

THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

LEISURE, PLEASURE AND THE URBAN SPECTACLE

Robinson College, University of Cambridge, UK

31 March – 1 April 2011

Programme and Abstracts of Papers



Flip Flap and Spiral Railway. Franco-British Exhibition, White City, London, 1908

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Urban History Group Conference

Robinson College, University of Cambridge, UK

31 March – 1 April 2011

LEISURE, PLEASURE AND THE URBAN SPECTACLE

Conference Programme Resumé

Thursday 31 March

11.00-14.00 Registration

13.00-14.00 Lunch (**not** included in one-day package)

14.00-15.30 **Session 1: plenary session**

The City Spectacular

15.30-16.00 Tea

16.00-17.30 **Session 2: parallel sessions**

2.1: Music, Modernity and Urban Space: The Nineteenth Century Experience

2.2: Drinking in the Urban Spectacle

17.45-19.30 **Session 3: new researchers' workshops**

3.1: Processional Culture, Carnival and Festivals

3.2: The Rise of Commercial Tourism and Leisure Resorts

3.3: The Performance and Experience of Urban Leisure

19.30-20.00 Reception (sponsored by: *Urban History*)

20.00-21.30 Conference dinner

21.30-late Bar

Friday 1 April

08.00-08.45 Breakfast

09.00-10.30 **Session 4: parallel sessions**

4.1: Urban Pleasurescapes: Rethinking Approaches to Public Leisure

4.2: Cities as Monuments of Urban Pleasure: Real and Imagined Experiences

4.3: Civic Culture and Place Identity

10.30-11.00 Coffee

11.00-12.45 **Session 5: plenary session**

Pleasure Resorts: The Rise of Seaside Towns and Mass Tourism in Comparative History

12.45-13.00 Closing remarks

13.00-14.00 Lunch (included in one-day conference package)

14.00 Conference ends

Conference Theme

This year's conference explores the pursuit of "pleasure" in the context of the history of towns and cities. Towns and cities have historically offered an array of pleasures to cater for ever larger concentrations of people. The types of leisure activities available to urban populations have never remained static; indeed, changing social and economic conditions have transformed popular leisure patterns over time as well as across urban space. The pursuit of pleasure, both licit and illicit, has adapted with the changing relationship between work and leisure. As working hours became increasingly rigid during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so too did leisure time. The lack of free time was further exacerbated by growing pressures on land use. Thus, the pursuit of pleasure was increasingly set aside for specific buildings (inns, brothels, theatres, music halls and, more recently, fitness centres) or clearly delineated spaces (botanical gardens, public parks, public walks, gated communities and even the internet) where access could, in theory, be carefully managed. Cities, seaside towns and holiday resorts were also developed to specifically cater for a variety of tastes and pleasures. Once it was recognised that there was money to be made out of the pursuit of pleasure, cities became intertwined with the business of leisure and began to market themselves as centres of tourism, heritage and culture. The papers presented seek to explore the significance of specifically urban forms of pleasure and leisure for understanding the historical dynamics of social, economic and cultural relationships. As well as the new researchers' workshops, which showcase the latest doctoral research into this thriving field, there are separate sessions on related themes of urban pleasure, leisure and the urban spectacle, including music, drinking, pleasuresapes, city monuments, civic culture and seaside resorts.

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Conference website

Abstracts and conference programme are available from the conference website which also contains links to registration:

(<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/urbanhistory/uhg/conference-2011>).

Brief guide to conference arrangements

The conference will take place at Robinson College, University of Cambridge. All residential accommodation, meetings and conference sessions will be located in the College.

Conference accommodation on campus

Ensuite and standard accommodation will be provided in the College.

Check-in for residential delegates

All **residential** delegates should please check in at the Porters' Lodge, Robinson College, situated on the corner of Grange Road and Herschel Road, (see map below), where keys will be available from 1.00 p.m. onwards; a luggage storage facility is available for those arriving before this time. The Porters' Lodge is manned 24 hours per day, however, if you plan to arrive after 6.00 p.m. you should please advise Maureen Galbraith (ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk).

Registration

Registration will take place between 11.00 and 14.00 in the Auditorium Foyer (a College Plan can be found on page xi of this booklet. The registration desk will be staffed for the duration of the conference.

Alternative Accommodation

Information on Cambridge hotels can be found by following the links at:

<http://www.visitcambridge.org/VisitCambridge/WhereToStay.aspx>

The Economic History Society does not necessarily endorse any of the hotels listed.

Car parking

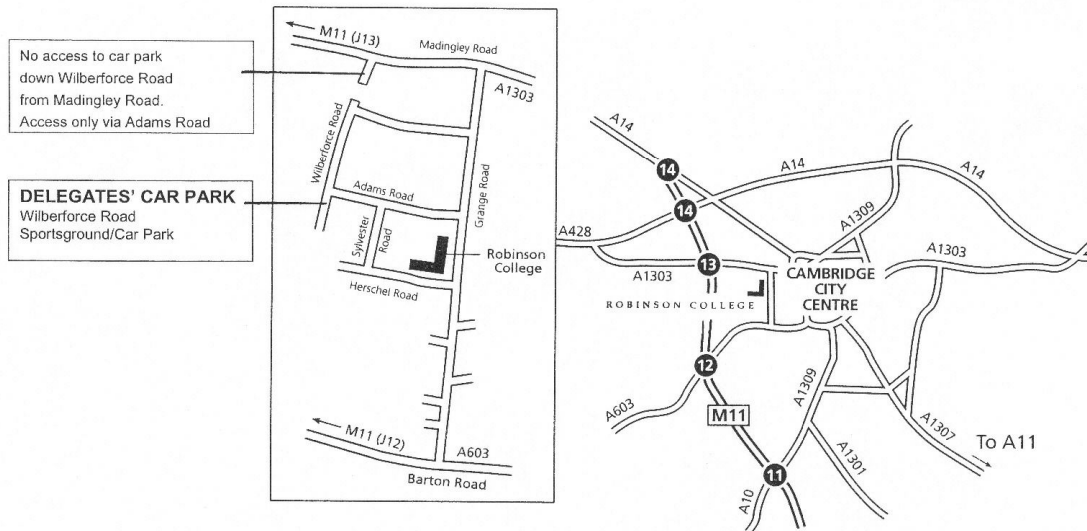
Robinson College has arranged with the University of Cambridge for the use of the car park at their Wilberforce Road Sports Ground by delegates attending conferences. The Ground is only some 500 yards from the Porters' Lodge and provides ample car parking space.

Neither the College nor the Sports Ground accept responsibility or liability in respect of loss or damage to any property, including motor cars and items left in motor cars, brought onto the parking area by or on behalf of any persons. **A parking permit is available on request from Maureen Galbraith.** For security reasons please display your permit in an obvious position.

The entrance to the car park is on the corner of Adams Road and Wilberforce Road. Once inside the Sports Ground please follow the signs to the parking area. The main entrance to Robinson College is at the corner of Grange Road and Herschel Road. A location map can be found below.

ROBINSON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WILBERFORCE ROAD SPORTS GROUND CAR PARK



Book displays

Publishers' and booksellers' displays will be in a marquee at Robinson College.

Meals and Morning Tea/Afternoon Coffee

Breakfast and lunch will be served in the Garden Restaurant, dinner in the Dining Hall and teas/coffees in the marquee (all located at the College).

Receptions and Bar

All receptions and the bar will be located in the College.

Meeting rooms for sessions

Meeting rooms for all sessions will be located in the College.

Internet Access

There is wireless internet access in all public areas of the College and wired internet access from bedrooms; delegates should provide their own Ethernet cable. Computers with internet access are located in a café on campus. Instructions and passwords will be provided on site.

Useful Contacts

Robinson College: Tel: +44 (0)1223 332 859 Email: conference@robinson.cam.ac.uk
 Maureen Galbraith Tel: +44 (0)141 330 4662 Email: ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk

Travelling to Cambridge

Comprehensive information on travel to Robinson College, as well as maps, can be found by following the links at:

<http://www.robinson.cam.ac.uk/conferences/contact.php>

By Road

The College is situated in Grange Road, close to the centre of Cambridge. Grange Road runs between Barton Road and Madingley Road and is parallel to Queens' Road (the 'Backs').

The best way to approach the College by road from the north, south or east is from Junction 12 of the M11.

From Junction 12 of the M11, the A603 towards Cambridge

- Take the A603 (Barton Road) towards Cambridge.
- Pass Wolfson College on the left.
- About 1.5 miles from the M11 you will reach the traffic lights of a pedestrian crossing. Grange Road is the turning on the left, directly after this pedestrian crossing, opposite the Hat and Feathers public house.
- Once in Grange Road you will pass the CU Rugby Club on the left.
- The road narrows slightly immediately before the next turning on the left which is Herschel Road. Robinson College is the new redbrick college 0.5 miles along Grange Road on the left, on the corner of Grange Road and Herschel Road.

From the North (A14)

- From the M6/M1 (Junction 19) interchange join the A14 (signposted to Kettering).
- Follow the A14 past Kettering and Huntingdon towards Cambridge.
- From the A1 at Brampton join the A14 (signposted for Stansted and Cambridge).
- Follow the A14 and signs for Cambridge.
- Get in lane for the M11 once you have passed the exit for Dry Drayton, Oakington and Cottenham. (M11 is outside and middle lanes.)
- Join the M11 following the signs for Stansted.
- Leave the motorway at the next exit, Junction 12.
- Take the A603 in the direction of Cambridge (to the left).
- Follow the directions from the M11, Junction 12, as above.

From the East (A14 from Newmarket)

Avoid the city centre

- From the East (A14 from Newmarket).
- Follow the northern by-pass to join the M11.
- The exit for the M11 is after the junction for the B1049. It is signposted 'M11 London (A10), North, A1, Midlands'.
- Once you have taken this exit, stay in the left-hand lane and join the M11.
- Leave the motorway at the next exit, Junction 12.
- Take the A603 in the direction of Cambridge (to the left).
- Follow the directions from the M11, Junction 12, as above.

