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Constructing Memories of Holmfirth through *Last of the Summer Wine*

Abstract

Last of the Summer Wine (BBC, 1973-2010) was filmed in Holmfirth, West Yorkshire, UK for 37 years. Its presence in the town has affected collective memories of the space and place of the region. In examining *Summer Wine's* continued presence in Holmfirth even after it has ceased production, we investigate how the series as a text, institution and brand serves to spatially inform Holmfirth and construct, embed and inform cultural memory.

Keywords

Television, cultural memory, collective memory, place, embodied experience, sensory engagement.

Introduction

Last of the Summer Wine (BBC, 1973-2010) used Holmfirth, West Yorkshire, UK as its main filming location for 37 years. The presence of the series over this extended period has demonstrably changed the town, making it globally visible as a region through its representation on television and embedding fictional locations of the TV series as concrete entities in the town. It has changed collective and cultural memories of Holmfirth and brought the real and imagined together. *Last of the Summer Wine* has become part of everyday communicative memories in which fictional representations, oral histories, embodied practices, sensory engagements and lived experiences collide.

Our concern here is not in examining the representations of Holmfirth in *Last of the Summer Wine* or in exploring its impact on tourism in Holmfirth, though we will briefly refer to these. Rather we are interested in how the series as a text, institution and brand serves to spatially inform Holmfirth, and how the shared idea of it, which is experienced by the authors as a conceptual understanding rather than a literal one, informs the space and place of Holmfirth. We draw on theoretical principles as well as ongoing empirical research in order to examine how television helps to construct, embed and inform cultural memories.

We write this as two British citizens who share a collective awareness of this television series as 'wallpaper' to much of our lives (Bourdon, 2003: 6). This is an easy if slightly hollow familiarity which offers a shared recognition and meaning, including an understanding of the type of show it was, the kind of things it was about, the perceived audience of the series, the rituals that it formed part of and an understanding of the role that public service television plays in the UK. All of these things have helped to embed *Last of the Summer Wine* into our lives in an everyday banal manner, where we experience it as a fragmented collective cultural awareness more than an actual representation of people, sentiment, place, or behaviours.

Background

Holmfirth is a compact rural town which sits in the Holme Valley, West Yorkshire. It is the centre point in a triangle of urban conurbations, equidistant to Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield which are all about twenty miles away.

Historically Holmfirth was built on farming, agriculture and the textile industries.

There remain several mills in the valley, a few still in production, the majority redeveloped as housing and some derelict. Its media history is also evident:

Bamforth & Co. established a factory in Holmfirth in the late 19th century and became internationally known for its early moving pictures and 'saucy' seaside

postcards. The company was sold off in the 1980s and the factory stood derelict in the centre of town until 2015 when it was sold for redevelopment. The latter half of the 20th century brought a marked decline in people working on the land and in the factories an increase in the status of Holmfirth as a leisure and tourist destination. Kirklees Council estimates its population to be in the region of 5,029 with a slightly higher than average percentage of people in the 45-64 age bracket (Kirklees Council, 2013). This demographic means that most people resident in the town have at least a 'wallpaper' memory of *Summer Wine*. Holmfirth residents can be broadly split into locals who can trace their families back for at least two generations, and comers-in who have lived there for any shorter period. Between them Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield and their surrounding satellite towns such as Huddersfield, Halifax, Barnsley and Wakefield exert an equal amount of gravitational pull for commuting. Today the town centre is dominated by small shops, pubs and restaurants while the residential areas make up most of the outlying areas. The town is characterised by grey stone buildings which are prevalent across the Pennines; these exist alongside newer housing and light industrial developments. Despite its centrality to the three major cities of the north of England there is a sense in which Holmfirth is on the edge of things. It is just outside the boundary line of the Peak

District National Park and on the periphery of the West Yorkshire border next to Derbyshire and Greater Manchester. Like many regions of Yorkshire, in 2014 the town celebrated being one of the places that the Tour de France 'passed through'. (Ironically this more recent television event - which was anticipated by many locals as an opportunity to re-brand Holmfirth independently of *Summer Wine* - was missed by the cameras, which focused on a crash shortly before the cyclists entered the town.) 'Passing through' also gives a sense of the way that the tourist experience exists in the region. Holmfirth is a place of short visits – days out rather than weekly holidays, snatched time away rather than concerted leisure. This sense of transience is reflected in the way that it is crisscrossed by but does not touch the arteries of motorway network, is close to major rail lines but lacks its own train station, is traversed by long distance footpaths and bicycle routes (the Pennine Way and Trans Pennine Trail) but only partially served by public transport. Although it is close to the main arteries provided by the M62 and M1 motorways it can be easily overlooked.

