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## **Toby Butler, ‘Memoryscape’: integrating oral history, memory and landscape on the river Thames**

### **Introduction**

The story of how I found myself in a rowing boat, intensely following a piece rubbish floating in the river Thames for fifteen miles, is going to take some telling. It begins at the Museum of London where I worked as an advisor on a sound art installation, *Linked*, by the artist Graeme Miller.<sup>1</sup> This was a trail which ran alongside the M11 link road in Hackney, the site of the biggest anti-road protest Britain had ever seen. The trail was made up of oral testimony from people who had lost their homes in the process of the motorway construction, broadcast from lamp posts in the streets alongside the new road. At certain points on the walk you listen to tracks at specific locations using audio equipment borrowed from local libraries, a little like the museum audio guides that most people are familiar with, but used in the outside landscape.

I wanted to develop the idea of the audio walk conceptually, as an active and immersive way to understand and map the cultural landscape, and more practically as a different way of presenting oral history. I created two audio walks of my own, playable on CD and mp3 players, along two sections of the Thames Path that runs alongside the river Thames in London. Adopting a term used by the artist, I later dubbed the walks that used oral history recordings ‘memoryscapes’ – landscape interpreted and imagined using the memories of others.<sup>2</sup> I wanted to experiment with presenting memories coherently in a spatial context, using some techniques borrowed from artistic, geographical, oral history and public history practice, and in the process encourage people to encounter parts of the river – and its culture – that they may not have considered exploring before.

In *Theatres of Memory*, Raphael Samuel looked beyond the discipline of academic history, museum studies and the heritage industry to argue that public history could encompass a broader range of practices.<sup>3</sup> In recalling Samuel’s teaching pedagogy, Stuart Hall described his approach to the past:

[Samuel] profoundly respected the depth and richness of lived experience which... [his working-class and trade union students] brought to intellectual work, and grasped how it could enable them – provided he could help them to

use and speak from that knowledge and experience – to contextualise and relativise the more abstract and formal kinds of ‘learning’ which official Oxford valued. He took them straight to the original historical sources. He helped them to write and speak outwards from what they knew, to its broader implications. Instead of teaching them social history, he gave them a historical sense of themselves and made them into the social historians of their own lives and cultures and the active custodians of their own popular memories.<sup>4</sup>

Samuel’s concept of public history has been consolidated and extended since his death. In Britain, two aspects of public history have been influential. First, its inclusive nature seems to have found a natural home in oral history, to the extent that there are dedicated public history pages in the Oral History Society’s journal.<sup>5</sup> The second influence might be loosely termed historical reflexivity. Samuel was concerned that people drew on their own experiences and identities to make historical meaning in the world. This has continued at Ruskin College, Oxford under the direction of Hilda Kean who jointly developed a public history program with him and established an MA course in public history in 1996.<sup>6</sup> In the current tertiary environment, however, this more democratic form of history-making may have a hard road to hoe.

While Samuel’s brand of public history has many intellectual and political attractions, it is not the only path that might be followed. Jill Liddington and Simon Ditchfield have argued that the high esteem that Raphael Samuel has been regarded, and the memorialisation of his life work since his death, seems to have had the unfortunate effect of freezing debate about Samuel’s idea of heritage and public history.<sup>7</sup> They are right to warn against the stultifying effect of deification which I’m sure Samuel would have hated. But if public history is to be a significant movement in the future I think it is important to follow the spirit of Samuel’s later work and keep the concept as elastic, open, outward-looking, interdisciplinary and inclusive as possible. Of course established academic discourse will have a central role to play, but keeping the door open to other methodologies and practice is also essential.

This chapter reflects my own attempt to embrace the conceptual, the personal and the practical along with the academic and intellectual. Conceptually I will draw on disciplines outside history to explain how I attempted to design an intrinsically open and outward-looking methodology to encounter an unexpected set of people to interview. If, as Samuel argued, history is at its heart an activity as opposed to a

profession or an intellectual debate, then the 'doing', the process of research is significant.<sup>8</sup> I will consider how oral history recordings were used to curate an oral history walking trail and examine the process of weaving my own personal journey into the recording. The final element in this chapter will be another public – the hundreds of people who actually experienced my memoryscape. A recording is dead until experienced; it is only when each listener walks through the landscape and brings their own unique set of memories, senses and understandings to bear that what Samuel called the 'dialectic of past-present relations' can be performed.<sup>9</sup> Only after considering those responses can the whole creative process be truly understood.