From the South (A10)

- At the signpost 'M11 The North, Huntingdon (A14), Bedford (A428), Ely (A10)' turn left and join the M11.
- Leave the motorway at the next exit, Junction 12 signposted 'Cambridge, Sandy and the A603'.
- Take the A603 in the direction of Cambridge (to the right).
- Follow the directions from the M11, Junction 12 as above.

From the West (A428 from Bedford)

- Along the A428 from Bedford and St Neots take the exit for the A1303, signposted for the M11 London.
- Passing the American Cemetery on the left, continue straight on at the traffic lights.
- Pass the turning for the M11 to London on your right.
- At the next traffic lights the Madingley Road 'Park and Ride' is on your left, continue straight on.
- Pass High Cross on your right and Madingley Rise (Observatory) on your left.
- There is a set of traffic lights at a pedestrian crossing. Immediately after these get into the right hand lane.
- Turn right into Grange Road at the next set of traffic lights.
- Once in Grange Road pass Clarkson Road on your right and continue for about 0.5 mile.
- Robinson College is the new redbrick college 0.4 miles down Grange Road on the right, situated between Adams Road and Herschel Road.

Directions for cyclists and pedestrians

From Market Square in the town centre

- Go past Great St Mary's, heading towards Senate House.
- Follow Senate House Passage, then turn right onto Trinity Lane.
- Turn left 30 yards later onto Garret Hostel Lane.
- Continue over the footbridge until you reach Queens' Road.
- Cross Queens' Road and continue on the footpath running past the University Library.
- Arrive on Grange Road, directly opposite Robinson College.

Route Planner

Here are two links to good route planners:

The AA: <http://www.theaa.com/route-planner/index.jsp>

Multimap: <http://www.bing.com/maps/?FORM=MMREDIR>

The postcode at Robinson College is: CB3 9AN.

Local Bus

Two local bus routes service the College.

Citi 4 (to/from Kings Hedges):

(www.stagecoachbus.com/PdfUploads/Map_4831_%20Cambridge%20citi%204.pdf).

How to reach the University of Cambridge

U4 (to/from Addenbrookes):

(www.stagecoachbus.com/PdfUploads/Map_7267_%20uni%204.pdf).

Both go to/from Cambourne. Pick this route up from Silver Street and Brooklands Avenue.

National Bus / Coach Routes

There is a frequent express bus service between London and Cambridge and a coach service several times a day between Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted airports and Cambridge. Details can be obtained from National Express, telephone 0870 580 8080.

- Bus Services in Cambridge: <http://www.cam.ac.uk/local/travel/bus.html>
- National Express Coaches: <http://www.nationalexpress.com/home.aspx>

From the bus or train station

Robinson College can be reached by taxi (10 minutes from the train or bus stations) or a 20-minute walk. Head into the city and aim for Market Square. A map for directions to the College can be found at:

http://www.robinson.cam.ac.uk/contact/robinson_location_map1.pdf

By Rail

The fastest trains (the Cambridge Cruiser from King's Cross) take only 48 minutes. Cross country rail services link Cambridge with the Midlands and the North, via Birmingham.

Trains to and from London: <http://www.cam.ac.uk/local/trains/>

National Rail timetable: <http://ojp.nationalrail.co.uk/en/s/planjourney/query>

By Air

Cambridge Airport has some domestic services and facilities for charter flights. Stansted Airport is approximately 40 minutes by road from Cambridge; Gatwick and Heathrow Airports are about 1.5 – 2 hours by road from the College. Buses from all these airports run regularly into the City Centre. Trains run directly to Cambridge from Stansted (35 minutes) and via London from Heathrow and Gatwick.

Taxis

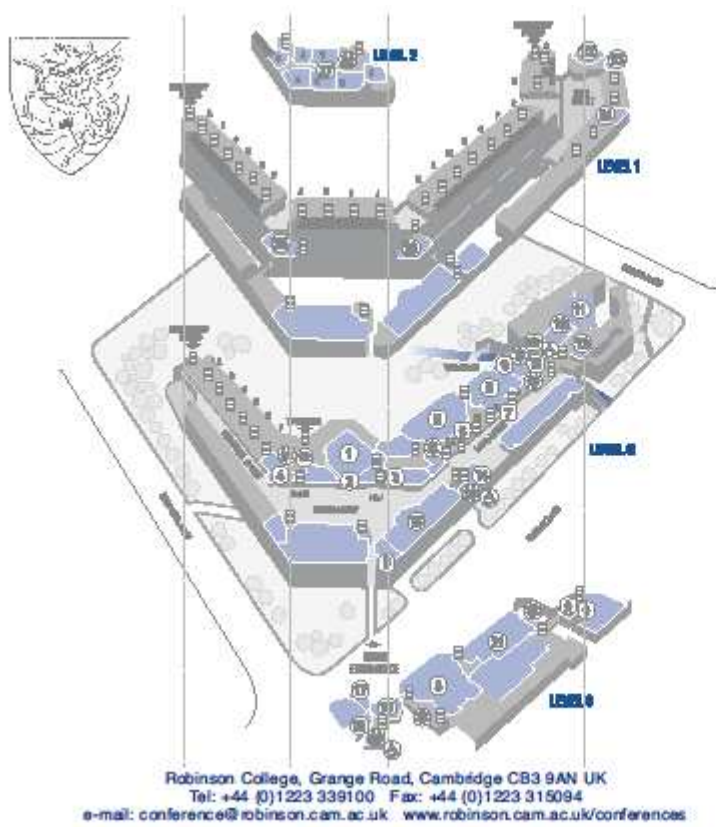
Panther +44 (0) 1223 715715

CamCab +44 (0) 1223 704704

A1 Taxis +44 (0) 1223 525555

Robinson College Plan

(A copy of this plan can be found at:
http://www.robinson.cam.ac.uk/about/college_plan.php)



KEY	
	Disabled Toilets
	Toilets
	Porters' Lodge/Reception
	Telephone
	Lift
	Stairs
Level G	
1	Auditorium
2	Auditorium Lounge & Foyer
3	Auditorium Conference Office
4	Games Room
5	Dining Hall
6	Balcony
7	Red Brick Cafe
8	Bar
9	JCR
10	Umney Lounge
11	Umney Theatre
12	Umney Conference Office
13	TV Room
14	Linnett Room
15	Chapel
Level 0	
17	Seminar Room
18	Clakroom
19	Garden Room
5	Dining Hall
21	Garden Restaurant
Level 1	
22	Music Room
23	Music Practice Room
24	High Court Sets
25	Teaching Rooms A & B
26	J8
Level 2	
27	Teaching Rooms 1-7

Urban History Group Annual Conference Programme

LEISURE, PLEASURE AND THE URBAN SPECTACLE

Robinson College, University of Cambridge, UK

THURSDAY 31 March 2011

11.00-14.00 Registration (Auditorium Foyer)

13.00-14.00 Lunch (Garden Restaurant)

(For those who selected this option on booking – not included in one-day package)

14.00-15.30 Session 1: *The City Spectacular* (Umney Theatre)

(Chair: tbc)

Virtue, leisure and pleasure on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour

Rosemary Sweet

Mine dancers, rickshaw pullers and ‘Cape Coloureds’: local colour as urban spectacle and ‘unique’ characteristic of three South African cities from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s

Vivian Bickford-Smith

15.30-16.00 Tea (Marquee)

16.00-17.30 Session 2: parallel sessions

2.1: *Music, Modernity and Urban Space: The Nineteenth Century Experience*

(Chair: Markian Prokopovych) (Umney Lounge)

From public to private dance venues: consumption of dance music in postwar Vienna, c.1814-20

Joonas Korhonen

‘A point of reunion’: class, taste and politics in the French opera in The Hague, 1820-90

Jan Hein Furnée

The Opera, the crowd, and the press: the opening ceremony scandal in Budapest in 1884

Markian Prokopovych

2.2: *Drinking in the Urban Spectacle* (Chair: James Nicholls) (Music Room)

Poisoned streams: alcohol, space and circulation in late Victorian cities

James Kneale and James Nicholls

Liquor control, leisure, and the public hockey arena in Ontario, 1934-44

Dan Malleck

'She is Everywhere in Publand': Older women drinkers and the English Public House in the mid-twentieth century

Stella Moss

17.45-19.30 Session 3: parallel new researchers' workshops

3.1 Processional Culture, Carnival and Festivals (Chair: tbc) (Umney Lounge)

Leisure and regional identity: crossbow competitions, festive networks and social peace in fifteenth-century Flanders

Laura Crombie

Onward Christian Soldiers: processing the ideal, Victorian Sunday Schools and urban space

Lynn Macgill

Producing and performing in the suburban civic realm: carnivals in metropolitan Middlesex and Essex, 1900-14

Dion Georgiou

War as a pleasurable urban pursuit? Military units and the urban spectacle, c.1919-39

Eleanor K. O'Keeffe

3.2 The Rise of Commercial Tourism and Leisure Resorts (Chair: tbc)(Music Room)

Amabel Hume-Campbell and the eighteenth century's leisure resorts: a re-evaluation of motivation

Rachael M. Johnson

Living in a leisure town: residential reactions to the growth of popular tourism in late nineteenth-century Southend

David Churchill

Amusement, morals, and religion: the late nineteenth century seaside resort towns of Asbury Park and Ocean Grove

Aris Damadian Lindemans

Beaches in the city: the quest for the ideal urban beach in postwar Los Angeles

Elsa Devienne

3.3 The Performance and Experience of Urban Leisure (Chair: tbc)(Umney Theatre)

'Here you may find all that you can possibly want': The British Museum, rationality and leisure in London, 1850-90