Despite the ability to disregard Holmfirth the town is globally renown as the main filming location for *Last of the Summer Wine* (BBC, 1973-2010), a TV series which lays claim to be the longest running sitcom in the world (Vine, 2011). It follows the antics of three elderly friends, Compo, Foggy and Clegg,

who chat, bicker and wander through their lives getting up to pranks, reminiscing about former times, and revelling in their twilight years. Roy Clarke wrote all of the episodes and the series was accompanied by a distinctive theme tune by Ronnie Hazlehurst whose music provided some of the most memorable soundtracks to British sitcoms over the 1970s and 1980s. The series consistently garnered high ratings for the BBC and became particularly profitable overseas (Vine, 2011). In 2016, six years after the final episode was originally broadcast, it remains a regular feature on British television where its syndication ensures it is a near permanent presence on free to air digital channels.

Over the four decades of *Summer Wine's* production, despite changes in crew and cast members who moved on, died, or stayed with the team, the format changed relatively little. Consequently it is the epitome of television that 'has been around for years, and is doing now what it has always done' (Mills, 2010: 6). As Brett Mills identifies, this stasis is one of the things which results in it being almost wholly overlooked by academic work with its concomitant tendency to 'downplay the significance of the old, the ongoing, the repetitive, the always-there' (Mills 2010: 7). In addition, the older members of both its cast and target audience remain on the periphery of media and cultural studies

(Tulloch, 1989), while television studies as an academic discipline also marginalises critical engagement with this type of ordinary, everyday TV (Bonner, 2003) which is critically constructed as 'easy... simplistic, and watched by lazy audiences' (Gorton, 2006: 72). This critical neglect is indicative of the way in which cultural studies perpetuates and reinforces hierarchies at the same time that it claims to critique them (Murdock, 1997, Walkerdine, 1997). In her study of television Frances Bonner (2003: 2) posits a useful link between its ordinariness as an everyday practice and the ordinariness of that which is on TV. If Holmfirth as a region is easy to disregard despite its centrality, *Last of the Summer Wine* as a television series, despite its significance, acclaim and popularity, is similarly overlooked by rigorous academic and critical enquiry. Although the durability of *Last of the Summer Wine* is one of the things which has often resulted in its critical derision (see for example, Armitage, 2009) it is also a key factor of its popularity. As 'part the grain of everyday life' (Silverstone, 1994: 22) its permanence and stability are highly valued attributes for its audiences and these features have provided similar stability for the residents of Holmfirth. Over the course of its production the series provided regular sessional work for the local population, seasonal homes to the incoming cast and crew, and tourist income from people visiting the places they had seen on

television. After 37 years of being filmed on location and broadcast as part of a television schedule, Holmfirth's synonymy with *Last of the Summer Wine* is firmly established. The place has been made vividly real through its dramatization (Tuan, 2001) and Holmfirth exists as a 'known' entity which provides a visual, virtual memory of the region without actually going there; and imbuing a sense of familiarity with *Last of the Summer Wine* that exists regardless of watching all or part of the series Travelling around Holmfirth and encountering the way that *Last of the Summer Wine* is embedded in the fabric of the place provides evidence of a demonstrable 'desire to mark fictional events on a map' (Nicholls, 2015: 2) This is orchestrated partly through officialdom and commercial imperatives and partly through individual interpretations of place. In tourist literature sobriquets such as 'Summer Wine country' are used to conflate real and imagined place signifiers and make them inseparable (Mordue, 2001). Built environments draw directly on referents to the series, for example 'Sid's Cafe' is named after one of the fictional characters and was transformed into a 'real' cafe after it was used as a location shoot for a cafe in the series. Other places imply a knowledge of the series through indirect allusions: the names of 'The Wrinkled Stocking Tea Room' above 'Nora Batty's steps' only make sense to those familiar with the name of one of the characters

her distinguishing features. While some of these referents can be read as indicative of a desire to attract tourism there is also evidence of ownership and engagement at a more personal level. Signed photographs of stars of the show, living and deceased, feature on the walls of most local businesses where they are displayed as though they are family snapshots. These types of embeddedness work together to form a shared understanding that 'this is what the town's about'. Simply to be in Holmfirth represents a blurring of the lines between fictional setting and actual location, real and imagined characters.