As well as giving an artistic and experimental take on how a work of public history might be created, I also hope to provide some inspiration to those who are interested in using new media as a means of engagement. If we extend the term public history to encompass public space, there are now whole new avenues open for historians to offer interpretations of the outside world. The increasingly popular mobile platforms (gps enabled mobile phones, mp3 players, in-car navigation systems) can offer exciting opportunities to create multimedia oral, local and cultural histories. Such histories can now be easily and cheaply self-published online for download and potentially reach a very wide public audience.<sup>10</sup>

### **Place, mobility and memory**

Place and mobility has become a major concern for geographers and increasingly historians interested in narrating place. Older ideas that topography, geology and economic history 'made' a place have been questioned by writers like Doreen Massey who has argued that places have to be seen as very complex and shifting combinations of local, national and international networks. She argues that a really radical history of a place would not try to 'seal a place up into one neat and tidy "envelope of space-time"' but recognise that what comes together in a place is a conjunction of many histories and places.<sup>11</sup> From the 1970s the phenomenological ideas of Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph have also been influential.<sup>12</sup> Tuan argued that humans get to know the world through place and therefore topophilia, the 'affective bond between people and place' was a fundamentally important part of human experience.<sup>13</sup> Relph suggested that one of the fundamental aspects of being human was to live in a world that is filled with significant places, because place determines our experience.<sup>14</sup> Place, home and 'roots' in these terms are a

fundamental human need and they shape our cultural identity. This way of thinking, something that anthropologist Liisa Malkki has described as a fundamentally sedentary metaphysics, underpins much cultural thought and territorializes identity into commonplace assumptions about property, region and nation.<sup>15</sup> This philosophy of place is not without its difficulties. For example Tim Cresswell's work on mobility and the tramp in America has explored the idea that such conceptions can lead to dualistic thoughts about people that are mobile, or displaced such as tramps, travellers or refugees as pathologically dangerous.<sup>16</sup>

A more positive and playful sense of mobility was famously celebrated by the Situationists, who were interested in the material and psychological patterns of the city street and their effects on the individual, a psychogeography. Significance came from the 'dérive', literally a 'drift', an apparently aimless wandering that nonetheless revealed the psychic undercurrents of the city.<sup>17</sup> In his latest book *On the Move* Cresswell explores some more positive valuations of mobility that have developed in social and cultural theory - a kind of 'nomadic metaphysics'.<sup>18</sup> For example Michel de Certeau argued that walking in the city is a performance, an acting out of place – he explains it in terms of direct comparison to language; walking, like language, are both creative acts where you can improvise, make connections, take short cuts, take thousands of decisions in the present.<sup>19</sup> Spoken memory can also be seen in these terms. The ability of spoken memory to make connections with other times, symbols and places make the act of memory a nomadic, mobile process – like our consciousness, it is always a work in progress.<sup>20</sup> It can therefore present a multifaceted, nuanced way of seeing the world. It is also fiercely independent, sometimes affirming dominant collective memory, but as Alessandro Portelli has shown, often opposing it.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the process of interviewing has a connective mobility of its own. Sometimes an oral history project can be the connecting network between people who scarcely know each other but share common ground. The interviewer has considerable connective agency in their power to take questions and problems from one interview to another - perhaps someone directly responsible for a situation. This technique is most commonly used in news journalism, where it is normal practice to record the opinion of one person and then immediately relate the opinion to another for a response, to balance the story.<sup>22</sup> This is a technique that can be extended to many sources to give great scope; in *Working*, for example, Studs Terkel investigated American attitudes to work by compiling interviews with people who may

