busiest streets. The frontages are dark and discreet, like a nightclub, or an Ann Summers shop that just doesn't raise any eyebrows any more with its chain-store presence in most cities. Online, which is a choice to look at and not something 'just there' in public view, the venues are explicit about what is on offer: Sex. The sex workers profiles range the scantily-clad to costumes to evening wear. Some show their faces, some don't. But each of the profiles is clear about what sexual acts the woman is happy to engage in for a ballpark fee.
>
> There are strict codes of conduct. Drug-use is not permitted on the premises, and panic buttons are installed in every room. So while these 'massage' parlours teeter on the edge of illegality, they are providing a safe space for sex workers which is better than them taking their chances out on the street. The manager of one of the

[323] Fieldnotes: walking with Alex*, Friday 27th January 2023.

> venues, a former sex worker herself, says there is little demand for street prostitution anymore given that the parlour is busy 24/7. One of the major selling points is that men can visit in their lunch hour to avoid suspicion at home or risk their vehicle being recognised in a red-light area. The presence (and popularity) of sex venues in our city may not be to everyone's liking, but there is a certain morality to these establishments having directed sexual commerce out of public view.
>
> (*HL*, 2023).

And so as the proverbial 'red-lights' fade on Hessle Road, Hull's last known 'red-light area' (at the time of writing), I now return to Rotterdam to explore the spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' during the 2000s-20s period of observation.

<u>In Rotterdam, 2000s-2020s</u>

As Rotterdam sees in the millennium, the city leaders continue the post-War reconstruction legacy of Rotterdam through ever changing and advancing urban schema that melds post-Industrial port heritage with contemporary innovations in urban design (Tilman, 2023). Bold projects such as the residential Montevideo Tower [2005] (*fig.8.10*., overleaf) and De Rotterdam office buildings [2009] – aka 'Frankinstein's Muddle' (*fig.8.11*., overleaf) – punch the skyline and attest to the rise of Rotterdam into a 'Manhattan on the Maas' (Tillie *et al*., 2016).

Fig.8.10., the Montevideo Tower, Rotterdam (2023).[324]

Fig.8.11., De Rotterdam cluster, Rotterdam (2023).[325]

[324] Courtesy of developer's website. See www.www.mecanoo.nl/project/33/Montevideo/Tower. [Accessed 12th August 2023].
[325] Courtesy of developer's website. See molsbergendevelopment.com/DeRotterdam. [Accessed 12th August 2023].

In addition to the building-up of Rotterdam's skyline, an increased emphasis on sustainability and adaptive re-purposing of urban space and structures is a core focus of the contemporary urban planning and development schema of Rotterdam during the 2000s-20s period that observes the importance of 'green space' with the quality of life and liveability in the metropolis (Tilman, 2023). This is to the extent that the world's first floating farm was completed in Rotterdam in 2018 by local developers Beladon; and is where a heard of Meuse-Rhine-Issel cows are milked by robots on the floating grassland of Merwehaven harbour (*BBC*, 2018).

Economically, Rotterdam's port commerce is soaring. Still the largest port in the world outside of Europe, there is a major shift from heavy-duty industry to energy innovation and logistics in Rotterdam during the 2000s; a shift accelerated on the construction of Maasvlakte 2 power plant in the 2010s through land reclamation which constitutes a major expansion of the port area *into* the North Sea (see van Ledden *et al*., 2008). Around the same time, major infrastructural investments are made in Rotterdam's transport systems with Centraal Station undergoing a major renovation project in the late-2000s alongside continued improvements to public space, cycle lanes and pedestrianised zones (de Rooi, 2012: 112).

Culturally, Rotterdam in the early-2000s leans more and more into its identity as a superdiverse, multicultural city comprised of over 170 nationalities. This is marked on the landscape through monuments to migration and the addition of QR codes to street name signs which provides information on the street name as a means to acknowledge and move forward from the city's colonial past (de Rooi, 2012: 114). In the city, urban areas with the deepest colonial affiliations (by name) are subject to particularly poignant processes of regeneration. Such as Witte de Withstraat, a street named after Witte de With who was a local naval officer and slave trader in the seventeenth-century. As the following image shows, the transition of Witte de Withstraat, known locally as 'With', into a 'hipster' street of arts, food and nightlife confronts Rotterdam's colonial past through cultural signate and symbolism that illuminates the world 'Zwart' [Black] on the street's tree canopied ceiling:

Fig.8.12.., Witte de Withstraat, Rotterdam (2023).[326]

Furthermore, following Rotterdam's year as European Capital of Culture 2001 the International Film Festival Rotterdam [IFFR] surges in significance amongst global film-making circles and cultures, and the prestigious North Sea Jazz Festival is permanently relocated to Rotterdam in 2006 (van Ulzen, 2007). Thus, into the 2010-20s, Rotterdam has laid the foundations of its future-facing identity as one of the most dynamic urban centres in Europe; with its bold architecture, thriving port economies, cultural growth and social complexity (Harteveld, 2021). However, at the same time Rotterdam still struggles to navigate the challenges of integration in broader terms of youth unemployment, the gender pay gap, and fierce debates on immigration and multiculturalism in the wake of the assassination of the Rotterdam

[326] Courtesy of *Inside Rotterdam* (2023).

politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002 (*ibid*.). And arguably standing as a glaring beacon of the social problems that continue manifest in the utopian urban transformations of Rotterdam for widescale reasons, one of the most controversial 'red-light areas' in Rotterdam's 'living' history emerges as I now examine in an analytic visit of the Keileweg.

Keileweg

Keileweg is a road that runs around 800 meters long with an L-bend to the southern aspect. As the map below indicates, Keileweg is situated on the Nieuwe Mathenesse industrial and business park and contours the dis-used Keilehaven [harbour] on the farthest westerly edge of the city:

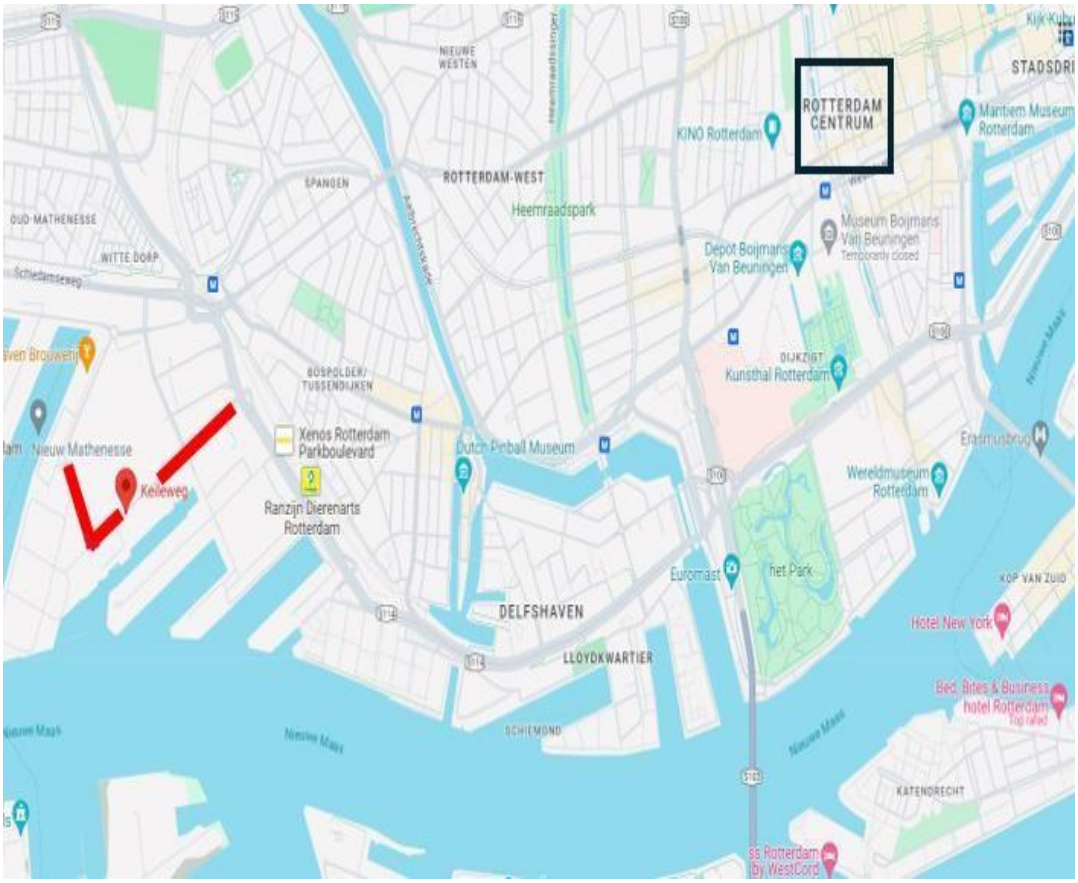


Fig.8.13., location of the Keileweg on the western margins of the city centre (2023).[327]

[327] Google maps [2023]; Keileweg indicated in red by candidate.

In my research of the shifting geography of the ‘red-light area’ in Rotterdam across the wider sample period of the 1880s-2020s, the Keileweg stood out from the outset; not least as the most recent and last known ‘red-light area’ of Rotterdam, but through the way in which it came to *be*. On the closure of the former ‘tippelzone’ [toleration zone] at G.J de Jonghweg on 1st November 1994 (chapter seven), the municipality relocated the ‘red-light area’ to Keileweg the very same day. The following image provides a view of Keileweg today for visual context:

Fig.8.14., view down the Keileweg from the north junction (2023, own image).

