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Prospects in tourism history: Evolution, state of play and future developments

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ABSTRACT

The field of tourism history has been developing rapidly, especially since the 1980s. It is important not only in its own right, but also as a contributor to wider understandings of issues and processes in tourism studies and tourism management more generally. This article offers a critical examination, on a global scale and from an interdisciplinary perspective, of the development and ramifications of tourism history, with special reference to coverage of the period since the eighteenth century. It assesses the current state of play in this emergent sub-discipline and suggests some avenues for its future development.

1. State of play

As the transatlantic economic crisis of autumn 2008 began to deepen and spread, Dr Peter Tarlow advised readers of his 'Tourism Tidbits' circular that, 'When historians of modern tourism write about tourism in the first decade of the twenty-first century they will most likely see it as one of continual trials and challenges', citing the fall-out from the Twin Towers attack, 'food safety, health crises, natural disasters, and the rapid rise in petroleum prices'. The appeal to an imagined 'History' here is ungrounded and eschews direct engagement with issues like sustainability, with which environmental historians are busily grappling on broader fronts; and the limitations of commercially-driven perceptions within the industry are illustrated by the injunction to 'Think spiritually… Spiritual tourism tends to boom during difficult political or economic times… This may be the time to encourage people to visit cemeteries where loved ones are buried, or develop inspirational trails.' Beyond this opportunism, however, we move on to critical comment on what are often treated as even deeper truths: 'Economist (*sic*) and financial specialists are not always right.' (Tarlow, 2008).

This view from Texas provides interesting indicators of the ways in which the relationship between history and tourism studies may be moving, in its willingness to recognise the retrospective relevance of a verdict from 'history', in its recognition (surely a sign of the times, however fleeting) that orthodox economic thought is not always right and does not always deliver solutions, and even in its reference to the importance of pilgrimage as a tourist phenomenon. The dominant discourses of tourism studies have been grounded in economics and business studies, although sociology has developed a powerful presence for certain purposes (as evidenced by the impressive citation impact factors of John Urry's concept of the 'tourist gaze'), (Urry, 1995) while approaches through anthropology and cultural geography have also been influential (Garner, 2005; Shields, 1991). There is also an important genre of qualitative literary studies of guide-books and travel writing, which brings in a significant gender dimension, over and above the important work in anthropology, sociology, and gender studies itself, which includes work on gender and labour forces in tourism (Koshar, 2000) Much of the literary material is oriented towards women's writing and women's experiences in the past, with a good deal of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century content, much of which celebrates the independent adventures of indomitable 'lady travellers' (Dawson, 2001; Foster, 1990; McEwan, 2000; Russell, 1988).

This latter tendency apart, work in tourism studies has tended to be present-minded and instrumental in its approaches, and to be schematic rather than grounded or contextualised when gesturing towards the potential significance of change over time and inherited attitudes. This has even applied to 'heritage tourism', which often appropriates sanitised legacies of the imagined past and adapts them to the assumed expectations of the intended customer (Bell & Jayne, 2004). There is, indeed, a tendency for tourism industries to manipulate myths, legends and perceptions, or to tell over-simplified stories, for marketing and presentational purposes, a problem which is as evident in local themed provision such as Nottingham's recently closed 'Tales of Robin Hood' as it is in the worlds of Disney (Lukas, 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Watts, 2001). Despite growing recognition of the interdisciplinary importance of a widening spectrum of social science perspectives for the development of tourism studies, whether as an inclusive discipline or a bundle of approaches, history as such has remained the poor

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relation. Meanwhile, the growing body of work conducted by historians themselves on tourism history has remained marginal to the mainstream of tourism studies, although this is now beginning to change. This is demonstrated by the publication of wide-ranging collections of essays in recent years, and growing numbers of conferences and conference strands dedicated to relevant themes, such as those organised by the International Commission for the History of Travel and Tourism at Preston, Buenos Aires and Sydney since 2001, and others at European urban history conferences (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001; Berghoff, Korte, Schneider & Harvie, 2002; Koshar, 2002; Tissot, 2003; Walton, 2005). Significantly, however, a recent analysis of the relationship between tourism studies and the social sciences discusses every social science discipline except history (Holden, 2005). Moreover, the almost complete absence of references to historical works in a recent collection of essays on the Tourist Area Life Cycle underlines the lack of cross-reference between relevant disciplines (Butler, 2005). This invisibility needs to be rectified. It is hoped that the new international *Journal of Tourism History*, published by Taylor and Francis under the auspices of the ICHTT, will further the process considerably, while the increasingly visible presence of work on tourism in such established historical fields as political and diplomatic history should begin to redress the balance on the historical side (Endy, 2004; Merrill, 2001; Pack, 2006; Wharton, 1999).

2. Development, disciplines and linkages

But the first question to consider in taking discussion forward is: what, for present purposes, do we mean by 'history'? John Mackenzie's praise for the work of Javed Majeed, who 'writes as an historian to historians', sets out some of the virtues to which good historical research and writing lays claim: 'He thoroughly contextualises; he understands the complexities of contemporary politics; and he offers subtleties of interpretation in the place of black and white certainties.' (Mackenzie, 1995, p. 28) Taking history's contribution to tourism studies seriously entails the incorporation of a grounded understanding of how past events, processes and perceptions, and indeed perceptions of the past or of various pasts, feed into where we are now and where we go from here. This will include making use of historical research that has been conducted 'for its own sake', starting from a humanist perception or assumption that the effort to reconstruct and interpret the past has its own cultural value and justification. The best work will continue to be interdisciplinary. Daniel Sherman has remarked that work on tourism has 'gravitated around two disconnected poles, that of meta-theory and that of micro-history, but a more fertile approach would be to think from both perspectives at the same time', while his own project on the early development of a tourist industry in Tahiti requires a grasp of 'the sociology of tourism, the history of French colonialism and the critical analysis of cultural primitivism' (Sherman, 2005, p. 41, translation by present author).