Joseph De Sapio

Middlesbrough's steel magnates' patronage of social and leisure provision, 1880-1934

Tosh Warwick

Saint-Germain-des Prés: a mythology for tourists and consumers

Éric Dussault

Photography of leisure, photography as pleasure: consuming the image of the European City in the postwar photographic press, 1950-55

Tom Allbeson

19.30-20.00 Reception sponsored by *Urban History* (Dining Hall Balcony)

20.00-21.30 Dinner (Dining Hall)

21.30-24.00 Late bar (Bar)

FRIDAY 1 April 2011

08.00-08.45 Breakfast (Garden Restaurant)

09.00-10.30 Session 4: parallel sessions

4.1 Urban Pleasurescapes: Rethinking Approaches to Public Leisure

(Chair: tbc) (Umney Lounge)

The urban renaissance and the mob: rethinking urban leisure in the long eighteenth century

Emma Griffin

Shopping for pleasure on Saturday night: working-class market streets in London, 1880-1914

Victoria Kelley

Mechanical pleasures: the appeal of British amusement parks, 1900-14

Josie Kane

4.2 Cities as Monuments of Urban Pleasure: Real and Imagined Experiences

(Chair: tbc) (Music Room)

Real and virtual Lincoln for the railway tourist c.1840- 1900

Denise McHugh

Pleasure in the ruins: guides to the Paris Commune ruins, 1871

Daryl P. Lee

'Temptation is at that place': urban pleasure on the Western Front

Krista Cowman

4.3 Civic Culture and Place Identity (Chair: tbc) (Umney Theatre)

'Oases of pleasure in deserts of toil'? Leisure, recreation and the promotion of civic culture in two Clyde shipbuilding communities, c.1885-1912

Michael G. Pugh

Never Never Landscapes: childhood and the municipal park in England

Katy Layton-Jones

Consumer culture, leisure and civic identity in Manchester: from the Great Depression to 'A City Speaks'

Charlotte Wildman

10.30-11.00 Coffee (Marquee)

11.00-12.45 Session 5: *Pleasure Resorts: The Rise of Seaside Towns and Mass Tourism in Comparative History* (Chair: *tbc*) (Umney Theatre)

Seaside strategies: placing pleasure and commerce in the resort towns of the Welsh Bristol Channel Coast, 1750-1914

Peter Borsay and Louise Miskell

Another face of 'mass tourism': San Sebastián and the Spanish seaside under Franco, 1937-75

John K. Walton

12.45 Closing remarks (Umney Theatre)

13.00-14.00 Lunch (included in one-day conference package) (Garden Restaurant)

14.00 Conference ends

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

Virtue, leisure and pleasure on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour

Rosemary Sweet (Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester)
(rhs4@le.ac.uk)

The Grand Tour of the eighteenth-century exemplified a wide range of elite leisure practices, almost all of which were located in urban spaces. The tour, a prolonged excursion between the major urban centres of eighteenth-century Europe, had evolved as a means of polishing and educating the young men of the late seventeenth-century aristocracy and gentry, but over the course of the eighteenth century the social profile of travellers expanded to include increasing numbers of women, a broader age profile, and much more varied social backgrounds. But in order to participate one still had to have considerable leisure. Leisure, however, did not necessarily equate with pleasure. The obligation to view antiquities, buildings and works of art, the discomfort of travel, and the unfamiliarity of the urban environment encountered, meant that the urban experience of the Grand Tour was anything but undiluted pleasure; indeed pleasure was often derived from avoiding precisely those activities that defined the rationale of the Grand Tour.

Pleasure in itself was not a sufficient reason to travel, being associated with effeminate self-indulgence. But the pursuit of taste and virtù would reward the cultivated gentleman (or gentlewoman) with pleasure. Descriptions of towns in the literature generated by the 'Grand Tour' therefore offered an important means by which travellers laid claim to and defined attributes such as taste and sensibility through the pleasure which they claimed to have experienced. With the rise of sensibility in the later eighteenth century, the importance attached to sensory impressions and the subjective experience of travel allowed for greater scope for the delineation of both leisure and pleasure in the cities of the Grand Tour and contributed to a major shift in the tenor of urban descriptive literature, towards one where greater emphasis was placed upon the opportunities for pleasure seeking. This paper analyses the changing location of pleasure in the travel literature of the time, highlighting the tensions between the discourse of what might be called the pleasures of the imagination and the pleasure consequent upon sociability, relaxation and relief from precisely those intellectual pleasures which one was supposed to aspire to. Each of the major cities became associated with different kinds of pleasure, which in turn determined the way in which they were described and conceptualised: for example, Rome, a city where the pleasure was all to be derived from the remains of antiquity and the riches of the art collection, was a city that was most often reduced to enumerated lists and catalogues. Naples, by contrast, where the architecture was redolent of Catholic excess and superstition and where earthquakes had destroyed the visible remains of antiquity, was a city that was enjoyed for its more sensual entertainment. Descriptions focused, therefore, upon people rather than objects, and upon the evocation of atmosphere. The imperative to identify and experience pleasure within the city can, therefore, be seen as a significant factor in driving the evolution of urban descriptive literature.

Mine dancers, rickshaw pullers and ‘Cape Coloureds’: local colour as urban spectacle and ‘unique’ characteristic of three South African cities from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s

Vivian Bickford-Smith (University of Cape Town)
(Vivian.Bickford-Smith@uct.ac.za)

All those who attempt to convey the individual characteristics and attractions of a city are likely to do so not only by describing distinctive elements of its topography, architecture, demography and functions, but also through seeking to describe its “local colour”: the (supposedly) unique customs, manner of speech, dress, or other special features of its inhabitants. Creators and propagators of such identities and attractions have included amateur and professional place-sellers, city historians, travel writers, novelists and film makers. This paper analyses the content and chronological appearance of particular forms of local colour as pleasurable urban spectacle associated with each of the three largest South African cities, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. In Johannesburg “tribal” dances, organised by supervisors of gold mine compounds as (in their minds) appropriately healthy recreation for migrant workers, became urban spectacle for other residents of the city and overseas tourists. In Durban, Rickshaws were introduced in the 1890s, and Zulu Rickshaw pullers with “glistening torsos” and fantastical headgear in time became both recreational transporters and spectacle for inhabitants or visitors to that city. In Cape Town, Cape Coloureds, whether as “Malays”, Carnival minstrels or flower sellers, became as common in representations of that city and its attractions as Venetian Gondoliers, and had much in common with contemporary representations of London Cockneys. The paper argues that depictions of local colour had as much to do with class as with race, and was, as Stedman Jones put it, while referring to representations of Cockneys, “the popular in its place”.

From public to private dance venues: consumption of dance music in postwar Vienna, c.1814-20

Joonas Korhonen (European University Institute)
(joonas.korhonen@eui.eu)

While the harsh political and economic circumstances worsened the living conditions in Metternich’s Vienna in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, the period 1814-1820 was, nevertheless, a profitable time for the Viennese dance music industry. Although the ballroom business declined and many suburban ballrooms were closed, dance music flourished during the period because the Viennese elite began to organize private balls in the city centre. As a consequence, many Viennese music publishing houses went into domestic business and began producing dance sheet music for Viennese salons, something that was, for diverse reasons, of much less interest to Metternich’s censors. This paper argues that the privatization of dance culture took

place in postwar Vienna not only because of the developments in the music printing techniques and piano production, as was claimed earlier, but also because the most popular dance style of the time, the waltz, was a dance which was well suited for private use. In addition, the paper demonstrates that as a consequence of the privatization, the rift between the Viennese elite and lower classes widened, and now the higher and lower classes celebrated together in the suburban ballrooms only very rarely.

‘A point of reunion’. Class, taste and politics in the French opera in The Hague, 1820-90

Jan Hein Furnée (University of Amsterdam)
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In nineteenth-century The Hague, the French opera performances in the Royal Theatre offered the most important occasions during the winter season when men and women from all social ranks experienced a strong sense of social cohesion in a joined amusement, albeit with an overt spatial demarcation of social hierarchy. This paper analyses the changing social composition of the opera audience through research of subscription and admission records, and shows to which extent the (changing) audience composition was related to diverse and shifting musical tastes (especially grand opéra and opéra comique), and to changing theatre architecture and policy. The theatre was established by private subscribers in 1802 and owned and managed in shifting constellations by the king, the municipality and French entrepreneurs throughout the rest of the century. This paper shows how the local government unscrupulously spent huge sums of tax payers' money to make the opera especially attractive for the respectable classes, yet without hesitating to regulate their conduct and even put them to silence. Although financially almost impossible to exploit and a constant object of political, musical and moral criticism, the French opera succeeded in maintaining its central position in The Hague's musical and social life until just after the First World War.

The Opera, the crowd, and the press: the opening ceremony scandal in Budapest in 1884

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When the Hungarian Royal Opera House opened its doors on 27 September 1884 on Budapest's most prestigious axis avenue, the event was widely flagged by the mainstream press loyal to the government as a great national achievement. This date became remembered, instead, for an angry urban crowd clashing with the police in its attempt to enter the auditorium. It took time until order could be restored with the help of the police. The works performed at that day in the Opera House, albeit secondary to the crowd's fury, represented an attempt on behalf of the opera administration to

introduce the new institution as both catering for local sentiments and capable to stand on par with other European stages of the time in performing internationally acclaimed and challenging repertoire. The audience collected in the splendid auditorium consisted of the cream of the local society that, apart from attending to a music premiere, came to see and be seen, among others, by the emperor and a number of distinguished guests. The press discussion that followed the opening scandal would touch upon the issues of public culture and behaviour, urban identity, city beautification, the elite's attempts to usurp Budapest's main cultural institution for a particular representation and a particular sort of audience, and the role and attitudes of the press in shaping public opinion.

