

Recreational Tourism

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Series Editors: Chris Cooper (*University of Queensland, Australia*),
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Recreational Tourism Demand and Impacts

Chris Ryan

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Preface

It is over a decade since *Recreational Tourism: A Social Science Perspective* first appeared. During the intervening years, tourism research has become better established and the volume of published research has continued to grow almost exponentially with, or so it seems, each passing year bringing forth more journals in the field. Nonetheless, throughout this intervening period I have continued to receive enquiries as to whether a new edition of *Recreational Tourism* would appear.

Finally, it has happened! I would like first to thank all those people who kept asking for a new edition. Second, I would wish to thank Mike Grover and his team at Channel View Publications for their good will (the manuscript was a month late in arriving!) and technical support. Among others I should thank Mike Robinson, Nigel Evans and Richard Sharpley for hosting me at the Centre for Travel and Tourism at the University of Northumbria. This edition was commenced while I stayed there in November 2001. I must also thank my colleagues at the University of Waikato in New Zealand for letting me stay at home more days than perhaps I ought in order to complete the text. And, of course, a big thank you to my immediate family, Anca and Mark, who left me alone in our garage while I typed away at the laptop. (They might have actually thought this was an improvement over normal home life!)

It has been interesting reviewing and further conceptualising tourism in the sense of assessing to what degree work undertaken in the 1980s still had validity in the early years of the twenty-first century. The first flush of enthusiasm about ecotourism has come and gone, with its advocates stating that that it has, in its form of sustainable tourism, impacted on the mainstream to the benefit of many forms of tourism. I tend to more cynical perspectives myself – most tourists remain holidaymakers, not lay biologists. If they are educated, it is through the emotions, not the intellect, and edutainment seems to have gained sway! I tend to agree with that school who might see ecotourism as part of the problem. In a review of the earlier version of the book, Eric Cohen picked up my espousal of purpose-built tourism destinations as being more environmentally friendly than permitting tourists to enter previously unspoilt places. If anything, I tend more to that view today. It seems to me that for tourism to be the ‘saviour’ of fragile places, species and environments, then that implies a failure of better

methods. It is perhaps a weak argument for tourism when (eco-) tourism can be advanced only as the least worst form of development.

In other spheres, the quest for authenticity that dominated an important part of the literature in the 1980s has, or so it seems to me, dissolved into two concepts. First there is existential authenticity – which implies that the feelings of the tourist and the performer are the measure of ‘reality’. It is the epitome of consumerism – segmentations are dead; the individual consumer is king! Second, the argument has, to my mind properly, been replaced by ‘authorisation’ – who authorises any display or interpretation? In short, the reality of power structures finally begins to be revealed.

As for the conceptual survivors – then surely Dick Butler’s theory of the destination lifecycle still retains significant usefulness as a measure against which to measure resort development, even though today it is more than uniformly recognised that it does not apply in all cases, and is certainly not inevitable? It is also evident to me that the techniques of analysis have become more sophisticated, and that positivism no longer rules supreme.

In writing this book, I have tended to eschew the approach that reduces knowledge to checklists of ‘key points’ or to draw boxes around ‘case studies’ as seems to have become the fashion. Knowledge is not a matter of lists to be remembered – rather it is an issue of understanding and questioning inter-relationships between dynamic factors – and this is certainly true of tourism. I strongly suspect students know this, and that better students are actually dismissive of attempts to remove complexity from reality. Their own realities are difficult enough as it is, and thus they readily appreciate that the management of tourism is far from being certain or wholly scientific – and is certainly more than just a checklist of items. This has meant that, within the structure of the book, there are elements of repetition in some instances. It is not expected that everyone will read the book from start to finish; some will want to simply dip into individual chapters, and thus such chapters had to be relatively free standing. However, while some repetition exists, hopefully it is comparatively minimal.