Beyond all this, how far back do we have to go before something qualifies as 'history'? From a historian's perspective, the frontier has been moving rapidly. From a widespread reluctance among British historians to engage with the post-Second World War period, for example, we have recently seen an explosion of work on the second half of the twentieth century, spurred by the increasing availability of documents that were previously restricted until long periods of time had passed since they were current. Spanish historians at the University of Cádiz have led the way in promoting 'la historia actual', effectively the 'history of now' or of the very recent past, through the journal *Historia Actual* which has been published online since 2003. But this is itself recent, and rather daring. By contrast, much of the output of tourism studies is reluctant to look back beyond the most recent twenty or thirty years, or does not see the point of doing so. In fairness, many of the most dramatic developments in international tourism, which tend to dominate the field, began in earnest in the 1970s or subsequently.

As befits this climate of rapid change, yesterday's publications in tourism studies very quickly become historical sources in their own right, especially when they deploy current interview material and illustrate current perspectives on problems and opportunities. For example, Thea Sinclair's edited collection of essays on gender, work and tourism, published in 1997, which brings together work in geography, cultural studies, literature and economics as well as 'tourism studies', roots its case-studies in supporting material that goes back only as far as the 1980s. However, while raising or developing enduring issues in the field, it also contains contemporary analysis that the passage of time has already rendered historical. Margaret Marshment's examination, in that Sinclair collection, of representations of gender in package holiday brochures between 1993 and 1995 could now be incorporated into a longer-term study of continuity and change in such representations, and the significance that might be attached to it (Sinclair, 1997). Other works that fall into a similar category sometimes take more account of longer-term historical processes, such as the work of Polly Pattullo on the costs and dilemmas of Caribbean tourism, published a year earlier (Pattullo, 1996). Pattullo's first substantive chapter has the subtitle 'History and Power', and she pays some attention to the nineteenth-century roots of tourism in the Caribbean, and to historical processes that predate the arrival of international airlines, tour operators, resort developers and perceptions of tourism as an 'axis' of economic development, while providing a more detailed examination of developments since the 1970s. Here, then, is a book that has already become a historical document, a snapshot of the state of development and current preoccupations of the mid-1990s, while also taking a longer view and proffering historical insights in its own right, incorporating the work of some of the historians who have worked on the region and its tourist industries (Taylor, 1993, reprinted 2003).

This is a reminder that everything has a history, including tourism studies, which has been in existence as an identifiable entity for long enough to be worthy of investigation by historians in its own right. But this article will focus, in a sense, on the history of histories of tourism, and the ways in which their findings might be better incorporated into the future development of tourism studies. Above all, it will draw attention to work done by people whose predominant identity and cultural formation is as historians, although much of the work under review has interdisciplinary dimensions. It will deal with the period since the eighteenth century during which modern tourism has defined itself, grown and spread, without excluding older activities involving commercial transactions based on travel, hospitality and entertainment in pursuit of pleasure and fulfilment, whether in European classical antiquity or 'medieval' China or Japan, and extending to awareness of tourism-related aspects of pilgrimage or trade. All these identities, from history and historians to pilgrimage or hospitality, are complex and kaleidoscopic when viewed closely and carefully, with due respect paid to ambiguity and fluidity. This is a reminder of the limitations of definitions of 'tourism' that focus solely on distance travelled, or length of time spent away from home, or on simplified single purposes ascribed to journeys and sojourns that might be undertaken for complex mixtures of motives.

All these themes and approaches overlap and interact with others, especially the emergent histories of leisure, consumption and consumerism, which occupy similar ground to that of tourism without subsuming it, and have made greater progress towards respectable incorporation into the historical academy, especially in Britain (Borsay, 2005; Koshar, 2002). More generally, historians

with wider or different ostensible remits often make valuable contributions to the understanding of tourism history on their way to other destinations. The complexity of the picture is well illustrated by three works on Venice's past, chosen from a much broader field. The historian John Pemble examines the changing cultural significance of the city between the eighteenth century and the twentieth; the literary critic Tony Tanner looks at the city through a series of case-studies of individual responses and contributions; and the cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove makes a critical assessment of the 'myth of Venice' through versions of its history. Tourism features in all of these works, and each of them furthers the understanding of the changing significance of Venice as a tourist destination; but tourism, as such, is not their central concern (Cosgrove, 1982; Pemble, 1995; Tanner, 1992).

When the text-books and other summary publications in tourism studies do pay heed to the deeper historical roots of their industry, its customers, its workforces and its impacts, the tendency has been to focus on a handful of individuals, practices, events and processes, in ways that often over-simplify and distort. Disproportionate weight is given, at least in European publications, to the European Grand Tour as the progenitor of modern cultural tourism, to Thomas Cook as the father of the package tour and of popular international tourism, and to the post-Second World War development of airborne European 'mass tourism' from northern Europe to the sunny coasts of the Mediterranean. These are often presented in schematic treatments that pay lip service to the need for tourism to have a 'history' while moving on as quickly as possible to a policy-oriented present. These themes are at the core of Towner's overview of the historical geography of tourism in the 'Western World' over four centuries, although he does usefully spread his net much wider than that in a rather descriptive way (Towner, 1996). There is a lot more to the history of tourism than this, with enduring significance, as we shall see. The concept of 'mass tourism' is particularly distorting, as it raises its polymorphous head in a variety of mutually incompatible places and guises, from Cook's tours in the mid-nineteenth century to the international package tourism of the late twentieth, while undermining recognition of agency and diversity among its customers (and, indeed, its labour forces) (Akhtar & Humphries, 2000; Black, 2003; Brendon, 1991; Chaney, 1998; Spode, 2004; Wright, 2002).