On the day the 'red-light area' was relocated from G.J de Jonghweg to Keileweg, a reporter from Rotterdam's leading socialist newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* [HVV] is on the scene – just as *HVV* reporters had been emerged in the 'red-light' life of former sites at Katendrecht and G.J de Jonghweg. Observing the clearance of the 'red-light' furniture of G.J de Jonghweg on the morning of 1st November 1994, the *HV* reporter describes the Keetje Shelter (support shelter) being frantically dismantled by outreach workers along with the street clock that had been installed for women working as prostitutes at G.J de Jonghweg to best remember when they had been victims of violence. The HV reporter tries to speak to an outreach worker tasked with the unbuilding of the Keetje Shelter, but whom tells him "I can't stop and talk, we need all this over at the new place as soon as possible, it's cold and it's going to rain tonight" (*HVV*, 1994a). The 'new place' at Keileweg is due to open at 6pm that night, the reporter states, and the municipality have organised shuttle busses to transport the sex workers of G. J. de Jonghweg to the Keileweg for the first week. The reporter is told by municipal leaders at the scene that this is to enable the women time to work out their own transport arrangements out to the Keileweg, but the reporter expressly suspects, the shuttle buses have been laid on to ensure that the women *go* (*ibid*.).

The provision of free shuttle buses to transport the sex workers from one site to another on the same day in November 1994 illustrates the distance of Keileweg. As I found through my walking research, the Keileweg couldn't be any further out of the city – or *away* from the city centre – if the municipality tried. The distance of Keileweg from the city centre is not lost on the reporter in the HV article above in both locational and social contexts. As the reporter writes, the municipality have designated Keileweg as the new 'tippelzone' on the locational grounds that it is in an industrial area which is non-residential, and with many of the factories, offices and plants based there being unused at night. But, the reporter writes, it is very difficult to negate that a fundamental part of the decision-making process that has seen the relocation of the tippelzone to Keileweg is because Keileweg – by night – is as far from 'human life' as one could possible get (*HVV*, 1994a).

During my fieldwork, I met participant Dora* who is an outreach worker and self-identified sex worker based in Rotterdam. Before undertaking walking research with Dora, I spent a day with her at the outreach office. Through the time Dora kindly afforded me as part of my research, I was able to obtain the following image of the active 'red-light area' of Keileweg taken in the c.2000s:

Fig.8.15., vehicular entrance to the 'red-light' space at Keileweg (c2000) *with the mural by Lydia Schouten just visible to the left.*[328]

Through this image, Dora signposted me to the exact location of the 'red-light' site at Keileweg, which was in the grounds of a dis-used municipal building at the north end of the street [26-28 Keileweg]. But as we looked over the image together, in a reflective hour of photo elicitation, we were drawn to different aspects. Dora was drawn to the red fairy lights that adorn the fencing that, she felt, gives the site an enticing glow, like an entrance to 'sexy theme park'.[329] Dora does not say this in

[328] Courtesy of Humanitas Prostitution Rotterdam.
[329] Conversation with Dora*, 14th April 2023.

jest but in a reflective tone of worry (bordering on anger) for she knows 'the truth' of Keileweg which I will come to in due course. Back to the photograph, I was drawn to the well-organised one-way system leading into the site, to which Dora said, "Oh my god yes, you have reminded me, it was known as 'the loop', super convenient I'm sure."[330] There is also a striking feature of the image that jumped out at me. The point at which Dora and I were looking at the photograph in the office together, I had not been to Keileweg. But I said to Dora, "there is something so familiar in this picture, I know this place, but I don't know why." I strained my eyes looking at the grainy image, and then it hit me. On the building to the left in image is the ghostly face of a woman in a picture staring back at us. "It's that", I said to Dora, "that picture, I have seen it before." Dora ran into the storeroom and came back with a magnifying glass, why they had one I don't know. On a clearer view of the woman's face in the picture, I pulled out my notebook and skimmed the pages – and there it was.

I *had* seen the mural before. It was during my walking conversation with local history student and tour guide Mieke* a year earlier in February 2002 that led to Witte de Withstraat. Meike led our walk to 'With' to point out the exciting cultural regeneration of the street as a place he enjoys with friends. As we walked along 'With', I was drawn to a picture hung high on an exterior wall of an art gallery on the corner of Witte de Withstraat and Eendrachtsstraat. Whilst Meike had not pointed out the art work, and it was not a part of our conversation, I asked him if he would mind if I stopped to take a quick photograph because while I could not understand the text in English, the image meant *something*. The photograph I took that day is as follows:

[330] As note 329.

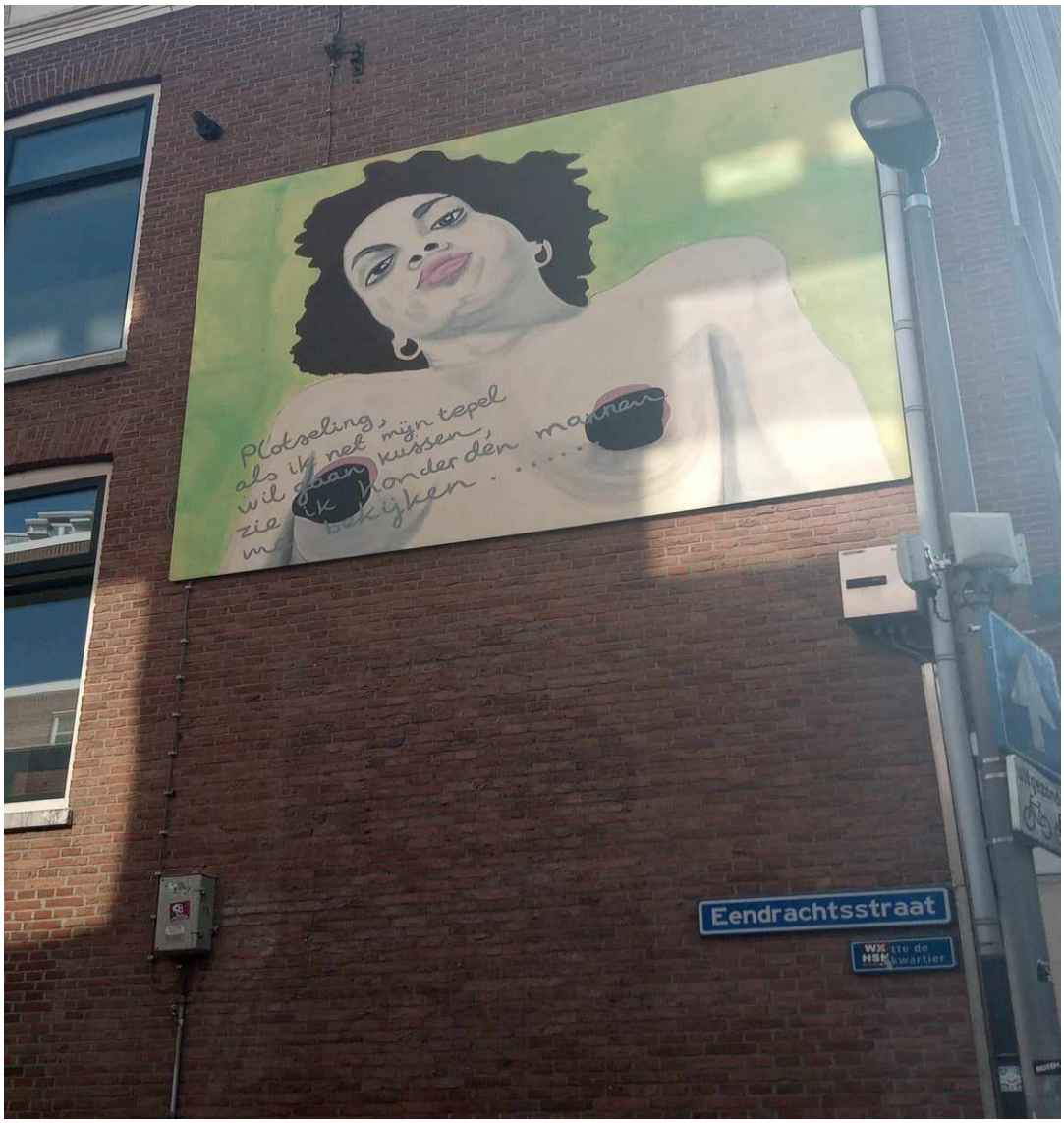


Fig.8.16., artwork by Lydia Schouten, corner of Witte de Withstraat and Eendrachtsstraat (2024, own image).

Meike looked up at the image and commented on the picture, saying he must have walked past it a thousand times and never really noticed it. He asked me, "you know what the words mean, right?" with a tentative smile. I admitted that I did not, and Meike kindly translated. The works in the art work read in English, ""*suddenly, just as I'm about to kiss my nipple, I see hundreds of men touching me*…"[331]

[331] Walking conversation with Meike, 25th February 2022.