not be directly connected, but give different perspectives on a common theme. For example in a chapter entitled 'cradle to grave' he records a baby nurse, school teachers, occupational therapist, retirement home nurse and an undertaker.<sup>23</sup> The technique has more commonly been applied to places in the form of community-based oral histories of a village, locality or workplace. In some cases the community or group doesn't actually have to exist as an entity in the first place. In Islington, for example, an oral history trail is being constructed with people who live and work along the old main north road out of London, the A1, which runs through the borough. The project aims to tell 'the history and heritage of the A1 as told by the people who live and work along it' partly as a community building exercise.<sup>24</sup> Similarly Edward Platt used a routeway in *Leadville: A Biography of the A40, a History of a Road*.<sup>25</sup> He knocked on the doors of residents in Western Avenue, another major road leading out of London, recording the words of anyone who was willing to discuss the road and their lives next to it. Like *Linked* mentioned above, Platt used the road as an organising principle to connect people. This more mobile, fractured perception of urban space does not necessarily coincide with historical, planning, government or place-name perceptions of place. The technique uses paths, routes, networks and trajectories to give a more complex idea of place, talking to a series of people who might not ordinarily meet, or consider themselves a part of a group or a community.

There are parallels and strengths to be drawn from both the nomadic and the sedentary schools of thought, which are by no means mutually exclusive. The way that artists and oral historians have attempted to break free from rigid place-based conceptions of what makes up a community might be seen as 'mobile' practices that try to break free from sedentary ideas of what makes a performance space, or a culture. Yet in this work there is also a strong element of the sedentary or the topophilic. In terms of oral history, exploring alternative networks or paths through a community can reveal more complex connections between people, place and their identity, but place, home and roots still have a fundamentally important role.

### **Constructing a river-based oral history trail**

I had lived in a houseboat on Ash Island, in the middle of the river Thames on the western borders of London, for ten years. I was acutely aware that the river in London was a mobile entity in itself that sustained a variety of river-based cultures. Yet many Londoners seemed to see it in sedentary terms as a border, an administrative and cultural dividing line between north and south. Lefebvre has

argued that our conceptions of 'abstract space' tend to be fragmented and broken, particularly when places are artificially sub-divided for purposes of administration and control.<sup>26</sup> Many Londoners - particularly at institutional level - tend to see the Thames as a border, an administrative and cultural dividing line between north and south. Conservation areas and borough boundaries marked on maps are frequently plotted in the middle of the river.<sup>27</sup> The river and its tributaries are even governed by three different organisations in different parts of London.<sup>28</sup> Living in the middle of the river made these divisions seem nonsensical. In my exploration of river culture I wanted the Thames to be appreciated as an entity, not merely a border or a backdrop for riverside development.

I applied the Situationist idea of the drift to my own surroundings and found a way to incorporate the river as a powerful connecting force that ran through the centre of a city. I floated an object made out of driftwood and other things I found trapped by the current of the river behind my boat. I planned to follow the float down the Thames from my houseboat at Hampton Court eastwards through London. I would follow in a rowing boat, noting, photographing and videoing its course. Where it touched the bank – or something else floating or moving in the river – I would record it as a point of inspiration for finding an interviewee. The concept had potential for human encounter, but involved the force of the river itself as something which connects and introduces disparate places and people, as opposed to dividing them. This method also had the advantage of forcing me to look at places – and therefore people – that I would have never ordinarily considered. As I have discussed elsewhere, this interdisciplinary methodology incorporated elements of hydrology, cultural geography, oral history, sound art and public history.<sup>29</sup>

PICTURE 1: FLOAT IMAGE

### **Drifting: the Dérive**

Set adrift on a current of a river I began to feel a great sense of freedom and adventure. Huck Finn escaped his rule-bound home by travelling on a raft on the Mississippi: 'other places do seem so cramped up and smothery, but a raft don't. You feel mighty free and easy and comfortable on a raft'.<sup>30</sup> For a few weeks I could do the same; the theories and methodologies and references and precedents of my academic life were left behind. Out here on the current, it seemed like there were no constraints or rules – I genuinely had no idea where the float was going to take me next; it felt like my mind had to be kept truly open because anything might happen.