Many histories of tourism, and of tourism-related organisations, have been produced in commemorative or celebratory vein by participants in the processes that are chronicled, by authors who work for the firm whose history is being presented, or by professional writers who are hired in for public relations or similar purposes (Binney, 1999; Jackson, 1989; Taylor & Quest, 2007). The series of company histories and related publications sponsored by Thomas Cook or using their archives is a case in point. It began in late Victorian times and culminated in by far the most scholarly of the sequence, that of Brendon, which was followed by the lightweight public relations exercises of Williamson and Cormack, the latter of risibly poor quality (Brendon, 1991; Cormack, 1998; Fraser Rae, 1891; Pudney, 1953; Swinglehurst, 1974; Williamson, 1998; see also Withey, 1997). All this publishing activity has served its purpose by keeping the firm in the public eye and embedding its reputation as a pioneer of popular tourism, but (with the exceptions of Brendon and perhaps Swinglehurst) the outputs lack historical context and rigour. This highlights the enduring problem that much of the 'history' of tourism has not been written by professional historians (or academics who respect the complexity of the past) and is aimed more at 'boosting' or telling an attractive story than at careful, fully documented, contextualised or grounded analysis. There has also been quite an extensive output of 'popular' histories of aspects of tourism, some of which provide useful arguments and insights (Bray & Raitz, 2001; Davies, 2007; Hern, 1967). But these works are usually presented without benefit of footnote or of relevant secondary reading, and often recycle old myths (Braggs, 2006; Howell, 1974). Collections of old photographs, posters or paintings of tourist destinations and processes are enduringly popular, but often edited carelessly or with more attention to their contribution to the history of photography than to the accurate presentation of what is depicted. A case in point is Cole's compilation of London and North-Eastern Railway inter-war travel posters, which is beautifully produced but suffers from a sequence of egregious factual errors in the supporting text (Cole, 2006). Compilations of this kind can provide useful and evocative evidence for the historian of tourism, especially as the 'visual turn' gathers momentum; but they need to be read carefully and critically (Crouch & Lubbren, 2003).

On a broader academic front the potential importance of historical work to tourism studies was signalled in the early stages of the subject area's development, when the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) concept as articulated by the geographer Richard Butler in 1980, an adaptation of the product cycle to the circumstances of tourist destinations which grew out of research on the post-war coastal resorts of the Clyde estuary in Scotland, soon became a basic element in the academic toolkit (Butler 2005). It had been substantially anticipated not only (as Butler points out) by Conrad Hobbs in 1915 and Charles Stansfield in 1978, writing on the north-eastern United States, but also in a British setting by Ronald M. Lockley, a prolific writer on islands, natural history and conservation themes. In 1937 he traced the evolution of the English seaside resort. It passed from being 'discovered' by the 'adventurous few', to the advent of 'day' and 'stay' visitors who 'swoop down in ever-increasing numbers' and transformed the local economy, leading to the destruction of 'the original village' and its 'natural charm and beauty that comes of mellow age and building with native material' as sanitary regulation and the trappings of modernity overwhelmed and displaced the old cottages. Finally, it traversed the primrose path to over-development and 'that high and mysterious pinnacle of fame encompassed in the title (beloved of publicity men): "Queen of Watering Places."' (Butler, in Butler, 2005, pp. 23–25; Stansfield, in Butler, 2005, pp. 287–305; Lockley, 1937, pp. 229–232).

TALC is essentially an evolutionary approach based on change over time. For effective development it would need convincing research on how destinations got to where they were at the point of being examined, whether they had worked through all the imagined stages of the cycle from 'discovery' to saturation and reinvention, or whether they had found a satisfactory and sustainable 'steady state' at a smaller scale of development, as Getz's study of Niagara Falls exemplifies within the TALC framework (Getz, 1992). Most of the work in this vein has been more present-minded than this, looking at destinations 'as found' to place them on the scale and prescribe policy on the basis of current circumstances, and 'reading off' the history in a schematic way. This has only begun to change in the last few years, as recent contributions pay more heed to the specific circumstances of individual destinations and to the analysis of archival evidence to chart change over time. (Agarwal, 2002; Gale & Botterill, 2005; Prideaux, 2004). Recognition of the importance of a broader array of interacting themes has also gained ground. Butler himself, prompted by the interesting work of Johnston on Kona (Hawai'i), has underlined the importance of understanding the local (and wider) political processes entailed in conflicts over strategies, resources and expenditure to gain fuller understanding to destination trajectories (Johnston, in Butler, 2005, pp. 198–221).

TALC is a useful basic introductory tool of classification. Unfortunately, the detailed historical groundwork that it should have stimulated has largely remained isolated from it. It has followed

other, complementary agendas, often seeking to understand the processes of development and decline for their own sake and in their own right, in contexts presented by historical debates connected with urbanisation, living standards, consumption, planning, transport or social conflict. Most of the other key concepts in tourism studies have been either ahistorical, at least in their presentation, or have usually been limited to sketchy and schematic gestures towards recognition of the past and of change over time, as in the case of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1995). On occasion the temptation to regard the history of tourism as inherently fluffy, frivolous, and not to be taken seriously even to the extent of researching it properly has infiltrated the work of academics from disciplines such as cultural studies and sociology. Such is the case of Fred Inglis, who both admits that *The Delicious History of the Holiday* is not serious history and invites the reader to react as if it were, inventing some of his material in the process in pursuit of a good story (Inglis, 2000). Some interdisciplinary work within the broad canon of 'tourism studies' has paid careful heed to grounding an understanding of change over time, but this has been the exception that proves the rule, as in the case of Orvar Löfgren's excellent *On Holidays* (Löfgren, 1999).

3. Coverage: periods, geography, journeys and destinations

Where thoroughly researched and carefully grounded, evidence-based histories of tourism have become available, they have tended to focus on the twentieth century. They become thinner on the ground as we move notionally 'backwards' through the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, a perception that itself responds to the present-mindedness of much work in the field. This does, of course, reflect the growing importance and visibility of tourism on a widening stage as we move towards its dominant position across most of the developed and developing world at the start of the third millennium. There remain plenty of issues to resolve as regards the origins of 'modern' tourism, not least in relation to older phenomena such as pilgrimage and the extent and significance of recognisable forms of tourist activity in the ancient Mediterranean (Hunt, 1982; Lomine, 2005). Relationships between pilgrimage, health and tourism go back a long way in other parts of Europe and the wider world, and studies of pre-'modern' developments are beginning to multiply, from India to Japan to Mexico (Brading, 2003; Gladstone, 2005; Miyazaki & Williams, 2001; Timothy & Olsen, 2006). More investigation is also needed into older rituals of seasonal migration to beaches, holy wells, mountains and pilgrimage sites in Europe, especially the late summer sea-bathing customs that were taken up, formalised and commercialised through the rising pretensions and entrepreneurial acumen of the developing medical profession from (especially) the late seventeenth century onwards (Brodie & Winter, 2007; Walton, 1997b).