The visual North

Holmfirth as place and *Last of the Summer Wine* as text both help to define each other as a composite memory of 'timeless rural Yorkshire'. This visual rhetoric has been established over many years by still and moving pictures including the Bamforth postcards, social realist filmmaking and soap operas (see Cooke, 2012) as a particularly English, northern, classed phenomenon. Because this visual imagery draws on photography, a central tenet of the documentary/realist tradition, it operates as a powerful 'central vehicle for encapsulating and constituting the past for present-day social remembering practices' (Keightley and Schlesinger, 2014: 746). Images of rural Yorkshire draw on a known trope, in which shows such as *Heartbeat* (YTV, 1992-date),

Where the Heart Is (Anglia TV, 1997-2006), *The Darling Buds of May* (Excelsior, 1991-1993), *Emmerdale (Farm)* (YTV, 1972-date), and *All Creatures Great and Small* (BBC, 1978-1990) offer versions of 'ordinariness' and 'simple pleasures' which are inherently nostalgic. More recent dramas such as *Last Tango in Halifax* (BBC, 2012-date) and *Happy Valley* (BBC, 2014) have a similarly nostalgic focus on the end of times which is often rimmed with sadness (Boym, 2001). . This bucolic vision has become a recognisable global 'memory' which helps to establish a quintessential rural northern identity as a conceptually shared concept (Davidson, 2005, Armitage, 2009, Russell, 2004).

Collective, cultural memory

Keightley and Schlesinger (2014: 745) note that 'the processes of mediation and cultural transmission involved in the articulation of social memory remain only partially accounted for'. In order to consider how memories of *Last of the Summer Wine*; real, imagined and embedded, help to create the place and space of Holmfirth, we draw on a number of scholarly takes on memory and nostalgia. Maurice Halbwachs (1925) was the first to coin the term 'collective memory' and noted its social and cultural nature. He argued that an individual, even as they reproduce their past through memories, does so in the context of current social organisation (Halbwachs, 1992). Jan Assman (2001) takes this

idea further in order to distinguish between different forms of collective memory. Communicative memory is linked to the everyday life of individuals and the sharing of the past as a form of 'oral history'. Cultural memory is bound up with objectified and institutionalised practices, for example the symbolic power to signify and transmit the past which is present in rituals, objects, texts, monuments, and other media. Cultural memory, for Assman, is a process of stabilisation which relies on the fixity of the past and coalesces around certain fateful events which are maintained in memory via cultural formations (texts, rituals, monuments) and institutional communication (religious practice, commemoration). If communicative memory is concerned with the everyday and the 'proximity' of the past, cultural memory has a much longer temporal nature and is concerned with the 'distance' from everyday events. Penny Tinkler (2013: xvii) makes a different temporal distinction to Assman when she argues that the terms personal and collective memory both refer to interpretations of the past within living memory that are established and shared, typically through representations in popular culture such as television. Collective memory provides a cultural framework within which people articulate and interpret their personal memories. Tinkler notes that because collective memory is informed and shaped by the experiences and stories of people in communities it is

different to public history, which is imposed 'from above' usually by governments and officiated discourses. Public history for her, then, is more akin to what Assman terms 'cultural memory'. For Tinkler, popular memories of the past are modified or superseded as alternative accounts emerge and gain public exposure. For Paolo Jedlowksi (2001: 33) collective memory is 'a set of social representations concerning the past which each group produces, institutionalises, guards and transmits through the interaction of its members'. We argue that television amplifies this tendency in its role as an 'everyday' medium.

Television is also a gateway to the past, either via the replaying of versions of past events (such as newsreels and 'forgotten' footage), or by the dramatic interpretation of the past (TV adaptations of literary texts, period dramas). In this sense television becomes an important site of what Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering refer to as 'mnemonic imagination' (Keightley and Pickering, 2012, Pickering and Keightley, 2013). Television makes the past comprehensible because it is able to circulate a common set of cultural reference points. This circulation and repetition of images works to solidify the past into 'iconic' geopolitical events. Myra MacDonald (2006) notes that by celebrating commemorative events, invoking 'history' and constructing ideas about the past,

as well as 'recycling programmes across generational divides,' television creates cultural memories which are nationally understood. Certainly the notion of memory and mediation is key here, as Andreas Huyssen notes when he argues 'we cannot discuss personal, generational, or public memory separately from the enormous influence of new media as carriers of all forms of memory' (Huyssen, 2003: 18).