This then raises the issue of what is the purpose of this text? The original text was motivated by a wish to structure the determinants of tourism demand, and to subsequently examine the implications of that demand at the destination. Consequently demand is examined from within a framework of the economic, social and psychological determinants. In one sense economic factors enable holiday choice to be exercised, while social and psychological variables help to shape the nature of the choice being made. In practice, though, it is not necessarily that simple, and the factors are inter-dependent. For example, one’s economic conditions might well play a role in shaping one’s life expectations, and thus economics possess psychological implications.

As a preamble to the consideration of these factors, a history of tourism is described as a means of indicating how the economic, social and indeed technological conditions of an age determine holiday patterns. History is, however, not simply a case study that illustrates how socially-determined factors shape behaviours, but is in itself both a precursor and a determinant to that which is currently taken for granted. Consequently it is not surprising that many of the holiday-taking patterns that are discernible today are shown to have long and well-established antecedents, in spite of the new technologies that might be employed in a contemporary age.

The final purpose of the text is to examine the effects of tourism, and to illustrate the nature of the challenge posed for destination planners. Any identification of problems is, however, but a first stage towards attempted solutions – but such solutions are often drawn from an arsenal of comparatively well-established techniques at an operational level. On the other hand, the extent to which these techniques are applicable is often dependent on a debate about that which is valued, and the resource that will be allocated to the achievement of desired ends. Consequently operational methods open to destination planning are not divorced from wider social considerations of desired ends, politics and the power to achieve goals.

Whether it will be another decade before another edition appears is, thus far, not even a question that has been formulated; but if this edition is as helpful as the first appears to be, then the book will have served its purpose.

Chapter 1

A History of Tourism in the English-Speaking World

Introduction

In order to better understand the nature of tourism at the commencement of the twenty-first century, a brief history may be of use. While the following description and interpretation is Eurocentric (if not indeed primarily British), it can be argued that Western thought and the modes of capitalism that emerged from Europe's past, when combined with the industrial strength of North America, have been the main drivers of contemporary globalisation. In its turn, tourism has been both a consequence of, and a contributor to, the global nature of business and travel networks that exist today. Indeed, it has become a cliché to argue that the current nature of these networks specifically owes much to the period that followed the Industrial Revolution. Naturally travel preceded the second half of the nineteenth century, and indeed had an importance because it provided a model of forms of travel that had been the norm until that period. Like all models, it was modified and adapted by later generations in the light of new technologies and needs. Thus the antecedents of contemporary tourism reflected prior histories, just as today's tourism industry reflects its immediate past. Consequently this chapter examines the history of tourism from the perspective that the past explains, in part, the present.

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a context within which contemporary aspects of tourism can be viewed as being first, an evolutionary process and, second, significantly different from the past in terms of a compression of space and time made possible by new technologies. The chapter will end with a brief discussion of some themes that can be identified within this history.

The Classical World

The history of travel as a leisure activity is often traced to the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome, if only because of the presence of written and archaeological evidence. The historian Herodotus, living in about 465 BC, is known for his travels as described in *The Histories*. His *Histories* are full of asides relating to travel. For example he notes of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, that '...no doubt for the pleasure of foreign travel – Solon left

home and, after a visit to the court of Amasis in Egypt, went to Sardis to see Croesus' (465/1954, 23). There is reason to believe that the higher-income groups of Rome maintained residences by the sea in order to escape the heat, and probably the smells, of Rome during the summer season. Indeed, Ovid in his ode to the arts of love writes: 'No lust of place or riches weighs us down, We love our shady couch and spurn the town' – practical advice during the height of the Roman summer (6/1965: 112). Moreover, they travelled further afield. Towner (1996: 96) comments that 'Wealthy Romans, for example, travelled to Greece in search of the culture to which they ultimately aspired and which reaffirmed and validated their own beliefs and practices'.

The Medieval Period

In spite of a re-appraisal of the period from the fall of Rome to the emergence of Renaissance Europe, it is still probably true to describe the travel of the Middle Ages as being dominated by motives of warfare and pilgrimage. Yet, as Chaucer describes, pilgrimage was not without its merry side as attested by the enduring images of his *Canterbury Tales* with their paradox of the profane amid the declared intention of pilgrimage to holy sites. Thus it is notable that the worthy woman from Bath had been three times to Jerusalem, to Rome and to St James of Compostella. In short, pilgrimage routes were well established and frequented, and the wife from Bath was far from being alone in her travels.