Poisoned streams: alcohol, space and circulation in late Victorian cities

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The last decade of the nineteenth century is widely recognised as a period when the management of public drinking became a heightened political concern in the UK. Regulatory questions over the discretion of licensing authorities, the design of public houses, the suppression of licenses and the monetary value accrued by licensed properties appeared alongside increasing political pressure for local plebiscites on alcohol prohibition (as adopted, in principle, by the Liberal Party in 1892). As a result, historians have argued that the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws chaired by Viscount Sidney Peel (1896–1898) represented a particularly significant moment in British attempts to deal with the place of alcohol in a modern society.

Licensing debates in the 1890s demonstrate how efforts to *discipline* drinking were articulated through the problem of regulating urban space. The licensing system itself tied the character and reputation of the licensee to a particular site, and the correct concentration of licensed spaces represented one of the sticking points of the Peel Commission. However, this concern with static spaces (especially concentration of outlets) was accompanied by questions about the management of circulation and movement. Debates about alcohol often hinged on questions of circulation. Public drinking involved unpredictable encounters within a crowd of mobile strangers, and this was both central to its pleasure and the fears it engendered. Problems of circulation animated the static mapping of licensed spaces, which was a feature of the Peel Commission. Observers sought an appropriate pace, something between the rapid turnover of thirsty perpendicular drinkers and the steady soaking of the seated sot. Meanwhile, the nascent 'pub improvement' movement tried to regulate circulation through the provision of rational entertainments in comfortable pubs, while other temperance activists (such as Joseph Rowntree) insisted that rapid turnover and discomfort should be used to undermine the attractions of the bar. Nor was this simply a question of social control: for brewers, elaborate pub design was key to their goal of turning unpredictable circulation into pleasurable but profitable movement.

While there is much about these matters that stems from a disciplinary form of governmentality, they also resemble forms of *security* in the sense developed by Michel Foucault in his lectures on *Security, Territory and Population*. The Peel Commission considered the design and layout of drinking establishments, their location within urban spaces, and their porosity – their connections to neighbouring sites through back-door entrances and the like. In this way licensed spaces became more than simply markers of a social evil; they became part of a more general problem of access, visibility, and movement. What seems like a simple question of regulation and prohibition – the license that allows drinking in a specified site, and the character of the licensee – becomes a more general interest in the complex interactions of elements of the urban fabric and its inhabitants. The control of circulation was both restrictive and productive, and it underpinned many of the more familiar questions of social control and moral reform associated with the period.

Liquor control, leisure, and the public hockey arena in Ontario, 1934-44

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In 1927 the government of the province of Ontario ended prohibition, replacing it with state-managed distribution over all forms of alcoholic beverages. Customers could purchase liquor for personal consumption at state-run stores, but there were no provisions for the public consumption of liquor. In 1934, that system expanded, allowing beer to be consumed on licensed premises, mostly hotels with properly arranged beverage rooms. Within a few weeks of the new law's activation, over one thousand hotels applied for and received beverage room licenses.

One of the key features of the creation of licensed beverage rooms was that the only activity permitted in these spaces was drinking. Food, music, dancing, singing, games of chance were strictly forbidden. These rules allowed the Liquor Control Board of Ontario to manage the conduct of patrons within these spaces. It was not so easy for it to address the intersection of liquor consumption with nearby public activities.

This paper addresses the conference theme of the urban spectacle by looking at how the intersection of public entertainment and public beer consumption created perceived problems to social order. Specifically, it considers how the proximity of licensed beverage rooms to hockey arenas challenged the ideal of social order in the management of public drinking. It uses two case studies of community opposition to proposed beverage rooms in close proximity to hockey arenas: the Queensway Hotel in St. Catharines, Ontario, and the Letros Hotel in Toronto, which was across the street from the storied Maple Leaf Gardens. Neither received a liquor permit when they first applied, and this paper explores the reasons why.

The two cases permit us to see the ways that liquor control, ideas of proper behaviour and the waning idea of rational recreation converged within the urban spectacle of public sports. It addresses a number of competing voices: the ideas of

temperance forces who were opposed to alcohol in any form; urban advocates who felt (ironically, in retrospect) that there was no place for beer drinking in hockey culture, the hotel management themselves who were trying to succeed in a very hostile commercial environment, and the liquor control authorities who needed to avoid social disorder and consequent discredit upon their agency.

‘She is everywhere in publand’: older women drinkers and the English public house in the mid-twentieth century

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In recent years the historiography of modern drinking cultures has seen a growing interest in questions of gender. While much research yet remains, there has been a greater recognition of the complexity of prevailing gendered norms of conduct and their impact on the space of the public house. In contrast to an established historiographical preoccupation with the pub as a masculine domain, there has been a new emphasis on the presence of women drinkers in pubs, especially in the period from the Great War. While there has been some illumination of the growing importance of the pub for younger and middle-aged women, absent from the existing literature is any recognition of the important cultures of pub drinking that existed among older and even elderly women. For some, especially widows, the pub offered a vital source of sociability and companionship: a place to meet friends and enjoy conversation. Their reasons for going to the pub were thus often much the same as many men’s.

In his guide to English drinking cultures in late 1930s, T.E.B. Clarke observed the presence of ‘elderly ladies ... conversing over small ports’. Contending that such women were to be found ‘everywhere in publand’, Clarke drew attention to the commonplace perception that such habits were seen as entirely respectable, with the majority of older women courting none of the sexualised scrutiny often targeted at younger drinkers. Their general demeanour and appearance – ‘so staidly’ – often differentiated them from other women drinkers, as did the social mores which governed their occupation of space in the pub. It was typically easier for older women to go to the pub on their own than it was for unmarried young women or those with small children, their generation and status marking them out from those whose habits were critiqued in the light of moralised discourses about sexual immorality or maternal neglect. In some pubs at least older women were consequently possessed of a greater sense of freedom and licence, even frequenting rooms such as the vault and the taproom which were traditionally male spaces, in addition to female spaces like the snug and the lounge. For these individuals, the pub was a long-standing and important feature of their everyday lives, their attachment to their ‘local’ observed with some fascination by commentators like Clarke, and later typified, even mythologised, by *Coronation Street*’s Ena Sharples.

Exploration of older women’s social habits and cultural practices has generally been downplayed or ignored in much of the historical literature on modern England.

This paper seeks to address this lacuna by illuminating an important aspect of older women's recreation, in addition to offering new insights into leisure habits in one of the most significant sites of popular culture of the urban landscape.

Leisure and regional identity: crossbow competitions, festive networks and social peace in fifteenth-century Flanders

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Crossbow guilds first appeared in Flanders in the early fourteenth century in response to the needs of town defence and princely calls for troops, but over the fifteenth century their regional competitions became some of the largest and most spectacular leisure events in Flemish towns. The earliest documented competition was held in Oudenaarde, central Flanders, in 1329, a small event lasting only a few days and rewarding only shooting skill. Over the next 170 years, competitions grew and evolved, despite wars, rebellions and plague. Crossbow competitions drew larger and larger audiences, creating bonds of community across and beyond Flanders.

As the most urbanised area north of the Alps, and the location of fifteenth century Europe's most important market places, Flanders is the perfect location in which to study medieval urban leisure. The towns were linked to one another through social, economic and cultural networks, and most importantly through an impressive network of rivers and canals. Crossbow competitions were often held in cities on the all important river Scheldt, a vital trade artery, with events in Oudenaarde and Ghent being the most spectacular. Competitions gave individual towns or teams a chance to show their own local identity, but competitions also reinforced festive networks, and bonds of regional brotherhood, through such great urban spectacles.

The great shoots of the fifteenth century could last many weeks, drawing in hundreds of fully armed men from across and beyond Flanders. Events awarded not just shooting skill, but also best entrance, best play, and even the best costumes. Competitions took over central urban locations, often market places. Competitors usually received immunity from prosecution should any spectator or competitor be injured, even killed in the shoots; crossbow competitions were not events to be undertaken lightly. The competitions, in their spectacle emphasised social and festive relationships, helping to unity Flanders in spectacle and leisure.

Competitions were not just about display; they became ways of reaffirming damaged bonds and quelling regional tensions. The dates of competitions are highly significant: after a war or rebellion, relatively common events in fifteenth century Flanders, a large competition was held. By attending the competition, guilds of crossbowmen choose to affirm their community and regional identity through leisure and spectacle. Crossbowmen remained militarily important soldiers, so for example in 1453 the guilds of Ghent took part in the town's rebellion, besieging the town of Oudenaarde, shooting at each other in war. Yet two years later, in Tournai in 1455, the guilds of crossbowmen from Ghent and Oudenaarde shot together, through play moving away from war and hatred, and towards peace and commensality.

In examining the competitions in fifteenth century Flanders, this paper will show their importance in strengthening regional identities. Further, drawing on extensive original archival research I will demonstrate the power of such competitions to make peace and restore community through play.

Onward Christian Soldiers: processing the ideal, Victorian Sunday Schools and urban space

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In order to understand the significance and function of the Sunday school, it is important to review the reasons for their inclusion in urban civic processions. This provides an insight into the impact that Sunday schools had as a vital social element of Victorian urban society. This paper explores the involvement of Sunday schools in civic processions as a method of urban governance. It considers the civic processions that celebrated Queen Victoria's Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 and discusses performance and spectacle as a way of permeating ideals of citizenship and morality in the three West Yorkshire industrial towns of Bingley, Keighley and Shipley. Simon Gunn argues that it was through the deployment of young people that processions enabled urban elites to perform and exaggerate their own position and symbolically present a model of harmonious social order within the urban space.