As a time-bound medium television is intrinsically nostalgic. Any re-watching of earlier programmes offers a chance to re-live the occasion and rituals in which they were first encountered, and to experience first hand the multiple ways in which technologies become dates. Scholarly work on nostalgia and television has been characterised by a concern with the television 'text' (Kompere, 2005, O'Sullivan, 1998, Spigel, 2001). Amy Holdsworth is predominantly concerned with examining how memory and nostalgia are represented, constructed and produced by television in order to produce 'televisual memory': the representation of, and nature of, memory on television. Other work has considered the ways in which television is central to constructing and cementing (momentous) moments in history in a way which necessitates an affective response which is often nostalgic (Doane, 1990, Kuhn, 1995).

Holdsworth (2011) argues that memories of past television and past television

viewing experiences which are often tied to domestic spaces and exist within familial structures can be seen as indicative of a desire to anchor ourselves in the world. These practices draw implicitly on nostalgic recourse to the known, comfortable, and familiar. If television as a function of 'mnemonic imagination' works to locate an understanding of the past focused on large-scale geo-political 'events', nostalgia is popularly dismissed as entertaining and insignificant and of little consequence. This potential for it to be taken lightly is important because, as Michael Billig (1995) argues, it is thus easily allied to banal (but not benign) practices such as nationalism. Svetlana Boym (2001) similarly notes the ways in which sentiment can be used to mobilise nationalist discourses. We seek here to broaden out the debate to include embodied and affective responses not just to the text itself but to its afterlife and its effect on the constitution of place in Holmfirth.

Although nostalgia is often viewed as regressive and oppositional to progress (Moran, 2002, Pickering and Keightley, 2006), Alastair Bonnett (2010) argues for a reconsideration of its radical potential. Jerome Bourdon (2003: 6) identifies a 'typology of television memories' which proposes different categories of television memory including 'close encounters' which consist of memories of real life encounters between viewers and television personalities. What this

gestures to is the ways in which television as an everyday medium always moves beyond the text to indemnify itself in the routines and habits of quotidian experience. These movements are central to current debates about non-representational media and cultural studies, which considers how mediated geography (Ingold, 2011, Morley, 2007, Morley, 2010), cultural geographies (Strate, 2002, Horton and Kraftl, 2013) and sensory ethnographies (Pink, 2012) help us to move beyond the representational 'text' (Pink, 2012, Moores, 2012, Krajina et al., 2014). This article offers a consideration of these ideas via an exploration of *Last of the Summer Wine* beyond the diegetic world of the series and into the spaces of the town in which it was filmed. Here, we consider the 'Summer Wine Magic' bus tour as a key component of the legacy of *Last of the Summer Wine* in Holmfirth.

'Summer Wine Magic'

In this section we consider the role of location in the construction of cultural memory with a particular focus on the *Last of the Summer Wine* Bus Tour ('Summer Wine Magic'), as well as considering how other aspects of the built environment of Holmfirth serve to place the series as central to forming an understanding of it as a locale. One of the most regular bus services in Holmfirth is not one run by a local municipal operator but is rather a tour of the

television series offered by a local businessman and Holmfirth resident.

Through its regularity and omnipresence the 'Summer Wine Magic' tour is inserted as an indelible feature of the townscape. The bus tour runs five times per day, six days per week, throughout the year starting and ending at Sid's Cafe. This is one of the most immediately visible Holmfirth buildings as it is situated directly opposite the small bus station which links the town to nearby Huddersfield, Wakefield and Sheffield and also serves as the dropping off point for tourist coaches. The Summer Wine Magic tour then, allies itself to site of visual and locational prominence in the town.