But for most purposes the origins of 'modern' tourism, entailing the commercial organisation of journeys in search of health, pleasure and difference that depend on access to disposable time and income on the part of the participants and make a significant economic and environmental impact on routes and destinations, generating employment and changing social arrangements in the process, are to be found in eighteenth-century Western Europe. They are fuelled by the rise of urban societies, of commercial, professional and manufacturing middle classes alongside rising agricultural prosperity among landowners and farmers. They depend on the widening diffusion of surpluses, spending power, consumerism and the fashion cycle through societies that are increasingly mobile, in every sense. They grow in step with the rise of industrial societies, as they emerge from the quickening commercial pulse of the urbanising eighteenth century. The expansion of the European Grand Tour from an aristocratic rite of passage depending on leisure, specialised access to information, and elite connections and introductions, to embrace the landed gentry more broadly and the more substantial of the urban middle classes, is symptomatic of this process at its highest levels. The rise of the European spa resort combined the consumer rituals of 'polite' society with the prescribed medical regime and scientific pretensions attached to 'taking the waters' and the carefully regulated sociability of elites, aspirants and social climbers. It can also be related to overarching concepts like the 'civilising process' or the 'moral revolution' that turned the English, we are told, into a 'polite and commercial people', whether during the middle decades of the eighteenth century or the transition to industrial society that followed. The English 'urban renaissance' of the century after 1660 was a related process, bringing members of polite society together in increasingly formal architectural and social settings that promoted shared idioms of competitive consumption and the related development of marriage markets (Borsay, 1989, 2000; Chaney, 1998; Cossic & Gaillou, 2006; Langford, 1989; Perkin, 1969; Steward, 2000).

But we should also note the way in which the routes and goals of the Grand Tour were adjusted to take account of a developing taste for mountain scenery and an interest in mountain society, as a positive aesthetic revaluation of mountain (and, increasingly, coastal) locations took place. This accelerated during the second half of the eighteenth century, opening out a whole new array of destinations for fashionable society in pursuit of health, pleasure and 'good society' away from domestic haunts (Beattie, 2006; Corbin, 1994; Nicolson, 1959). Here as in much of what follows, the references cited are the tip of a much larger iceberg, reflecting the rapid development of historiographies of tourism that have tended to exist in isolation from each other and (except where international 'mass tourism' is at issue) to be divided along 'regional', national and linguistic boundaries.

Historical research on tourism really begins to gather momentum when we look at the nineteenth century and after, when interest also begins to spread from an initial geographical core of work on Britain (especially England) and Western Europe. It then extends eastwards across Europe (though still to a limited extent for the nineteenth century), and to the United States and (for later periods) Australasia, the Caribbean and Latin America. Work on Asia for this period is couched more in terms of exploratory travel and the evaluation of interpretative literatures than of 'tourism' as such, and remains strongly influenced by the 'Orientalism' paradigm as developed polemically by Edward Said and critically reassessed by (among others) John Mackenzie (Mackenzie, 1995; Melman, 1992; Pratt, 1992). The literature on the emergence of the 'hill station', developing mainly from the late nineteenth century onwards as a distinctive colonial summer residential tourist destination and often displaying hybrid architectures, is an exception to a general neglect which extends to seaside resorts and (apart from the odd commemorative history of grand hotels like Singapore's Raffles) to imperial staging posts (Sharp, 1981). It is paralleled by the limited nature of the literature on tourism, as opposed to travel, in nineteenth-century Africa, apart from Thomas Cook's promotion of the Nile steamer services from the late 1860s (often as an extension of his tours to the Holy Land), and the early development of 'big game' hunting and the exploitation of the 'Empire of Nature' (Chatterji, 2007; Hunter, 2004; Kennedy, 1996; Mackenzie, 1988). There is also very little work by historians on tourism in nineteenth-century Latin America and the Caribbean before the final decades of the century, when the early stirrings of the sea-bathing resorts of the River Plate and Chile are attracting attention alongside developments in Cuba. In these cases, as in that of Mexico, the serious historical work is overwhelmingly twentieth-century, and predominantly covers periods

late in that century (Oteiza Iriarte, 1973; Pastoriza, 2002; Schwartz, 1997).

In contrast, the historiography of nineteenth-century tourism in the United States and Canada has developed substantially in recent years. It has examined the use of rail and steamboat to explore the expanding areas of European settlement, the spread of seaside and spa tourism (following European models and adapting them to new circumstances), the development of sublime and spectacular natural features as tourist destinations (exemplified by Niagara Falls), and the emergence of mountain and 'wilderness' tourism and the National Park movement (Aron, 1999; Grusin, 2004; McKinsey, 1985; Shaffer, 2002; Sterngass, 2001). An extensive array of case-studies of particular resort destinations, looking outwards for wider significance, offers scope for building up a composite picture 'from the bottom up', rather than over-generalising from the top down, and ranges from popular coastal resorts like Atlantic City to up-market spas like Saratoga Springs (Chambers, 2003; Simon, 2004). Similarly, tourism in nineteenth-century Australia has generated a flurry of recent publications, especially on matters connected with the developing relationship between the sea and perceptions of Australian settler identity, although fuller treatments (and the availability of deeper and more satisfying material) have to await the twentieth century (Horne, 2005; Huntsman, 2001; Inglis, 1999; White, 2005).

But the great bulk of historical research on tourism before the twentieth century has focused on Western Europe, and especially on Britain and the British, with far more emphasis on England than on Wales, Scotland or Ireland, as befits the balance of development. Britain, and the British abroad, are at the core of this. The British dominated the Grand Tour, especially as it extended its reach to cover shorter journeys and to include growing numbers of middle-class and female participants in the first half of the nineteenth century. British expatriate communities developed in many Italian and other Mediterranean towns and cities, pursuing health, a comfortable climate and (in some cases) relaxed sexual mores as well as culture and scenery (Black, 2003; Chaney, 1998; Heafford, 2008; Pemble, 1987). British travellers and tourists were also at the forefront of the 'discovery' of the Alps and the development of all phases of Alpine tourism, from admiration for the beauty and sublimity of cascades, crevasses and glaciers to the rise of tuberculosis sanatoria and winter sports. It was in this context, among others, that the enduring rhetorical distinction developed between the 'traveller', exploring beyond 'the beaten track' and enjoying the cultural capital to understand and analyse what emerged and transpired, and the 'tourist', an inferior being led by guide-books and guides along well-trodden routes with established infrastructure (Barton, 2008; Buzard, 1993; Ring, 2000; Tissot, 2000). This originated, in part, as spin-off from the Grand Tour, as did the development of the French Riviera as, initially, a health resort, in which the British aristocracy and substantial middle classes played a prominent part from the early nineteenth century onwards (Blume, 1992; Ring, 2004).