Yet, for most people of this period, life was hard and bound to the seasons, although the influence of the Christian Church generated holy days of rest from work. Indeed, the various Christian churches were to have an influence within Europe for much of the period until the early twentieth century. In the Renaissance travel for purposes of curiosity about a wider world became entwined with motives of commerce, religion and politics. The discovery of the Americas and the journeys around Africa by explorers like Columbus, Cabot and Da Gama opened up a new network of voyages where, from the early fifteenth century into the nineteenth century, explorers were followed in ever-increasing numbers by soldiers, missionaries, settlers and administrators. It is tempting to see the unbroken but increasing stream of humanity leaving the shores of Europe to conquer South America, settle North America and explore darkest Africa as part of the same exodus. While simplistic, there is some truth in the perception that this period maintained a sense of expansion, of new places to be discovered, and of growing economic wealth. Of course this was not a continuous, homogeneous stream of movement. Different people moved to different places in response to different dominant imperatives. For example, some moved to escape religious persecution, others moved to administer new

colonial empires, while yet others were taken in slave and convict ships. Nonetheless, given these many and diverse movements of people, the period from the fifteenth century onwards becomes increasingly dominated by a new leisure class for whom travel was motivated by enquiry, sightseeing, hedonism, simple curiosity and a sense of self seeking. Parks (1951: 264) cites Justus Lipsius as writing in 1578, 'Humble and plebeian souls stay at home, bound to their own piece of earth, that soul is nearer the divine which rejoices in movement, as do the heavens themselves'. Indeed Towner (1996: 101) cites an early seventeenth century theory of travel derived from the work of Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell* published in 1605. This had two main categories of travel motive, namely preservation of self and observation. But the preservation of self is dominated not by what Maslow (1943,1970) later was to term safety and physiological needs, but by 'keeping his religion' and 'bettering his knowledge'. Likewise 'observation' was not only of cosmological and geographic features, but also of how people lived and the nature of their governance.

The Period of the 'Grand Tour'

An early example of travel for educational and leisure motives that is often much quoted is that of the Grand Tour. In his history of the Grand Tour, Hibbert (1987) traces its antecedents to the earlier pilgrims and movement of students and young aristocracy of the Elizabethan era, but commences his main history from the 1750s onward. Certainly, while the Grand Tour may have involved at most about 0.2–0.7% of the mid-eighteenth century British population, the 15,000 to 20,000 who travelled overseas each year represented a significant part of the estimated 200,000 or so of the landed classes who lived at that period (Towner, 1985). As the elite within eighteenth century Europe, the landed and aristocratic gentry were to set both a fashion and a desire to which an emergent middle class aspired.

The significance of the Grand Tour is not to be underestimated. First, the need for information began to create a market for the new guidebooks that began to emerge. An early example was William Thomas's *The History of Italy*, which was published in 1549. De Beer (1975: 1) notes that between 1660 and 1730 'books of travel provided the principal secular reading of a growing readership.' By the early eighteenth century, travel literature took on the form of a 'bestseller' with prominent titles such as Thomas Taylor's *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts* (1722) and Nugent's *Grand Tour Containing an Exact Description of Most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe* (1749) being numbered among them. Nor was this solely an English phenomenon, as is evidenced by Duclos' *Voyage en Italie* (1766). Indeed, these early guidebooks (cited in Inglis, 2000)

offered detailed information about conditions of travel and things to see, and avoid. Misson's guides published from the late 1680s into the 1720s provided, for example, details as to the conditions of roads and the aesthetic qualities of landscapes. Towner (1996) cites Addison, Brown, Smollet, Burnet and Howell as some of the authors and guidebook writers who provided information about cities, landscapes and churches in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to books, the papers and magazines of the time often carried travel articles that were read not simply as travelogues but as potential sources of useful information. The links between newspapers and guidebooks are easily explained when one considers the journalistic careers of people like Addison.

