THE SEASIDE RESORT TOWNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

By

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(In Two Volumes)

Volume I.

THESIS FOR THE LONDON INTERNAL PH'D DEGREE IN GEOGRAPHY.

NOVEMBER 1958.
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This thesis is a comparative study in a type of town. In it, two factors are of outstanding importance, the distribution of non-resort population and the presence or absence of unified land-ownership and development. The first factor largely accounts for the distribution and size of resorts and the relative importance of: (a) the residential and holiday resort functions, and (b) period and day visitors. The second factor accounts for the survival of the majority of 'select' resorts and for their form and land-use pattern. Nineteenth century town planning is probably best represented in the seaside resorts.

The commercial core of resorts is characteristically located immediately behind the 'frontal strip'. Its precise form and location has been greatly influenced by the pre-resort road and settlement pattern, and by the site of the railway station.

Several resorts possess a better/poorer side structure which is reflected in their residential and accommodation patterns and in the form and functional differentiation of the core.

Distinctive growth features are (a) separate estate development along the coast, (b) linear development along the coast, and (c) a common looseness of form up to 1850. The pre-resort settlement pattern and topography have greatly influenced the shape of resorts.

Continued overleaf.
In the analysis of accommodation patterns, a fundamental distinction must be made between early villas and terraces that were not necessarily tied to the sea front and later hotels and boarding houses that were. Estate boundaries often form significant divides in the accommodation pattern.

Post office statistics are used to show the size and rhythm of the holiday season, also the varying relative importance of the holiday and residential resort functions.

The resort is characterized by its Front. In this respect, the presence or absence of frontal trading is highly significant.
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INTRODUCTION.

The conception of this thesis dates from September, 1955, when the author was shown the draft of a paper being prepared for the Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. This paper stressed the need for comparative typological studies in urban geography, and made particular reference to the suitability of seaside resorts for such studies.

In spite of the acceptance of town types and the frequent references to them, no important comparative typological studies had been made when the above paper was published. True there were several detailed studies of towns of various types, but can it be assumed that one town is representative of its type, or that the factors governing its growth and functional differentiation, applicable in one case, are applicable in all. Only by comparative typological studies can a truly balanced knowledge of urban geography be acquired. Such studies, moreover, should provide an excellent framework within which individual town studies can be made.

The choice of the seaside resort as the town type to be

studied was due to several reasons. First, little attention had been paid to these towns by geographers. Possibly, this was because many resorts cannot boast a medieval urban pedigree, and thus were regarded as urban upstarts. Possibly, there was an understandable tendency to regard the resorts as 'too shallow' to merit special study. Admittedly, when compared with the industrial town for instance, the resort, with its apparently simple combination of shopping and residential/accommodation area, does appear to be functionally anaemic. Both seaside resort and inland spa have received much attention from the social historian, however, mainly because of their fashionable status in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A second reason for the choice of seaside resort is its distinctiveness which, sometimes amounting to uniqueness, is found in its mode of growth, functional base, land-use pattern, regional relations and, above all, in the seasonal pattern of resort life.

As most coastal settlements have some resort function, and as there is no feature which indicates the attainment of resort status, the selection of resorts to be studied was somewhat arbitrary. A population of four thousand was used as a rough and ready dividing line, however. This includes all the well-known resorts, but excludes a large number of resorts ranging from hamlets to small towns. Possibly, the study of this latter group might be undertaken in a later research project.

Altogether, nearly eighty resorts were visited in a per-
of continuous fieldwork which lasted thirteen months. The length of stay in each resort usually ranged from three to ten days, but for the resort facets of industrial towns this was restricted to one day. Work in each resort consisted of two parts, first, 'inside work' - interviews with town officials and visits to various offices - and second, 'outside work' - personal observation and the plotting of information while touring the streets. In large resorts, a motor-bicycle was used to great advantage in this outside work.

The size and nature of this thesis incurred many difficulties, the greatest of which was simply lack of time. Those aspects of resort geography which involve considerable amounts of routine 'paper work', for example changing resort character and the influence of the railway as indicated by old newspaper reports, and the spheres of influence of resorts as service centres, were hardly, if at all, considered. Because of the pressure of time, about half the resorts had to be visited in the 'off-season', and, although this was less disadvantageous than might be thought, obviously the character of a resort can be truly appreciated only when it is functioning as such. Much difficulty was also found in the checking and supplementing of information. If only one town is being studied, points that require checking can be saved-up for a return visit. When nearly eighty towns are being studied, this is not possible.

The importance of the seaside resorts requires no emphasis. Of the twenty-five million people in Great
Britain who take a 'period holiday', some sixteen million go to the seaside resorts, a reminder of the leading role these towns play in the holiday industry. Several resorts, by size alone, demand the geographer's respect. Four have a population of over one hundred thousand, while several have a population of between fifty and one hundred thousand. More significant than size, however, is the remarkable manner in which the resorts are tightly woven into the urban net.

This thesis is offered as a pioneer work in urban typological studies. For this reason, its scope has been made as wide as possible. Inevitably, many 'loose threads' occur, but it is hoped that, by indicating their occurrence, further researches of a more specialised nature will be provoked.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Acknowledgement is made to Professor A.E. Smailes, Head of the Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London, whose suggestions contained in an article published by the Institute of British Geographers were responsible for the conception of this thesis; to the many resort officials, publicity officers, borough surveyors, engineers and treasurers, valuation officers, town planning officers and postmasters, also local historians and librarians, whose kindness and co-operation greatly lightened the burden of field work; to the several people who helped in the more laborious tasks of map colouring and mathematical calculation, and especially to my father; to Dr. June A Sheppard, Lecturer in Geography at Queen Mary College, and Mr. Michael J. Neubert, B.A., for reading the final draft; to Miss Eileen Harvey, Cartographer in the Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, for the time and care spent on printing the large number of maps and diagrams, and for her advice in the preparation of these maps and diagrams; to Dr. H.C. K Henderson, the Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London, for permission to reproduce Figure II; to the Town Planning Department, Bournemouth, for permission to reproduce Figure 72; to the Town Planning Department, Newport, Isle of Wight, for permission to reproduce Figure 99; to the Public Relations Officer, the General Post Office, for permission to examine post-office statistics; and to the Central Research Fund Committee, the University of London, for contributing towards the cost of maps, photographs and travelling.
CHAPTER ONE:

HISTORICAL ASPECTS.

The origins of the seabathing movement, the relationships between inland spa and seaside watering place, the importance of royal patronage, the social life of the early resorts - these and other related aspects of resort development have been studied in detail by several writers. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to supplement the work of these writers by considering the more neglected aspects of early resort development. As these aspects are quite distinct, the chapter, inevitably, is fragmentary.

Resort Development and the Revival of Old Maritime Towns.

The present resort towns are of diverse origin. Some are growths about a pre-resort settlement - town, village, hamlet; others were fashioned on sandy wastes originally devoid of settlement.

In several instances, the grafting on to an old maritime town of the new resort function revived a stagnant, sometimes decaying, town. The cause of stagnation or decay varied: coastal erosion, the development of other harbours, the silting of harbours, the

(I) R. Lennard. "Englishmen at Rest and Play. Some Phase of English Leisure, 1558-1714." (1931)
H.G.Stokes. "The Very First History of the English Seaside" (1947)
J.A.R. Pimlott. "The Englishman's Holiday" (1947)
increasing size of ships, and the associated concentration of fishing activities into fewer and larger ports. Old maritime towns "rescued" by resort development include Brighton (1750), Margate (1760), Weymouth (1780), Tenby (1800), Deal (1830), Folkestone and Whitby (1840), St. Ives and Newquay (1880) - the dates refer to the approximate time of rescue.

The diminishing fortunes of old Brighton and Margate are fully dealt with in other works. The decline of Weymouth would appear to date from Elizabethan times, much of this being due to the transference of Weymouth trade to Poole. A guide book of 1803 states that Weymouth is "rivalled by Poole now as a port, and depends more on the company resorting to it than any commercial pursuits." Strangely enough, Weymouth was to revive her strong maritime associations when, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, neighbouring Portland was chosen as a new naval base, in preference to Torquay, an old established naval base. Today, many people living in Weymouth work at Portland, and some of the houses built in Weymouth since the war have been built by the Admiralty to house these workers.

The rescue of Tenby is also referred to in an early guide book (1812): "Tenby has become a poor neglected fishing town. Its attraction, however, as a delightful residence has rescued

(I) A village rather than town.


it from oblivion”.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Deal prospered through its naval and military activities. After the war, however, these maritime activities declined, naval fleets no longer anchored in the adjacent ‘Downs’, and sailors no longer thronged the streets. Fortunately, from the 1830’s onwards, Deal steadily grew in importance as a resort - due in no small measure to the efforts of its citizens.

Later rescues were often closely related to the coming of a railway which stimulated resort, and sometimes harbour, development. Perhaps the finest example of this is Folkestone. Although this resort was advertising sea bathing in the Kentish Gazette in 1795, it was another fifty years before there was any significant town expansion. Meantime, maritime activities deteriorated, and it was not until the coming of the railway (and with it the setting up of a ferry service to Boulogne from an improved harbour, and the first important resort expansion) that the town again began to prosper. This change is commented upon in an "Illustrated Handbook to Folkestone" (1848). Referring to the town in 1840, it talks of a decayed fishing town, with poor fishermen's houses and choked harbour. But then "the wand of the railway wizard was waived over it, and Folkestone has been resuscitated - the harbour has been rendered commodious; detached villas, terraces, streets, pavilions, hotels and inns have already sprung up, and are still springing up in every direction".
During the early decades of the nineteenth century, St. Ives was at the height of its prosperity, both as a port, especially for the handling of tin ore and pilchards, and as a fishing station - it was in fact the premier seine fishing port in Cornwall. But by 1850, the town was on the decline, for tin was now being imported from the colonies, and the pilchard shoals no longer came. In 1887, however, the railway came to St. Ives, and encouraged a resort development that still continues.

Newquay has a similar history, though here the decline occurred rather later. In the early nineteenth century this straggling village became a seine station, and, for a brief period after the middle of the century, shared with Fowey in the china-clay trade. Photographs from 1870 to 1900 show the harbour packed with schooners, but during this period both trade - for Fowey was taking more and more of the china-clay trade - and fishing were declining. Fortunately, resort development began in the 1870's, facilitated by the coming of the railway. Today the harbour at Newquay shelters only holiday craft, its south Pier is used as a car park, and its sandy base serves as an extra beach at low tide - as does that of St. Ives. The huer's hut still stands covered with the pencilled names of visitors, but of the thirteen original "fly cellars" - where the pilchards were processed - only one survives, as a public shelter.

(1) A "look-out" for the sighting of pilchard shoals.
In some maritime towns, the development of resort activities co-incided with the continued development of the maritime activities, for example, in Ilfracombe, Herne Bay, Lowestoft, Yarmouth and Ramsgate. In Herne Bay, some of the bow-fronted stucco houses were no doubt resided in by boat owners and merchants as well as visitors; similarly the Regency and Early Victorian terraces of Ilfracombe. Nevertheless, there was always a tendency for the growth of resort activities to affect maritime activities adversely whether these were declining or not.

**Early References to Sea Bathing.**

The first references to sea bathing for any resort are always of interest, even though they may be of no significance in the development of that resort. Below is a list of such references, which, though not complete, gives these references of particular interest because of their early date, either in an absolute sense or relative to the first important resort expansion.