There is some danger of an anglocentric view obscuring diversity, and German and Austrian influences, especially, were increasingly strong from the second half of the nineteenth century in everything from climbing to coastal tourism. Within Britain, the development of mountain, literary and coastal tourism was in large measure pioneered from the early eighteenth century onwards. It was greatly boosted by transport innovation and the communications revolution of the nineteenth century, whether we think of steam power or the proliferation of cheap publicity, travel literature and guide-books, and whether we think of the literary landscapes of the Lake District or of Sir Walter Scott's Scotland. We should also consider the popular British 'outdoor movement' of ramblers, hikers, cyclists and campaigners for access to mountains that gathered strength and influences from the late nineteenth century, and the remarkably complex and extensive systems of coastal seabathing resorts that proliferated during this period until they accounted for a million and a half residents at an April census in 1911. The popular coastal or 'seaside' resort, in particular, was a British invention that spread across the world, adapting to new social circumstances as it went until in many parts of the globe its origins were forgotten. British seaside tourism itself remained the preserve of domestic markets and the international dimension was mainly a phenomenon of sunnier and more equable climes. This point deserves additional elaboration (Durie, 2003; Taylor, 1997; Walton, 1983, 2000a).

Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries a multitude of coastal resorts were established, first in England, then across Europe and the Atlantic world, before the beach holiday became a global phenomenon n the twentieth century and especially after World War 2 (Walton, 2003). Their diversity embraced the picturesque fishing village or small town that acquired its bathing season and artistic community, changing its economy and social life in the process; (Walton, 2008) the planted seaside resort, planned from its inception by a landowner, businessman or public company for more or less commercial motives; (Cannadine, 1982) and the settlement that grew in spontaneous and speculative fashion alongside a beach or other attractive maritime landscape. It extended to the highly informal seaside village composed of shacks and bungalows constructed from old railway carriages or tramcars on cheap land with no agricultural value; (Hardy & Ward, 1984) the vacation colony aimed charitably at improving the health of 'slum' children and introducing them to the calming influences of nature and rural tranquillity; (Balducci, 2005) and the planned holiday camps, sometimes commercially run, sometimes orgaised by trade unions, co-operatives, religious bodies and even political parties or, as in Peronist Argentina, as examples of social intervention by populist authoritarian governments (Pastoriza, 2003; Ward & Hardy, 1986). It even included the attempts at realising the dreams of dictators in a seaside setting, like the project for a huge popular resort that was planned and begun by the Hitler regime at Prora, in the Baltic, towards the end of the 1930s (Spode, 2004); and the post-war planned developments stimulated by governments anxious to manage demand, control coastal urbanisation from the centre, and promote tourism as a route to economic development (Furlough and Wakeman, in Baranowski & Furlough, 2001; Clancy, 2001).

Some seaside resorts became summer capitals, such as Ostend, Opatija and San Sebastián, where the resident royal family became an attraction in itself during the summer season (Long and Palmer, 2008; Walton, in Tissot, 2003). Some destinations moved along this spectrum from the dominance of one kind of settlement to another, as most large resorts came to combine more than one kind of settlement within their boundaries. The balance of importance might shift over time between one dominant identity and another, even as the balance of influence between local and external government, public and private capital, landowners and commercial firms, and the interests attached to different tourist and residential markets ebbed and flowed. These changes are much more interesting, and harder to capture, than the much cruder, economically-driven model of TALC. For example, the case of Piriápolis in Uruguay, founded by the building contractor, science fiction novelist and would-be populist politician Francisco Piria as a utopian seaside resort, and apparently designed on alchemical principles, would be far too idiosyncratic to fit within the strait-jackets of TALC. The actual story reads at times like the most implausible of family saga novels; but Piriápolis should have a place in our understanding of the range of possibilities in the formation and development of tourist destinations, not least because it is

probably the largest resort town to be the product of the imagination, determination and financial resources of a single individual (Dobrinin, 2006; Martínez Cherro, 2004).

This brings us back to Latin America, and into the twentieth century. In the former case, there remains a great deal to do, but work is beginning in earnest on a range of themes and places, including various aspects of tourism in Mexico, coastal resorts, planning for tourism, holiday 'colonies' and the relationships between tourism and national identity in Argentina and Uruguay, and beach, casino and heritage tourism across the Caribbean (Berger, 2006; Merrill, 2001; Pastoriza, 2002; Piglia, 2008; Schluter, 2008; Schwartz, 1997; Sheller, 2003). Here as in many other parts of the world, a great deal of work has been concentrated into the analysis of developments since the 1960s, as the globalization and 'massification' of tourism has become increasingly pronounced, the pleasure periphery has continued to recede (leaving some resorts of a previous generaton struggling in the wake of its departure), and the development of purpose-built corporate resorts has proceeded in step with the expansion and increasing sophistication of 'backpacker' and 'sustainable' tourism. This has left the ideal of the traveller 'off the beaten track' increasingly difficult to achieve, as Alex Garland has perceptively observed (among other paradoxes of contemporary tourism) in his novel *The Beach* (Garland, 1996). The rise of international tourism in the Asia-Pacific region has spawned an extensive literature, but most of it is present-minded and it rarely goes back beyond the 1960s, with little work as yet on the colonial past. Nor does it pay much heed to domestic tourism within individual countries, which remains a general absence in tourism studies outside Europe, North America and Australasia, not least because it requires local expertise, contacts, linguistic skills and archives (Gladstone, 2005; Singh, 2009). Work on the history of tourism in twentieth-century Africa is also very limited, although here as elsewhere, as the coverage becomes more contemporary the study of the recent past becomes more interdisciplinary. Boukraa's research on the history of Hammamet, Tunisia, as a tourist destination is unusual in its historical depth, and most publications on African tourism remain present-minded and policy-oriented, although discussion of (for example) the development of Ghana's coastal 'slave castles' as dark heritage tourist destinations brings a particular political and ethical charge to the use of historical representations for tourism purposes (Boukraa, 1993; Richards, 2005; Wynn, 2007). Current anthropological, sociological and policy-related work will provide grist to the mill for future historians of tourism, as a kind of running archive of perceptions and practices, but the history as such has yet to be done.