The home page of the tour stresses the synonymy between Holmfirth as place and Holmfirth as location shoot by interchangeably referring to itself as both 'the Holmfirth Tour' and 'the Summer Wine Magic Tour', these titles similarly both appear on the bus' livery

(<http://sumerwineleisure.sharepoint.com/Pages/default.aspx>). The tour's website describes it as 'a 10 mile journey round the film locations used in the filming of the World record breaking BBC comedy "The Last Of The Summer Wine" which 'incorporates some of the most beautiful scenery found in the foothills of the Yorkshire Pennines'. By following the location shooting in many ways the tour mirrors the route that the characters in the series are often seen

to take. Winding up hills and down valleys the tour's structure topographically mirrors the characters' escapades. It also places emphasis on providing 'a full running commentary on the history of the local area'. Whilst the tour is not an 'official' history of the programme and has no BBC sanction, it is authenticated by the fact that the guide is a 'born and bred' local to Holmfirth who worked on the television series across its duration. The tour simulates the nostalgic mood of the programme by transporting visitors around the town in a vintage bus. Throughout the forty-five minute trip visitors are taken around the town to significant locations from the programme as well as places of wider significance to the town (e.g., the site of two fatal floods, the Luddite meeting house). It also takes in sites of 'dark tourism' (Foley and Lennon, 1996) through its consideration of Saddleworth Moors (the site of the Brady and Hindley murders in the 1960s) and the home of Peter Falconio (a local man murdered in 2001 whilst backpacking in the Australian outback). To the extent that the tour concerns itself with this wider history beyond the diegesis of the programme it has a perhaps undesirable 'flattening' effect whereby fictional escapades are ranked in equivalence to the loss of life or natural disasters. For example, note the tour's commentary here:

And this is where Barry and Glenda were married. They did quite a lot of filming in this village. It has lots of narrow roads and lanes that they used. But it was in the 1600s most of the inhabitants of this village were wiped out with a plague which came up from London...This is the village where the lad comes from that's been murdered in Australia. If you remember the young English couple who were touring the outback in as camper van, they got kidnapped. The girl managed to escape though they think the lad's been shot. This estate on the right is where he comes from, Peter Falconio.

Yet we argue that it is via this very flattening that other versions of Holmfirth are made visible as the real and the imagined places are brought into a production tension out of which a sense of Holmfirth is rendered. One way that the tour punctures the town's fictional representation on screen is via its revelations of the very 'magic' that makes such staging possible (hence the tour's name). The secrets of the series' continuity editing are consistently revealed, drawing attention to the artifice of the text much as a DVD extra feature would. As the tour guide tells us:

They did that scene here where the three of them were skiing downhill on breakfast trays. They got them tied to their feet. And a while back it

showed an episode where Howard was sat on the roof of his house.

Cleggy then came along ...and left Howard stranded on the road. While Howard's cottage is four mile away from here, the road where they actually filmed them is that one in front of us to the left, the low one up those two houses. When you see Howard's cottage you'll realise why they filmed it there.

Any simple re-enactment of the 'tourist gaze' at Holmfirth is also ruptured by the sensory experience of the tour. The 'bone-shaking' experience of the vintage bus, the smells and sounds of the town and surrounding farmland, the local accent of the guide and the points of origin of the other visitors all contribute to an embodied sense of Holmfirth as a place alongside the ocular centrality of its on-screen depiction. If we consume Holmfirth as an image via the television series we also experience it as a place of contradictions, uneasy equivalences, and difficult juxtapositions on the 'TV' tour. A rounded sense of place is thus amplified even if the catalyst to that tour is prompted by a somewhat nostalgic representation.

If the tour in its regularity and longevity serves to ossify a sense of place, of Holmfirth as a stable and knowable location shared via cultural memories, it simultaneously undoes and complicates that possibility. The guide rarely refers

to Holmfirth as a single entity denoted by its name, but rather highlights the distinctiveness of each of the hamlets, villages and areas that the bus passes through. It is collectively that these places create a coherent idea of 'Holmfirth'. Whilst there may be a focus on signs of a Northern England long-past – weavers' cottages, traditional farms, smallholdings, steep winding streets, cobbled paths - the ongoing struggle of its present is brought into proximity through its interactions with current residents with the town. The tour is peppered with 'reveals':

'You don't normally see the top floor in the programme, they don't show that....when Clegg comes out of his door and turns left he walks on that lane, he ends up at Nora Batty's four mile away. Summer wine magic!'

However, one problem of this approach is that despite the encyclopaedic knowledge of the series by the guide, most visitors would struggle to recall individual scenes from a TV series with a thirty-seven year history. Phrases such as 'That's where you find Pearl chasing Howard down there'; 'That's where Edie sat in a wheelchair putting flowers on her mother's grave' ; 'this is where she made Wesley walk on newspaper', seem to challenge the visitors' memory of the show, but it is highly unlikely that any of the visitors have experience of watching the programme over its whole lifetime. Thus the tour

tends to privilege moments in much the same way that certain scenes are made iconic via television nostalgia programmes and 'top one hundred' countdown shows. For example, we are told 'They did that scene here where the three of them were skiing downhill on breakfast trays'; 'This is where Compo was running away downhill in a bathtub'. Reminding us of these generic, composite scenes in the locations in which they were filmed serves to reinscribe the connection between the townscape and its fictional doppelgänger.