Bringing us back into the moment that I am looking at the photograph of Keileweg with Dora in April 2023, I realised that this very art work was once hung at 'the red-light area'. Dora and I 'googled' the art work to confirm that artist Lydia Scouten had donated the piece to Keileweg in solidarity with sex workers. And that on the closure of Keileweg [2005], someone salvaged it and took it to the art gallery at 'With' where it has hung since.[332]

To rewind back to the active years of 'the red-light area' at Keileweg between 1994 and 2005, it is significant that the majority of material relating to the Keileweg site held in the local archives are under embargo. For it is still in living memory that the site was active. As such, the majority of my data collection on the 'red-light' contexts of Keileweg comes from local newspaper resources. As anticipated, I found a flurry of articles covering the 'opening' of the 'new' tippelzone at Keileweg in 1994 which drift between narratives of sensationalism and what bluntly falls in the realm of public interest. At the mid-way point of Keileweg's operational years as 'the red-light area' however, the local press coverage is found to focus on the major 'drug problem' emerging at the site as opposed to any such moral conflict around the practice of prostitution but which nevertheless results in the dominant narratives of 'a deathly environment' infused in local press coverage of the site. This correlates with all that Dora told me of Keileweg in advance of my walking ethnography there. During my day at the outreach office, Dora informed me from files kept that around 80-100 prostitutes worked at Keileweg each night, of which 90% were drug addicted.[333]

Dora elaborates that the Keetje Shelter (reconstructed at Keileweg) went from the basic provision of condoms and sanitary products to clean needles which caused a conflict amongst the outreach workers on the fine-line between safeguarding the prostitutes and *enabling* their addictions. However, there was also the underlying thought that the women would use needles anyway, so better to have clean ones. Furthermore, a stipulation of the municipality handing over their dis-used site at Keileweg for the purpose of prostitution was that it was to be under the constant supervision of [male] guards whose role it was to keep order. Dora says that this

[332] *Keileweg mural*. See www.lydiaschouten.com. [Accessed 15th April 2023].
[333] Conversation with Dora*, 14th April 2023.

seems reasonable on the surface, in that it guarded the women from violent men, but, she says sorrowfully, it meant something far worse. In the Keetje Shelter, Dora says, there were toilets and showers but there was no privacy glass to either for safety reasons given the drug-use of the majority of sex workers at Keileweg. This meant that when the women used the toilet or shower, it was in the full view of the male guards whom, outreach workers observed, clearly enjoyed and jeered at the view.[334] And on this note, Dora revisits with me her observations on the 'red fairy light façade' that hid the dark depths of Keileweg – a sense I had already felt through my archival research of Keileweg prior to my day with Dora as follows.

An article in the national Dutch newspaper *Nederlands Dagblad* dated 1994 which covered the imminent opening of the 'red-light area' at Rotterdam's Keileweg was quick to sit in an almost mocking moral agreement with the locational contexts:

> On a former industrial and decaying site, aptly marked by a tall red-brick chimney, the next new tippelzone of Rotterdam is sandwiched between a dead port-arm, a slow business area - and a good chunk of civilisation.
>
> (*ND*, 1994).

The above article also includes photographs of the purposed site in the afternoon of 1st November 1994 – in the hours just before it went into operation. This image (*fig.8.17*, overleaf) shows the final touches being made to the 'finishing stations' where 'punters' will be, in a matter of hours from the moment the photograph was taken, park up to have sex with prostitutes in privacy. The finishing stations, as the image shows, are situated behind the sheltered walkway where the women will be standing, lining 'the loop':

[334] Conversation with Dora*, 14th April 2023.

Fig.8.17., the finishing stations behind sheltered walkway at Keileweg (1994).[335]

During the same afternoon, *HVV* reporters are also on the scene to bear witness to the 'red-light' life of Rotterdam that the publication has long emersed itself in as I have found in the previous time-chapters. The *HVV* reporter on scene provides the following account:

> A man in a yellow vest sweeps up leaves from around the blue iron gate of the site and says, "well, everything is ready, now let's wait and see if the girls are happy too. Because it's very quiet here. It's a bit of a weird environment, isn't it?" The plot Keileweg 26-28 in Rotterdam-West is preparing for the arrival of about 80 prostitutes by shuttle busses organised by the [municipality]. In the middle of the site and on the sides, 20 trees have recently been planted to brighten up this gloomy place. But the red chimney, up to 60 meters high, affected by wind and rain wins out over the bare greenery. Without

[335] In *ND,* 1994.

> speeches or flowers, the women will be transported to their new place around six tonight. Driven out of the city by shuttle bus, and left to the gloom of this desolate place.
>
> (*HVV*, 1994b).

The projected sense of the 'gloom' of Keileweg by the HVV reporter above seems to resonate with Dora's demeanour. I notice during my day with Dora at the outreach office that when we talk of the former 'red-light areas' locked in the city's past, from the Zandstraat, to the Schiedamsedijk, to Katendrecht and on to G.J de Jonghweg, Dora talks easily. But when we speak of Keileweg, a grave expression falls on her beautiful face. As the day we spent together went on, I came to realise why. The reason the Keileweg site 'just had to be shut down in the end', as Dora put is, is because of the harm 'the dark and drugged environment' as she calls it, on 'the shadows of the city' did to the women:

> It [Keileweg] was probably the perfect place for the municipality, as far away as it could be from the city centre. But as much as Keileweg was placed under close supervision, it was too far from the city for people to see its harmful effects. Outreach workers were so sad, feeling that they were somewhere in between helping the women and watching them fall into deathly decline. When they finally shut Keileweg down [2005], a lot of the women were placed into psychiatric care. Some of them are still there [in psychiatric care] to this day.[336]

Because of the deeply-rooted feelings Dora has about the harms of Keileweg, she does not feel able to walk with me there. I tell her that I completely understand. Dora knows I intend to visit the Keileweg on the Sunday morning after our day together. Although the 'red-light' area is long gone, and Keileweg is back to being 'just an industrial street' on the city periphery, she issues me a warning; "when you see it, it may make you feel sick" and she asks me to text her as soon as I am back in the city centre after my visit to Keileweg so that she can check on my well-being. For Dora to predict that I may have some form of visceral reaction to a visit

[336] As above.

of Keileweg – a ‘red-light area’ that has not been active for around a decade at the time of my ethnographic research, I anticipate that visible parts of it will remain like a dark echo. And this proved to the case as can be seen in the following extract of my walking ethnography of Keileweg.

Sunday, 16th April 2023

It is 8am on this quiet Sunday Rotterdam morning. I am going to Keileweg, the last ‘official’ ‘red-light area’ in Rotterdam’s history. Keileweg is so far from the city centre that I have booked a water-taxi to take me out to the dis-used Keilehaven on the far westerly edge of the city. As I board the water-taxi, the driver greets me with a bemused expression, “booking to Keilehaven?” he says, “what on earth do you go there for?!” It is a fairly long journey. The driver waves to his water-born colleagues as we pass them, and then all of a sudden we are the only vessel in sight as we go further and further out to Rotterdam’s desolate westerly harbours. As we pull up at the Keilehaven water-taxi peer, I notice that it is green over with moss, as if no one has stepped on it for years, and I’m worried that it looks like it will give way at any minute. As the driver helps me out of the boat, his seeming amusement that I should want to go out to Keileweg turns to concern, “hey, are you sure you’re going to be okay? Someone knows you are out here right?! Look, book a water-taxi back now with the office so I can see you do it, so that I know for sure we know to come back for you.” For his sake, and I guess for mine, I do just that, which gives me three hours at Keileweg.

I walk from the pier in the direction of Keileweg having mapped out the route prior to coming here, and watch through the steel fencing around the dis-used harbour as the driver speeds out of view. Suddenly, as the sound of his engine falls into silence, I am abundantly aware that there is just me:

Fig.8.18., dropped off at Keilehaven (2023, own image).

I turn left into Keileweg, where everything stands sill. There is not a soul around and no activity can be seen or heard from the factory and business premises that line the street. I didn't expect there to be many signs of life here on a Sunday morning, but it is eerily quiet. And then, just two-hundred yards down Keileweg on the left, I suddenly recognise the distinctive blue fence surrounding the former 'red-light area' and draw a gasp. Not just because I am now suddenly standing in front of a place that I have become familiar from a distance through achival data, local press, and conversations with Dora. But because, the place is relatively untouched as the following 'peep' through the original blue iron gate reflects:

Fig.8.19., beyond the blue fence, Keileweg (2023, own image).

The next image, taken immediately inside the former ‘red-light’ site from a me-sized gap in the fencing to the rear of the site provides a closer view of the remnants of the site’s ‘being’:

Fig.8.20., untouched ‘red-light’ site, Keileweg (2023, own image).

As the above image shows, the untouched site has fallen into silent decay and has become overgrown in an untended way. Abandoned. But the white benches that remain in the area that the Keetje Shelter stood (according to site plans that Dora had given me sight of but could not let me copy), are rusting in the decade's long absence of the sex workers who once took rest on them. Amongst the leaves that carpet the ground, I think I can see a rusted syringe. The deathly feeling that Dora projected of the site washes over me, but this is possibly owing to all that she told me of the guards, and of many of the women who worked here still being housed in psychiatric facilities to this day. But overwhelming, there is just a sheer sense of *sadness* emanating from beyond the blue gate. On one hand, the municipality had provided a purpose-built site for sex work through pragmatic decision-making that took into account the non-residential locale of to minimise the impact of street-based sex work on the quality of life to a residential community. But it is the sheer *distance* of Keileweg as far into the dank, mossy shadows of the city as it could possibly be that in a sense says, 'this is the only place prostitution can belong' – on the far outskirts of society – that is so conflictive in terms of how spatially *ostracised* from civilisation the sex workers of Keileweg were. That, and the first-hand view of all that still remains (like the age-warped, metal finishing stations in the far distance of the site) like a dark reminder of something that went very wrong here. Dora was right, I did feel sick that day. It was a feeling that I can liken to how I felt when I visited Auschwitz-Birkenau, and I left Keileweg with a lump in my throat as I walked back to the pier and waited on the rotten pier, surrounding by silence, to wait for my boat-ride back.