In most cases, the evidence is in literary form, early guide books, letters etc. For Southend and Felixstowe, however, it takes the form of two terraces, Pleasant Row and St. Georges Terrace respectively, whose building was probably related to resort activities. The evidence for Tenby is similarly indirect, for it comes from a tablet in the parish church of St. Mary's which is dedicated to "Peggy Davies, a bathing woman for forty-two years, who died in 1809". Certainly in 1781, the town corporation granted a lease to a J. John for the purpose of converting a disused chapel into baths.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Engraving by J. Settrinton showing bathing machine and bathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Letter written by a William Clarke. Quoted by E.W. Gilbert in &quot;Brighton, Old Ocean's Bauble&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>The note books of Bowles Barrett, a local historian. 3rd September, 1748. &quot;Ordered that a lease for twenty-one years be granted to Richard Prowse of a room.......to be used as a bathing house&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackpool</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Dr. Granville (1841) refers to a boarding house being built here in 1750.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cullercoats</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>&quot;Historical Notes on Cullercoats, Whitley and Monkseaton&quot;, W. Weaver Tomlinson, 1893: Quotes from a letter, probably written in 1751, by Rhoda Delaval: &quot;Tinmouth and Cullercoats are much in fashion; not a room empty. My Lady Ravensworth and my Lady Clavering were a month at Cullercoats bathing&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gt. Yarmouth</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Bath House erected in 1759.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>W.P.D. Stebbing &quot;The Invaders Shore&quot;. Quotes from the writings of Elizabeth Carter: Mrs. Honeywood's &quot;looks were much mended by a fortnights stay, and probably would have been more so if our stormy shore would have suffered her to bathe oftener in the sea&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>J.Mainwaring Baines, &quot;Historic Hastings&quot;. Refers to plan to convert stables into an Assembly Room by a &quot;set of Gentlemen who have entered into subscription to make Hastings a Bathing Place&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Advert in the Sussex Weekly Advertizer that an inn has been fitted up at Hastings for those coming to bathe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event/Comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenby</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>Tablet in parish church. See text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southend</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>Building of Pleasant Row. See text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowestoft</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Handbook of Lowestoft. 1859. Refers to bathing machines here in 1768.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitstable</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Advert in the Kentish Gazette refers to bathing machines, and to good accommodation offered at The Bear and Key.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herne Bay</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Advert in Kentish Gazette referring to a bathing machine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littlehampton</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>&quot;A Diary kept in an excursion to Littlehampton&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleethorpes</td>
<td>1791 (1840)</td>
<td>In &quot;The Story of Cleethorpes&quot; Baker refers to statement of John Byng: &quot;we came to Cleethorpes Inn, a bathing place of a better complexion than the two others&quot;. (One of which was certainly Skegness).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porthcawl</td>
<td>1804 (1870)</td>
<td>Rev. Evans &quot;Tour of South Wales&quot; 1804. &quot;we descended to the small village of Newton lately exalted into the rank of a watering place&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barry Island</td>
<td>1813 (c. 1890)</td>
<td>The Cambrian Travellers Guide, 1813. Refers to a &quot;farmhouse fitted up with lodgings for those desirous of a retired situation for sea bathing&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morecombe</td>
<td>1821 (1860)</td>
<td>Advert in Lancaster Gazette &quot;Sea bathing to let Morecombe cottage at Poulton Le Sands&quot;. Quoted by R.Millward in &quot;The Making of the English Lanscape. Lancashire.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heysham</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Baines &quot;Directory of Lancashire&quot;. 1826.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felixstowe</td>
<td>1827 (1860)</td>
<td>Building of St. Geoges Terrace. See text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This list shows the widespread nature of sea bathing in the eighteenth century. It also shows the time lag that occurred in several resorts between the first reference to sea bathing and resort development; these resorts are marked with an asterisk, and the date of resort development put in brackets.

**Changes in the Relative Importance of Resorts.**

In that the history of the seaside resort spans two eventful centuries, it is not surprising that many changes have occurred in the relative importance of resorts. This is seen in a brief survey of the resorts at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

At this time Blackpool was the most important resort of the Lancashire coast, Scarborough the most important on the Yorkshire coast and Brighton the most important on the South coast. In North Wales, however, Bangor, Beaumaris and Abergele ruled supreme, while Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and Rhyl were unknown to the visitor. In South Wales, Swansea probably took first place over Tenby as leading resort. West Cowes was the most important resort in the Isle of Wight, and from it people made excursions to the isolated "Villakin" of John Wilkins at Sandown Heath, and to the desolate chine at Shanklin - just as from Mudiford, across the Solent, visitors made excursions to the desolate chines of Bournemouth Heath. In South Kent, Folkestone had sea bathing facilities, but the visitor was more likely to stay at Sandgate, or even Dover. Along the coast of Lincoln-
shire, Cleethorpes was the most important resort, while Tynemouth was by far the most important resort on the east coast north of Scarborough. In Devon no one resort was dominant. Instead, a host of small watering-places, all of similar rank, were known to the fashionable world - Sidmouth, Lyme Regis, Budleigh Salterton, Exmouth, Teignmouth, Dawlish, and Charmouth. Torquay and Paignton, however, were virtually unknown.

In the study of resorts, whose status relative to other resorts has undergone drastic change, it is convenient to distinguish three types:

(a) Dead resorts - where the resort function has either disappeared or migrated.

(b) Resorts originally ranking high, but which have been "left behind" as other resorts have grown.

(c) Resorts originally ranking high, but in which the resort function is now subsidiary to another.

The most important dead resorts are Gravesend, Bootle, Swansea and Southampton. In the last three, commercial development - railway yards at Southampton, docks at Bootle and industries at Swansea - forced out the resort function. At Gravesend, the process was less drastic though no less certain. To begin with, Gravesend was not by the seaside. Secondly, the great advantage of being easily accessible, by boat, to the people of East London was lost when Southend was

\[\text{(i)}\] For the first half of the nineteenth century Gravesend was more popular - in every sense - than Southend.
connected by rail to London. It is interesting to note that both Gravesend and Southend, at one time fashionable, became "low" - an understandable fate of a resort adjacent to the east side of London and lacking any form of estate or corporate control.

For Swansea and Bootle, it might be argued that commercial development caused the displacement rather than the disappearance of the resort area. In 1800, sea bathing activities at Swansea were located at the town itself. Later guide books, however, reveal the decline of the resort function at the expense of the growing industrial function, and the increasing importance of the adjacent Mumbles as the resort area. At Bootle, the docks, in their northward march, trampled upon the old-established resort area which, in 1799, had been referred to as a "gentle company resort for sea bathing in the summer season". Today resort activities are found in dispersed fashion to the north and south of Liverpool's commercial and industrial area, at Crosby and Formby to the north, and at New Brighton, West Kirby and Hoylake to the south. Of these, only New Brighton can be regarded as a resort; the others are essentially recreation grounds by the sea.

In similar, though less striking, manner, the development of the old-established watering-place of Harwich as a port has caused the southward migration of its former resort activities.

(1) Moss's Liverpool Guide, 1799.
to the modern residential suburb of Dovercourt.

Other watering-places were trampled upon by commercial development. In 1808, Seaham, Co. Durham, was described as a "small bathing hamlet". Just twenty years later, the foundation stone of the harbour was laid and Seaham began its growth as a great port and industrial town. No doubt, many similar examples could be found.

Prominent among the resorts "left behind" are those of the south west - Lyme Regis, Charmouth, Budleigh Salterton, Dawlish, Appledore and Instow. Others are Barmouth Towyn and Beaumaris in Wales, and Aldeburgh and Southwold in East Anglia. Most of these resorts have expanded, but on nothing like the scale found in other resorts closer to the major cores of non-resort population. All, however, receive far more visitors than ever in the past.

Lastly, the old-established resorts where the importance of the resort functions relative to the other functions has decreased. These include Tynemouth, Lymington, Cowes, Fowey, and Dover.

Resorts and the Military.

The Napoleonic Wars were undoubtedly significant in the development of English watering-places. First, the English nobility were unable to reach the continental spas during this period, and the expansion of English spas and seaside watering-
places was thereby stimulated. Second, the establishment of garrisons along the South coast and Thames estuary, where invasion was feared, greatly stimulated the social life of some watering-places and brought to them added trade, not only from the troops but also from wives and friends who visited the camps. This in turn meant that these resorts became more widely known. Some twelve thousand troops - under the command of the Duke of Wellington - were stationed outside Hastings and a guide book states how "These large camps had the effect of drawing numerous visitors to Hastings". A couple of miles to the west, another garrison was stationed at Bexhill, but this had little effect as the development of Bexhill had not yet begun. At Eastbourne, however, the social life of this embryo resort was greatly enlivened by the presence of the military, though the focus of this life was the Lamb Inn of the inland "town". Farther east, the growth of Sandgate (founded in 1773) accelerated with the establishment, in 1794, of an army camp at Shorncliffe immediately north of the town - a camp which, from that time to this, has benefited both Sandgate and Folkestone. At Herne Bay, a small garrison was established on the "Downs" immediately east of the "town", and this did much to publicise the presence of this small watering-place, though it was not until 1830 that a significant attempt was made to develop the resort.

Settlements adjacent to naval anchorages also benefited from
the stimulus of the Wars, for example Deal and Torquay (or, as it was known then, Tor Key). In the latter resort, this stimulus was provided in a most extraordinary manner. For in 1815, H.M.S. Bellerophon, with the captive Napoleon Bonaparte aboard, anchored in Tor Bay. Immediately, visitors were thronging to the area and hiring rowing boats in the hope of seeing the "Ogre" pacing the deck of his prison. Few could have returned home unimpressed by the unique beauty of Torbay, or by the equability of its climate.

The third possible effect of the war, for which there is less evidence than for the other two described above, was the driving away of some visitors from the South East coast, where fear of invasion was greatest, to the South West coast. Certainly, numerous small villages in South Devon became fashionable towards the end of the eighteenth century, which suggests but does not prove that this factor was operative.

This impact of military and naval bases on resort development naturally did not cease in 1815 and in some resorts it is still of considerable importance. Southsea greatly benefits from the great concentration of soldiers and sailors in and about Portsmouth, and the additional trade derived from this source during the winter months is of particular importance. Other military resorts, such as Weymouth (with the naval base at Portland), Sheringham (the army camp at Weybourne) and Folkestone (the army camp at Shorncliffe) have the same advantage.
establishment in post-war years of American army and airforce bases in East Anglia and Kent has also had a considerable effect upon adjacent resorts, either through the Americans living in the resorts with their families, as at Cromer and Hunstanton, or through the increased trade they bring as frequent visitors, as at Margate and Ramsgate.
CHAPTER TWO:

RESORT GROWTH.

In this chapter the physical growth of resorts is considered, both in its areal and temporal aspects. Special attention is paid to the ways in which this growth differs from that of non-resort towns.

Before examining the various forms of areal growth, two warnings are necessary. First, any one town is likely to experience different forms of growth at different times; it is rarely possible to characterise by a single word or phrase the overall growth of that town. Second, the determined form of growth will often depend upon the scale used. For instance by using broad, eg. 50 year, time intervals for growth map construction, concentric growth can be proved for almost any town. On the other hand, the use of smaller time intervals will often reveal many complexities in growth, eg. "infilling" and "outliers". The time-scale chosen should be conditioned by the purpose of the map. If it is intended to relate the development of shopping and business activities to the form of growth (P. 125), a reasonably broad scale should suffice. If, however, the map is intended to be of significance in townscape analysis, a smaller time interval is necessary as the details of infill and outlier development which it reveals often correspond with differences in building form and materials.
(and sometimes land-use).