If the tour seeks to solidify or stabilise Holmfirth's past and its on-screen depiction through an authenticated version of the place in ways that might suggest Assman's definition of cultural memory, it is in its failures and ruptures to do so that Assman's notion of cultural memory is challenged. As Jedlowski points out 'memory, at least potentially', always has a 'critical and destabilizing force' (Jedlowski, 2001: 36). The tour then, is most powerful in the moments where the town is shown to be not only a 'real place' to counter its fictionalisation, but more than either version of itself. The omnipresence of the tour and its repetition along a set route solidifies and makes iconic a certain version of the town and its relationship to its on-screen self. This is strengthened by elements of the tour script which are pre-recorded and broadcast at specific intervals. These inscribe via repetition and their 'static'

nature the association of Holmfirth with an unchanging set of events. However it is the tour guide's non-recorded commentary that seeks to undo and destabilize the very narrative the tour seeks to establish. Shifting weather conditions, local traffic, and all manner of events that make up the frequently changing nature of everyday lived experience in the town thereby prompt unexpected detours, chance encounters and different recollections. It is in these moments that a sense of place of Holmfirth emerges from the clutches of forces that seek to stabilize and tame it. The tour via its very repetition is both always the same and yet always, in each iteration, different. If social and cultural memory is, as Anna Reading (2003) notes, something which is produced between individuals and groups, communicated in and across time, not divided by private or public memories, and includes aspects of culture, social practices and structures, communicated by media technologies (our emphasis) we can see that the 'Summer Wine Magic' tour, as a process of mediation and cultural transmission, is one way in which social memory is articulated and re-articulated to produce Holmfirth as a place (Keightley and Schlesinger, 2014: 745).

John Urry's seminal work *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) notes that ways of looking are central to notions of tourism and that tourist practices manage and direct tourists' gazes in particular ways. If the *Last of the Summer Wine* series

creates Holmfirth as an image for the pleasure of the television viewer, the 'Summer Wine Magic' Tour complicates the picture as it both problematises the representation at the same time as it inscribes it further into the built environment of the town. 'Summer Wine Magic' constructs and deconstructs a sense of place in its bringing together of factual and fictional identities, events and experiences. Despite the tour's nostalgic aesthetic, its attempt to narrate a competing but alternative local history, and its reminiscences inspired by a long-running but now defunct television series create an uneasy alliance.

Conclusion

The tour as a 'nostalgic journey' has additional resonance since filming stopped in 2009 - now it is a tour about a 'past' television series about 'the past'. In the present day *Last of the Summer Wine* is still very much in evidence in the town but there is a palpable move away from allusions to the TV series and toward a more generic Summer Wine 'branding' which is utilised as a way of referring to the area and events happening in and around it. 'Last of the Summer Tris', 'Summer Wine Trail runs' and the 'Summer Shine car wash' bear no relationship to the programme, reach groups of people that were not the target audience of the series and are unlikely to have encountered it as television at all. While this brand identity is partly a deliberate strategy to capture attention

through known rhetoric (see Morgan and Pritchard, 1998) it also indicates how the *Summer Wine* sobriquet has been stabilised with meaning which is invoked through a shared conceptual memory. If *Last of the Summer Wine* is the central point in a tourist understanding of Holmfirth, the *Summer Wine* aura extends to the region as a whole.

Last of the Summer Wine manipulates cultural memory by spatially informing Holmfirth through signifiers of the factual and fictional past and offering re-memories of television as a text, institution and practice. As the series is no longer in production, the fictional referent moves further away and becomes part of embedded history. It is not possible to attribute the prevalence of references to *Last of the Summer Wine* as wholly indicative of a commercial imperative. Rather these symbols 'insinuate dreams and myths into the public perception of places which may come, in time, to stand, like icons, logos or mottoes, as shorthand statements of their character' (Hughes, 1998: 19). Although the series broadcast its final episode in 2010 its presence has been inscribed, embedded, and appropriated into the town and its people. This reminds us that *Last of the Summer Wine* is not just a cultural artefact but forms part of a wider cultural, industrial and personal memory.

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