In terms of the shutting-down of the Keileweg 'red-light' site, the last official 'red-light' area to exist in Rotterdam (at the time of writing), we can correlate this to the idea that something did go very wrong here in terms of the women's health as the space remains untouched by processes of urban development. The area of 26-28 Keileweg was still very much abandoned during my walking ethnography as the images above taken on my walk capture. It is only at the time of writing, nearly ten years on from the closure of the 'red-light area', that plans have been passed for a regeneration of the site as part of the plans to create what will be the new Merwe-Vierhavens (four harbours) or 'M4H quarter'. As spatial frameworks laid

out in the planning material shows, the M4H quarter is set to be one of the most innovative regeneration projects in Netherlands history through the fostering of 'a collaborative atmosphere fostering community-centred housing, ecological options (e.g., farm-to-table logistics), and the arts to stimulate a socially resilient fabric that will repair the isolated functionality of the area's industrial past'.[337] In terms of the Keileweg 'red-light' site, this is to be an 'arts hub' of independent artists and café culture, but with the onus on *repair* in the wider plans, this is particularly poignant to the former 'red-light' site in the sense that there will be a repairing of the human harms done at the site as much as the repairing of a long abandoned space. The following image provides a projected impressions of the overwriting of the 'red-light area' into a spatial arts movement in the near future:

Fig.8.21, planning impression of regeneration of the 'red-light area' at 26-28 Keileweg (2023).[338]

[337] *Spatial framework Merwe-Vierhavens: Future in the making*. Available at https://m4hrotterdam.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/M4Hbrochurespreadsdigitaal_Engels.pdf. [Accessed 1st January2024].
[338] In above.

And so as I leave the analytic visit to Keilweg, the last ‘red-light area’ of Rotterdam and of this study in general, I leave with the poignant reflection of the processes of regenerative ‘repair’ applied to ‘red-light’ space – in the case of Keileweg an urban repair of an urban experiment that went very, very wrong.

Chapter summary

In this final empirical time-chapter, I paid an analytic visit to the last known ‘red-light area’ of Hull and Rotterdam in the contemporary period of the cities urban biographies. In Hull, I visited Hessle Road and in Rotterdam I visited Keileweg. Form the outset, a key difference to emerge between the two ‘red-light’ localities is that in Hull the ‘red-light’ area of Hessle Road materialised through the migration of sex workers from Thornton Estate following the installation of a groundbreaking CCTV system. And in Rotterdam, the Keileweg was a site designated as a ‘red-light’ area by the municipality. On the spatial contexts of these ‘red-light’ sites in wider contexts of the cities, Hessle Road is fairly close to Hull city centre, whereas Keileweg couldn’t be any further away from the city centre of Rotterdam.

The neighbourhood complaint surrounding the spatial scale of prostitution in the area of Hessle Road showed the profound negative impact the ‘red-light’ activity had on the immediate community. In a situation that became intolerable for local residents with the littering of condoms and needles, and defacation and sex in full view, the council committee that had initially empathised with the sex workers of Hessle Road as vulnerable women needing support and pledged to collaborate with a local outreach organisation suddenly shifted to collaborating with police initiatives to erase prostitution from Hessle Road altogether. This is evidenced in the coalition of local powers that saw Hull become the first city in the UK to be granted spatial powers of injunction that banned known prostitutes from entering Hessle Road. However, the timing of the legislation coincided with Hull’s imminent year as UK City of Culture in which the reputation of the city to external audiences became paramount. But in which case, the granting of the spatial powers of injunction arguably emphasised that Hull had ‘a major prostitution crisis’.

Conversely, with Keileweg being non-residential, the minimised risk to the quality of life was a key aspect in the municipality's decision-making process to designate the 'red-light' area at Keileweg. But in a reverse turn of events seen in Hull, the spatial distance and isolation of Keileweg from 'a good chunk of civilisation' meant that the municipality's shading of prostitution from public view meant that the dark and drug-addicted vulnerabilities of 90% of the sex workers at Keileweg also fell from public awareness.

This emphasises the extent to which the 'red-light area' can have a profound affect on the lives of people living around it, and the lives of people attached to it. And that is, whether the 'red-light area' self-materialises as at Hessle Road, or whether it is a designated 'tolerance' zone as at Keileweg. For such reasons, this empirical chapter more than any of the others illustrates *why* moral values are applied to 'red-light' space as a heightened feature of urban landscapes in so far as people are harmed in and by its presence. Accordingly, the erasure of 'red-light' space from Hessle Road and Keileweg as the last known 'red-light areas' in the living history of the cities to date constitutes a greater spatial erasure of street-based prostitution in the cities in general. This is not to forget however that as the cities strived to enter the contemporary markets of arts and culture, the decline of street-based prostitution in many cities like Hull and Rotterdam links to the digital world in which the geography of sex work has shifted from the public space of 'the street' to the private space behind 'the screen'.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else.

Italo Calvino, 1972.[339]

This is the concluding chapter of the thesis in which I break down the conclusion into clear and concise points of summary. First, I present a *summary of the research* in which I restate what the study set out to achieve and the specific questions it aimed to answer. I then provide a direct answer to the research questions, and recap on the most important findings from each empirical chapter with evidence supporting the findings. I then connect the summarised findings back to the central argument of the thesis on the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in the particular urban histories of Hull and Rotterdam. Secondly, I address the *limitations of the research* and acknowledge these limitations with transparency. I discuss the potential impact of the limitations on the validity of the results and the wider study. Thirdly, I come to the strengths of the study in terms of its cross-cultural *contribution to scholarship*; particularly to the field of urban sociology. I explain the significance of the findings and how the research expands, refines, and/or challenges prevailing views on 'the red-light district' in the contexts of urban spatiality and moral geography. Bringing the above points of summary together, I then outline the *recommendations for further research* in terms of research questions that could be explored in future studies and also areas where further research is needed to build upon the topic of the moral geography of 'red-light' space. I then come to the end of the chapter in which I offer

[339] *Invisible Cities* (1997: 44); originally published in Italian as *La cittá invisibili* (1972).

a final statement on the research's key contribution and impact before coming to the closing statements.

Summary of the research

This empirical study in urban sociology aimed to investigate the spatial contexts and the shifting geography of 'the red-light area' in the particular urban histories of Hull and Rotterdam, 1880s-2020s. The comparative case study of the port cities of Hull and Rotterdam was not to infer that prostitution is or has ever been more prolific in port cities than in inland urban centres, but to look closely at the relational yet distinct urban histories of Hull and Rotterdam. In addition, the case study of port cities drew on the idea of port cities as a particular urban typology infused with spatial contradictions (Mah, 2014; Bartłomiejski and Kowalewski, 2022), within which there is a historically embedded cultural relationship between 'port' and 'prostitution' (Hugill, 1968; Meyer, 1999; Milne, 2016; Pluskota, 2016; Beaven, 2021). Based on the idea of the heightened spatial contradictions of port cities, the overall aim of the study was to read the urban transactions of Hull and Rotterdam through a lens of sex work and to apply the spatial contexts of cities 'red-light' geographies to the moral geographies (i.e., of urban belonging/exclusion) as they were suggested and constructed under the distinct contours of time and place. Overall, this was to find and articulate the *spatial significance* of 'the red-light area' on the overall urban evolution of Hull and Rotterdam through continuous processes of urban transformation. The key findings show that there *is* a spatial significance to 'the red-light area' in the social and urban transformations of the cities which I found by addressing the following research questions:

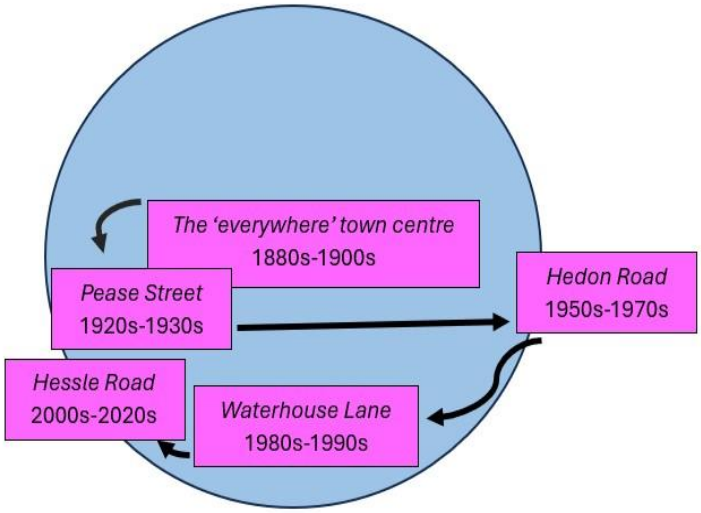
i. What was the location of 'the red-light area' in the port cities of Hull and Rotterdam from the late-nineteenth century onwards?

ii. How did the shifting location of 'the red-light area' reflect dominant moral geographies as they were constructed in both cities?

iii. Which locational and social actors constructed these moral geographies, and whose interests were they pursuing?