While these early tourists were generally male and taking advantage of the extended family networks of aristocratic dynasties, there were some women of note who also journeyed abroad. Notable among these was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Indeed, the very fact that she travelled added to her notoriety amongst her contemporaries, although few then or since went to the lengths that she did to travel in modes not always thought fitting. For example, Hibbert (1987) notes her writing of taking the veil and *djubbah* at one stage, and subsequently dressing as a man in order to visit a mosque. And, like many a young aristocrat of her time, she was drawn to Venice, then known for its masque balls and easy women, where she for a time engaged in an affair with Count Francesco Algarotti who was half her age. Yet Lady Montagu was not the only woman who travelled in Europe. After all, society at Bath and the other eighteenth century spa towns of Europe was often frequented by ladies who had travelled there unaccompanied by husbands, who may have been detained by political, commercial or agricultural business concerns. However, it would appear that female travel from Britain to Europe became better established after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. For example, in 1820 Mariana Starke noted a growing popularity of walking tours in Switzerland. In 1821 Lady Morgan wrote of her travels in Italy, and also described a growing trend to visit not only the sites of classical antiquity but to also the countryside. No longer were mountains dark, brooding presences to be avoided, but sites of romance and freedom.

Thus a second reason for the importance of the Grand Tour was that it created a model of what it was that people did when travelling, and what was to be observed as having value. The young aristocrat wondered at the sites of classical times, collected works of art, created networks of friends and society, required travel arrangements and then regaled colleagues back home with stories of foreign travel. Indeed the routes described by Nugent in his 1749 Grand Tour books (Nugent, 1749) could still be described today as being major routes for tourists. But while travel in the early eighteenth century was strongly motivated by the maintenance of social networks, a curiosity in history of the classical period and an interest in art and architec-

ture, from the 1770s onwards Towner (1984) discerns the emergence of a new, separate interest in scenery as a specific objective for travel. Thus, by the early nineteenth century patterns of travel were clearly beginning to change. The previous century had marked the Grand Tour as being part of an Englishman's education, in all its various forms. For example, for much of the eighteenth century, Venice, described by Hibbert (1987: 136) as 'the brothel of Venice', was a recognised destination within the Grand Tour for all young bucks, and often was the culmination of their travels. Indeed, such was the state of affairs that Hibbert (1987:134) comments that 'Nuns were considered to make delightful lovers' and, from the evidence he provides, seemingly quite willing ones. An example of the Englishman's education is provided by the diarist James Boswell (the son of Alexander, Lord Auchinleck) who in 1766 wrote:

At Rome, I ran about prostitutes till I was interrupted by that distemper which scourges vice in this world. When I got to Venice I had some small remains of disease, but strange, gay ideas which I had framed of the Venetian courtesans turned my head, and away I went to an opera dancer and took Lord Mountstuart with me. We both had her and we both found ourselves taken in for the punishment I had met with, at Rome. (Boswell, 1766/1955: 109)

Indeed, one obtains the impression that such behaviour, if not supported, was expected; but what was definitely not condoned was the thought that one of the young British gentry should seek to marry a European lady. Black (1992: 202) notes that 'Problems were created when impressionable young men fell in love. Venereal disease was bad, but so was *mésalliance*.' Careful plans of dynastic considerations were rarely put at risk. But, in spite of the, at times, quite sexually explicit outpourings of young British aristocracy as is illustrated by Black (1992) in his chapter entitled 'Love, Sex, Gambling and Drinking', most young men returned home perhaps wiser, but unmarried.