Many of the principles of urban geography follow from the concept of concentric growth, and the following study of resort growth is set against the backcloth of this concept. In this way the distinctiveness of some resort growth is best appreciated.

As concentric growth in town expansion up to 1918 is accepted apparently without reason, it is perhaps useful to consider why towns should grow in this fashion. The first reason is one of common sense - a town must expand outwards, and there must be a certain compactness for this growth to be recognised as urban expansion. Secondly, by tacking on new building estates, or odd terrace blocks, to the pre-existing town area, the cost of road, water, gas, and drainage and sewerage provision is greatly reduced - and it must be remembered that town building after 1750 is for profit. Thirdly, before the coming of trams, buses and cars, the most desirable building land would be that nearest the town centre, i.e. immediately adjacent to the then built-up area - other factors being equal.

It is not possible to classify the resorts according to their mode of growth as the subject is too large for the scope of this thesis. It is possible, however, to highlight certain growth features common to many resorts, some of which

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(I) This date was chosen simply so that all resort growth might be included.
distinguish these resorts from inland towns. These features area:

(a) the expansion of a resort by the addition of a coastal area of building, often an estate, which is physically separate from the main resort area,
(b) the influence of inland pre-resort settlements,
(c) the tendency towards frontal growth,
(d) villa mushrooming and urban fragmentation.

In several resorts, a large area of town building fronting the sea was initially completely independent of the main resort area, and in some cases still remains so. Occasionally the separation was caused by the intervening land being unfit for building: in other cases, however, the separation is to be explained simply in terms of estate development and land-ownership.

This form of development is common for two reasons: (a) separation from the main town area need not cause much additional cost in the laying out of a drainage and sewerage system as the independent area, like the main area, can have a direct discharge into the sea, and (b) by avoiding the main area, the builder can exploit frontal and near-frontal amenity without paying the high price that frontal land adjacent to the main built-up area would command. It should also be remembered that such independent development would often consist of good or high-class houses which could stand any additional costs incurred in the provision of essential services.
Figure I - Resort development in North West Wales.
Most of these independent resort areas were estate developments with no pre-existing nucleus. Possibly the finest example of this is Craig Y Don, Llandudno, an unfortunate result of dual land-ownership. Other examples are New Swanage (Swanage), Thorne Bay (Southend, Fig. 42) - separated from the main town area by poorly drained land - Goodrington and Broadsands (Paignton), East Pentire (Newquay) - separated by a golf course - and Carbis Bay (St. Ives) - determined by the location of a sandy bay.

Occasionally, the independent expansion was about an old village nucleus on or near the shore, as at Bare (Morecambe, Fig. 42), Old Dolwyn (Colwyn Bay), Felpham (Bognor), Birchington (Margate, Fig 63) and the "old town", Hunstanton.

Not all such growths were intended to be subsidiary to the main area. A few were planned as separate resorts, though they have now merged physically, and, if necessary, administratively, with the more important resort. Thus Westgate is now joined to Margate, West End to Morecambe, and Rhos-on-Sea to Colwyn Bay.

This form of coastal fragmentation in resort growth is particularly well developed between Llandudno and Colwyn Bay, these two resorts sharing six independent urban pieces (Fig. 1).

Pre-existing settlements, besides those forming the nucleus of main resort expansion, have greatly influenced the form of resort growth, and in two ways: (a) by acting as subsidiary nuclei for expansion, and (b) by attracting ribbon development.
Figure 2 - The growth of Whitley Bay (Northumberland).
Figure 3 - Bridlington (Yorkshire).
Figure 4 - The physical extent of Torquay in 1862.
and sometimes narrow corridors of growth, along the roads joining them to the main settlement and/or resort area. The effect upon resort growth depends largely on the location of the subsidiary settlement. If near the front, the village, with its subsidiary expansion, is likely to be soon absorbed by the main resort expansion and not have any important effect upon the shape of the town, for example, the "old town" of Paignton. If well removed from the front, the influence of the subsidiary village will be probably represented by straggling ribbon development along the road(s) leading to it from the resort. This is seen at Willingdon (Eastbourne), Newton (Porthcawl) and Wick (Littlehampton). (Subsidiary expansion might or might not occur about the village.) If the village occupies an intermediate position, the result is likely to be a marked elongation of the town to, and beyond, that village. Monkseaton (Whitley Bay) and the "old town" (Bridlington) are two such villages that have caused a very strong inward push in town growth (Figs. 2; 3). At Weston super Mare, not one but two villages, Milton and Worle, have aided inward town expansion, though here topographic control the avoidance of low-lying and less well drained land - has also been of importance. At Torquay, the influence of the subsidiary village of St. Mary's Church is of special interest since it is sited on the opposite shore of the peninsula from that on which the main town is built (Fig. 4).

Other resorts whose growth has been influenced considerab
MEDIEVAL "CORE": TOWN IN 1745
1745 - 1850
1850 - 1890
1890 - 1914
1914 - 1939
POST - 1939
THE EASTFIELD ESTATE IS NOT SHOWN

Figure 5 - The growth of Scarborough.
Figure 6 - The physical extent of Hastings and St. Leonards in 1873. (1st 6" O.S. map.)
by inland village nuclei are Southport (Church Town, Marshside and Landhouses), Weymouth (Wyke Regis), Minehead (Alcombe, Fig. 73), Felixstowe (Walton, Fig. 67), Scarborough (the Georgian expansion about Falsgrave), Ramsgate (St. Lawrence) and Bexhill (Sidley). In the last-named resort, the "old town" has remained surprisingly free from either expansion or absorption, possibly the result of a deliberate "preservation" policy by the land-owning Earl de la Warr.

There is no need to stress the disrupting influence of pre-existing settlements upon concentric growth; the same influence is to be found, of course, in most towns. An important distinction must be made, however. Whereas in inland towns the focus of town growth was likely to coincide with the main pre-existing settlement, in the resorts, because of the commonly inland location of the main pre-resort settlement, there was often no such coincidence. Eastbourne, Bridlington, Whitley Bay and Paignton illustrate this point.

Peculiar to resorts is the strong tendency towards linear growth along a front; the reasons are obvious. In some resorts, this growth is a single strip of building, as in Scarborough (1850 and 1900, Fig. 5), Weymouth (1860), Filey (1860), Falmouth (1850) - though this growth was related to maritime, not resort, expansion - and Llandudno (1900); in others, the frontal growth is a narrow belt, as in Hastings (1860, Fig. 6), Deal (1860, Fig. 12), Weston super Mare (1850, Fig. 20), Blackpool (1900) and St. Ives (the present 1
Figure 7 - Irregular villa growth, Sidmouth (South Devon), 1888. Based on an O.S. 6" map.
Figure 8 - Ilfracombe (North Devon).

(x Position of Photographer in Plate XXVII)
The dates indicate when this frontal strip was apparent; most of it has since been backed by later growth. (Frontal growth may also be experienced by ports in the expansion of commercial activities. Eighteenth century London with its riverside belt to the east is a good example of this.)

Because of their fashionable status, several nineteenth century resorts first grew by the addition of numerous villas with extensive grounds. In some resorts, such as Sandown, Shanklin, Ryde, Southport and Bournemouth, this villa growth was compact, and can be reconciled with normal forms of town expansion. In others, such as Ventnor, Teignmouth, Sidmouth (Fig. 7), and to a lesser extent Hastings and Broadstairs, the villas grew in mushroom fashion over a large area. Since this period of mushroom growth, many of the inter-villa gaps have been infilled by normal residential development, while some of the villa grounds have been split up and sold off for building purposes - this being very evident at Sidmouth and Broadstairs. Somewhat similar is the terrace mushrooming which characterised the early resort growth of Ilfracombe (Fig. 8). Not only do such forms of growth contrast with the more or less concentric growth of many inland towns, but they also emphasise the contrast in character between early resort towns and non-resort towns. In the latter, residential growth would often be tied to the factory, the mine, the quarry, the docks, the harbour or the commercial core - all causing a compactness of
Figure 9 - The discontinuous growth of Bognor Regis (Sussex). Based on the Tithe Map of 1842 and the 1st 25' O.S. Map of 1876.
growth. In resorts, however, there were no such ties. Admittedly, residential expansion was tied to the seaside, but it was, or rather could be, a loose tie - and one which allowed terraces and villas to be built away from the front. In this respect, it is interesting to note that at Bognor, in one of the earliest, though abortive, attempts to plan and build a resort, Sir Richard Hothampton sited the greater part of his proposed new town of Hothampton well away from the coast - in the area now referred to as Upper Bognor. (Fig. 9)

The same feature is also seen in resorts which possess, or did possess, a looseness in form resulting from a general fragmentation of their urban pieces. Some pieces are growths about pre-existing settlements - other than the main pre-resort nucleus - while others are simply localised estate developments. An outlying railway station was also likely to form the focus of one of the fragments, as at Broadstairs and Cromer (Fig. 66). Early Bognor shows such fragmentation very clearly (Fig. 9), as do Wallesey - one of whose early and separate pieces was the resort facet of New Brighton - Minehead (Fig. 73) and Llandudno (Fig. I). At Bognor and Wallesey, subsequent infill has welded the fragments into a single urban mass, but in the other two the fragmented form, much of it recent, remains.

A few resorts show a much more subdued form of fragmented growth. A main built-up area can be distinguished, but, separated from this area are other urban pieces. Examples
this are Shanklin and Ryde (Fig. 10) in the 1860s and Cromer in the 1900s. The pieces have since been knitted to the main area.

Other growth features of a more general nature are also found in the resorts. Ribbon development along main roads leading out of the resorts is often seen, and its common occurrence along roads linking subsidiary nuclei to the main resort area has been already commented on. It is not restricted to any period, though it tends to become increasingly important with time due to the development of new forms of transport. The advantages of ribbon development are (a) it does not require road building, an advantage to the spec' builder and especially to the less wealthy builder, (b) it allows easy access to bus routes (though this could well be a disadvantage today) and (c) it allows the farmer owning the fields originally fronting the road to exploit the value of the roadside strip without losing the entire field.

The nature of ribbon development allows no generalisation. In some resorts it consists of good to high-class villas, for example the villas of Heywood Lane (Tenby), the Pen Y Bryn Road (Colwyn Bay), Whitegate Drive (Blackpool) and Alverton Road (Penzance). In others it is of an inferior status, e.g. the Vale and Wellington Roads (Rhyl), the New Road (Porthcawl) an Enlosure road dating from the 1860s - and several roads on the west side of Whitby. Perhaps the most remarkable example is the two miles of ribbon development along the main road
leading northwards out of Weymouth. Several of the above examples have been since "backed" by later building (those marked with an asterisk) but their distinctiveness remains in building form and materials, and sometimes in land-use.