I followed the float for 15 miles in a process that took several weeks, until the strong tidal currents of the river made the experiment impossible to continue.<sup>31</sup> The landscape of the banks of the Thames in central London contains some of the most imposing architecture in Britain, as successive political and economic powerhouses were built along the prestigious waterfront (palaces, bridges, parliaments and corporate headquarters).<sup>32</sup> Many of these buildings have such a strong historical, visual and political gravitational force that they are all but impossible to ignore. Yet the float managed to do so. On long, straight stretches the float would move fast, disregarding palaces, industries and entire localities. The flow gave me a strange, unfamiliar structure to my beachcombing of river-related memories. It forced me to consider talking to people that I would not have thought of ordinarily and it gave me a fresh set of memory places; the latest in a long line of practices that in some way challenge dominant cultural practices associated with national places of significance by providing an alternative; neighbourhood tours, parish mappings, public art and gardening projects.<sup>33</sup>

The drifting experiment also forced me to consider talking to people outside my social circle at unexpected locations. Several times the drifter took me directly to people's feet; bungalow owners, boat builders, a lock keeper. At times this became something akin to Jill Fenton's description of attending a Surrealist walk in Paris in which Jean-Pierre Le Goff traced an image of a clock onto a street map and led people to each number in turn. Fenton described a series of encounters that seemed to defy pure chance; small details seemed to acquire new meaning as if it was part of some strange pattern.<sup>34</sup> This is the experience of making the landscape fresh by narrating your own adventure. Like memory making, significances and patterns emerge in the experience, and again in retelling. In my experiment I became the lead actor in a strange play. Pieces of floating detritus were props, storylines and even characters, re-entering the stage at unexpected moments.

## PICTURE 2: LOCK KEEPER

Another way of understanding this process would be as a process of curation. The artist and public historian (or as he terms his practice, nu-curator) Tim Brennan has experimented with both incorporating and escaping physical sets of triggers situated in the landscape.<sup>35</sup> His guided walks include inscriptions, sculptures, statues and memorials, but he introduces new readings and experiences by introducing quotations that might or might not be related to the triggers or even each other. In

this way he encourages the walker to be reflexive and make their own meaning from the different elements.<sup>36</sup> The construction of the drifting trail might be seen in similar terms. I had used the current of the river to set up a series of collisions, connecting a series of unrelated sites in a reflexive way. The interviewing process might also be seen in these taxonomical terms, although for me it was a much more personal and organic experience. Questions from one interview were taken to another; my own life and memories were bound up in the story when the float hit places that had great personal significance, such as the place where I got married; friends and relations as well as strangers were included in this narrative.

### PICTURE 3: WEDDING

The narration became an important feature in the recordings and strengthened the experience as more coherent, situated process. I encouraged the listener to engage physically with the drifting process by trying to move at the same speed as the river for a while, to get a physical sense of what such a journey might feel like:

As an experiment, try walking for a little while at the same speed as the river. Look out for a leaf or something floating on the surface to gauge the speed. This will give you a good idea of how long my experiment took.<sup>37</sup>

This situated approach also gave the narration additional authenticity as I tried to establish that my role was not that of the educated outsider, but an insider. I tried to acknowledge the fact that I was curating my own experience, my own locality – my own life. I made parts of the journey autobiographical, in this example by including details of my home at Ash Island:

Up ahead on your right you will soon see some houseboats moored on the other side of the river. This is Ash Island. I lived on a houseboat here for nearly 10 years. It's a very strange sensation to live and sleep inches away from the moving water for such a long time. I often wondered about the river further down stream, running through the heart of London. What was it like to drive a paddle steamer or live in a riverside bungalow or work in London's docks? Was there anything that connected us, apart from the ever-flowing river?<sup>38</sup>

Overall I wanted the effect to be an understanding that the recordings were situated and particular to my journey, but also presented the listener with a chance to make

other connections. By combining the recordings with their own memories and the physical experience of walking through the riverscape, the listener can build up a very active impression of the river and its cultural significance. This is a very dynamic process; sometimes the listener's present, or their life experience, will synchronise with what they are listening to and it will become very meaningful; other times there might be some dissonance; maybe the landscape has changed or something happened to disrupt the experience; the memory might not have much function in the listener's present (although it might another time, or with someone else). The result should be a unique set of reflective experiences.