This latter point emphatically does not apply to the United States or Western Europe, where the sheer quantity of historical research outputs is becoming overwhelming, especially on twentieth-century themes. Much of it is again interdisciplinary or undertaken from disciplines outside history itself, and it tends to be compartmentalised, with limited awareness of the whole imagined field. It is at this point that we need to change the focus and draw attention to key themes in tourism history, with necessary brevity on a broad canvas.

4. Coverage: themes

In the first place, tourism is predicated upon travel and its history is strongly identified with transport innovation, and indeed with migration, seasonal and otherwise, and for anything from hotel dishwashing to affluent retirement. The growing importance of travel and guide-book literature and journalism, to say nothing of film, television and electronic media through the twentieth century, and of 'armchair tourism' and the vicarious journey, does not invalidate this point. Self-styled 'travel' writers tend to disparage the mapped, timetabled and often directive facility afforded by tourist infrastructures (Fussell, 1980). Even so, the tourist journey, whether or not a single destination is the goal, can embrace everything from human (or animal) muscle power to internal combustion and jet engines, from 'pedestrianism' to flying, from plotting one's own route to being 'packaged' into a controlled itinerary, and from walking to commercial aviation within a single composite journey. The impact of changes in transport technologies on journeys and destinations has often been complex and delayed. The replacement of sail by steam on tourist sea routes or the increasing availability of rail transport did not bring overnight transformations (it took a generation after the arrival of the railway for England's Blackpool to begin to develop its identity as the world's first working-class seaside resort). The railway journey 'framed' the landscape in new ways without alienating the leisure traveller from the changing external environment and what might become a succession of familiar landmarks as the journey progressed. Motorists often followed signposted routes to established destinations without taking up the opportunities the car provided for variety and flexibility. This applied especially where the destination was more important than the journey, in contrast with the emergence of the sea cruise and similar celebrations of the journey as a tourist experience in its own right from the end of the nineteenth century (Armstrong, 2005; Coons & Varias, 2003; Dye, 2005; Featherstone, Thrift, & Urry, 2005; Lyth, 2003; Schivelbusch, 1980; Simonsen, 2005; Walton, 1981; Williams, 1975).

Modes of transport tended to reflect social standing, whether in (or perched on top of) the stage coach or diligence, or experiencing the wide range of possibilities between crowded 'cheap trip' carriage (or cattle truck) and first-class luxury on nineteenth-century railways, or establishing competitive status and pretensions through make or year of car and touring caravan. The differences between private and public transport, the private carriage versus the diligence or stage coach on the Grand Tour or the advent of private motoring as opposed to the shared spaces of the train or motor-coach, had their own significance. But class, as exemplified by the classic divisions of railway accommodation, is a strong, significant and enduring theme in the consumption of tourism and destinations, whether we focus on the social standing of resorts, or of areas within resorts, or preferences in leisure and holiday-making, or how holidays were organised, individually, communally or commercially (Barton, 2005; Smith, 1988, Chap. 6–7; Walton, 2000a, Chap. 3). Hence the horror with which much French middle-class opinion reacted to the introduction of paid holidays in 1936, expressing fears about the invasion of cherished, cultivated coastal haunts by the great unwashed, which were not to be realized in practice (Furlough, 1998). Class relations and conflict are at least equally important, though much less widely researched, in the tourism labour force. Trade unions were often weak (less so in large-scale transport industries like railways, which sometimes provided cheap or free holiday travel to their own workers, and shipping lines), and family businesses or authoritarian, sometimes paternalist companies ruled the roost (Baker & Stanley, 2003; Martínez Cherro, 2004; Merrill, 2001; Walton & Smith, 1994). Campaigns to establish the basic rights of labour in tourist settings have attracted particular attention in Las Vegas, with important contributions from oral history and the collection of life stories of ordinary workers (Orleck, 2005; Rothman & Davis, 2002). Conflicts over access to and use of space in tourist settings, as elsewhere, often had a class dimension, as at San Sebastián where in the early twentieth century the tree-lined Alameda around its ornate bandstand was very precisely, but invisibly, divided on class lines which were seldom, but sometimes violently, transgressed (Walton, 2001). Beaches were often divided by class and place of

origin by this time, sometimes more by convention than by the overt manipulation of law and property, as were places of entertainment. The private beach was unusual in most of Europe, and its history needs further exploration (Walton, in Baranowski & Furlough, 2001; Walton, 2000a; Zorrilla, 1913). Whole resorts and travel zones might be represented as beyond the legitimate access and aspirations of those who lacked the cultural capital to appreciate their intrinsic qualities to the full without apparent effort. This applied to the earnest Cook's tourists of the 1860s who were caricatured as being herded across Switzerland and Italy with their noses buried in the standard guide-books, or the working-class visitors to the English Lake District a generation later who would, as John Ruskin put it, derive no benefit from seeing Helvellyn while drunk. To the distinction of culture and morality that was drawn between the traveller and the inferior 'tourist' was added, in the railway age, that between the tourist and the ephemeral and even more uncultivated 'tripper' (Berghoff, Korte, Schneider & Harvie, 2002; Buzard, 1993; Marshall & Walton, 1981, Chap. 8–9).

Gender and ethnicity should also be major dimensions of tourism history. Gender and sexual orientation need further development as themes in this field, and there is much more to be done on the shadowy histories of sex tourism and tourism as a vehicle for transgression, especially beyond the Mediterranean and North American settings (Las Vegas, New Orleans) in which much of the current historical literature is concentrated. In particular, histories of sex and tourism in the Asia/Pacific region and in Africa need to be taken beyond sketchy outlines and clichés (Littlewood, 2001; Pemble, 1987; Stanonis, 2006). The gendering of sites, activities and destinations is an important theme. It extends from changing attitudes to bathing practices, beach cultures and bodily exposure (including 'bathing beauty' contests or pageants) (Gray, 2006; Riverol, 1992; Walton, 2006) through the contested masculine exclusivity of areas where sport and tourism meet, like climbing or surfing (Huntsman, 2001; Osborne, 2005) and the identifying of particular locations as honeymoon destinations (Dubinsky, 1999). It includes the gendered expectations surrounding the hospitality trades (and the complications that arise from this) or the identification of tourist destinations as feminine because the services they offer (comfort, welcome, solace, courtesy, deference) are conventionally identified as female virtues (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007; Walton, 1978, 2000b).