The procession was a technology of disciplinary power as subjectivisation. Foucault described subjectivisation as a self-knowledge arguing that religion was entirely based on subjectivity, as all individuals were subject to the higher principle of God. Church or Chapel organisations relied on subjectivisation through an omnipresent gaze as a mechanism of disciplinary power. Bureaucrats such as patrons and founders encouraged Sunday-school officials to use subjectivity as a form of (or attempt to gain) social control: scholars were made subject to teachers, teachers subject to superintendents, and superintendents subject to visitors and funding bodies. Funding bodies were employers and a town's elite.

The inclusion of Sunday-school scholars in local government processions presented a spectacle of church and civic power united. Processions functioned to enable a spectacle of urban order through the display of a rational, disciplined body of citizens within the municipal space. As tools of surveillance, processions enabled each individual to observe another whilst being under the gaze of spectators. They worked to create a vision of the ideal by displaying model citizens as respectable and moral for an urban audience.

Within industrial towns, processions provided the perfect device for town elites to emphasize their authority, while public performance aided young people to assert their right and position within the urban space. These processions worked to integrate local government members alongside Sunday scholars and united the 'civic' or 'political' body with the 'sacred' body of the Church, which resulted in the procession becoming a site to honour political performance as moral. This consequently validated the principles of that specific local government.

The Queen's Jubilees were days of a national holiday and organised processions facilitated urban stability by enticing young scholars, who were then regulated, commanded, ordered and directed to conduct themselves in a respectable manner. Their reward for conforming was a medal to mark their inclusion, then games and afternoon tea – of course!

Producing and performing in the suburban civic realm: charity carnivals in a London suburb, 1900-14

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Between 1900 and 1914, many of London's expanding suburbs began to hold annual street carnivals as a means of raising funds for their local hospitals. These events were ostensibly a response to the pressure placed upon existing local healthcare provision by recent rapid migration into districts such as Finchley, Ilford, Willesden and Tottenham. Yet these processions of costumed men and women, on foot, bicycle and car, also fulfilled a festive and spectacular purpose, providing a ritual form of entertainment to enhance the burgeoning social life of the district.

Focusing on the case of Finchley, my paper will explore the significance of the carnival as a leisure format within the context of the suburban public sphere. Firstly, I will argue that for the suburban elites who organised these events, the carnival was a means of rendering this transitional space comprehensible and identifiable. The selection of the procession route – usually based around the vicinity's main retail and trading areas – constituted the production and reproduction of a civic realm within the suburb. The carnival's organisers helped to create and reinforce a sense of place by reasserting the primacy of certain streets within the district, in which charitable activity, local welfare and commerce were interlinked. Moreover, by holding and re-holding the carnival, they were also 'inventing a tradition', imbuing it with temporal significance as a component of a developing social calendar and thereby bringing meaning to time as well as space within the suburb.

Secondly, I will argue that for those organisations and individuals that participated, the carnival provided an opportunity for exhibition within this civic realm. An assortment of local businesses, trade unions, sports clubs, church groups and various other bodies all contributed to these processions. In doing so, they competed for a place in the public gaze and to achieve association with the locality and its welfare – perhaps with the ambition of attracting new customers or members. Furthermore, for those individuals parading in fancy dress, the carnival possessed a dramaturgical function, facilitating the outward demonstration of local, national, institutional and gender identities for the appreciation of others. The carnival, therefore, also offers valuable insight into the connection between play, performance and self-presentation and how this relationship played out in the setting of the suburban street.

War as a pleasurable urban pursuit? Military units and the urban spectacle, c.1919-39

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This paper explores what has been termed the 'pleasure culture of war' as part of the British urban experience in the interwar years, with reference to specific case studies: Newcastle and the surrounding market and coal towns of the county of Northumberland. As well as illuminating an under-explored period and element of the 'urban spectacle', this paper will appeal to those interested in the construction and performative realisation of urban identities in general. Through the localisation of the Regular and Volunteer forces of the British Army, military activity was part of the 'urban spectacle' for communities by 1914. Newcastle was home to depots of two county regiments, as well as Territorial units for the city and its suburbs. Northumberland's foremost market and coal towns were centres of Territorial Force activity for the county. Troops route marched along local streets and drilled in urban leisure spaces. Their parades brought them into civic space, enjoining military ceremonial with civic ritual in ceremonies which elaborated and sanctified the wartime record and role of the various battalions. In theory, at least, these military units represented the martial spirit of the communities in which they resided. The experience of 1914-18 made this a reality. Four years of war strengthened the ties between urban communities and their local battalions. Men joined up to 'their' regiments, urban communities channelled their energies in support of fundraising for the troops and urban elites found themselves taking a leading role in some aspects of military structure, most famously in the raising and administration of the new military manifestations of urban groups: the 'Pals' or service battalions. These firm ties, both real and imagined, made the experience of mass death and mass grief a specifically urban one. Yet, despite this shattering experience and the growth of pacifist/'pacifist' sentiment in the interwar years, the military spectacle brought to communities by regiments remained popular. Tattoos and other forms of military display attracted hundreds and sometimes thousands of spectators. A mundane route march for new recruits might be transformed into an event by the unplanned attendance of cheering onlookers. Contemporaries and historians alike have explained the popularity of military spectacle in simple terms: the 'working class' love for some free entertainment. By looking closely at the interactions between communities and localised military units in specific urban spaces, this paper works through how different groups received pleasure from, and expressed pleasure in, the urban spectacle of war. In doing so, it investigates 'pleasure' and excitement as an intrinsic, performative element in the construction and display of urban identities. This research forms part of my doctoral thesis, which probes the impact of the Great War into attitudes towards conflict, via local communities.

Amabel Hume-Campbell and the eighteenth century's leisure resorts: a re-evaluation of motivation

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The spa and seaside resorts of the long eighteenth-century provided a unique leisure environment which successfully combined medical cure with fashionable culture. Within an urban setting, the resorts consciously created an arena in which a wide variety of seemingly divergent activities were successfully integrated: for example, visitors could engage with polite society and fashionable culture, participate in an elite marriage market, and shop for luxury goods. These activities were structured by a medical routine – a novelty in itself – that dictated the rhythm of daily life.

The motivations of visitors for attending a resort were correspondingly diverse and included sociability, social emulation, and enjoyment of the cultural activities offered: visitors would have expected to participate in a wide variety of activities and social situations during their visit. The dual axes of resort life, however, were the pursuit of pleasure through fashionable leisure and ‘taking the waters’ in the hope of a medical cure. The balance between these two apparently contradictory facets ultimately determined the character of the spa and seaside resorts and is, therefore, vital to our understanding of visitors’ expectations. This paper will examine how far visitors were motivated by fashionable leisure or medical cure and will specifically challenge the assumption that taking the waters was merely a common excuse used to justify enjoyment of resort life.

The individual motivations of visitors for patronizing a spa or seaside resort will be considered with reference to the diaries and correspondence of Amabel Hume-Campbell (née, Lady Amabel Yorke) *suo jure* Countess de Grey (1751-1833). Amabel was a frequent visitor to a number of different resorts, which included Tunbridge Wells, Islington, Margate and Bath and within her diaries and correspondence she often explicitly related her motivations for visiting a particular resort as well as her activities during her stay. Through an examination of Amabel’s experiences of resort life, it will be argued that the medical cures offered by the resorts were of greater significance to visitors than commonly assumed. Furthermore, the differences between patterns of daily life followed by individual visitors and that presented by contemporary commercial literature and promoted by the Masters of Ceremony will be discussed. Through an examination of an individual’s use and experience of spa and seaside resorts, this paper will re-evaluate the motivations of visitors for attending a resort and offer a more nuanced understanding of conceptions of leisure and pleasure during the eighteenth-century.

Living in a leisure town: residential reactions to the growth of popular tourism in late nineteenth-century Southend

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This paper examines residential attitudes and reactions to the early development of popular day-tourism at Southend in the 1870s and 1880s. Based upon an important though under-studied English seaside town, this study examines the essential spatial contradiction of being resident in a town experienced by thousands as a space of leisure, and explores the diverse attitudes of locals towards tourists and entertainments in this period. It develops several core arguments pertinent to the conference theme, including the significance of distinct urban leisure spaces, the inter-relation of economic and moral discourses on tourist development, and the influence of popular tourism on the formation of local identities.

Although essentially a cultural history of attitudes to tourists, entertainments and town, this paper is grounded in research into the core facts of tourist development and urban growth in Southend from the 1870s. This was a period of considerable residential and tourist expansion, and estimates of the scale and shape of development will be presented. It was also a time in which both the geography of the town and the social composition of its residents were evolving; the continuing social segregation of residents throughout this period into distinct urban zones forms a key explanatory tool for their evolving attitudes to tourism, with which the rest of the paper is chiefly concerned.

Previous, cursory surveys of late nineteenth-century Southend have highlighted the welcoming and relaxed attitude of residents to London day-trippers, yet this is only half the story. This paper analyses the mounting hostility of a significant body of residential opinion towards the working-class tourist, especially in the 1880s. Sympathy for the excesses of volatile visitors became harder to sustain throughout this period, thanks not so much to any clear deterioration in their conduct, but rather a mounting anxiety amongst locals about the pace and nature of tourist development in Southend. The nature of this development itself forms the next topic of investigation, exploring residential attitudes to tourist services and leisure provision. Just as with local evaluations of the tripper's character, the propriety of various forms of leisure provision proved to be a contentious subject. Concerns increased throughout this period, and the state of the town's public spaces in particular was frequently deplored by the 1880s. The imagined consequences for the town's reputation, its potential to continue to attract the better class of visitor, and for residential amenity provide a vivid window into local attachment in a late nineteenth-century town.

This paper maps the intricate relations in late nineteenth-century Southend between tourist development, urban space and local identities. It asserts the centrality of leisure to residential conceptions of their own town: popular tourism generated competing reactions amongst inhabitants, and profoundly shaped local conceptions of Southend's possible futures.