In terms of finding the locations of the 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam from the late-nineteenth century, I have illustrated the identified locations of 'the red-light area' in the given time-chapter of observation on the following diagram which indicates the location and relocation of the sites in the wider geographical contexts of the city with the outer blue circle representing the city centre:

Hull, 1880s-2020s:



Rotterdam, 1880s-2020s:

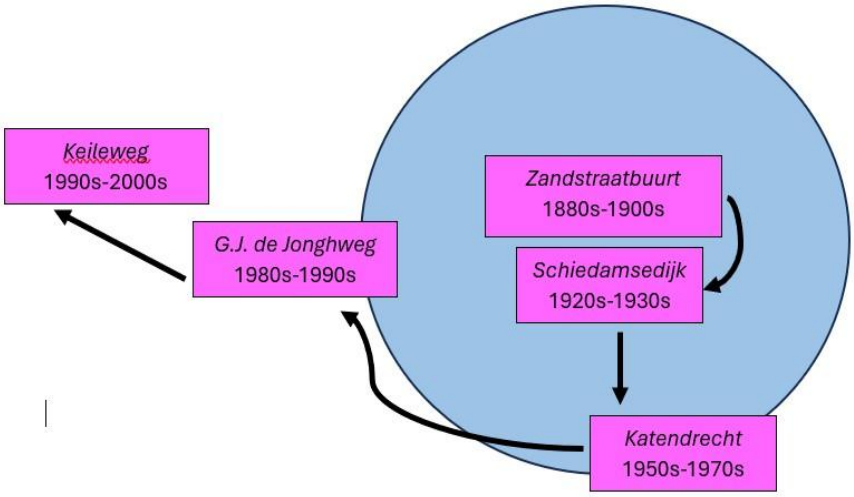


Fig.9.1., diagram indicating location of 'the red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam in the various time-chapters of observation between 1880s-2020s (2023, own image).

From the outset, the diagram complements the findings of the analytic chapters by making visual the shifting geography of the ‘red-light area’ in Hull and Rotterdam from the late-nineteenth century onwards. This supports the key analytic findings of each time-chapter that builds the pattern of the shifting geography of the ‘red-light area’ in the cities as follows. During the time-chapter on the climax of Industrial urbanisation on the threshold of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1880s-1900s), the ‘red-light’ area of Hull and Rotterdam was mirrored in the sense of being in the heart of the city centre. The major difference was that an ‘everywhere town centre space’ of prostitution was found in Hull, where as the ‘red-light area’ was largely centred on (or constrained to) the Zandstraat neighbourhood. In a similar pattern, the ‘red-light area’ relocates just a stone’s throw away from these sites in the interwar period of observation (1920s-30s) to Pease street in Hull and to Rotterdam’s Schiedamsedijk. Then in the post-War period of observation (1970s-50s), the ‘red-light area’ emerges outside of the city centres for the first time in the study, to port-side Hedon Road on the far easterly margins of Hull and to the peninsula of Katendrecht to the south of Rotterdam. There is then a turning point in the similar spatial geography of the ‘red-light area’ in the cities, with the ‘red-light area’ migrating back into Hull city centre to Waterhouse Lane during the 1980s-90s, whereas in Rotterdam a toleration zone is designated on the far western boundaries of the city centre at G. J. de Jonghweg. And then, in the contemporary period of cultural placemaking (2000s-20s), the ‘red-light area’ of Hull materialises at Hessle Road on the edge of the city centre, and in Rotterdam it is pushed as far away as it can be to Keileweg on the isolated western edge.

For a historian, or even a geographer, this gives a locational overview. But the way in which this study differs in respect of producing a sociological study is that I have examined the locational and social actors implicated in the specific locality of ‘the red-light area’ at a given point in time. This is through contextual investigation of external and internal events affecting the cities which provided the backdrop at the opening of each empirical time-chapter, and to which I have connected the spatial location and relocation of ‘the red-light area’ in time-served rhythm with the shifting moral geographies of time-place settings.

This brings me to the second research question on how the shifting location of 'the red-light area' reflected dominant moral geographies as they were constructed in both cities. As the conceptual framework underpinning the study, I have examined the extent to which notions of moral geography are applied to and emanate from social and political narratives concerning prostitution and 'red-light' space in the local press and wider commentary during the period of observation. Notably, the sample period of the 1880s-2020s itself constitutes a concerted period of social and urban change, and as such a key finding of this study is how notions of morality, sexuality and the city (culminating in the moral coding of urban space) shift across the individual time-chapters of observation. However, this further reinforces the finding of how the shifting location of 'the red-light area' reflected in the dominant moral geographies as they were constructed under the distinct contours of time-and-place as follows.

In the first analytic chapter 1880s-1900s, the location of 'the red-light area' in the heart of the city centre of Hull and Rotterdam alike is found to be connected to the geographies of inner-city 'working-class enclaves' assembled during processes of Industrialisation and urbanisation through the nineteenth-century. With the middle-classes and social elites typically residing outside of the city centres, the inner-city areas of Hull and Rotterdam are found to be the domain of 'the poor and labouring classes' in which prostitution embedded as a locational occupation. In each case, the 'red-light area' of Hull and Rotterdam during the 1880s-1990s period are found to be connected to sailortown cultures. But with Hull not having the capacity for a separate sailortown quarter as in most port cities, the town centre itself forms an 'everywhere' sailortown dimension that correlates with the 'everywhere' 'red-light' geography of the town centre which I found by mapping the implicated streets as given in police-court commentary. Conversely in Rotterdam, the 'red-light area' of the period is relatively confined to the Zandstraat neighbourhood's four-acres. In terms of reflecting the dominant moral geographies constructed in the period, both Hull and Rotterdam's Zandstraat incur widescale moral condemnation for the 'red-light' activity which entwines with wider moral geographies applied to cities of the period within which prostitution is generally marked as 'the great social evil'. Yet, alongside this comes the finding of the locally-constituted moral geographies of 'the working class' strongholds of Hull and Rotterdam in which prostitution thrives

as an occupational cultural and a networked source of income to communities. In which case, the finding of the sheer spatial scale of prostitution in Hull and in Rotterdam's Zandstraat during the period paradoxically reflects the dominant moral geographies of the period: condemned as a spatial holding of 'the great social evil', but also where prostitution is made okay amongst the masses as a way of life and survival.

This finding echoes in the next time-chapter in which the interwar 'red-light' space of Pease Street in Hull and Rotterdam's Schiedamsedijk incurring local press and wider condemnation of 'immoral space', though this is to a far lesser degree than was found in the previous time-chapter. Primarily, this was found to be because the 'red-light area' of Pease Street was quietly unproblematic behind the closed doors of dwellings operating as brothels, and because the amusement street of the Schiedamsedijk was valued by the municipality for the economic contribution the entertainment venues of the street (which in a sense rested on the presence of prostitution) made to the city coffers during interwar waves of economic decline.

Moving into the post-War period of observation (1950s-70s), the location of 'the red-light area' at Hull's Hedon Road and Rotterdam's Katendrecht reflected the dominant internal moral geographies on reconstructing the bombed cities to a utopian ideal and on dominant external moral discourse on the restoring of sexual morality after the so-perceived moral laxities during the years of war. Spatially, this reflects in the geographical *distance* of Hedon Road and Katendrecht from the public life and gaze of the city centre reborn. And in terms of social distance, both Hedon Road and Katendrecht were seen at the time as a place of Otherness: Hedon Road as a eerie and isolated Other, and Katendrecht as a melting-pot of social cultural difference in its Chinatown and sailortown character. A key spatial finding in this chapter is the post-War theme of internal wars being fought: that is, the 'sex war' on Katendrecht which reflected dominant moral geographies around community protest of prostitution 'taking over' the neighbourhood, and the 'cod wars' between Hull and Iceland which rendered Hedon Road a strategically placed 'red-light area' in the face of the dominant post-War discourse of sexual morality with prostitutes taking on the role of the city's spies.

In the bridging time-chapter set in the 1980s-90s period of waterfront regeneration works, the location of the 'red-light area' at Hull's Waterhouse Lane and at G. J. de Jonghweg in Rotterdam are found to be the cities first 'unofficial official toleration zones' which, constituted 'the least worst option' for both cities. The constraint of 'red-light' activity at Waterhouse Lane and G. J. de Jonghweg was found to be a means of keeping prostitution away from the city centre, and to prevent it from spreading across the city centre under the new waves of heroin prostitution that affected each city. This reflected the dominant moral geographies of the period that centred on the connections of prostitution to heroin-use and the AIDs virus which thereby preferred for prostitution to be constrained to a particular area, a dis-used area in the industrial grey of the cities, through which it could be best monitored.

Finally, in the contemporary period of cultural placemaking (2000s-20s), the 'red-light area' of Hull materialises at Hessle Road on the edge of the city centre and in Rotterdam 'the red-light area' is relocated by the municipality on the farthest edge of the city centre alongside the dis-used Keilehaven [harbour]. This reflects the dominant moral geographies of the period around sex work that articulate a deep conflict between the ameliorative support of sex workers, a continuing fear/disgust of sex workers, and the question of why sex work still persists in the present time of liberty, welfare, and human rights. In Hull, these conflicting moral geographies manifest in the impact of prostitution on Hessle Road, with Hull being the only city in the UK to be granted with emergency powers of injunction in 2014 to tackle its 'prostitution crisis', and Keileweg being so far on the spatial margins of the city that the topic it carries – prostitution – is also parked to one (far) side until the moral conflict around the subject of prostitution could be best addressed.

This connects to the third research question on which locational and social actors constructed the dominant moral geographies in the periods of observation, and whose interests they were pursuing. I have in part addressed this in relation to question two above by recapping on the dominant (yet sometimes contradictory) moral geographies of the time-place setting. However, I found that the answer to which locational and social actors constructed the dominant moral geographies of the period and whose interests they were pursuing abundantly lays in the erasure

of the ‘red-light area’; particularly through the levels of urban transformation that have been applied to the identified ‘red-light’ space in turn as follows.