Issues of ethnicity have likewise affected both tourists and labour forces, especially in the United States. At Coney Island by the mid-twentieth century particular beaches and bathhouses came to be identified with specific ethnic groups, such as Irish or Jews, but the 'unofficial color line' that kept African Americans 'in their place' began to blur (Cross & Walton, 2005, p. 54, 60–61). The status of African Americans at Atlantic City remained a vexed issue for much of the twentieth century, not least because of the high visibility of Black men in menial jobs; (Simon, 2004) and there are valuable contributions on African American struggles for civil rights, welfare rights and labour organisation in twentieth-century Las Vegas (King, 1997; Orleck, 2005). Middle-class Black families and congregations founded their own seaside resorts on the east coast of the United States from the later nineteenth century, as did Jewish groups in a parallel practical response to anti-semitism (Aron, 1999). These are themes that will repay examination in other settings, such as Australia, South Africa and (for example) Tunisia (Boukraa, 1993).

There is also the question of local ethnic customs in tourist destinations being adapted, appropriated and represented as tourist attractions, a process that compromises notions of authenticity as soon as the activity becomes self-conscious or profit-oriented, generating the invention or renegotiating of traditions. This has been examined in the context of a nineteenth-century French fishing village transforming itself into a resort, as in Garner's study of Arcachon, and of developments in Hawai'i, Tahiti or Mexico through the twentieth century (Berger, 2006; Desmond, 1999; Garner, 2005; Sherman, 2005). Whether or not there is attendant conflict over such appropriations, in the context of external governmental or commercial pressure to develop tourism as an engine of economic growth and social transformation, the processes at work are complex. External forces, opportunities and cultures provide opportunities as well as threats or challenges to local societies and cultures, and serious attempts to analyse the historical processes at work have been made by ethnographers and anthropologists in such settings as La Gomera (Canary Islands) or Bali (Macleod, 2004; Picard, 1996; Vickers, 1989).

Such questions lead us into the relationships between histories of tourism and those of the construction and contestation of national and regional identities, which is where tourism intersects with the politics and diplomacy of nation states and empires in ways that might offer added legitimacy to the subject in the eyes of traditionalists. Tourism has been enlisted in a broad spectrum of nation-building and nation-affirming projects under political circumstances ranging from those of Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain to those of the USSR, by way of Fourth Republic France and social democratic Sweden, and the ambiguities and uncertainties of British identities. The outcomes were not always those intended by the planners, as tourism revealed an embarrassing capacity for the subversion of attempts at economic, political and moral control from the centre. The same applied to attempts at using tourism to cement imperial identities (not least through the important tourism functions of imperial capitals) or promote ambitious foreign policy goals, as in the case of the post-war United States (Baranowski, 2004; Bosworth, 1997; Walton, in Caunce, Mazierska, Sydney-Smith, & Walton, 2004; De Grazia, 1981; Driver & Gilbert, 1999; Furlough, 2002; Furlong, 2009; Gorsuch & Koenker, 2006; Löfgren, 2001; Pack, 2006; Semmens, 2005; Shaffer, 2002; Sherman, 2005).

The inherently subversive aspects of tourism, as it brings contrasting cultures into contact and potential conflict, while displaying the trappings of wealth and presenting assorted opportunities to the local and migrant populations who observe, interact with, perform for and service the tourists, are highlighted by research that highlights the liminal, crimogenic and carnivalesque status of destinations (especially coastal or frontier ones), which need to be examined over time (Shields, 1991; Walton, 1998). As befits these characteristics, tourism often develops in association with casino gambling, prostitution and organised crime, whether in European settings from the eighteenth century onwards, in the twentieth-century United States (where work on Las Vegas and Atlantic City has been especially prolific), or in the Asia/Pacific region, where Hsu's recent collection pays some introductory heed to historical background (Denton & Morris, 2002; Fielding, 1977; Hsu, 2006; Karmel, 2008; Moehring, 2000; Simon, 2004).

On the other hand, the potentially destabilising and divisive aspects of tourism's subversive side tend to generate reactive attempts at strict regulation and control, especially from local government. These produce tensions and conflicts which can give rise to revealing historical source material, although much remains outside the public domain and inaccessible to the external observer. Attempts to create controlled resort environments where the exotic and challenging are on offer in secure and sanitised settings, with controls imposed by varying combinations of public and private bodies at different historical periods, range from the Spanish resort of San Sebastián (Walton, 2002) to Club Mediterannée, (Furlough, 1993; Sherman, 2005) and the Mexican resort developments promoted by FONATUR, whose strongest brand is Cancún (Torres & Momsen, 2005). But attempts to impose order,

cleanliness and conformity while offering 'wondrous innocence' and an 'architecture of reassurance', which reach their apogee in the Disney resorts, are always open to contestation and subversion, under circumstances that themselves change over time as external cultures and markets shift (Cross & Walton, 2005, Chap. 5; Marling, 1997). Arguments about the role of Disney and related tourism and media initiatives in promoting the 'Disneyization' of society, a related concept to Ritzer's coinage of 'McDonaldization', need to come to terms with the historical processes that are at work in the negotiated responses to what is on offer, as in issues relating to globalization more generally (Bryman, 2004; Ritzer, 2006). At the other extreme are destinations that offer the authenticity of shabbiness, untidiness, layered complexity and an appeal to unofficial, 'living' history, as in the old 'fishing quarters' of ports that double as resorts, attracting artists and photographers and celebrating the accumulated patina of a romantic past in contrast (and often contestation) with attempts at sanitisation and standardisation (Deacon, 2001; Walton, 2008). The open-air industrial museum expresses a similar ethos, with its drive for historically authenticated reconstruction of a grounded past, which can never be completely achieved and is therefore always open to criticism (Cross & Walton, 2005, Chap. 6).