A combination of ribbon development along roads radiating outwards from the nucleus, and subsequent infilling by blocks of houses between these roads (in concentric fashion) is often referred to as a typical form of town expansion after 1800. Even if true of inland towns, such growth is certainly not typical of resorts. To begin with, a framework of converging roads is necessary, and this is rarely found in the early road patterns of resorts. In several cases the absence of an important pre-resort settlement meant that there were few roads to the town in the initial stages of development; some resorts had only one road, eg. Hunstanton, Colwyn Bay, Sandown and Shanklin. Some through roads normally developed later in a town's growth but, as a rule, no radial pattern emerged. In a few resorts, the present built-up area was crossed by several roads of pre-resort age, but again with no radial form, eg. Southport and Felixstowe. Even in resorts with a radial early road pattern, expansion by ribbon development and later block infill is rarely seen. Such resorts include Bournemouth (with five enclosure roads, Fig. 62), Blackpool (three roads) and Sidmouth (four roads). At Sheringham, however, this process was apparent for part of its pre-1914 expansion.
Independent coastal estate growth, expansion about subsidiary settlements, frontal growth, villa and terrace mushrooming and other forms of fragmentary growth with subsequent infill, and an increasing tendency towards fragmentation especially after 1914 - these are all growth features that cannot be easily fitted into the concept of concentric and compact growth. If they have been considered in some detail, it is because these forms are so well represented in the resorts.

There are, of course, examples of normal growth, though fewer in number. The growth of Southport (with Birkdale) was remarkably compact and reasonably concentric, a visible demonstration of the control exercised over the growth of these two towns. Other examples are pre-1914 Brighton, Sheringham, Penzance, Lytham and pre-1914 Rhyl. Even in normal growth, a certain amount of infilling and outlier development is to be expected, however.

**Twinning in Resort Growth.**

Urban twinning - the joining of one town to another, administratively, physically, or both - is a growth form frequently found in resorts. The nature of the twinning varies greatly. Resort might be joined to resort, as is Sandown with Shanklin, and Hastings with St Leonards, or to a residential town, eg. Southport with Birkdale, and Deal with Walmer, or to an industrial/commercial town, eg. Cleethorpes with Grimsby.
Figure II - The growth of Brighton and Hove.

The yellow colouring emphasises the dual growth of Hove up to 1875.
The growth relationships of pairs of towns which are physically joined are of four main types:

(a) The eventual fusion of two independently expanding towns, eg. Lytham and St. Annes (Fig. 39), Sandown and Shanklin, Southend and Leigh, Torquay and Paignton, and Hoylake and West Kirby.

(b) Expansion from one centre or urban area, eg. Portsmouth and Southsea (Fig. 23), Southport and Birkdale, and Redcar and Coatham. (The first-named town of each pair is the "centre", and the second-named town that part of the expansion which took on a distinctive character.)

(c) A combination of the above two forms, eg. Cleethorpes and Grimsby, Brighton and Hove (Fig. II) and Bournemouth and Poole.

(d) Separation by a physical barrier, in this case a river, eg. Great Yarmouth and Gorleston, Weymouth and Bridcombe Regis, and Teignmouth and Shaldon.

In a few resorts "twins", any original distinction and parochial feeling has disappeared, as at Redcar and Coatham. In others, however, there is a marked difference in the social status of the two towns which results in strong parochial feeling (P 227).

It is unlikely that further physical twinning between resorts will take place in the future as this is contrary to the general principles of modern town planning. Administrative twinning is more probable, and "possibles" are Torquay with Paignton, and Morecambe with Lancaster.
The Shape of Resort Towns.

The resort is commonly reputed to be elongate in shape, this shape being the result of the desire to exploit frontal amenity to the full. When the resorts are examined in detail, however, it is found that they exhibit a great variety of shapes, no one of which can be regarded as typical.

Elongate Resorts: The natural tendency for resorts to spread along the coast may be aided in two main ways: (a) by the existence a short distance inland of steep slopes or low-lying marshy land unattractive for building, and (b) by the expansion of several original nuclei within a limited area of coast and their eventual coalescence.

Only in one resort, Ventnor, have steep slopes completely prevented the inward push of building, for here the southern slopes of Rew Down and St. Boniface Down offer no sites for building - in contrast to the steep but broken "slip" topography of the slopes beneath them. The inner edge of Colwyn Bay coincides with a steepening of the landward slope, but as it also coincides with the attenuated Pwll-y-crochan Woods it is possible that the deliberate preservation of these woods has prevented further building inland. In any case, the elongate form of the town is due mainly to the coalescence of resort expansion about three pre-resort nuclei - Rhos-on-Sea, Colwyn Bay and Old Colwyn.

More numerous are examples of marshy barriers limiting inland expansion. At Morecambe, for instance, a narrow
coastal strip of land is backed by an area of "moor". Except for the occasional drumlins which rise to c. 50 feet, O.D., this "moor" area is below 18 feet, O.D. and has been largely avoided for building. Some parts have been used since 1945, but only with considerable difficulty. In Figure 43, the western limit of the moss is indicated by the western limit of the area formerly requiring artificial drainage - as shown on the O.S. 6" map of 1875. As would be expected, the greatest inland push of building, for both pre-1914 town and present town, has been along a tongue of higher land (over 18 feet) which connects the old settlements of Poulton and Torrisholme (Fig. 42). North of this tongue, the low-lying land comes right to the coast and, prior to 1914, helped to separate the built-up areas about Poulton and Bare. Since then the two areas have been linked, first by the building in the inter-war period of frontal hotel terraces, later by residential development. Other factors in the production of Morecambe's highly elongate shape are the railway which has deterred inland expansion at West End and Heysham, and multi-nucleic expansion about the two coastal pre-resort settlements of Poulton and Bare - but not Heysham - and about West End. (Cf. Colwyn Bay.)

In similar manner, an inland moss has controlled the shape of Southport and Birkdale. Again the significant contour is about 18 feet, O.D., though here this leaves a wider coastal strip of ground than at Morecambe; another difference is that this coastal belt is an area of drift sand. Low-lying ground
has prevented not only inward expansion at Southport but also lateral expansion northwards along the front.

Rhyl shares certain features with Morecambe, for its inward growth was postponed, though not prevented by the Morfa Bach (mostly under 16 feet, O.D.). The railway, moreover, helped to mould the shape of the pre-1914 town (Fig. 68). The strikingly elongate form of the town in 1914 has, however, been completely lost in subsequent building (mostly council housing in the Morfa Bach area.

Skegness is another town whose originally elongate shape has been lost in subsequent - in this case post-1945 - housing, again much of it council housing (Fig. 59). The main topographic factors influencing growth along the coast have here been (a) a sand-dune ridge running the entire length of the town (its influence is especially noticeable on the south side of the town), and (b) low-lying land (under 15 feet O.D.) requiring artificial drainage behind this ridge. Over much of this low-lying area, house sites and roads have been "made up" and are appreciably higher than the gardens which represent the pre-existing level. Of course, the danger of sea flooding exists, but the town has a three-fold defence - the frontal sand hills, the sea walls of the "parades", and, farther inland, Roman Bank, the original defence.

Any well developed frontal ridge is likely to encourage elongate growth, and Deal provides another example - though in this case the ridge is of shingle. Housing since 1918, again
Figure I2 - Deal and Walmer.
council housing predominating, has, however, greatly obscured this elongation, (Fig 12).

The coalescence of originally independent resort growths can also create, or help to create, an elongate urban tract, and two examples have been already cited, Morecambe (with West End) and Colwyn Bay (with Rhos-on-Sea). Others are Margate (with Birchington and Westgate), Sandown and Shanklin, and Bournemouth and Poole, with Boscombe.

One reasonably elongate resort which deserves special mention is Hunstanton, whose inner (eastern) boundary comes to a remarkably abrupt end against the Cromer Road - if the collection of public buildings on the far side of the road be ignored. This Cromer Road was probably chosen by the Le Strange Estate as the landward boundary of the built-up area so that the privacy and seclusion of Hunstanton Hall and Park not be encroached upon, an opinion which the agent for the Le Strange family supports. There is another possible reason, however. The Cromer Road runs along the crest of a north-south ridge whose western (seaward) slope is covered by the built-up area. The western slope drains naturally into the sea, whereas the eastern slope drains inland. The cost of the provision of drainage facilities on the western slope is much less, therefore, than on the eastern slope.

Of course, not all elongate resorts are the products of topography, settlement pattern, or land ownership. The shape of Blackpool, for example, is probably due directly to the
Figure 13 - Saltburn (Yorkshire).
desire to exploit frontal amenity. Similarly Herne Bay, though here the railway has probably played a part in restricting inland expansion.

Non-elongate Resorts: Resorts which have experienced strong inland growth are just as numerous as those of elongate shape. Topography or the existence of an inland village are the most common causes of this.

The most striking and obvious examples of topographic control are those resorts which have grown along a valley (or valleys) opening onto the sea, eg. Dawlish (Fig. 70), Sidmouth and, to a lesser extent, St. Ives and Ilfracombe (Fig. 8). This may reflect not only the way in which the lower flatter slopes and bottoms of the valleys facilitate building, but also the desire to exploit the amenity value of the valley - this being particularly evident at Sidmouth where many of the good-class valley side houses command fine views across the valley. If the slopes are sufficiently steep, however, a valley may restrict rather than encourage town growth. A good example of this is Saltburn (Fig. 13), though the desire to exploit the amenity value of the eastern valley, the Skelton Beck ravine, has also aided the towns strong inward growth.

In several resorts, growth parallel to the coast has been prevented by low-lying ground, usually below 17 feet O.D., though this has not necessarily prevented elongate growth in
another direction. Examples of this are Bognor (where the low-lying land is on the east side), Sandown (the northeast side), Littlehampton (the west side) and Minehead (the southeast side), (Fig. 73).

The influence of an inland village upon resort growth has been already discussed (P. 19), and requires no further mention other than to list those resorts where this is particularly well developed, namely Whitley Bay, Bridlington, Clacton, Weston Super Mare, Ryde, Littlehampton and Eastbourne. The last-named resort reveals, by its shape, not only the influence of the pre-resort settlement pattern but also the influence of topography, and in a most complete manner. The town's shape can be compared to an inverted "J" whose bar stretches along the coast for two and a half miles. The stem of the "J", at first solid as it envelopes the "old town" and then strand-like as lengths of ribbon development project towards Willingdon and Hampden Park, extends north-westwards for one and a half miles, with the tail, Hampden Park, about one mile to the east. The steep slopes of the South Downs scarp have acted as a barrier to further expansion westward - a relationship emphasised by the manner in which the combes of the scarp face are picked out by "bulges" in the built-up area. The difficulty of pumping water up the scarp face has also discouraged building on the higher slopes. On the town's eastern side, the low-lying Willingdon Levels, an almost detached part of the great Pevensey Levels, have prevented
northward growth.

At Sheringham, growth along the east has been prevented by the golf links on the west side, and by Beeston Common and coastal "half-year" land on the east side. This half-year land consists of roughly 400 acres and stretches, in broken fashion, from the east side of Sheringham to Cromer. Though this land is owned by various people, the inhabitants of Runton parish have a legal right to pasture their sheep upon the half-year land from the 11th October to the 6th April each year - a right that originated in a former open-field economy. These rights, though no longer exercised, are jealously guarded and, as a result, no building development upon these lands has been possible. In 1912, an attempt was made by five owners to enclose their half-year lands, but this was unsuccessful. In recent years, the whole problem of these lands has been revived with the setting-up on them of summer caravans.

From the above examples of elongate and non-elongate resorts, it is clear that the shapes of resorts allow no generalisation. In both categories, however, the control over growth exercised by topography and the pre-resort settlement pattern is of primary importance, possibly more so than in other types of towns.