During the 1880s-1990s period of observation, I noted that it would be difficult to erase the ‘everywhere’ spatial scale of prostitution in Hull in one fell swoop. As such, the locational actors that come into play to remedy the spatial scale are found to reflect largely in policies of enforcement through which prostitutes either face the heavy hand of the law, or are ‘sent out’ of certain streets. For example, I found that prostitutes were frequently ‘sent out’ of the main thoroughfare. This pursued the interests of the middle-class and social elite shop-gazers and theatre goers to patronise Paragon Street without the nuisance of prostitution, but also pursued the interests surrounding the external reputation of Hull to visitors whose first view of the city would be Paragon Street. In Rotterdam, the sudden full-scale demolition of the Zandstraat’s four acres to make way for the new Stadhuis [City Hall] was found to pursue the interests of the onlooking commentators concerned with the spatially conditioned moral decay of the Zandstraat, which played into the municipality’s hands, arguably, to wipe-out the Zandstraat district with little to no objection under the social actors that rejected prostitution to build a palatial civic structure. As I found in this time-chapter, the new city hall breathed an air of municipal stature over the city centre; architecturally dictating a new moral order and one which could continue to pursue the ‘best interests’ of the people of Rotterdam long into the future.

In the interwar period, the erasure of ‘the red-light area’ at Hull’s Pease Street was reflected in locational actors of urban policies which saw the breaking of brothels and the spatial exclusion of prostitutions from seafarers lodgings (which lined Pease Street) under new by-laws. This was expressly in pursuit of the moral and physical welfare of mariners, but deep down it was found to pursue the very best interests of the city itself in terms of its reputation to external onlookers. In stark contrast, the erasure of the ‘red-light area’ at Rotterdam’s Scheidamsedijk was by the hand of the bombing of the city. Notably, the Schiedamsedijk emerged in the findings as one of the most accepted – almost beloved – areas of prostitution in the study under locational actors of economy. That is, through the contribution the amusement street (in which prostitution was an integral part of the scene) made to

the city coffers during interwar waves of economic decline. But as to how long the 'red-light' candle of the interwar Schiedamsedijk would have burned before the municipality could snub it out is lost beneath the event of the bombing. Notably however, it is a significant finding that the municipality did not reinstate the tone of the amusement street in the post-War reconstruction of Rotterdam, but rather transformed the Schiedamsedijk in to an upgraded urban area within the 'new' maritime quarter which pursued the interests of Rotterdam's rise (physically, socially and morally) into a city of stature.

In the post-War period, the erasure of the 'red-light' area at Hull's Hedon Road similarly reflected locational actors of economy through the transition of the road into a dual-carriageway. This infrastructural investment pursued the interests of the city's economy (then, and into the future) following the collapse of the lifeblood fishing industry in 1976 – in which point the city leaders of outward-facing Hull conceded that Hull's economic prosperity all-at-once relied on infrastructural and economic communication with the wider UK. It is fair to say however that such infrastructural investment also pursued the socio-economic interests of citizens as a city that had fallen into rapid and lasting decline on the fall of the fishing industry. In Rotterdam, the erasure of 'red-light' activity towards the end of the 1970s was found to pursue the interests of a community that had been so impacted by the 'red-light' landscape of the Cape that the municipality appeared to accept as a way to keep prostitution out of the city centre reborn. A deeper finding however, is that the municipality were pursing the interests of stakeholders, developers, and the city's venture into arts and cultural markets that would ultimately result in the spatial currency of the Cape as a cultural space of leisure and tourism.

During the 1980s-90s period of observation, the erasure of 'red-light' activity from Hull's Waterhouse Lane came in the form of locational actors of policing through which 'letters of shame' were sent to vehicles seen in the area. Proving a strong deterrent, this gradually cleared prostitution form the locality which, it is found, also coincided with the plans to develop Princes Quay shopping centre on the dis-used Princes Dock. Therefore, this measure of erasure largely pursued the interests of key stakeholders in the development of Princes Quay but also the interests of the local public in the provision of a retail and leisure space that would also provide

employment. Similarly, the erasure of the 'red-light area' at Rotterdam's G.J de Jonghweg – which involved the physical dismantling of the 'red-light' street furniture – stemmed from the locational actors of urban planning that earmarked the locality for extensive processes of gentrification (into the green oasis of 'Little C') along the Coolhaven. As such, this also pursued the interests of stakeholders and developers, but also the interests of nearby neighbourhoods whose quality of life had been greatly impacted by the 'red-light' space.

Finally, in the contemporary period of observation (2000s-20s), the erasure of the 'red-light area' at Hull's Hessle Road reflects a number of locational and social actors that sought its removal. The social actors of community protest reached intensified heights as the situation became intolerable, mixed with the social actors of outreach networks that sought to support sex workers on the basis that if sex work was banned from Hessle Road the sex workers would go 'underground' and further spiral into poverty and addiction. Ultimately, the locational actors of policy saw the erasure (or decline) of prostitution from the street through the coalition of the police, council and local businesses that secured emergency powers of spatial injunction. In therefore rendering Hessle Road a 'no-go' area for sex workers and to a degree their clients, this combative action pursued the interests of the local community. But as I also found, the timing of the spatial injunction powers being granted to Hull coincided with Hull being announced as the next UK City of Culture in which case these locational actors that sought to erase 'red-light' activity from Hessle Road more broadly pursued the interests of the city's reputation to external audiences, alongside the chance Hull suddenly had to negotiate and secure social and economic investments into the fabric of Hull.

To connect the above answers to the research questions back to what the study set out to achieve, I have been able to identify intricacies to the spatial location and relocation of the 'red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam at various moments between the 1880s-2020s that largely reflect in the dominant moral geographies as they were suggested and underpinned in the cities along the way. As a key example, I have been able to conceptually link the shifting geography of 'the red-light area' in the cities to the shifting moral geographies enmeshed in the time-place setting. Such as in the *erasure* of 'red-light space' and the level or mode of

urban transformation applied to it which correlates with the moral interests that were being pursued (i.e., for the middle-classes and social elites, and communities impacted by the presence of 'red-light' activity) and also the wider interests that were being pursued such as the city's economy and its reputation to external audiences. The overall strength of the research is that I have drawn on local voices (past and present) to tell the story of the 'red-light' biography of the cities through a sensate mixed-methodology of archival, visual, and walking research. Through this I have been able to find and articulate the deeper spatial contexts of 'the red-light area' from internal perspectives on the cities. That said, there are also limitations to the research as I now address.

Limitations of the research

I acknowledge that an overarching limitation to the research is that this was an ambitious project for a sole researcher to undertake. The time, cost and effort it has taken to undertake research in two cities in parallel in a restricted period of time has been overwhelming and I am aware that this has impacted on the depth of findings at some points. For example, I have lived experience of Hull but had never been to Rotterdam prior to undertaking this project. In which case, I had an in-built awareness of the 'red-light' biography of Hull which was an advantage, but was challenged at every turn during the research journey with the findings often exposing new lines of enquiry that had not been 'on my radar'. In terms of case studying Rotterdam, it also mean learning a new city from the start; not least in finding my bearings and overcoming the language barrier (I only have basic to loosely conversational Dutch language skills), but in understanding the place and persona of Rotterdam with the emphasis of the study being on engaging with the local character and idiosyncrasies that play out in the place and persona of the cities. In terms of the language barrier, the validity of the findings relating to Rotterdam were incredibly important to me for reasons of my own understanding and for research integrity. As such, I used auto-translate software or at times asked archivists and/or participants to translate things for me. A limitation of this however, that I fully acknowledge, is that the translations rely on software or what a person has told me and so many not be fully accurate. That said, I have been

very careful not to take the findings out of context by seeking advice from staff at the local city archives on the *meaning* of documents as much as the written word.

In relation to the methodology, a limitation of the research has been that although the archival, visual and walking methods signposted one another at every turn, at times the walking conversations with participants did not produce findings that connected in any way with the topic of the study. To recap, when seeking the informed consent of the participants I included a full brief on the topic and aims of the study along with my supervisors' contact details at the University. I had many potential participants decline (both in Hull and Rotterdam) when they saw that the subject related to sex work. Thus I made it clear when reaching out to participants that the nature of the walk was to 'tell me about your city'. However, this often resulted in participants showing me the 'best' of the city such as touristic areas, or walking me through the places of their lives which was deeply profound but didn't always produce any findings that related specifically to the former 'red-light' areas of the city. Additionally, with this project commencing during the first COVID-19 lockdown, social distancing rules (and fears) meant that I could not arrange to undertake the walks until much later on in the project when the restrictions were lifted. It was advantageous in which case to have remote methods (e.g., archival) that I could proceed with during the lockdown, but I feel that I could have got so much more out of the walking methods had time allowed. For instance, I could have reached out to more participants with a direct connection to sex work, or city leaders, journalists, or community leaders. But with the clock ticking away, and people wanting to resume their lives in the wake of the pandemic, it was difficult to 'pin' people down for a walk. Additionally, the data from two of the walks in Hull was destroyed prior to the writing-up of the thesis as one participant withdrew in the agreed six month period, and the second was withdrawn by me after a criminal conviction involving child sexual abuse came to light in the local press.

Overall, the limitations of the research stretch from the ambitious and at times overwhelming research process which was further impacted by the pandemic. What this meant was a frantic data collection on my part in a bid to 'collect enough' which resulted in a massive amount of data which became overwhelming. Though I streamlined the data into manageable systems of data banks and libraries but

the immense amount of time it took to organise and manage the data means that some to the findings contained in the thesis could have been expanded on in more depth.