Representations of tourist destinations and practices are, of course, central to the enterprise of tourism history, and the development of guide-books, travel literature and advertising material, including visual representations of journeys and destinations, has sustained an increasingly prolific literature (Beckerson, in Berghoff, Korte, Schneider & Harvie (ed.), 2002; Mackenzie and Steward, in Walton (ed.), 2005). Many tourist practices entail interaction with spectacular or conventionally desirable natural features, whether physically or through the 'gaze'; so relationships between people and 'nature', whether in the form of landscape, ecology or wildlife, feature heavily in the content of these publications, as well as in the letters and travel diaries that also form an important kind of source. But discussions of cultural practices as objects of tourist interest, together with presentations of and reactions to the built environment and to human interventions in the landscape, are often interwoven with representations of 'nature'. Efforts to disentangle them can be analytically useful, but are equally likely to mislead or distort (Anderson & Tabb, 2002; Hind & Mitchell, 2004).

Such representations make use of versions of the past as well as constituting resources for investigators of the discourses and linguistic conventions of tourism, from rhetorical conjurations of paradise on earth (from Mallorca to Polynesia) to the construction of literary landscapes (from Shakespeare to Sir Walter Scott and from the children's author Enid Blyton to the romantic novelist Catherine Cookson) (Durie, 2003; Furlough, 1993; Norman, 2005; Ousby, 1990; Sherman, 2005; Walton, in Walton, 2005). Tourism history, delineating as it does a set of phenomena that are heavily dependent on changing aesthetics and directions of the 'gaze', has also to embrace the 'visual turn', including architecture and design: not only in terms of tourism's interaction with and exploitation of visual culture, but also the development and significance of distinctive architectures of tourism, and the statements that they make. This applies not only to hotels, pavilions, 'pleasure palaces' and promenade furniture, but also to sporting installations (such as swimming pools and ski lifts), parks and gardens, and the older historic architectures of earlier cultures, from the Native American village to the fishing settlement. This also entails examining the relationships between history, art and tourism, especially in settings whose visual distinctiveness proved attractive first to artists, then to tourists, although the implicit distinction introduced here is itself open to debate (Braden, 2002; Crouch & Lubbren, 2003; Deacon, 2001; Gray, 2006; Herbert, 1994; Urry, 1995; Wharton, 1999).

Tourism history also needs to involve itself in current controversies over the nature of 'heritage' and the role of history. This applies not only to the construction of tourist destinations and attractions that appeal to the past, and the conservation and presentation of desired environments to tourism publics, which draws on a well-established historiography (Lowenthal, 1997; Lowenthal and Binney, 1981; Mandler, 1997). It also applies to the regeneration of resort environments that have acquired a history and 'industrial archaeology' of their own, and to the uses of history to inform new developments in ways that enhance distinctiveness and a spirit of locality. The current interest in 'intangible heritage' and the 'heritage of the recent past' adds additional dimensions to these preoccupations, which have been generating conflict and debate in resorts as diverse and distant as Blackpool and Miami Beach (Carter, 2008; Lillefors, 2006; Medina Lasansky & McLaren, 2007; Mosaad, 2008; Stofik, 2005; Walton & Wood, 2009). This returns us to the issues raised by TALC, and the potential importance of the uses of history in revivifying tired tourist environments while reaffirming the distinctiveness that is associated with the surviving elements of their (always) unique past.

5. Future prospects

This survey of the field of tourism history reveals a remarkable amount of activity covering a wide range of themes and issues, much of it interdisciplinary by nature and treating the past from a variety of angles of vision and theoretical perspectives. The approaches are overwhelmingly qualitative rather than quantitative, the 'soft' nature of tourism statistics (at least until recent years) helping to explain this bias; but there is no doubt that this strongly emerging sub-discipline needs firmer grounding in economic, demographic and business history. I have addressed some of these issues in a previous survey (Davidson & Spearritt, 2000; Walton, 1997a, 2009). Particularly useful would be additional work on small and medium enterprises, especially those that were family run, and on local and regional as well as international investment patterns in resort and infrastructure development, including the role of urban and other local governments (Battilani & Fauri, 2009; Walton, 1978). The role of government in general, in all spheres from tourism promotion policies to transport, public health and policies towards crime and morality, requires further examination (Moreno Garrido, 2004; Johnson, 2002). Related to this, and given the high profile of issues relating to environmental footprint, management and sustainability in current work on tourism, the further development of work on environmental history in the tourism field should also be a high priority. Mike Davis's grounded analysis of the environmental issues raised by the explosive growth of Las Vegas, a contribution which has all the virtues of the best of contemporary histories, is an essential reference here (Davis, 2002, Chap. 4; Garner, 2005; Hassan, 2003; Lambert, 2001; Walton, 2000a, Chap. 5). Current concerns about the impact of international politics and questions of travel security on tourism should also stimulate the further development of historical research in this area, especially with regard to the contested influence of the United States in parts of the Caribbean, Latin America and the Pacific, as well as earlier relationships between tourism and diplomacy in Europe (Berger, 2006; Clancy, 2001; Endy, 2004; Merrill, 2001; Wharton, 1999). Related historical issues involve the impact of changing perceptions of risk on tourist destinations and practices, particularly during transitions to new transport systems. Risk was part of the appeal of being a 'traveller' and part of the problem of being a cut-price tourist, particularly in new forms of cheap travel like excursion trains in Britain, which seem to have been particularly vulnerable to accidents up to, perhaps the 1870s, and post-WW2 charter flights between Britain and the Mediterranean using

war surplus Dakotas with unpressurised cabins (http://www.railwaysarchive.co.uk/documents/Bot_Kendal1872.pdf accessed 7 December 2008 for a classic example; Bray & Raitz, 2001). More attention to the labour history of tourism is also necessary, which will also have the effect of stimulating necessary research on histories of gender, sexual orientation and the sex trades. In geographical terms the areas most in need of historians' attention are Eastern Europe and the former Russian Empire and Soviet Union, Asia and the Pacific, and Africa, with particular attention in the latter regions to domestic tourism, which has very limited visibility but clearly has histories worth exploring. Even this brief and subjective roll-call of possible and desirable areas of historical research sets out a daunting agenda, and it will prove to be the exposed tip of a very large iceberg: a great deal of work has been done, but exciting tracts of unexplored or under-explored territory lie before us.

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