The Nineteenth Century: From Middle to Working Class Tourism

By the beginning of the Victorian period such behaviour, while it no doubt continued in different settings, was no longer publicly approved of in polite society. Over time, the society of courtesans in the United Kingdom gave way to the *bon mots* of fashionable society that was to be later described by Oscar Wilde, although in France courtesans still continued to host the younger sons of the aristocracy and to contribute in part to their education, as evidenced by the novels of Zola. For the English traveller, and for many of his or her continental counterparts, the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries were a period of rediscovery of the natural as a source of inspiration, as already noted above. This emergence of emphasis on the picturesque is often associated with the Romantic movement and poets such as Wordsworth. Yet its antecedents are clearly found before the establishment of the large conurbations brought into being by the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of factories surrounded by terraced, high-density housing occupied by the workforce within walking distance of the mills, mines and factories. For example, in 1768 William Gilpin published *An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks upon the Principle of Picturesque Beauty*. By the 1780s a number of guides had been published on the Lake District of England, and a long heritage links Carke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787), Wordsworth's *A Guide through the District of the Lakes* (which had its fifth edition in 1835) to the contemporary guides of Wainwright. In fact Inglis (2000) attributes the popularity of the watercolour to a combination of tourism and the discovery of landscape:

The charm of the watercolour is not only its readiness – painting in the open air is swift and easy; it is also that the watercolour so gracefully encompasses a quick glimpse of things or the sort of slight but pretty scene for which the grander effects of classical oils would simply be too much. In other words, it is the tourist's best medium. Its mobility, its modesty, its pastel colours and its quick effects made it into the tourist's own art form and especially the tourist who simply didn't have the money to commission the big names, as Boswell did Hamilton, for 200 guineas a time. (Inglis, 2000: 27)

In a sense, the watercolour was the camera of the early eighteenth century and, like photographs, watercolours came to be hung on the walls of the new houses of the middle classes that were being built in the new suburbs of English and Continental European towns. Indeed, the very size of cartridge paper, being usually 20 by 15 inches, 'was a size to fit happily on the walls of middle-class drawing rooms in the tall terraces of Bath, Brighton and Scarborough' (Inglis, 2000: 27). This emphasis on natural beauty might be interpreted as in part a response to the growing grime of the new industrial cities, but it was first adopted by classes not usually resident in the over-crowded slums of places such as Manchester, Sheffield or the other new industrial cities of northern Europe. Hence Wordsworth was to write of Tintern Abbey in 1798:

These beauteous forms
Through a long absence, have not been to me
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:
But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them,

In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart:
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration...
(*Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey*,
Wordsworth, 1888/1999)

The countryside was a balm to ordinary life. Trips to the countryside were to be remembered as sources of recompense and strength in future days; an emotional souvenir was being articulated that has become part of the importance of modern-day tourism. The modern tourist travels not for curiosity alone, but to enrich him or herself so as to develop psychological strengths that inform and reinforce for future life. Travel has become the creation of memory of past better times, and a promise of future good times. The sanctity of the medieval holy day became 'the holiday' – the sanctuary of the modern man.

Crawshaw and Urry (1997) have written about the importance of the Lake District in formulating a new way of looking, of creating new sets of relationships between that gazed upon and those that gaze. In their thesis the landscape became imbued with new meanings that served, and serves still, a positive purpose for the onlooker. In this very manner the guidebook writers like Wordsworth became gatekeepers, pointing out that which is to be observed, and by their silence condemning other aspects to the status of the non-observed. While as Inglis (2000: 31) notes, there came to exist a correspondence between the attributes of landscape (wildness, tranquillity) and 'the inarticulate but expectant feelings we bring to it', such an observation raises the question, how did these expectations arise and through what means were they being fostered? However, while Wordsworth was, no doubt, pleased to receive monies from those who purchased his guidebooks, he nonetheless opposed the extension of the railway line to Windermere, 'fearing that it would bring large numbers of people more intent on simple pleasures than admiring the sublime beauty of the region' (Sharpley, 1994: 68). Indeed, as will be seen in Chapter 3, Ruskin anticipated the arguments of Boorstin a century later by noting that the train 'transmutes a man from a traveller into a living parcel' (cited by Buzard, 1993: 33).

There is little doubt that growing literacy, an emergent middle class and increased income all played a role in developing a demand, and that that demand was based on the model established by the aristocratic Grand Tour. The Industrial Revolution not only generated the horrific conditions described by various Committees of Enquiry that are so carefully encapsulated by Thomas Carlyle in *Past and Present* (1843/1981), but also created a managerial, administrative class that had not really existed before – at least, not in the numbers being required by the new modes of production.