Amusement, morals, and religion: the late nineteenth century seaside resort towns of Asbury Park and Ocean Grove

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My paper will explore the American middle-class understanding of *moral recreation* in the late nineteenth century and the built secular and religious resort environments that developed in response to vacation trends. Like other popular tourist destinations, seaside resorts promised to improve health, and provide relaxation and even amusement away from home. Bathing had long been seen as therapeutic, but in the second half of the century, ocean water and fresh sea breezes had become prevalent as doctors' orders – a cure from the dark, 'unhealthy' American city. The religious resorts designed specifically for devout Christians, however, capitalized upon the common attributes of seaside tourist landscapes, while doing away with frivolous amusements and the additional moralistic and religious rituals.

The meaning of leisure had undergone a significant change around the turn-of-the century, because of its association with idleness. The church, although eventually embracing the idea of leisure, made a careful distinction between 'recreation', which restored a person in body and mind, and 'amusements', which were idle and frivolous. Conservative Methodists, in particular, believed that the spiritual welfare of the Christian depended on the moral guidance, or even moral control, of the individual by the community. This left Methodist leaders with the question of how to organize leisure so that wholesome influences would predominate in the social environment and, as a consequence, help to shape individual behaviour. I will show that religious camp meeting resorts were utopian experiments of individual and community control both in their physical and social organization and isolation.

The two neighbouring New Jersey seaside resort towns of the late nineteenth century, Asbury Park and Ocean Grove, have intertwined histories. Yet, Asbury Park became a typical tourist destination constructed of popular amusement infrastructure, while Ocean Grove developed as a Methodist camp resort encircled by waves of canvas tents designed for more conservative religious tourists. The fortuitous anomaly of these neighbouring secular and religious resorts offers an exciting potential to explore the collision of amusement, morals, and religion. I argue that the clashing interpretation of *moral recreation* in these towns and the dialogue between them inspired unprecedented urban forms. I will study the daily rituals and behaviours of vacationers as revealed by primary visual and textual sources (i.e. postcards and diaries), to tell the history of the creation/use/perception of vacation architecture and spaces. The relationship of amusements and morals resulted in a unique environment, where all forms of popular play appeared at the forefront of moral consciousness, making the two settlements an unusual pair at the intersection of religious ideals and physical space.

Beaches in the city: the quest for the ideal urban beach in postwar Los Angeles

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Installing large expanses of sand in an urban setting is one of the latest trends in urban planning that seek to implement leisure at the heart of major cities. “*Paris Plage*” in France (literally “Paris Beach”) or the urban beach at Chamberlain Square in Birmingham constitute good examples of this attempt at blurring the lines between what is “urban” and what is “natural,” between work (the city) and play (the beach).

However, the idea of an urban beach that would both inspire the city dweller to relax and enjoy the natural environment *and* allow for an important urban crowd to have access to, park its cars, eat and enjoy a day at the beach after the work week is not something new. Major cities endowed with long stretches of sandy beaches have struggled with this question since at least the early twentieth century. Los Angeles is an especially interesting locale to look at these issues as it witnessed a tremendous demographic growth in the post-Second World War years, was renowned for its scenic strands and beach lifestyle, and cruelly lacked public spaces dedicated to recreation.

Realizing that the beaches constituted unique assets in such a close proximity to a huge concentration of population, city, county and state officials devised the means during and following the Second World War to improve – or sometimes even create from scratch – the Los Angeles coastal landscape. A major programme of shoreline improvement was set up by the city and the county covering the Santa Monica Bay (the “littoral cell” which borders the city), planning the development of the 13 miles of beaches (construction of parking, roadways, recreation facilities), the building of major coastal projects (marinas, breakwaters, artificial beach nourishments) and the enhancement of the shoreline in general (construction of amusement parks, etc.). At the same time, the state of California started a programme of beach acquisition in order to increase beach accessibility to the public.

Both programmes were preceded by years of studies, surveys and engineering reports that meant to reflect on how best to conjugate the beaches and the city. Indeed, urban beaches raise specific problems in terms of urban planning: in Los Angeles, the development of the coast for residential or recreational purposes provoked beach erosion or, on the contrary, unfortunate beach widening; the beaches popularity led to traffic problems and inadequate parking; the lack of sewage treatment and oil drilling caused pollution. These varied documents prompt the historian interested in urban forms of leisure and pleasure to ask: how can one pursue the beach-goer dream in an urban context? How was the ideal urban beach imagined and realized in the context of the metropolis’ growth and the emergence of environmental awareness? How did the urban context modify the contemporary beach experience? I will attempt to answer these questions by looking at these Los Angeles postwar programmes’ origins and their varied objectives.

Middlesbrough's steel magnates' patronage of social and leisure provision, 1880-1934

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In his seminal *Victorian Cities*, Asa Briggs declared that Middlesbrough's late nineteenth century industrialists' influence on the town had shifted markedly from its mid-nineteenth century strong point to a significantly reduced role as the century drew to a close. The end of the Victorian period heralded 'signs that the will to control of the ironmasters was being blunted as they followed the pattern of other English businessmen and chose to live in the country rather than in the town'. Moreover, the offspring of this generation of industrialists and the managers that succeeded them did not share 'the feelings of the older generation about the links which bound them to the town'.

It is the intention of this paper to re-evaluate the industrial elite's engagement with the town by considering the significant role played by both Middlesbrough's steel magnates and their companies in providing cultural and leisure provision for the developing town. Rather than being indicative of a withdrawal in participation, it will be argued that the town's steel magnates continued to play an active role across a wide spectrum of the social and cultural life of the town through financial, personal and honorific backing of company leisure and sport clubs, individual enterprises (such as the town's Winter Gardens, established by the prominent wife of one of the town's leading industrialists), as well as involvement with collaborative provision such as the town's Free Library and boys' clubs'. Moreover, by occupying positions amidst the hierarchies of such bodies, whether it be as founders, chairmen or committee members, it will be proposed that participation not only reinforced their own social standing within the community, but also allowed for continued imposition of ideals in an arena much more receptive than the increasingly contested terrain of formal political and municipal office.

Saint-Germain-des-Prés: a mythology for tourists and consumers

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This paper is about a neighbourhood of Paris that has been associated, from 1945 until today, with intelligent and sophisticated pleasures and leisure. Since there was a lot of money to be made with the Saint-Germain-des-Prés mythology, I will explain how local businessmen marketed their businesses as places dedicated to pleasure and leisure, with its supposed extraordinary cultural and intellectual life and its rich historical heritage (based on superiority over any other district in the city).

The Germanoprätins themselves (the people who were living in or were going out in Saint-Germain-des-Prés) also promoted themselves and the neighbourhood,

nationally and internationally, as being extraordinary. With the help of the media, filmmakers, photographers, writers and local heritage organizations, they convinced people that Saint-Germain-des-Prés was (and still is today) one of the best spots in Paris for leisure and pleasure.

Because the nightlife in Saint-Germain-des-Prés was considered as amoral and supposedly encouraged extreme behaviour, the police checked what was going on there. For the policemen and the reporters who criticized what was happening during the night in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, it was a place where you could see a lot of eccentricities, especially sexual ones. This mixed reputation based on the “genius” of local artists and intellectuals, and the “bad things” that were going on in the cellar clubs during the night, contributed to transform Saint-Germain-des-Prés into a mandatory stop for tourists visiting Paris. The cafés such as Le Flore and Les Deux Magots, the “brasserie” Chez Lipp, and the cellar clubs of Le Lorientais, Le Tabou, Le Club Saint-Germain, Le Vieux-Colombier and La Rose Rouge, became international institutions, thanks to the foreign media like *Life* that published stories about them.

But this marketing campaign and the multiple representations of the Germanoprains and the district, were based on the exclusion of particular social groups and minorities. The anonymous young people that used to go there, the homosexuals that were numerous in the neighbourhood, the Black Americans that were going out there, the workers who lived in the area, the hobos that could be seen in the streets, the non “existentialist” artists and intellectuals that also worked there; they have been erased from the official history of the district. That means that the vision we have today of the “Golden Age of Saint-Germain-des-Prés” no longer has any link with reality. This paper will explain how this process happened.

Photography of leisure, photography as pleasure: consuming the image of the European city in the postwar photographic press, 1950-55

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This paper tackles a comparative cultural history of photographic representations of urban leisure in Britain, France and West Germany in the early 1950s. The urban spaces of postwar Western Europe were sites of both architectural and psychological reconstruction. While towns and cities had been damaged during the Second World War, so too had each nation’s notion of shared identity. Defeat and guilt in Germany, collaboration and resistance in France, the demand for a new social and political order in Britain: the war’s legacy was, in addition to unprecedented urban destruction, the difficult task of national reconciliation. These two tasks of recovery – the material and the mental – were yoked together in the reconstruction of cities, home to many and symbols for all of collective identities. A vital part of the culture of reconstruction was the medium of photography, since it both recorded the legacy of the past war and projected a vision of Europe’s future cities. Focussing on magazines such as *Picture Post*, *Paris-Match* and *Quick*, the paper engages with vital debates of the

reconstruction period regarding place identity, the idea of Europe, and shared attitudes to urban space. It also highlights the relevance to such debates of the consumption of popular photographic magazines.

The postwar period was a defining moment for European urban space, witnessing the pursuit of ideas and ideals of architectural modernism, and an emerging critique of urban redevelopment and the prominence of the spectacle. A network of circulating images and ideas constituted a complex trans-national visual culture in which photographs played a crucial role and the city had a central importance. This paper will address both the manner in which individuals at leisure were depicted in photography of towns and cities, and the potential pleasure generated by the consumption of such images circulated in photographic magazines. The sorts of gratification offered by such publications to their consumers are an integral part of this history, since visual culture does not simply reflect attitudes; it is instrumental in their creation and promotion.