Ultimately, the limitations of the research stretch from it being an ambitious project in itself, through to the time, cost and barriers of international fieldwork for a sole researcher. Adding to this the wider implications of the pandemic and limitations to some of the methods in general (e.g., walking conversations), I acknowledge with transparency that I have gone into more depth in some of the empirical chapters than I have in others, which further impacts on the wider summary of the research. I acknowledge that the thesis is also 'heavy' on history. However, the difference between a historical account of 'the red-light' geography of Hull and Rotterdam and the sociological account I have produced is that I have looked in more depth at *why* the 'red-light' area was where it was, for how long, and why it was erased through a lens of moral geography. Through this, I have reinforced the central argument of this study on the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in the urban evolution of Hull and Rotterdam. This has been evidenced in the empirical chapters through the archival, visual and to an extent walking research which collectively emphasises the often poignant legacies 'red-light areas' have whether that be under urban transformations that completely erases the 'red-light' connotations of the past, or the traces that are left behind which brings me to the discussion of the study's contribution to scholarship.

Contribution to scholarship

In chapter one [Introduction], I identified the gap in literature that the study aimed to address. To recap, the eminent urban geographer Philip Hubbard (1999) who has become a trailblazer in the spatial study of sex work observed how literature has been reticent on the spatial significance of sex work and the spatial relationship of sex work to themes of cities, sexuality and morality. Whilst more attention has been paid to the spatial contexts of sex work since, to the best of my knowledge there has not been a comparative case study of the shifting spatial geography of 'red-light' space in the contexts of particular urban histories. Accordingly, this study firstly offers

a nuanced piece of research that has investigated on a locational level the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' in the individual contexts of *place*. The study also contributes the testing of nuanced methodological framework that engages with the cities under understudy as the central, urban protagonists in the research. Through this, the study contributes a sensate reflection of the reading and understanding of cities by engaging with the city's memory (archival), the city's sights (visual) and the city's sound and movement (walking conversation and ethnography) which offers an example of what went well and not so well, but above all demonstrates the deeper sociological findings that can be drawn out of cities when the research journey rests upon an artful and sensate methodological orientation. In relation to this, the study contributes to the conceptual importance of moral geography in the empirical reading and understanding of the moral coding of urban space. Given that this study above all contributes a sociological reading of urban space through a lens of sex work, the study makes an interdisciplinary contribution in so far as it may interest scholars of urban studies, sex work research, criminology, and wider disciplines including social, cultural and urban traditions of history and geography.

Recommendations for further research

In the journey that this study has taken, I have been able to identify several areas for further research. Firstly, through its strengths and limitations as aforementioned in this chapter, the study produced significant findings but was a fairly ambitious study for a sole researcher. I therefore recommend that further research on the spatial significance of 'the red-light area' would best fit a collaborative project in which the researchers could trace the shifting geography of the 'red-light area' in one city for depth, and then collaborate on the comparative findings covering a group of cities. Another recommendation is based on the general notion that the voices of sex workers have long been silenced until relatively recently. Through the research undertaken for this project using local newspaper sources, I have been able to find the voices of sex workers dating back to the late-nineteenth century. I feel this is an important area of research that could be undertaken in the field of sex work research and given the increasing attention paid to the sociologies of sex work. Because those critically important voices are there, if you listen closely enough.

As a final summary of this study's key contributions and impact, this study set out to trace and examine the spatial contexts and shifting spatial geography of 'the red-light area' in Hull and Rotterdam, 1880s-2020s. Resting on a conceptual framework of moral geography and engaging a qualitative mixed methodology of archival, visual and walking research, I have produced an urban sociology of Hull and Rotterdam through a lens of sex work that demonstrates on a locational level the moral coding of urban space over a significant sample period. By breaking the sample period into time-chapters that incorporate moments of critical juncture, I have been able to find and articulate the spatial significance of the 'red-light area' in the urban evolution of particular urban histories to which I have been able to demonstrate the conceptual theory of moral geography as an empirical forcefield in the sensate reading and understanding of cities, liveability, environment, and urban life.

From the 'everywhere' town centre space of prostitution in the late-nineteenth century life of Hull to the spiritual heart of the fishing community at Hessle Road, and from the spirited 'night district' of the Zandstraat to the distant Keileweg in Rotterdam, this thesis is the product of an incredibly emotive journey through time, place and space and the moral value that was applied to the 'red-light' sites – and more so the women who worked there – which has been like a very long walk (for me and arguably for the reader) through the often paternalistic moralism of society. I opened the thesis with the idea that we can never truly know when 'prostitution' was first recognised as such in humankind, when it was first realised that the sexual bodies of certain souls minted into currency. In this thesis, and ever more on the research journey, it came to me that we will also never truly know in the history of cities when it was first ever realised that female prostitution (or 'the red-light area') minted *space* in to currency. Whether that be through the 'toleration' of prostitution in run-down areas that renders them ripe for urban investments in regeneration and gentrification, or whether that be through the currency of the legacy of 'the red-light area' that bears traces in the new-found cultural consumption of the space through its urban transitions. But what we can know is that the spatial significance of prostitution and the 'red-light' area in the city is explicit with notions of morality coded into the assemblage, transitions, and social organisation of the urban landscape where morals are made concrete.

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Appendix a:

Table.1; Locational (street) data relating to implicated streets of female street-based prostitution extracted from police-court commentary in the local press, 1880-1909.

Key and abbreviations:

* female appears on list more than once
All fines (pounds and shillings) also incur court costs, days/weeks/months refers to gaol time.
D&D is drunk and disorderly
HL is Hard Labour.

	Date	Name	Charge	Penalty	Location	Ref
1	9/1/1880	Annie W.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1880b
2	9/1/1880	Harriet Br.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880b
3	16/1/1880	Charlotte A.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	30 days		1880c
4	23/1/1880	Emily T.	A Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880d
5	24/1/1880	Jane Co.	Prostitute, Disorderly	21 days	Dock Street	1880e
6	6/2/1880	Eliza T.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1880g
7	6/2/1880	Rachel F.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	20 days		1880g
8	15/3/1880	Eliza G.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880h
9	13/2/1880	Mary Jane F.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	3 months	Waterhouse Lane	1880h
10	20/2/1880	Emma R.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880j
11	27/2/1880	Jane P.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Great Union Street	1880k
12	27/2/1880	Maude M.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1880k
13	13/3/1880	Louisa Sc.	Prostitute, Disorderly	3 months	Chapel Street	1880l
14	13/3/1880	Frances B.	Prostitute, Drunk and Disorderly	3 months	Charlotte Street	1880l
15	13/3/1880	Ellen Bu.	Prostitute, Disorderly	3 months	Waterhouse Lane	1880l
16	17/3/1880	Isabella W.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	3 months		1880o
17	27/3/1880	Maude M.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880q
18	30/3/1880	Ruth H.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	6 weeks		1880r
19	13/4/1880	Annie J.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880s
20	13/4/1880	Mary Ann Ca.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880s
21	15/4/1880	Anna M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1880t
22	23/4/1880	Ellen P.	Drunk and a Common Prostitute	14 days		1880u
23	24/4/1880	Elizabeth War.	Prostitute, Disorderly	14 days	Lowgate	1880v
24	29/4/1880	Annie W.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	3 months		1880w

25	3/5/1880	Ellen D.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880x
26	14/5/1880	Margaret D.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880y
27	14/5/1880	Mary H.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880y
28	19/5/1880	Celestia S.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	3 months		1880z
29	19/5/1880	Rachel F.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1880z
30	20/5/1880	Ann S.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30s		1880aa
31	20/5/1880	Nancy B.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30s		1880aa
32	20/5/1880	Emma K.	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1880aa
33	20/5/1880	Mary S.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1880aa
34	5/6/1880	Ada H.*	Prostitute, Drunk and Disorderly	21 days	Midland Street	1880ab
35	18/6/1880	Annie A.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880ac
36	19/6/1880	Mary Ann Bu.	Prostitute, Drunk and Disorderly	30 days		1880ad
37	9/7/1880	Annie Cu.	A Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880af
38	23/7/1880	Elizabeth A.	A Disorderly Prostitute	6 weeks		1880ag
39	6/8/1880	Ellen B.	A Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1880ah
40	21/8/1880	Elizabeth Ba.	Drunk and Riotous and a Common Prostitute	20s		1880ai
41	27/8/1880	Sarah As.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	3 months		1880aj
42	27/8/1880	Martha N.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1880aj
43	11/9/1880	Laura N.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days	Waterhouse Lane	1880ak
44	8/10/1880	Annie He.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1880al
45	8/10/1880	Maggie K.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1880al
46	26/11/1880	Mary Jane M.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1880am
47	3/12/1880	Elizabeth Bu.	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1880an
48	3/12/1880	Sarah E.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1880an
49	3/12/1880	Caroline R.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1880an
50	3/12/1880	Jane P.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1880an
51	11/2/1880	Maria J.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1881b
52	18/3/1881	Mary Ann M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1881f
53	18/3/1881	Annie Hu.*	Importuning men in the streets	10s		1881f
54	19/3/1881	Ada H.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	40s		1881g
55	8/4/1881	Kate Ke.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	3 months		1881h
56	14/4/1881	Caroline H.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1881i
57	14/4/1881	Celestia*	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1881i
58	22/4/1881	Annie C.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	30 days	Chapel Street	1881j
59	22/4/1881	Sarah M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s	Chapel Street	1881j
60	29/4/1881	Annie Bro.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1881k
61	29/4/1881	Mary D.	A Disorderly Prostitute	6 weeks		1881k
62	30/4/1881	Elizabeth D.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Prostitute	6 weeks	Paragon Street	1881l
63	6/5/1881	Elizabeth T.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1881m
64	6/5/1881	Annie F.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	6 weeks		1881m