Equally, associated with this was a growing civil service that offered new, administrative middle-class occupations at both national and municipal level as the reforming zeal of town planners and a meritocracy based on success in public examinations began to replace the networks of social connections based on birth. In short, combined with the new transport technology of rail by the latter half of the nineteenth century, ease of travel (which addressed the issue of constrained time for the emergent middle classes), higher incomes, and the growing numbers of people with the income and urge to travel overseas, the conditions were right for the emergence of new forms of travel. And entrepreneurs like Thomas Cook in the United Kingdom and Reisen in Germany responded to the changing market conditions to lay the foundations of the package holiday companies and mass tourism that exist today. The story of Thomas Cook and his rail excursion for signatories of the Temperance Pledge between Leicester and Loughborough on 5 July 1841 is oft told, but it was four years before he commenced on his real operations of note. In 1845 he started arranging trips to the seaside, the first being an outing from Leicester to New Brighton near Liverpool. In 1846 he was packaging tours to Scotland that included not only travel by rail but also by the new steamers. In 1851 he arranged tours for 165,000 to the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace. Four years later he took visitors to the Great Paris Exhibition, and by 1863 he had established tours to Switzerland and Italy using the new tunnels driven under the Alps. By the end of that decade he was taking visitors to Cairo and in 1872 by booking space on the SS *Oceanic* he inaugurated trans-Atlantic package travel. Very soon after he opened offices in Broadway and in 1894 introduced the concept of travellers' cheques. By then his company's expertise had been enlisted by the British Government and his son, John Cook, was making arrangements for the transportation of troops to the Middle East and India. By the 1880s not only were the British travelling across the Atlantic, but so too a growing number of higher income Americans were travelling to England and Europe to repeat the travel paths of the aristocratic Grand Tour. Such travels were not unknown to those who became readers of novels by authors such as Henry James, who in *Portrait of a Lady* (1908/1988) describes how Isabel Archer travels through Europe with her companions, Mrs Touchett and Madame Merle. Similarly E.M. Forster's novel *Room with a View* (1908/1088) tells its story within the context of an Edwardian family's trip to Italy and specifically Florence.

The American visitors to Europe brought with them not only their thirst for the sites of classical civilisation and a desire to visit the historic places of the home country, but also their expectations of first class hotel accommodation. To the interest of place was to be added the desire for luxury. Not that Europe was without its luxurious hotels. The railway age brought not only ease of transport but also a growing number of people requiring

accommodation at the same time in the same place, and thus the great railway hotels were built by many of the railway companies. All over the United States and Europe, almost simultaneously in the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of mock Gothic or Italianate hotel buildings with several hundred bedrooms were being built. On November 6, 1872 Thomas Cook, when accompanying a group on the steamer, *Colorado*, wrote:

In American hotels, great attention is paid to the privacy and comfort of ladies, for whom large and elegant drawing rooms are provided, with separate entrance and staircase, available also for gentlemen with ladies. The first floor is generally appropriated to dining and breakfast saloons and drawing rooms, for which no extra charge is made. (Cook, 1872/1998: 21)

Thus Thomas Cook unerringly noted a combination that has stood the holiday industry well over the intervening years, namely that of affordable luxury. Equally, 22 days later, in Yokohama, he highlighted another promise of the industry, that of being able to see that which was previously not available to visitors, and thereby offered a promise of the 'authentic'. So he wrote:

Until very recently it was not permitted for foreigners to enter the precincts of the Temple of Shiba and the surrounding and gorgeous tombs of Tycoons and their wives of the past 250 years. Yesterday my party walked freely through and round these indescribable buildings at Yedo, which for richness in carving, gilding, and decoration surpass all that I have seen in any land. Only a year ago an escort would have been required to conduct a party like mine through Yedo. (Cook, 1872/1998: 28)

It would appear that Thomas Cook was also aware of the role of promising exoticism in the development of his tours to the Far East.