Resort Growth in Time.

A town's growth is characteristically the result of several bursts of building activity. In some towns, these
bursts are so pronounced, the intervals between them so prolonged, that the growth may be described as discontinuous. This is true of several resorts: indeed, such discontinuous growth is probably more common in resorts than in any other town types - which is not surprising when it is remembered that the nineteenth century resort was the product of man's fashion and habits.

The most common form of discontinuous growth is as follows: an initial period of expansion in Late Georgian/Regency times, a period of standstill during Early Victorian times, and a revival in building in the High Victorian period - often related to the coming of the railway. This is clearly shown by the growth phases of Bognor (Fig. 9) and Herne Bay - two resorts with a very similar growth history. Sidmouth is another good example. Other resorts with a similar phasing but with the earlier phase not so well developed are Southend, Eastbourne and Littlehampton. At Ilfracombe, the first phase comes rather later, from c. 1820 to 1840, but with a characteristic revival in the '60s. (P. 95)

The discontinuous growth of Fleetwood is of particular interest as its two phases, the first from 1835 to 1850, the second from c. 1870 onwards, had a different functional base. In the first phase, the new town was developed as both fashionable resort and estuarine port; its intended, and briefly retained, status as a resort is indicated by the imposing Queens Terraces and North Euston Hotel. After a
brief triumph as the most fashionable resort in Lancashire, Fleetwood virtually stopped growing, for by now, Blackpool and Lytham were served by branch railway lines - ironically, branch lines leading from the main line between Preston and Fleetwood. In 1869, however, work began on the first dock, and so Fleetwood entered a second period of growth, this time as a maritime town only. The town expanded rapidly by the addition of low class terraces, many without garden space. This commercial function has retained its importance but the town has become increasingly important again as a resort - witness the considerable amount of "foreshore" development in inter-war years. (P.248) It has also become an important dormitory for people working in Blackpool and in the chemical works at Thornton.

It is interesting to compare the above example of "functional phasing" with that of Penarth, near Cardiff, though in this case there is no discontinuity of growth. The growth of Penarth begins in the 1860s following the building of the harbour in 1859 and the dock in 1865, and is accompanied by low-class terrace building - mostly in grey stone - up the hill side above the dock. The next phase is very different, the continued growth of Penarth now as a dormitory for the wealthy businessmen of Cardiff, and also as a small seaside

(1) Marine Parade, Penarth, is known locally as "millionnaires row", since it housed before 1914 several millionaires (estimates range from five to eight.). Its houses are now converted into flats, though it is still a fashionable street.
resort. This time it is villa development. A few of the first villas (c. 1870) are of stucco, but the first main villa expansion is recorded in grey stone (and occasionally yellow brick) which produces a villa area similar to that on the slopes of Worlebury Hill, Weston super Mare. By the end of the century, however, the grey stone had given way to red brick.

In contrast to such towns as Bognor and Herne Bay are the resorts that have experienced more or less continuous growth from their Late Eighteenth/Early Nineteenth century beginnings up to the present, e.g. Ryde, Margate, Brighton, Weston super Mare, Southport and Scarborough. Of course, the more recent the resort, the more continuous its growth is likely to be; this applies to such resorts as Bexhill, St. Ives, Minehead, Newquay and Skegness - all of which began to develop as resorts in the 1870s.

For most resorts, the post-1918 period has been characterised by an accelerating growth that has been the result of an expanding residential resort function rather than holiday resort function. It is a process that continues. Outstanding in this respect are Paignton, Weymouth, Clacton, Deal, Blackpool and Thornton Cleveleys, Morecambe, Whitley Bay, Weston super Mare, Bognor and Worthing, Redcar, Porthcawl and Rhyl. On the other hand, some resorts have had decelerating growth during this period, e.g. Ilfracombe with very little inter-war growth - Teignmouth, Folkestone.
The Timing of Resort Origins.

It is rarely possible to ascribe a definite year to the beginning of a resort's history, though for some "new towns" not only the year but even the very day may be known.

It has already been shown that the first known references to sea bathing may be of little significance; so, instead, the beginning of resort development is taken as the first significant building expansion related to resort activities. The determination of this is not always easy. For instance, the beginning of Southend as a watering-place was marked by the building of Royal Terrace in the 1790s. This, however, proved to be a false start, and it was not until the 1860s that the main expansion began.

The timing of resort origins - by their first significant resort expansion - is listed in general chronological order in Table 1. The expansion of those above the red dividing line was prior to the coming of the railway; the expansion of those below the red line was simultaneous with or subsequent to the coming of the railway. For resorts with early "false starts", such as Southend, a (i) is shown after the false start, and a (ii) after the main start.

Further division is made by listing separately resorts whose growth was planned and/or controlled. If both types of growth were experienced, the resort is listed twice, with
a (C) - controlled - and (NC) - non-controlled - after the appropriate entries. The resorts whose early growth was so slight as to be hardly represented in the present townscape are also listed twice. Blackpool, for instance, had experienced some resort growth since 1750, but this is hardly represented in the modern townscape which is the product of the great period of growth from 1860 onwards. As for towns with false starts, the first entry for Blackpool is followed by a (i), and the second by a (ii).

**TABLE 1**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLANNED AND/OR CONTROLLED GROWTH</th>
<th>NON-CONTROLLED GROWTH</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-1800</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bognor (Hothamptom) (C) (i)</td>
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<td>Scarborough</td>
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<td>Exmouth</td>
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<td>Southend (i)</td>
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<td>Blackpool (i)</td>
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<td>Littlehampton (i)</td>
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<td>Eastbourne (i)</td>
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<td><strong>1800 - 1830</strong></td>
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<td>St. Leonards</td>
<td>Tenby</td>
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<td>Hastings</td>
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<td>Lytham (NC)</td>
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<td>Weston super Mare</td>
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<td>Bridlington</td>
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<td><strong>1800 - 1830 cont.</strong></td>
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<td>Great Yarmouth</td>
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<td>Dawlish</td>
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<td>Cromer (i)</td>
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<td>Redcar (i)</td>
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<th><strong>1830 - 1860</strong></th>
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<td>Herne Bay (C)</td>
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<td>Southport (C)</td>
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<td>Birkdale</td>
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<td>Roker (Sunderland)</td>
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<td>Morecambe (i)</td>
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<td>Swanage</td>
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<th><strong>1860 - 1880</strong></th>
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<td>Folkestone</td>
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<td>Eastbourne (ii)</td>
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<td>Fleetwood (C)</td>
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<td>Llandudno</td>
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<td>Lowestoft (C)</td>
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<td>Whitby (C)</td>
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<td>Herne Bay (NC)</td>
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<td>Southend (ii)</td>
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<td>Morecambe (ii)</td>
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<td>Bognor (NC) (ii)</td>
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<td>Whitley Bay</td>
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<td>Redcar (ii)</td>
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<th><strong>1880 - 1914</strong></th>
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<td>Bexhill</td>
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<td>Bude</td>
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<td>Newquay</td>
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<td>Whitby (NC)</td>
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<td>Falmouth</td>
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<td>Cromer (ii)</td>
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<td>Clacton (NC)</td>
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<td>Thornton Cleveleys</td>
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From this table, it is clearly that the establishment of resorts continued right up to the end of the nineteenth century, that of Minehead probably being the last. The importance of "non-controlled" resort building in Regency times, and of "controlled" in Early Victorian times are other noticeable features.
Plate I - Semi-detached house, Shanklin. One of the results of planning control at Shanklin is the general absence of terraces. To extend the use of the villa, two low-class houses are often paired to simulate a single villa.
CHAPTER THREE.

ESTATE DEVELOPMENT.

The term 'estate development' is used here to refer to the planned and controlled development of an area of land owned by one person or organisation; at one extreme it encompasses the small housing estate, at the other the laying out of a new town.

Estate development is of outstanding importance in the urban geography of England, a country whose distinctive pattern of land ownership often paved the way for such forms of urban growth. The resort towns are no exception, indeed large-scale estate development is possibly better represented in them than in any other type of town. Resort building was a form of land-exploitation - one is tempted to say a 'game' that greatly attracted nineteenth century landowners. The planned resort conceived in the first half of the nineteenth century may be likened to the villa and grounds of its initiator; it was the material representation of his wealth and status, and a place to which friends came for pleasure and entertainment - this time, however, as paying guests.

Estate development means controlled development, and therein lies its significance. It determines town form: the street pattern, building morphology (villa, semi-detached or terrace units), the size and value of houses, the amount of frontal garden space, and often the style and building material, for both houses and
garden walls. It also determines, and maintains, the land-use pattern. Estate development has a further significance. It emphasises in the clearest possible manner the importance of the human element in the conception and growth of towns.

So that the nature of estate control may be better understood the manner in which an estate is developed is now described; it is based on an interview with the estate agent for a famous resort which developed "estate fashion", and though not typical for all resorts, this one example clearly illustrates the process.

First, the land-owner decides to develop his coastal estate as a resort. The idea might be his own, but it is more likely that the possibilities of such a scheme were suggested to him. Next, he instructs his own architect, or one specially employed for this purpose, to draw up a master plan to show the general form of the intended town - especially its extent and street pattern. Detailed plans are then drawn up for the block of land to be developed first, and this, width of roads, building lines, size of building plots and morphology of building units are shown. This detailed plan, plus a general list of building conditions - the value of the houses to be built, the style and materials to be used - is incorporated in a brochure, or prospectus; in whose introduction the advantages of the intended resort and the form it is to take are described. The brochure is then widely distributed to attract would-be builders.
Meanwhile, existing land-users, e.g. tenant farmers, in the block to be developed, and in other blocks soon to be developed, are given notice to quit - apparently an easy matter in the nineteenth century. The estate also commences the laying out of roads, drains, etc. as an added inducement to builders - just as local authorities do in the laying out of industrial estates.

The brochure does its job, and builders, concluding that they will be able to sell or lease the houses they build, buy up the plots. To do so, the builder enters into a "Building Agreement" with the land-owner. Under the terms of this agreement, the builder takes a year's lease of the building plots (the period of time varies) and undertakes to erect, within this time, houses of agreed status and form. Though he is usually allowed freedom of building style, it is invariably on the condition that the intended plan of the facade be submitted to the estate architect for approval. If the builder is wise, he will find out what this architect will and will not approve.

If, within the specified time, the development is completed to the satisfaction of the land-owner, the builder - in the case of this particular resort - is granted a lease for ninety-nine years, and given the option of purchasing the freehold within ten years. (In other resorts, different forms of agreement may be drawn up e.g. a nine hundred and ninty-nine year lease, purchase of freehold only, and purchase
of freehold but on payment of an annual ground rent - this last form is especially common in the West country, e.g. Minehead and Weston Super Mare. The builder usually sells outright the house that he has just built, but the fate of the ground on which it stands may vary. If the builder only leased the land, then a ground rent has still to be paid to the land-owner. The builder might retain the responsibility for paying this rent, collecting it in turn from the householder, or he might, as the result of an agreement with the land-owner, pass on this obligation directly to the householder. If the builder purchased the freehold to the land, then he may either sell the freehold to the householder or retain it.

In some resorts, the land-owner himself may have erected some of the houses, though this is difficult to prove. The prospectus for New Brighton (P. 45) suggests this.