This material thus demands an approach which illuminates the manner in which photographic magazines worked to create a particular point of view, and explicates the central importance of photography to debates about form, function and fun in the cities of the postwar moment. A comparative, critical approach is required here for two specific reasons. The first is the broader political discourse of the postwar period in which debates about Europe and the European community had a charged significance. The second is the mobility of photographs which circulated beyond the borders of the countries in which they were created. This paper will outline the principles of such an approach and provide an insightful example of their application. In doing so, it will trace in this popular postwar photographic practice vital threads regarding the creation of place identity through the photography of urban leisure, the pleasures offered by such representations, and the relevance to wider questions of both shared identities and collective attitudes to urbanism and urban development.

‘Here you may find all that you can possibly want’: The British Museum, rationality and leisure in London, 1850-90

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This paper seeks to engage with the idea of recreation in an urban context by focusing on tourists’ accounts of visits to the British Museum. Traditionally, the history of nineteenth-century mass tourism generally focuses upon the demise of the country spa towns and the rise of the great seaside resorts such as Brighton, Margate and Blackpool. Ostensibly for health and relaxation, the vivacious atmosphere of these promenades has been recently characterised by John Walton as gaily ‘carnavalesque’ and which exposed tourists to all the ‘vulgar aspects of popular culture’.¹ Seaside resorts were nodes of passive pleasure, representing a break from the ‘active’ routines

¹ John Walton, ‘British Tourism between Industrialisation and Globalisation,’ in Hartmut Berghoff, ed., *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (London: Palgrave, 2002), p. 111.

of daily life. Yet, the study of tourism to urban centres has not been sufficiently well-established to offer a real counterpoint to the seaside. The prominence of place accorded to the Great Exhibition has overshadowed the fact that Victorian London played host to thousands of visitors – both international and domestic – every year.

Within this context, mid-century visitation to the British Museum becomes an example of the rational aspects of pleasure. To visiting tourists, the museum becomes many things, both philosophical and scientific: a centre for learning, a chronology of the past, a statement about the reach of the British Empire. The interplay between visitor and museum is transformed into a discourse on identity and stability against a backdrop of constant technological, social and demographic change. The relationship between the museum and the city is equally evident: the collections legitimise and validate the city's own sense of history and influence. Linked as it is with London, the array of human history places the capital at the summit of knowledge and power. Most importantly, in contrast to the seaside, is that the items and ideas contained within the British Museum have to be actively sought out – visitors thus make a powerful statement on the value of knowledge, and its role in the process of urban pleasure.

This paper thus hopes to contribute towards the understanding of urban leisure by casting the urban tourist as an active participant within the city, and whose experience of leisure is ultimately marked by a different set of parameters and expectations than that of the seaside visitor.

The urban renaissance and the mob: rethinking urban leisure in the long eighteenth century

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Few concepts in urban history have been so influential in recent years as that of the 'urban renaissance'. The expression was formulated by Peter Borsay in the early 1980s, and taken to denote the process by which civic leaders sought to bring greater order, decorum and beauty to civic centres by demolishing some of their densely packed, vernacular buildings and replacing them with wide open thoroughfares and new buildings made from modern materials. Much of this work has focused on the physical improvements made to the urban infrastructure, though this literature has also shown itself sensitive to cultural components of urban change, stressing the social and leisure opportunities offered by new urban amenities such as assembly rooms, music festivals, inns and coffee houses, and the creation of parks, walks and gardens.

Yet for all the internal consistency of this account of the Georgian town, it does not fit so well with a largely unrelated body of literature concerned with various elements of street life over the long eighteenth century. Research into the history of popular entertainments has indicated the existence of a plebeian counterpoint to the walks, balls, and music festivals enjoyed by the well-to-do, most of it located right in the middle of the town's improved streets and squares. Eighteenth-century popular entertainments ranged from the occasional annual events, such as matches of football

through the town centre or throwing at cocks by children and apprentices on Shrove Tuesday, to events such as bull-baitings or fairs held on a more regular basis throughout the year, to the informal entertainment offered by quacks, mountebanks, and itinerant musicians on an almost daily basis.

This paper uses a study of plebeian entertainments to suggest that there is something incomplete about the standard account of eighteenth-century urban gentrification. The areas that civic reformers sought to improve were not empty and unused spaces, but spaces already used by others, largely excluded from the improving process. The poor may not have influenced planning design, but they still had the power to subvert the visions of those who ruled them, and it was in the sphere of leisure that they most often exercised that power. I argue that the leisure of the urban poor needs to be reintegrated in some way into our historical narratives of the eighteenth-century town.

Shopping for pleasure on Saturday night: working-class market streets in London, 1880-1914

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There is an established literature on the West End of London as a site of bourgeois, female consumption in the latter half of the nineteenth century; the commercial institutions of the city developed alongside new ideas about femininity in the public realm. Erica Rappaport's account of this subject makes the idea of shopping for pleasure central: 'as the city became a pleasure zone, the shopper was designated as a pleasure seeker, defined by her longing for goods, sights, and a public life'.

Rappaport contrasts the affluence and sophistication of the West End with popular conceptions of the poor and criminal East End. Yet a reading of the period's consuming habits using working-class memoir as a source gives a slightly modified view. We can picture the West End with its great thoroughfares illuminated by electric light and luxury. The surrounding districts, including the East End, are not, however, dark, as they are in Rappaport's account, but are lit up by the naphtha flares that characterised the market streets of working-class communities, and which are described in Ethel Manin's memoir: 'the dark tide of humanity, the yellow glare of lights from the shop-fronts . . . the wind-blown flares forever threatening the awnings, dipping towards them and then away again, tantalizingly.' Helen Bosanquet, social worker, was in no doubt that these market streets ('the flaring streets where the costers keep their stalls') were also a site of pleasure, especially on Saturday nights, their busiest time:

For an unmixed and never-failing pleasure, at any rate for the women, we must look to their shopping . . . shopping combines the practice of social intercourse with the exercise of all their intellectual faculties; the keen zest of bargaining with the interchange of friendly amenities.

Despite the meagre budgets of the shoppers and the shoddy quality of many of the goods, market streets in working-class districts are celebrated in many autobiographical

accounts, which also note the growing influence of modern commercial cultures: branded, packaged and advertised goods. This paper seeks to complicate and extend the notion of shopping for pleasure in London by paying attention to peripheral districts and working-class consumers.

Mechanical pleasures: the appeal of British amusement parks, 1900-14

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The amusement parks which sprang up in cities and seaside resorts across Britain at the turn of the twentieth century represent a startling urban phenomenon. Mixing fantastical architecture, technology and multi-sensory thrills in a new kind of collective experience, their appeal transcended age, gender and class boundaries. The 'gear and girder' aesthetic of the industrialised workplace was transposed – in the bare lattice-work of the rollercoasters and in the whirling machinery of mechanical rides – to the world of pleasure for the first time, and with great success. Between 1906 and 1914, over 30 major amusement parks operated across the country and, by the outbreak of the First World War, millions of people visited these sites each year. The amusement park had become a key component in the urban pleasurescape of modern Britain.

Contemporary commentators were often puzzled by the success of mechanical amusement. Why, then, were visitors to amusement parks – predominantly drawn from the wage-earning urban masses – prepared to pay for pleasure rides on machines which looked and sounded much like their everyday environment?

This paper argues that the particular form of mechanical multi-sensory pleasure consumed at the amusement parks became a defining counterpart to life in the modern metropolis. At sites such as Manchester's White City, opened in 1907, the shock of modernity was experienced quite literally through a host of thrill rides designed to bump, shake and startle the body in constantly novel (and apparently enjoyable) ways. Just as shopping in a new department store, riding a bicycle, or visiting a cinema were identified as urban activities unique to the modern age, a rollercoaster ride became another way in which contemporaries might achieve the status of 'being modern'.

In seeking to understand the appeal of the amusement park, several scholars have turned to the concept of the Carnavalesque. My research suggests, however, that the use of Bakhtin's definition of medieval carnival to read the amusement park experience serves only to obscure the subtlety of meanings at play. Rather than providing an escape from the urban spectacle, the amusement park offered a heightened version of its sensory stimulation: speeding rides, repetitive mechanical noise, multi-coloured electric lights, transient crowds, uninhibited behaviour.

Employing contemporary descriptions, archive footage, commercial films and the work of sociologist Georg Simmel (1858-1918), this paper will suggest an alternative reading of the amusement park experience, arguing that, by the turn of the twentieth century, as the 'thrill' or 'shock' of the modern city became rationalised and

internalised, urban crowds were drawn to environments in which a purely emotional intensity might still be found. Many elite critics failed to grasp the possibility that American-style fast rides and sparkling electric lights held a powerful romantic allure of their own. The amusement parks promised release from the demands of everyday life and celebrated a utopian vision of technology, transience and bodies in motion. Above all else, they played host to a mass of individuals joined together in the pursuit of fun. To be part of such a collective could be uplifting, liberating and exciting – a far cry from the emotionally devoid indifference and distrust displayed by Simmel's urban crowd.

Real and virtual Lincoln for the railway tourist c.1840- 1900

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This paper considers the 'production' or interpretation of city space and the development of an urban image for the railway tourist in Victorian Lincoln. Using ideas from spatial theorists it examines the impact of railway tourism from the 1840s, the presentation of the city to visitors and how they consumed the urban space. The tourist gaze was not a passive process but could remake or re-evaluate urban places and spaces. In Victorian Lincoln the tourist gaze was directed to certain urban spaces and buildings and a clear city image was created and cultivated. Using evidence from local and national print media, this paper explores how local institutions, iconic buildings and 'special' events formed part of a constructed spatial experience of Lincoln which conveyed a unified image to both visitors and inhabitants.