For the middle classes Cook offered an identification of those sights said to be worth seeing. Unlike the aristocracy of the eighteenth century who could spend years on their travels, the new management and administrative classes were more time constrained. In addition they did not often possess the family connections that the aristocracy possessed, and thus required accommodation that was both affordable and at the least imposed no hardship, and preferably offered comfort not available in the suburbs of Bolton, Preston or London. Moreover, Thomas Cook offered the security of travelling with experienced, English-speaking guides in foreign countries, and the company of like-minded English people with whom to share experiences. As already noted, the novel, *Room with a View* by E.M. Forster with, as a focus, a trip to Florence, captures many of the nuances of the trips organised by Cook and similar companies of this era.

But just as the railways and hotels were catering for the upper and middle classes, so too the same assets began, over time, to meet the needs of a working class who too sought escape from the towns. Additionally, while elements of this market sought to duplicate the travel patterns and demands of the more affluent markets, others sought more immediate pleasures in song, dance and 'having a good time'. With reference to this market it might be said that an older theme within recreation was rediscovered, and that was a sense of carnival. Just as Chaucer's tales contained husbands who farted into the faces of their wives' lovers at the top of ladders (as in the *Wife of Bath*), and Fool's Days of the Medieval Courts represented a temporary reversal of authority, so too at seaside resorts the working classes were to create an escape. This escape was not only from the physical crowding of the city, but also from the rules and regulations imposed by the Victorian bourgeoisie – albeit at times it was an escape within which one set of rules was substituted by the rules of the tyrannical English seaside landlady.

At first this development was not immediately apparent. Just as the Romantic movement discovered value in the lakes and mountains, so too the coastal landscape came to be valued for its own contrasts. Additionally, the Prince Regent had popularised Brighton as a resort in the latter part of the eighteenth century and it might be said that this action on his part was an extension of the spa as an inherent part of the milieu of the then fashionable society. Towner, however, is at pains to point out that sea bathing was already an accepted practice, not only in the warmer climates of the Mediterranean where it would have been seen by various visitors to that part of the world, but also in northern England. Towner (1996: 171) cites Walton (1983: 11) when he writes: 'Further north, in Britain, a popular sea-bathing culture existed on the Lancashire coast, not emulating the rich but having a "prior and independent existence"'. Thus, Towner (1996: 171) observes, the usual attribution of the growing popularity of the seaside to the initial actions of fashionable society may yet again be a case 'where those who dominate the historical record are assumed to have been the innovators of the custom'.

Perhaps one of the more detailed histories of the seaside resort is that of Walton (1983). What is shown clearly by Walton's study is that working class demand for seaside holidays was constrained by regional working practices and wage rates, not to mention prevailing patterns of leisure and recreation. Thus differences occurred in regional practice and adoption of the seaside holiday. The Lancashire textile towns tended to be the early adopters, partly due to quicker access by the rail network to the coastal resorts of Blackpool, Morecambe and, as already noted, New Brighton. The Yorkshire woollen industry tended to lag some 10 years behind, and of course tended to be based on areas such as Whitby and Scarborough. Walton also notes that seaside holidaying by those working in Birmingham

did not really commence until as late as the 1880s, when a few extra days were added to the August Bank Holiday.

The advent of the railways had similar impacts in other countries. When, in 1860, Nice was annexed by France from Savoy, the extension of the railway meant a rapid increase in population from 48,000 in 1861 to 143,000 forty years later. Visitor numbers increased from 5,000 to 150,000 in the same period (Rudney, 1980). Soane (1993), however, indicates another important reason for the development of seaside resorts such as Nice, namely the willingness of outside financial sources to act as suppliers of capital investment. Indeed, the availability of that capital and the desire to engage in property development created very different types of seaside resorts around the world. Some like Nice, became and remained embedded in a tourism of the higher-income groups, others like Blackpool became associated with short stays and low-cost accommodation and developed a culture based on working-class hedonism. Other areas were discovered by artists, writers and travellers: locations like Brittany or specific villages like St Ives in Cornwall provide examples of this. In these cases development tended to be slow, and often it was not until the twentieth century and the greater geographical freedom permitted by the motor car that these locations entered the domain of tourism more fully.