65	14/5/1881	Elizabeth How.	Importuning men	30 days		1881n
66	14/5/1881	Florence C.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days		1881n
67	14/5/1881	Mary Ann Ma.	Importuning men	30 days		1881n
68	21/5/1881	Claire S.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s		1881o
69	21/5/1881	Sarah A.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s		1881o
70	3/6/1881	Mary Ann Har.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1881p
71	10/6/1881	Charlotte S.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1881q
72	17/6/1881	Annie M.	A Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	3 months	Dock Street	1881r
73	24/6/1881	Caroline R.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1881s
74	29/7/1881	Emily J.	Disorderly and a Prostitute	3 months	Waterhouse Lane	1881w
75	6/8/1881	Annie W.*	Importuning men for the purpose of Prostitution	14 days		1881x
76	19/8/1881	Mary Bu.	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1881y
77	26/8/1881	Ellen D.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months		1881z
78	8/10/1881	Claire S.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	30 days	Whitefriargat e	1881ac
79	21/10/1881	Sarah C.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	10s	Paragon Street	1881ad
80	28/10/1881	Mary O.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	30 days		1881ae
81	18/11/1881	Sarah S.	A Disorderly Prostitute	15s		1881af
82	26/11/1881	Mary M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1881ag
83	9/12/1881	Margaret W.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months	Chariot Street	1881ah
84	27/1/1882	Kate M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days		1882a
85	27/1/1882	Rose Ann K.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	21 days		1882a
86	10/2/1882	Ellen D.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1882b
87	17/2/1882	Emily V.	Importuning men in the streets	10s		1882c
88	4/3/1882	Sarah As.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Prostitute	2 months		1882d
89	17/3/1882	Mary Ann H.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882e
90	17/3/1882	Mary Br.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882e
91	14/4/1882	Elizabeth Ho.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882f
92	5/5/1882	Harriet Bo.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1882h
93	5/5/1882	Kate B.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1882h
94	27/5/1882	Annie Hu.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882i
95	27/5/1882	Mary Jane W.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882i
96	9/6/1882	Annie A.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1882j
97	30/6/1882	Betsy S.	Importuning Men	Reman ded	Queen Street	1882l
98	21/7/1882	Elizabeth D.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1882m
99	28/7/1882	Mary Jane W.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1882n
100	4/8/1882	Sarah E.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	6 weeks		1882o
101	1/9/1882	Maria B.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882p
102	8/9/1882	Sarah H.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882q
103	9/9/1882	Bridget T.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1882r

104	23/9/1882	Mary T.	Disorderly and a Prostitute	20s	Paragon Street	1882s
105	20/10/1882	Harriet C.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1882v
106	1/12/1882	Mary Ann Ca.*	Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s	Trundle Street	1882w
107	29/12/1882	Elizabeth D.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1882x
108	6/1/1883	Alice C.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s		1883a
109	27/1/1883	Annie J.*	A Prostitute and Disorderly	2 months	Waterhouse Lane	1883b
110	10/2/1883	Mary Ann Br.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	40s	Chapel Street	1883c
111	17/3/1883	Winifred F.	Disorderly and a Prostitute	20s	Lowgate	1883d
112	6/4/1883	Maude H.	A Disorderly Prostitute	6 weeks		1883e
113	13/4/1883	Elizabeth Ha.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Savile Street	1883f
114	20/4/1883	Maria M.	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Paragon Street	1883g
115	27/4/1883	Celestia S.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, Importuning men	6 weeks	Paragon Street	1883h
116	27/4/1883	Maria L.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1883h
117	27/4/1883	Margaret E.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1883h
118	28/4/1883	Louisa R.	Importuning men for the purpose of Prostitution	20s	Waterhouse Lane	1883i
119	5/5/1883	Alvina B.	Importuning men for the purpose of Prostitution	20s	Waterhouse Lane	1883j
120	5/5/1883	Harriett F.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Paragon Street	1883j
121	5/5/1883	Rachel F.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Paragon Street	1883j
122	11/5/1883	Amando M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1883k
123	18/5/1883	Margaret E.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, Importuning men	20s		1883l
124	19/5/1883	Annie J.*	Importuning men for the purpose of Prostitution	40s	Castle Street	1883m
125	8/6/1883	Ellen M.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883n
126	16/6/1883	Sarah P.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883o
127	29/6/1883	Kate Ki.	A Disorderly Prostitute	7 days		1883p
128	30/6/1883	Annie Ho.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1883q
129	6/7/1883	Annie K.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883r
130	6/7/1883	Catherine C.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883r
131	6/7/1883	Louisa St.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883r
132	6/7/1883	Edith D.	A Disorderly Prostitute	14 days	Myton Street	1883r
133	6/7/1883	Elizabeth Wa.	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days	Myton Street	1883r
134	6/7/1883	Caroline H.*	Drunk and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months	Trundle Street	1883r
134	20/7/1883	Maria A.	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months	Waterhouse Lane	1883s
135	21/7/1883	Martha B.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883t
137	27/7/1883	Mary Ann D.	A Disorderly Prostitute	21 days		1883u
138	27/7/1883	Rose H.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1883u
139	10/8/1883	Eliza W.	A Disorderly Prostitute	10s		1883v
140	18/8/1883	Louisa St.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s	Trundle Street	1883w
141	24/8/1883	Mary Ti.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	20s	Posterngate	1883x
142	7/9/1883	Mary Ann Co.	Disorderly Prostitute, Importuning men	3 months	Waterhouse Lane	1883y
143	7/9/1883	Barbara M.	Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	30 days	Little Queen Street	1883y

144	14/9/1883	Mary Ann H.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	30 days	Chapel Street	1883z
145	9/11/1883	Jane Ca.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	60 days	Chariot Street	1883aa
146	9/11/1883	Eliza B.	Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	60 days		1883aa
147	17/11/1883	Margaret T.	Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s	Waterhouse Lane	1883ab
148	23/11/1883	Sarah J.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1883ac
149	7/12/1883	Annie Ho.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	30 days	Blackfriargate	1883ad
150	7/12/1883	Sarah El.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Blackfriargate	1883ad
151	21/12/1883	Ellen D.*	A Disorderly Prostitute	2 months		1883af
152	21/12/1883	Ada P.*	Disorderly Prostitute, Importuning men	14 days		1883af
153	4/1/1884	Mary Ann Ha.	Drunk and Disorderly and a Disorderly Prostitute	3 months	Trundle Street	1884a
154	18/1/1884	Matilda B.	Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	30 days	Smeaton Street	1884c
155	21/3/1884	Aloine B.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s	Dock Street	1884f
156	18/4/1884	Ada P.*	Drunk and Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	2 months /HL	Charlotte Street	1884h
157	2/5/1884	Ellen G.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Myton Street	1884i
158	16/5/1884	Celestia S.*	Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	20s		1884j
159	25/7/1884	Ada D.	A Common Prostitute , damaging police cell	£2 9s		1884k
160	22/8/1884	Annie La.	A Disorderly Prostitute	40s		1884l
161	19/9/1884	Francis J.	Importuning men	10s	Baker Street	1884m
162	16/1/1885	Rosette S.	Soliciting prostitution	10s	Waterworks Street	1885a
163	6/3/1885	Annie Bo.	Importuning men	20s	Commercial Street	1885c
164	6/3/1885	Mary J.	Importuning men	20s	Commercial Street	1885c
165	3/4/1885	Caroline S.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s	Blackfriargate	1885d
166	1/3/1888	Mary Ti.*	A Disorderly Prostitute, assaulting officer	30 days		1888a
167	13/1/1890	Elizabeth Br.	Importuning	30s	Dock Street	1890a
168	26/8/1890	Catherine B.	Importuning men	20s	Waterhouse Lane	1890c
169	26/8/1890	Annie T.	A Disorderly Prostitute	20s		1890c
170	26/8/1890	Minnie C.	Importuning men	40s		1890c
171	26/8/1890	Sarah Co.*	Importuning men	20s		1890c
172	1/9/1890	Clara S.	Importuning men	40s	Osborne Street	1890d
173	1/9/1890	Ann M.	Drunk and a Disorderly and a Common Prostitute	40s		1890d
174	10/11/1890	Annie Br.	Importuning men	20s	Paragon Street	1890f
175	10/11/1890	Gertrude B.	Importuning men	20s	Paragon Street	1890f
176	1/6/1891	Annie Lo.	Importuning men	15s	Paragon Street	1891c
177	1/6/1891	Sarah Pr.	Importuning men	Respite	Waterhouse Lane	1891c
178	1/6/1891	Priscilla P.	Importuning men	10s	Osborne Street	1891c
179	24/5/1892	Bertha G.	Prostitute, disorderly	10s	Paragon Street	1892g
180	24/5/1892	Elizabeth C.	Prostitute, disorderly	20s	Paragon Street	1892g
181	24/5/1892	Mary C.	Prostitute, disorderly	20s	Paragon Street	1892g

182	24/5/1892	Mary Su.	Prostitute, disorderly	Respite	Paragon Street	1892g
183	20/11/1893	Annie R.	Importuning men in the streets	10s		1893j
184	20/11/1893	Jane S.	Importuning men in the streets	10s		1893j