I was concerned that listening to the interviews with headphones would remove the listener's consciousness from their surroundings. I wanted to draw attention to the listener's environment, so the sound track was layered with binaural recordings of the river bank – recordings made with a stereo two-part microphone that is placed in each ear of the recorder, which picks up sound in the same way as the human head. The result is a startling 'surround sound' – if footsteps are recorded behind you, it will sound as if someone is behind you when you listen. These recordings gave the walk a temporal dimension. If the walker's experience matched the recording at any point on the walk, the recorded sound will tend to blend in and go unnoticed. But if the sound doesn't match, it creates a little prick of consciousness – like a boat passing, or the sound of a wave lapping on the shore. The walker looks in vein and realises that the thing creating the sound must have been there some other time. They are reminded of their present surroundings, and like any river journey, it cannot be travelled in the same way twice.

The result was a carefully constructed walk three mile walk containing a total of an hour of memories from 14 different people. The whole design of the walk was meant to slow people down, to take more notice of the cultural landscape and therefore make place more meaningful. Breaks from the soundtrack between listening locations allowed people to reflect, process and have their own adventure. The overall effect has been described by one reviewer as being a little like a Zen koan;

[*Drifting* is] a fluid pattern of multiple agendas, effecting and being effected by the Thames and its social, political historical and economic sectors. Each location and narrator is accompanied by the river's own music, its aural ebbs and flows, the creaking of wooden boat joints, the wash, a tugboat toot, bodying the world of a major urban riverway.<sup>39</sup>

## PICTURE 4: ROUTE MAP

### **The public view**

I placed my sound walks into the public domain, making sure that they were available for free download from the memoryscape website, in local bookshops, museums, libraries and tourist information centres, and publicised the walks in the local press and on local radio.<sup>40</sup> In nineteen months at least 14,000 people experienced the memoryscapes in one way or another. Audience evaluation, using questionnaires and interviews with nearly 150 adults, revealed an overwhelmingly positive reaction from those who experienced the walk. The evaluation process also revealed some interesting benefits to the memoryscape concept. Several people remarked that they felt empathy towards the people that they listened to despite the fact that they were from a different age, class or culture. This 'normalisation' effect seemed to come from a combination factors including the listening environment, the style of speaking and the fact that the listener could not see the interviewee. Listeners seemed to respond particularly well to the variety of voices used which gave the experience authenticity and emotional impact – they enjoyed hearing from 'real' people as opposed to a mono-vocal guide. Listening in the riverscape gave people visual 'hooks' to understand the context of the memories they were hearing, and the reality of the present environment seemed to temper feelings of past nostalgia.

The *drifting* walk also seemed to engender a feeling of identity with the landscape. Respondents reported that using a variety of senses, imagination, physically participating and references in the landscape and getting an 'insiders' take on the riverscape all helped to make the experience more meaningful and therefore memorable. Creating these connections, or links to place seem to have had led to a feeling of closeness, or rootedness for some people. One newcomer to West London wrote 'now I know a sense of a beginning attachment'. Another walker described the process as 'deepening my attachment to the river. Like roots shooting off into the soil.' Several people talked about the experience adding a new reality, or a new dimension of reality to the existing landscape. Furthermore, listeners who visit the same landscape again can use those links to remember something of the stories that they heard: 'Memoryscape has made me consider the part the river has played in so many people's lives. I think about this whenever I visit the river since listening to the recording *drifting*.' Perhaps this aspect of the experience could be of interest to those wishing to encourage feelings of belonging and identity in a particular community or

location if memorable links can be made between individuals and the cultural topography of a place - past and present.

Bruce Chatwin's celebrated book *The Songlines* explores the Australian Aboriginal tradition of walking and singing mythic and actual topographies into being.<sup>41</sup> Ian Chambers has pondered on whether mobile media players could offer us a similar experience of our landscape:

Perhaps it still continues to echo inside the miniaturised headphones of modern nomads as the barely remembered traces of a once sacred journey intent on celebrating its presence in a mark, voice, sign, symbol, signature, to be left along the track.<sup>42</sup>

Listening to memories in the outside world can actually give us a semblance of this feeling. The acts of voicing and listening to stories and everyday sound seem to entwine quite easily with the rhythm of walking; the effect for some can be very powerful, a drifting kind sense of place that is both rooted and shifting, sedentary and mobile. After more than a century of recording the human voice, the stories and myths that have been passed down through generations don't have to be merely 'barely remembered': presenting oral history in public places can really make the landscape sing.