Tourists were also helping to create new product. Perhaps one of the better examples of this was the development of Alpine tourism. By 1857, there was sufficient interest for the Alpine Club to be established, with 300 charter members. While the club was dominated by middle-class professionals from Oxford and Cambridge universities, it was not unique to the United Kingdom. In 1862 the Austrian Alpine Club was formed, followed by those of Switzerland (1863), Germany (1869) and France (1874). While these clubs were male dominated, female mountaineers were present almost from the early days. Withey (1998) mentions the names of Marguerite Breevort (an American), Lucy Walker and Mrs Stephen Winkworth among others, and comments that 'what to wear was a problem for the female mountaineers' (Withey, 1998: 209).

Faulkner and his colleagues have suggested that the development of seaside resorts cannot always be logically explained by the broad economic forces of capital, population movements or technical forces such as the building of railways. Advocating the use of chaos theory to help explain broad changes in tourism, Russell and Faulkner (1999) specifically draw attention to the 'movers and shakers' who, while at times motivated by profit, nonetheless were often eclectic in their choice of location and nature of attraction, or had histories of business failure or eccentricity prior to making their contribution to the development of tourism resorts. For their part, Russell and Faulkner select the development of Australia's Gold Coast in the 1960s as an example. Thus they note:

The men...responsible for the emergence of Surfer's Paradise as the focus of tourist activity were in varying degrees colourful, flamboyant, innovative, driven and often reflecting in their personal relationships the attributes of Chaos and Complexity. (Russell and Faulkner, 1999: 419)

One example they provide is that of Bernard Elsey. An English immigrant with little formal education who worked as a plumber in Toowoomba, he arrived on the Gold Coast in 1949. He earned money by simultaneously selling cruises to Tippler's Passage on Stradtbroke Island during the day and selling Singer Sewing Machines on a door-to-door basis in the evening. Eventually he was to build three hotels, including the Surfers Paradise Beachcomber, and with pyjama parties and Hawaiian nights 'pushed the edges of law, filling national newspapers with copy and his establishments with patrons' (Russell & Faulkner, 1999: 421).

Indeed the very title of 'Gold Coast' seems to have come about by accident. Initially the area held the unglamorous name of 'Town of the South Coast', and then in 1958 it became 'Gold Coast Town'. Richardson (1999) recounts the story that it became the 'Gold Coast' in the 1950s after a pictorial editor on the *Brisbane Courier Mail* changed a reporter's story and then continued to use the term. The developing seaside resort deliberately built on its image when, in 1965 (a period when bikinis were still frowned upon at Sydney and Melbourne beaches), the meter maids of Surfer's Paradise, clad in little more than gold bikinis made what could only be described as an appearance in a blaze of national publicity. Their function was ostensibly to feed coins into expired parking meters, but their real value lay in the publicity that the Gold Coast acquired.

Similar parallels might be drawn with the development of Coney Island in New York State. Initially consisting of mud flats, in the 1870s the area was infamous not for its scenic features but for the zone known as 'The Gut' – a ramshackle area of places of ill-repute, brothels and drinking dens. As hotels like the Manhattan Beach became established, the juxtaposition between these and 'The Gut' led to entrepreneurs taking various actions. Foremost among these entrepreneurs was John McKane, an interesting gentleman whose personal history included being Chief of Police for Coney Island, but without formal salary as 'licences' were paid by gambling and other shady businesses. Power based on land deals made McKane an establishment figure with both Democrats and Republicans, yet he was to finally end his career by serving four years in Sing Sing prison.

By the 1920s Coney Island had become a melting pot where immigrant groups met with earlier immigrants, and all cavorted in the sea or stood amazed at the lights of Luna Park. Blackpool too had its own Luna Park, as did other places in the world such as Sydney, and in all cases they became