Pleasure in the ruins: guides to the Paris Commune ruins, 1871

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This paper focuses on the particular form of urban pleasure produced in 1871 after the fall of the Paris Commune. Théophile Gautier wrote that the morbid pull to see the ruins – a *curiosité de l'horrible*, in his terms – was more powerful than any moral qualms about the political catastrophe the ruins evoked, and he noted how they drew thousands to the capital to join in a collective *tour de ruines*, just as one would have visited Rome or Palmyra. Thus, as a spectacle of modernity, the ruined city generated a minor and relatively fleeting industry and mode of consumption that was, at once:

- a spontaneous event – the ruined buildings and spaces were not simply a backdrop for the inhabitant or visitor to Haussmann's revitalized Paris, but now the object of visits;
- a form of mass tourism – throngs of tourists rushed to the city;
- a hybrid historical moment that recalled ancient civilization in a modernized setting;

- a form of commodity culture sustained by souvenirs and (para-)literature of various sorts – guidebooks, eye-witness accounts, newspaper articles, edited volumes of images as well as individual photographs, lithographs, etc.

Elsewhere I have argued that writers called upon a discourse of picturesque and romantic ruins to describe the city, despite the way the politics of the moment compromised this approach. This paper will address the embedded representation of leisure in these various texts. They attempted to negotiate the common tendency to personalize a visit against the textual and logistical needs to accommodate large crowds. I will attend to the way in which (a) guidebooks, such as the *Guide à travers les ruines* by Ludovic Hans and J.-J. Blanc, sought to assimilate the new look of the city and locations of the ruins into pre-existing tourist itineraries, and (b) literary writers such as Gauthier and Edmond de Goncourt represented tourists with some objective distance in their own writings but also participated in the tourist discourse.

‘Temptation is at that place’. Urban pleasure on the Western Front

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Recent scholarship on the First World War has shifted attention from the experience of front-line battle to examine other facets of army life. The concept of ‘temporary communities’ (Gibson) has developed to describe areas which were effectively occupied by the British army. For many of these men, active service also represented their first experience of a foreign country, and the voluminous correspondence which flowed between Britain and France between 1914 and 1918 contains many descriptions of how men adjusted to life abroad.

This paper uses the letters, diaries and memoirs of soldiers to explore the way in which a number of French towns and cities were transformed into sites of pleasure during the First World War. It argues that French cities came to hold particular meanings for British soldiers who could go for long periods of time without returning home on leave. In the absence of this, French cities represented a welcome change from life in the trenches and a brief chance to return to normality. In a number of different locations including Arras, Amiens, St Omer and Paris men were able to participate in the familiar rituals of tourism such as sight-seeing and shopping. They also took advantage of entertainments including cinemas, cafes and brothels.

‘Oases of pleasure in deserts of toil’? Leisure, recreation and the promotion of civic culture in two Clyde shipbuilding communities, c.1885-1912

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From the mid-nineteenth century until their annexation to Glasgow in 1912, the Clyde shipbuilding communities of Partick and Govan ranked among Scotland’s ten most populous places. Despite this, they have hitherto attracted very little academic (as distinct from antiquarian) interest from historians of Glasgow, due to their almost paradoxical status of being legally separate from the city during their years of independence, and their geographical proximity to it before annexation. Partick’s and Govan’s socio-political life merits detailed consideration in its own right, not least as case studies of the relationship between civic identity and attempts to regulate leisure and pleasure, orientating it to political and ideological ends. Whilst both burghs’ leaders jealously guarded their independence from nearby Glasgow, they had to work increasingly hard to match their politico-legal campaigns to maintain this with initiatives to promote a distinctive sense of local civic and community identity to withstand the siren song of Glasgow’s ‘municipal socialism’, which by the 1880s encompassed the provision of leisure and recreational amenities.

This paper examines the ways in which the burghs’ leaders and prominent members of the local industrial elite collaborated in framing the provision of amenities such as parks, libraries and swimming baths to reinforce the notion of inhabitants’ reliance on local services in terms of paternalism and ‘invented tradition’. This includes consideration of the set-piece ceremonial surrounding the donation of Govan’s Elder Park in 1885, and the 1903 opening of the Elder Library by the Scots-American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. There is also discussion of the political symbolism embodied in the influential Govan Police Pipe Band (a precursor to the world-famous Strathclyde Police Pipe Band) and the ways in which local police and public works sports days were used to reinforce, respectively, the alleged muscular masculinity of the local police, and the resilience, vitality and sustainability of the values of local self-government on which both burghs were founded.

The paper also considers the ways in which local reactions to the amenities promised – but not always delivered – by the Burgh leaders reflected wider political and ideological disagreements about the nature, role and purpose of local government. Thus, the responses and perspectives of local Liberal, Unionist and Labour representatives and activists are considered. Above all, this analysis connects the debates about leisure and pleasure with the rise and fall of the Victorian Liberal ethos of local self-government and its eclipse by ‘municipal socialism’ on a grander scale. In short, it is argued that the trajectory of such debates about leisure, pleasure, place and community go a long way towards explaining Govan and Partick’s demise as independent burghs and the concomitant creation of Greater Glasgow.

Never Never landscapes: childhood and the municipal park in England

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Focusing on the early decades of municipal park development (1870-1930) this paper examines the ways in which 'childhood' as a concept was central to the design and use of England's municipal parks by both children and adults alike. It will address questions such as: How did designers and civic leaders interpret and exploit popular notions regarding childhood and 'childish pleasures' in their parks and public green spaces? How was the symbolism of childhood and especially children's literature incorporated into the design of parks and the pageants, fairs and parades which took place in them? How did organised children's activities serve to reiterate the role of parks as locations for the pursuit of fantasies and the imagination? To what extent did the resulting idealised landscapes prescribe a self-conscious enactment of escapism and pleasure at the expense of real freedom of expression? Using Liverpool as the main case study, but also drawing upon comparable examples from across England, this paper will provide a novel insight into an under-explored aspect of park provision.

Consumer culture, leisure and civic identity in Manchester: from the Great Depression to 'A City Speaks'

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Manchester Corporation significantly changed its attitude towards shopping and leisure in the city following the collapse of the cotton industry in the mid 1920s as local politicians and businessmen actively sought to diversify the local economy and move away from Manchester's stereotypical image of "Cottonopolis". These motivations led to a wider programme of urban redevelopment including investment in civic and commercial architecture, public transport, and housing reform. By implication, shopping culture in Manchester was revitalised and shopkeepers, led by department stores, used decorations, lights and free events to transform shops into demotic sites of leisure and pleasure and they became places to see and be seen within. The emerging spectacle ensured shops in Manchester city centre withstood economic depression and local politicians moved away from seeing shopping as a "woman's fancy" and sought to market Manchester as the 'Shopping Centre of the North'. Leisure and shopping quickly became central to the city's new economy and attractions such as Belle Vue were frequently promoted and advertised in municipal publications and through civic celebrations. The paper draws attention to the film first commissioned by Manchester Corporation in 1938 and eventually made by Paul Rotha in 1947: *A City Speaks* was intended to advertise civic activities, promote the importance of local citizenship and was part of a broader programme of political marketing that began in Manchester in the 1920s. The film moves quickly from an in

depth explanation of the local democratic process to a much longer segment showing the attractions of Belle Vue and is intended to appeal to Manchester inhabitants. The paper argues that by the 1940s leisure and consumer culture was fundamental to the way politicians in Manchester saw and marketed the city, both in political and economic terms. The paper concludes by suggesting the strategies more closely associated with Manchester's post-1996 regeneration actually had their roots in the early-twentieth century.

Seaside strategies: placing pleasure and commerce in the resort towns of the Welsh Bristol Channel coast, 1750-1914

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The region examined in this paper was one of the earliest to develop as a recognised British destination for sea-bathing from the late eighteenth century. The coastal towns of the Bristol Channel had long been commercially active with fishing fleets supplying traders and retailers in the growing markets of the interior. But fringing a major coalfield and metal smelting region, these towns were also strategically placed to capitalise on industrialization, especially from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This paper presents some of the findings of a recent University of Wales-funded research project on Bristol Channel resorts and ports, by examining the strategies adopted in the towns of Swansea and Tenby to balance competing coastal interests. The traditional separation of maritime or port histories from studies of coastal resort development has, it is suggested here, potentially hindered our understanding of these settlements. In both locations, demands for use of seaside space by tourists and other pleasure seekers, for sea-bathing and other forms of recreation, had to compete with dock developments, commercial fishing interests and industrial activities. Changing relationships between work and leisure were played out in the re-organisation and re-negotiation of seaside spaces in the two towns over the course of the nineteenth century. Evidence drawn from town guidebooks, provincial newspapers, local government records and pictorial sources is used to examine how the claims of pleasure and profit competed and occasionally coincided on the promenades, sands, kiosks and quaysides of these two places. Because they developed early as sea-bathing centres, they enable a long-range historical analysis from the late eighteenth-century phase of fashionable seaside tourism, through the development of mass tourist markets from the second half of the nineteenth century. Comparisons with other resorts and ports will be used to demonstrate that, far from being unique, or even unusual in combining tourist and commercial functions, the debates and concerns expressed in Swansea and Tenby over how best to utilise their coastal locations, were common to seaside towns in many parts of Europe.

Another face of ‘mass tourism’: San Sebastián and the Spanish seaside under Franco, 1937-75

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Work on tourism in postwar Spain has focused on the development of so-called ‘mass tourism’ on the Mediterranean coast. But Spain had a much older tradition of domestic (and international) tourism on its northern coast, especially in the Basque Country, where San Sebastián was the long-standing summer capital. It remained so under Franco; and this paper provides an introductory exploration of the transitions and challenges that this elite resort faced. As investment was directed to the Mediterranean and the Canary Islands, the Basque side of San Sebastián's dual identity became problematic, and from the 1960s onwards rising living standards brought new popular domestic markets into play in what had been an up-market coastal setting.