## **Conclusion**

My aim was to explore the potential of the audio medium to locate oral history in the landscape, make it reverberate publicly and in doing so give a more nuanced, complex and open sense of place. Charles Hardy, excited by the historical possibilities of authoring spoken words and sound:

Perhaps multi-channel aural histories represent an important tool for the authoring of 'post modern' histories by providing a means of sharing authority, privileging multiple rather than univocal perspectives, and opening space – using simultaneity and dimension in the presentation of history that is not possible in the printed word, bound as it is by linear unfolding.<sup>43</sup>

In some regards 'drifting' might be thought of as a linear experience, a journey with a beginning and an end. But in all other respects it echoes Hardy's vision. I have

created just this kind of history; it is something that incorporates multiple perspectives, including my own, in its selection and presentation of oral history; it does use simultaneity, both in the listening to those histories in the context of the present landscape and in the temporal and multi-channel sound design; I also hope it opens up and 'thickens' space by placing sounds and memories back in the outside world. It is simultaneously a situated, personal cultural exploration, a presentation of oral history and an intrinsically active and 'open' experience in which there is an opportunity for the listener to make sense of the different memories in their own way and make their own connections. The process of reintroducing memories back into their geographical habitat is not without its representational, political and ethical difficulties.<sup>44</sup> But if 'drifting' has realised anything of the potential of the medium, the experience should be dramatically different to reading a set of edited transcripts in a book, and I hope it might offer real potential for public historians wishing to create multiple and cross-cultural understandings of place.

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<sup>1</sup> Graeme Miller, *Linked: a landmark in sound, an invisible artwork, a walk* (Sound installation, see [www.linkedm11.info/](http://www.linkedm11.info/) London: 2003)

<sup>2</sup> Toby Butler and Graeme Miller, 'Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art', *Cultural Geographies*, 12/1 (2005), 77-88, reprinted in Rob Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader: Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2006)

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- <sup>3</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of memory: past and present in contemporary culture* (London: Verso, 1994) x,8
- <sup>4</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Raphael Samuel, 1934-96', *New Left Review*, January/February/221 (1997), 119-127
- <sup>5</sup> Jill Liddington and Graham Smith, 'Crossing cultures: oral history and public history', *Oral History*, 33/1 (2005), 28-31 at 42
- <sup>6</sup> Hilda Kean, 'Public History and Raphael Samuel: a forgotten radical pedagogy?' *Public History Review*, 11 (2004), 51-62
- <sup>7</sup> Jill Liddington and Simon Ditchfield, 'Public history: a critical bibliography', *Oral History*, 33/1 (2005), 40-45 at 42
- <sup>8</sup> Samuel, *Theatres of memory: past and present in contemporary culture* 17
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid. 8
- <sup>10</sup> Toby Butler, 'Memoryscape audio walks'[website], 2005 <www.memoryscape.org.uk>
- <sup>11</sup> Doreen Massey, 'A global sense of place', *Marxism Today*, June 1991, 24-29; Doreen Massey, 'Places and their pasts', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (1995), 182-192 at 191; Doreen Massey, *For space* (London: Sage, 2005)
- <sup>12</sup> Tim Cresswell, *Place : a short introduction* (Short introductions to geography; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)
- <sup>13</sup> Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia : a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974) 4
- <sup>14</sup> E. C. Relph, *Place and placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976) 43
- <sup>15</sup> Lisa Malkki, 'National Geographic: the rooting of peoples and the territorialisation of national identity among scholars and refugees', *Cultural Anthropology*, 7/1 (1992), 24-44
- <sup>16</sup> Tim Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001) 14-19; Tim Cresswell, *On the move: mobility in the modern Western world* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 39-42
- <sup>17</sup> Simon Ford, *The Situationist International: a users guide* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2005) 34
- <sup>18</sup> Cresswell, *On the move: mobility in the modern Western world* 47-55
- <sup>19</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 97
- <sup>20</sup> Paul Thompson, 'Believe It or Not: Rethinking the Historical Interpretation of Memory', in Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall (eds.), *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994) at 11
- <sup>21</sup> Alessandro Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal*, 12/96-107 (1981)
- <sup>22</sup> David Randall, *The Universal Journalist* (London: Pluto, 1996) 72
- <sup>23</sup> Studs Terkel, *Working; people talk about what they do all day and how they feel about what they do* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974)
- <sup>24</sup> Tabitha Timothy, 'Report on the Sept 9th forum event: A1 audio tour: brief description', *Arts for Islington Forum Monthly Bulletin*, 3 October 2005, at 19
- <sup>25</sup> Edward Platt, *Leadville: A Biography of the A40* (London: Picador, 2001)
- <sup>26</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1974])
- <sup>27</sup> Physically the Thames cuts through the heart of London, yet it is on the very edge of the territory of the City of London and 16 of the 32 London boroughs that share the riverside. Commentators have noted that the river has, until recently, been perceived in policy terms as on the edge, rather than at the centre of coherent planning. Chris Sumner, 'Historic waterscapes', in Ian Munt and Rose Jaijee (eds.), *River Calling: the need for urban water space strategies* (London: London Rivers Association, 2002) at 65
- <sup>28</sup> British Waterways administers London's canals and some docks and tributaries; the Environment Agency administers the 'non-tidal' Thames; the Port of London Authority administers the tidal Thames (downstream from Teddington Lock)
- <sup>29</sup> Toby Butler, 'A walk of art: the potential of the sound walk as practice in cultural geography', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7/6 (2006), 889-908
- <sup>30</sup> Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1981 edn., New York: Bantam Books, 1884) 113
- <sup>31</sup> As the river can be dangerous to navigate at night, I retrieved the float at the end of each day and started again from where I had finished the day before.