Up to this stage, estate control has been exercised mainly in the determination of form. With building completed, estate control becomes more concerned with the maintenance of covenants included in the lease or freehold agreement, especially those dealing with the use to which the building can be put. This is where the restrictive covenants, or rather the vigour with which the estate ensures their maintenance, assumes paramount importance. Take, for example, a good-class housing estate built in the 1900s. In the leases will be clauses of this type: "The house is to be used only as a private dwelling-place" and "No erection,
hoarding-post or pole of any kind shall be used for the purpose of displaying any advertisement thereon, other than a board advertising the premises for sale or leasing".

If such covenants are enforced, then letting activities and commercial or industrial development are kept out and the "initial" tone of the area maintained (See P. 190).

The prospectus usually reveals the intentions of the landowner in its introduction, intentions which are sometimes difficult to reconcile with the present-day character of the town. In 1830, a certain James Atherton purchased about one hundred and seventy acres of sandhill and heathland in what was to become New Brighton, and employed an architect to lay out a new resort town. In the early thirties (probably 1832), a prospectus was issued - "Eligible Investment at New Brighton, Cheshire". This stated that several gentlemen proposed to erect a hotel, and a dock, and to establish communication by steam packet with Liverpool. Praising the views intended resort commanded, especially that of passing ships, it then stated that the Proprietors intended to erect villas so that one should not intercept the view of another, and that all these advantages (and this is the interesting passage) "must tend to render New Brighton a most agreeable and desirable place of resort to the Nobility and Gentry of all the neighbourhood". These advantages did indeed so operate in the first decades of the sesorts history, for a number of fine stucco villas were built. However, for
Figure 14 - Plan for the development of the Newcombe Estate, Weston super Mare.
reasons yet unknown, New Brighton did not long retain this fashionable form. Instead it developed subsequently as a particularly ugly tripper area for the artisan classes of Merseyside.

To illustrate the form of building conditions listed in brochures, and later embodied in the 'Building Agreement', reference is made to the development of the Newcombe Estate, Weston super Mare.

This estate consisted of two large 'fields' which were staked out and allotted to two land-owners in the enclosure of the Manor of Uphill in 1813. The two roads on either side of the estate also originated in this enclosure award. By 1901, the two fields had come under one owner, and the area was laid out for development, piece by piece. A brochure was also issued showing the intended street pattern and plot sizes, and including the conditions of sale (Fig. 14). Some of the plots were offered on a perpetual yearly rent charge, others on a straightforward purchase of freehold. Minimum house values were listed as follows:

(1) This footnote refers to the house values listed on the next page. These highest values result from the proximity of these plots of land to the sea, and, in the case of plots 72 - 83, from the frontal amenity value of an adjacent golf course between them and the sea.
Plots 72 - 83  
House value not less than £950

" 104 - 115  
"  £950

" 186 - 220  
"  £450

" 294 - 306  
"  £450

" 307  
"  £500

" 308 - 329  
"  £450

" 330 - 339  
"  £800

" 340 - 341  
"  £500

" 343 - 343  
"  £800

Moreover, not more than one house was to be erected on plots 72 - 83, 114 - 115, 210 - 220, and 330 - 343. (It is not clear, however, whether this excluded the semi-detached house in which each half stands on one plot.)

Plans and elevations of proposed building were to be submitted to, and approved by, the Vendor's surveyor. All elevations fronting Uphill Road and Friham Road were to be faced with local stone (the carboniferous limestone) or red bricks. Also, no building was to be used for any trade or business, or as a school, club or institute, or any other purpose than as a private dwelling house unless the written consent of the Vendor had been obtained. Today, the Newcombe Estate is one of the most select residential areas in Weston Super Mare.

Types of Estate Development.

It is convenient to recognise various types of estate development. There are:
(a) New resorts.
(b) Large estate additions to existing towns.
(c) Other estate developments.

In the development of a new town "estate fashion", it is also convenient to make further distinctions:
(a) Whether the land is mostly owned by one person, or by a restricted number of persons.
(b) Whether the town's growth was "Planned" or "Controlled" (the use of these two words is explained later.).

A number of resorts can be called "one man" towns in that most of their development, especially before 1914, was the work of one land-owner - or rather one land-owning family. A classic example is Eastbourne, the fine achievement of the Cavendish family. They were not the only land-owners in the town area, however, for there was also the Gilbert-Davies estate and Lord Wellington's estate. When, in the 1840s, the Crumbles was enclosed, to prevent the area reverting to Commonland, a three-way split was made among these estates in proportion to their existing areas. Certain anomalies in the residential pattern of Eastbourne are attributable to the Gilbert Davies and Lord Wellington estates, for instance, the compact area of low class terracing within the angle of the Grove and Terminus Roads - on the better side of town.

If control of town land is exercised by a restricted number

(1) An area of shingle accretion on the east side of town.
of persons, and if they are of similar mind, that town can develop in a manner not unlike that of "one man" towns, as Bournemouth, Southport and Torquay prove. At Bournemouth the pattern of land ownership which so greatly influenced subsequent growth was determined by the Enclosure Award of 1805. Of the five thousand odd acres enclosed, over two thousand acres passed by purchase and allotment into the hands of two men, Sir George Iverson Tapps (Lord of the Manor) and William Dean. Most of this land, moreover, was adjacent to the coast. Fortunately the successors to these two estate owners developed their estates on similar lines - detached villas standing in spacious grounds - though the lack of unified control did greatly impede the provision of an undercliff drive to run from one side of the town to the other. Many of the features of land-use and building morphology in Bournemouth are to be explained by reference to the development of large estates, which, in several cases, originated in the Enclosure Award of 1805 (P. 188).

At Southport and Torquay also, it was two major land-owners who determined the nineteenth century character of the resorts; the Bolds and the Hesketh-Fleetwoods at Southport, and the Palks and the Carys at Torquay. Again it is a story of detached villa growth.

Some of the "one man" towns were "planned" in the sense that

(1) There was also the Blundell estate responsible for the later development of the initially independent Birkdale.
Figure 15 - Estate plan for the development of Skegness, 1878. Pre-existing building is shown by shading.
Figure I7 - Estate plan for the development of St. Annes (Lancashire), 1875.
approximately one mile square. This was laid out in rectilinear fashion prior to the development of the new resort (Fig. I7). The land outside this square, and onto which St Annes has expanded, remained in the ownership of the Clifton family. The intended layout of this outer area is shown on a plan of 1900. This plan also refers to part of Lytham. In general, both layouts have been adhered to. Both, however, are disappointing in their complete lack of originality.

Although no estate plan was uncovered for St. Leonards, the arrangement of its Early Nineteenth Century units leaves no doubt as to its pre-determined form. The layout of James Burton hinged on a small but well-defined valley. Here, the Royal Victoria Hotel, since rebuilt, forms the centrepiece of the scheme, while immediately behind are the assembly rooms.

For some 'one man' resorts there appears to have been no master plan. Growth was 'controlled' rather than 'planned', and the plans for development were drawn up one block at a time. This does not mean that the town grew in haphazard manner, for it is probable that the estate architect thought of the town as a whole even if he did not commit it to paper as a whole. Certainly these towns, also, bear the unmistakable mark of estate control. They include Folkestone (Fig. I8), Eastbourne, (1840s), Shanklin, Birkdale, (1850s),

(1) This estate originally owned most of the land upon which the present towns of Lytham and St Annes now stand.
Colwyn Bay, Hunstanton, (1860s), Penarth, Littlehampton, (1870s), and Bexhill (1880s). (The dates refer to the commencement of controlled growth.)

The second type of estate development, the addition of a large estate to an existing town, is, perhaps, best illustrated by Whitby. Up to the 1840s, town growth at Whitby had been related to maritime activities and jet working. A distinctive burst of building occurred at the end of the eighteenth century, but between this time and the middle of the nineteenth century, little further building took place. In the 1840s, however, George Hudson purchased, modernised and extended the early-established Whitby - Pickering Railway. He also purchased the West Cliff area above the 'old town' and set about its development as a resort. The intended layout is shown by Figure 19; this shows not only the layout of streets and terrace blocks, but also the layout of the cliff-face - including the cutting of the Khyber Pass to link the West Cliff and harbour areas.

Another fine example is Exmouth where, in 1865, a large estate plan was prepared and put to effect by the Rolle Estate. This plan shows several new roads and villas to be built on the southern slope overlooking the Maer and sea. It also includes a new shopping street, Rolle Street, leading out of the 'old town'.

(1) The Rolle Estate also owns much of Budleigh Salterton, and have been largely responsible for the tasteful development of this resort.
Figure 20 - Weston super Mare (Somerset).
Other examples are Lowestoft, with the resort town of Sir Morton Peto to the south of the harbour, and Brighton, with Kemp Town.

Every resort can show several examples of the smaller estate, the typical unit of town growth. Figure 20 shows the areas of Weston super Mare which are known to be developed estate fashion. Even though some estates are not shown - lack of time or evidence causing their omission - this map reveals how much of a town's growth can be accounted for by small estate development. Certainly since 1650, the typical form of town growth has been estate accretion set in a matrix of haphazard development. One example of an early small estate development on the South Cliff, Scarborough is shown by Figure 21. Immediately to the north, another small estate development incorporated the ashlar terraces and villas about the 'Crescent'.

Unified land-ownership was not always put to advantage in resort growth. Sometimes a major land-owner did not take the initiative but, instead, functioned as a 'land bank', selling land to developers whenever the demand arose, but exercising little control over building on that land. Good examples of this are the Sidney Sussex College Estate, Cleethorpes, and the Zetland Estate, Redcar. Such towns, in their appearance, do not differ from other undistinguished towns whose land-ownership pattern and subsequent development was piecemeal.
Figure 21 - Estate plan for the development of part of the South Cliff, Scarborough (c. 1830).
The Timing of Estate Developments.

In one or two resorts, for instance, Skegness and Llandudno, the steps leading up to the decision to begin building can be traced. In other resorts they remain obscure.

Some estate developments commenced long before the coming of the railway, e.g. New Brighton, St. Leonards, Bournemouth, Southport, Torquay and Shanklin. Little can be said about the timing of these other than to note that with dock development during the first half of the nineteenth century, sea bathing activities at Bootle (Liverpool) were curtailed, and that possibly the decision to build a new resort at New Brighton was influenced by this.

In several resorts, the commencement of estate development and the coming of the railway were more or less simultaneous, the one dependent upon the other. Very often, the initiator of the resort played a prominent part in introducing the railway. Such resorts are Whitby, Hunstanton, Saltburn, Fleetwood, Eastbourne, Minehead, Llandudno and Skegness.

In both Skegness and Llandudno, the initial idea of resort building seems to have originated with the agents for the respective estates. At Skegness, credit is generally given to a H.V. Tippet, the agent for the Earl of Scarborough. Whether this is so or not, the railway came from Wainfleet in 1873, and the comprehensive estate plan was completed, by Tippet, in 1878.

The sequence of events at Llandudno is more complex. Though the real history of Llandudno as a resort begins with its
planned development from 1849 onwards, there had been some slight resort growth prior to this date in the Church Walks area (Fig. I6). During this earlier period, much of the Great Orme Head was commonland. There was also a detached piece of commonland where the promenade is today, roughly between Lloyd Street and Clonmel Street. Here were several huts of fishermen and copper-mine workers which had been built in accordance with the custom of 'Tai-fun-Nos' (Sleep One Night) - a sort of 'squatter's right'.