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- <sup>32</sup> Hampton Court Palace, the Houses of Parliament, the Tower of London, the GLA building and the Millennium Dome are perhaps the most famous examples.
- <sup>33</sup> Karen Till, 'Places of Memory', in K. Mitchell J. Agnew, G. O'Tuathail (ed.), *Companion to Political Geography* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2003), 289-301 at 294-6
- <sup>34</sup> Jill Fenton, 'Space, chance, time: walking backwards through the hours on the left and right banks of Paris', *Cultural Geographies*, 12 (2005), 412-428; David Pinder, 'Arts of urban exploration', *Cultural Geographies*, 12 (2005), 383-411 at 397
- <sup>35</sup> Tim Brennan, 'Manoeuvre'2003 <<http://mysite.wanadoo-members.co.uk/manoeuvre/page1.html>> accessed 17 November 2006
- <sup>36</sup> Tim Brennan, 'Mercator manoeuvre', *Cultural Geographies*, 12 (2005), 514-520
- <sup>37</sup> Track 3, Toby Butler, *Drifting* (Audio walk, London: Memoryscape Audio Walks, 2005)
- <sup>38</sup> Track 2, *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> Jeff Friedman, 'Media Review: Drifting, from Memoryscape Audio Walks. Produced by Toby Butler', *Oral History Review*, 33/1 (2006), 107-9 at 109
- <sup>40</sup> See [www.memoryscape.org.uk](http://www.memoryscape.org.uk) for further information, and to download audio and maps of the walk. An online version is also available here for those who are unable to walk the trails.
- <sup>41</sup> Bruce Chatwin, *The songlines* (London: Vintage, 1987)
- <sup>42</sup> Iain Chambers, 'The Aural Walk', in Christopher Cox and Daniel Warner (ed.), *Audio culture: readings in modern music* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 98-101 at 101
- <sup>43</sup> Charles Hardy III, 'Authoring in sound: aural history, radio and the digital revolution', in Rob Perks and Alistair Thompson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, second edition* (London: Routledge, 2006), 393-405 at 398
- <sup>44</sup> Toby Butler and Rowan Wilson, 'Interview with Toby Butler', ReadySteadyBook 2007 <<http://www.readysteadybook.com/Article.aspx?page=tobybutler>> accessed 20 February 2007