According to Miss K.M. Cooks, the story of resort Llandudno begins in 1844 when a Mr. William Owens, a shareholder in the copper mines at Llandudno, came by steamer to the village for a shareholders' meeting. While dining afterwards at the King's Head, Mr. William Owens is stated to have remarked "What a fine watering-place this would make", a remark overheard by the agent for the Mostyn estate and reported to the Honourable Edward Mostyn.

The next event of importance is the 1848 enclosure of the commonlands when the largest share, including the detached frontal area (Plot 25), was awarded to Edward Mostyn as Lord of the Manor. Why enclosure took place at this particular time is not known, but it is possible that the desirability of making Plot 25 available for resort building was one of the main incentives. On the other hand, the Act of Parliament for the enclosure of commonlands at Llandudno, and elsewhere in Caernarfonshire, was passed in 1843, just one
year before Mr. Owens is reputed to have given to Mostyn the idea of resort development.

Whatever the relationship between this enclosure and the conception of Llandudno as a resort, one thing is certain: on the 28/29th of August, 1849, the building plots of the new town were offered for sale. In the same year, the Chester - Holyhead Railway was opened. Though this by-passed Llandudno by some five miles, it presumably confirmed the intentions of the resort builders. Whether the realisation before this date that the railway was coming had any greater significance in the decision to build a resort is yet another question that remains to be answered. Strangely enough, the branch line from this railway (ie. from Llandudno Junction) to the resort was the result of an Act of Parliament of 1853 which authorised the development of Llandudno as a major port for trade with Ireland. This port project was abandoned, but the railway to Llandudno that was part of the project was built in 1858. The resort - enclosure - railway triangle at Llandudno is one which merits further investigation.

In a few resorts, there is a short but distinct time-lag between the coming of the railway and the estate development. Folkestone received its railway in 1843, but it was not until 1849 that Sidney Smirke drew up plans for the development of the West and East Cliff areas. In this case, the coming of the railway was clearly related to the development of Folkestone Harbour. What its relationship was with the intended resort is not known.
In other resorts, the time-lag is much greater, and there is no possibility of a 'tie-up' between the coming of the railway and estate development. For instance, the site of St Annes had a railway when, in 1863, the Kirkham - Lytham line was extended to Blackpool. Resort development, however, began twelve years later. Similarly, Colwyn Bay, whose resort development commenced in 1870, but whose railway was built in 1849 when the Chester - Holyhead line was opened - a line that also served, or was to serve, several other resorts including Rhyl, Abergele, Prestatyn, Llandudno, Penmaenmair and Llanfairfechan.

The early history of Colwyn Bay deserves some mention. In the 1860s, the land-owning Thomas family decided to sell their Pwllycrochan (Colwyn Bay) estate, and this was advertised as 'a combination of resources which unquestionably will make this one of the most desirable and favourite watering-places in the United Kingdom'. The estate was split up into building plots, a rectilinear system of roads laid out and a site established for a church. Most of the estate was purchased by a Sir John Pender, and in 1870 the first houses, the villas of Erskine House and Penthos Lodge, were built. In 1875, however, the estate was again up for sale, and again it was purchased more or less intact, this time by a Manchester syndicate. It was this syndicate who controlled the main

(1) Quoted by Norman Tucker in 'Colwyn Bay - Before the Houses Came'.
growth of Colwyn Bay along those tasteful lines which typify resorts developed 'estate fashion'. Colwyn Bay must consider itself fortunate. It is not often that a highly desirable estate is twice offered for sale in one decade without fragmentation.

**Estate Development and the Select Resorts.**

From the examples cited it should be obvious by now that there is a very close correspondence between resorts with a 'select' character and planned and/or controlled growth, e.g. Eastbourne, Colwyn Bay, Llandudno, Lytham, St. Annes, Bexhill, Southport, Bournemouth, Torquay, Penarth, Frintón, and the cliff-top areas of Shanklin and Folkestone.

A select resort is select only because it has been able to resist 'popularisation'. In most cases, the resistance comes from private control backed up by public control (the local authorities), in others it comes from the local authorities alone, e.g. Worthing and Sidmouth. Popularisation is, of course, reduced by increasing distance from major concentrations of population, but the commercial development about the harbour of St. Ives in the west end tip of Cornwall shows how unimportant this factor can be.

The survival and distribution of the select resorts cannot be explained simply in terms of 'supply and demand'. No doubt there is a limit to the number of amusement arcades - the most obvious index of non-select character - that seaside England can suffer, a limit which would appear to allow some resorts to be
select. In the absence of private or public control, however, even if the present number of amusement arcades did not increase (though surely it would do so), their redistribution would cause every resort to have at least two or three on the front.

The significance of estate control in the development and survival of the select resort is twofold: its control over the form and land-use of the residential resort area, and its control over the form and land-use of the holiday resort area—essentially the 'front'. Obviously, the land-owner endeavors to harmonise both aspects of the resort's development so that the one shall not adversely affect the other.

In the residential areas of select resorts, and especially the inner older areas, the characteristic mark of estate control is seen in many things; broad streets lined with trees, villas or terraces blending in style and building materials and with the same building lines, spacious frontal gardens neatly walled, and the complete absence of shops and industry. The same control, often of later significance because of the lateness of frontal commercialisation in many resorts, is characteristically represented along the front by the absence of such commercialisation. This is best shown by Eastbourne, Llandudno, Southport, Lytham and St Annes, the Leas (Folkestone) Frinton and Bexhill.

The correspondence between select resorts and estate development is not complete. Some 'one man' resorts have greatly declined in status, e.g. Fleetwood, New Brighton and
Plate II - Bourne Mouth Near Christchurch, Hants.
View of the works in progress (from the south-west), 1836.

From the coloured lithograph after Benjamin Ferrey (1810-80).
Saltburn. One or two others were never intended to become select resorts, e.g. Skegness - which has neither a large neighbouring inland town nor an equable winter climate to boost private residential development. It had, however, a large stretch of sand to encourage the provision of 'popular' amenities.

Less Successful Estate Developments.

For every estate plan executed, there is one that never got farther than the drawing board. In 1845, a plan was prepared for the development of the East Cliff, Folkestone, a plan quite remarkable for the looseness of its street pattern. It was never carried out and instead the West Cliff development of Sidney Smirke, prepared in 1849, became the first major resort expansion. About twenty-five years after this, a Mr. Horrox issued a prospectus for another proposed East Cliff development at Folkestone. Part of this prospectus reads thus: 'All the houses will be built in conjunction with continuous covered ways or passages about eight or ten feet wide (roofed with glass), constructed at the back and running between several rows of houses'. No wonder this scheme, too, came to nothing.

In the 1830s, Benjamin Ferry drew up a plan for the development of the Gervis Estate along the East Cliff, Bournemouth. As Plate II shows, had this been successful, terraces would have lined these cliffs. Yet another plan for the development of an East Cliff was prepared for Ramsgate in 1853. This also was unsuccessful.
In 1833, Decimus, son of the founder of St. Leonards, presented to the Duke of Devonshire the plan of a new resort that was to be called Burlington. The Duke, however, was not interested, and the birth of Eastbourne had to wait some eighteen years - during which time Burton laid out Fleetwood and assisted in the development of Bournemouth and Brighton with Hove.

There were other estate developments which started in fine fashion but soon stagnated, e.g. Fleetwood, Herne Bay and Whitby. In developing Fleetwood, Peter Hesketh Fleetwood was soon in financial difficulties and was forced to sell his Blackpool estates, estates which were soon to be sold piecemeal and developed piecemeal. If he had been able to retain these estates, the resort history of Blackpool after 1850 might have been very different.

Conclusion.

The importance of large-scale estate development cannot be too highly stressed. Indeed such development is regarded as one of the two outstanding factors in the geography of seaside resorts, the other being the distribution of non-resort population. Most of the select resorts are select only because estate control was, and is, able to resist popularisation. Most of the visually attractive resorts are attractive only because estate control has directed development along tasteful lines. Needless to say, selectness and visual attractiveness are invariably found together.
CHAPTER FOUR:

STREET PATTERNS.

It would appear that, in the study in street patterns, geographers have allotted a disproportionate amount of their time. That this is, or rather was, so, undoubtedly reflects the over-emphasis that past town studies placed on the use of maps - maps in which the most striking feature would be the street pattern. A further attraction, and one which is curiously strong, is the street patterns of planned towns, yet, often, the least important product of planned growth is the street pattern.

The geographer's interest in the street pattern is twofold; its usefulness in determining the age and nature of town growth, and its importance in influencing the character of the townscape.

The nature of the street pattern changes with time. Some of these changes are necessitated by practical considerations such as new forms of transportation; others are the results of changing fashions.

The medieval town was a pedestrian town, and its street pattern characteristically a complex of winding streets and alleys. Irregularity in width was also typical, due not only to the lack of control over road development but also to the several functions, besides those of access, that certain streets performed. Many "old town" streets seem to be the incidental
Figure 22 - Part of Bridlington, 1860, showing pre-existing building (shaded) and the lines of the proposed "Crescent (built in the 1860s)."
products of the enclosure of space by building. Few resorts have "old towns", however, and in most of those that do, the street pattern has been modified by widening, straightening and clearance, either deliberately or through war damage (Figs. 22, 29). Some "old town" street features are still visible, however, at Deal, Redcar, Tenby, Filey, Whitby, Folkestone and Great Yarmouth.

Street building related to resort growth is not important before 1760. In the few resorts with appreciable growth between 1760 and 1800, the formal "ruler and compass" layout of streets contrasts markedly with the irregularity of the earlier period, at least in better-class building. This layout was the continuation of a new tradition that had been evolving since 1631, when the Covent Garden "piazza" was laid out. It was associated with building for the wealthier classes on a scale hitherto unknown, building in which open spaces - squares, crescents etc - and wide streets were necessary to show the houses to best advantage. It was building that originated on the drawing board whether it involved the setting out of an estate or only a single square. In this type of building, the use of the terrace imposed a rigidity on the street pattern. The straightness and width of these new roads reflected the increase in coach traffic, and the "back street", giving access to the mews, became an integral part of the pattern.

All this is to be seen in the Georgian squares of Margate,
Figure 23 - The street pattern, Portsmouth and Southsea, 1856.
and the Regency squares and crescents of Brighton and Hove. In poorer-class housing or commercial development, however, something of the medieval irregularity persisted into the nineteenth century.

The formal layout was also used throughout much of the Victorian period, for example in the squares and crescents of Folkestone and Eastbourne. The use of such layouts along the front was no doubt partly stimulated by the desire to obtain the greatest length of facade enjoying frontal amenity.

As long as the terrace was used, the street pattern remained rigid. But, with the increasing use of the villa in Victorian times, the street pattern was freed from its strict terrace encasement. Curving layouts were now possible, as in the villa areas of Shanklin, Southsea (Fig. 23), Southport, Bexhill, Eastbourne and Folkestone. Several resorts show the change from the formal terrace layout in Early and High Victorian times to the looser villa layout of Late Victorian and Edwardian times, e.g. Folkestone and Eastbourne.

The coming of the railway, though it greatly affected many aspects of town geography, caused no great change in the street pattern, though it did, of course, influence the grain of subsequent streets, and restrict the number of inter-street links. Very occasionally, the station was chosen as the focus of a set of converging roads, as at Herne Bay.

In the inter-war period, the loose curve is retained by the streets of better-class housing areas. A distinctive
feature of this period, is the use of the cul-de-sac, its popularity partly due to the desire to escape from the noise and bustle of traffic along through roads. The cul-de-sac is uncommon before 1916, partly because the good-class houses were too big to cluster successfully about the single width of a street stump, and partly because road traffic was not so offensive as to be avoided. (Large houses often sought out main road sites rather than avoided them.)

In poorer-class layouts of the inter-war period, and especially in council estates, the "geometric layout" is characteristic, another product of the ruler and compass. It certainly breaks with the monotonous and ubiquitous gridironing of pre-1914 terracing, though only to replace it with another form of monotony. No matter how spectacular these layouts appear in plan, the pattern of the streets is often meaningless to the person living by them.

It is too early to consider the layouts of private development in post-war years, especially as much of it is the infilling of untidy gaps left by inter-war growth. In council house building, however, the new ideas on street layout are very evident. The geometric pattern is scrapped, and its place taken by a much looser combination of curve and straight line. Road junctions are commonly "staggered" to deter through traffic, and curves are broad so that a car driver's vision may not be restricted (Fig. 26).

In the analysis of street patterns, it is necessary to
Figure 24 - The pre-resort road and field pattern of Clacton-on-Sea. (Based on an O.S. map of 1874).
distinguish between the pre-existing street pattern, and the subsequent infilling of this framework, mainly by blocks of roads. It is necessary, also, to further distinguish between the pre-existing roads, though all will provide through routes. Some are old-established and winding roads, linking village to village; others are more recent, straight, and deliberately "set out" either as turnpikes or as "enclosure" roads. Obviously, the nature of the pre-existing pattern will depend on the pattern and importance of the pre-existing settlement; and the occurrence or not of enclosure etc.

The rest of this section, however, is mainly concerned with the "infilling", the secondary street pattern. It has been already shown how the street pattern changes with time. To this must be added other factors, the most important being, (a) field boundaries, (b) the form of land-ownership, (c) social status, and (d) topography.

The relationship between field boundaries and street patterns is often imperfectly described for it implies that these boundaries are followed by the roads. It is more accurate to say that, under suitable circumstances of piece-meal development, the grain(s) of the subsequent street pattern. It is, of course, to be expected. Examples are found in most resorts, but one or two, considered below, are of special interest.

In Figure 24, the pre-resort road and field pattern of Clacton is shown though resort development had, in fact, just
begun. For some reason, the road linking the parental inland village of Great Clacton to the coast did not take the shortest route, but, instead, approached the coast obliquely. The same oblique trend is also seen in the field pattern. (Whether the one influenced the other, or the road and field pattern developed more or less simultaneously, it is not possible to say.) In the growth of Clacton, this oblique trend was "handed" on to the street pattern in characteristic manner. At the same time, however, a second set of roads developed in more usual resort manner, i.e. normal to the front. Some of these were concordant, others discordant, to the coastal fields.

The "criss crossing" of these two street "grains" has produced a pattern unique among resorts. Several road junctions in the "core" area, instead of having four roads meeting at right-angles, have five roads meeting at various angles. The effect is no less striking in the town than as depicted on the map, and the visitor to Clacton will experience much difficulty in orientating himself.

At Deal a similar oblique component is seen in the early road, field, and subsequent street pattern - though this time there is not a second component - and again the inland parental village, Upper Deal, is oblique to the coastal settlement. (Fig. 12). In this case, the location of the sixteenth century coastal settlement was probably determined by the amount of building space on the frontal pebble ridge - the widest part being chosen.
Much of the street pattern of Ryde can be related to the original field pattern including the distinctive semi-circular layout of the Preston Park Estate (Fig. 10).

Fields originating in the parliamentary enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were usually large and rectilinear, those originating in earlier "piecemeal" enclosure, small and irregularly shaped. Very occasionally it is possible to distinguish in a town's street pattern roads determined by both forms of enclosure. At Cleethorpes, for instance, some of the roads about the pre-resort settlement of Cole and Itterby are short and possess much directional variation; these roads are in the area of "ancient enclosures". They are surrounded, however, by more regular, and rectilinear sets of roads whose grain has been determined by that of the "enclosure fields". (Fig. 25).

At Bournemouth, the rectilinear enclosure fields had a similar influence, though, here, the size of several "fields" - they were estates carved out of the heath rather than fields - has allowed much scope in the layout within their boundaries. The field/street pattern relationship is an obvious product of piecemeal town growth, the taking over of one or two fields at a time for building. If, however, a large number of fields are owned by one person or body, this relationship is likely to be absent. The land-owner is at liberty to lay out any road pattern that he chooses, and this is unlikely to be concordant to the field pattern. This is evident in many resorts that
Figure 26 - The street pattern and growth phases of Fleetwood (Lancashire).
have developed "estate fashion", e.g. Shanklin, Hunstanton, Bexhill and Tankerton. The land-owner is also (more or less) at liberty to ignore the pre-existing road pattern, provided he supplies an acceptable alternative. Southport shows many examples of this.

The street pattern of a few resorts was truly planned in that a comprehensive layout was prepared before building begun. Most of these layouts are disappointingly conventional, for instance, the more or less rectilinear plans of Skegness (Fig. 15), Llandudno (Fig. 16), St. Armes (Fig. 17) and Saltburn. In all fairness, though, it must be remembered that the layouts of Saltburn and Llandudno were intended to serve a terraced town, and thus a certain rigidity was inevitable.

At Fleetwood, however, a large sand hill, the Mount, was chosen by the architect, Decimus Burton, as the focus of a radial-concentric pattern of streets. The lines of these new roads were cut by plough in the sandy waste, and in the mid 1930's building began. Unhappily this proved a false start, as has been described earlier (P. 34). When, in the 1870's, the main phase of expansion began, the pre-existing radial-concentric layout was only partly adhered to, and some of the original converging roads "blocked" (Fig. 26).

In the absence of estate control, even over only parts of a town, a highly disjointed street pattern will probably develop. This is seen at Hablethorpe, also Sheringham - where the disjointed pattern of the east side contrasts with
Figure 27 - The street pattern, Sheringham (Norfolk).
the more "fluent" layouts of the Westcliff and Hooks Hill estates on the West side. The way in which the old-established roads of Sheringham "cut" through the later pattern is particularly striking. Another striking though curious feature at Sheringham is the frequent "elbow bend". (Fig. 27)

Throughout the nineteenth century, the nature of the street pattern varied with the socio-economic status of the intended residential area. In low-class housing, the "grid" was used almost without exception. In better-class housing, the square and crescent etc, characterised the first half of the century - e.g. the "better sides" of Eastbourne, Scarborough and Folkestone - and the looser, curving layout the second half - e.g. the villa areas of Southsea (Fig. 23), Birkdale and Exmouth. Occasionally the "grid" was used for good-class villa housing in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as at St. Annes.

The influence of topography on the street pattern is twofold: (a) direct, necessitating curving roads up slopes, and permitting straight roads on flat ground, and (b) indirect, influencing the form of the field pattern (this normally emphasises the above influence). As the better-class areas are usually on the higher ground, and the lower class areas on the low-lying flat ground, topographic influence over the street pattern tends to emphasise that resulting from differing social status. Low-class terracing often ignored topography, however. At Cleethorpes, terraces marched unconcernedly across a transverse moranic ridge (Fig. 25) while in the Prospect Road area of Scarborough, a circular area
of low class grid-ironing gives no indication of a sharp rise from forty-five to one hundred and seventy-five feet.

Throughout the greater part of town areas, the roads and the houses that line them were built simultaneously. Occasionally, however, there is a considerable time-lag between the layout of estate roads and the building of the houses. Thus the street patterns of several estates developed in the inter-war period were set out in the 1900s, e.g. the rectilinear roads of Tankerton and the radial roads in the southern half of Herne Bay. Sometimes quite ludicrous results were caused by such time-lags. For instance, in the original radial-concentric plan for Fleetwood, one road, intended as the 'grand avenue' of this new, fashionable, town, was set out wider than the rest. Unfortunately, this road was not lined by the grand terraces of the first development phase (P.34), but by low-class terraces of the second, 'dock' phase.

Herne Bay provides another excellent example. In the original plan of the 1830s, the lines of two large squares were set out, the Oxenden and Hanover Squares. These were to be enclosed (presumably) by large stucco terraces, but when the first phase of building ended, only one corner of one square had been built up. In the second period of building, all thought of enclosing the squares in the 'grand manner' was forgotten. Today, a low-class terraces lines the south side of Hanover Square, while the gasworks fringe its south west corner. The square itself is used as a car park. Oxenden
Square, to the west, is mostly surrounded by bungalows.
CHAPTER FIVE.

BUILDING MATERIALS AND BUILDING STYLES.

Building materials, and to a lesser extent building styles, are of great importance in determining the character of the townscape. They can also be used to distinguish urban growth phases, the form of that growth and the social status of residential areas, while their appreciation helps the observer to "recapture the flavour" of former periods and to place urban features into their historical contexts.

This chapter is concerned more with building materials than building styles, but, of course, the two cannot be separated. For any town, it is possible to distinguish a number of periods, each of which is characterised by certain building materials and styles, and the chapter begins with a consideration of these periods. As the choice of material in better-class building at any one time is determined by fashion, building techniques, availability of materials and economic considerations, the sequence of periods varies between towns. The greatest variation is caused by the availability of distinctive local building materials, especially building stones, and a brief description of these materials in the resorts forms the second part of the chapter. The third part is mainly a commentary on a number of "building material maps", while the last part consists of three specialised studies - the concept of architectural devolutionary chains, holiday architecture and council house architecture.
Building Materials in the last 200 years.

The Georgian Period (Up to 1800): This is a period of exposed brickwork. Common forms are (a) red/brown brick for the entire wall, e.g. Whitby, Margate, Deal and Bridlington and (b) an alternation of red brick "stretchers" with grey "headers" - this mottling being especially common in south coast towns, e.g. Falmouth, Portsmouth, Hastings and Littlehampton. Very occasionally, the entire wall is of grey headers, with red brick trim. Less common building materials include the pale yellow London-type stock brick of late Georgian building in the Thanet resorts, and the knapped flints of several terraces about the Steyne, Brighton.

The commonest building form is the flat-fronted terrace (with parapet), though in older Georgian building, bay windows with slim wooden mullions are not uncommon.

The Regency Period (1800 to 1830s). In this period, any building material suited to the "lighter" Regency styles is used. Most common is stucco, whose resistance to salt spray made it especially popular for seaside building. Also common is yellow or white brick; this is often used together with stucco. Less common is ashlar, as in Whitby and Ryde. In a few resorts, stucco is surprisingly absent. This is considered on P. 251.

The range of building styles is greater than in Georgian times, due partly to the replacement of the uniform terrace by the small villa which allowed a greater variety of style -
classic, gothic, even oriental.

The Early Victorian Period (1830s to 1850s). In its building materials, this period is similar to the preceding one. Ashlar, however, is better represented, for example in Weston super Mare (Bath Stone), Fleetwood and Morecambe. Classical and gothic villas continue to use stucco, as in Rhyl, Torquay and Bournemouth, but in Lytham, red brick is used.

In style also, this period is partly a continuation of the previous one. Brick gothic is becoming increasingly important, however, and terraces are becoming more elaborate. The stuccoed Italianate terrace with large bay windows is typical of this period. Rather surprisingly, the red pantile is only rarely used to roof these terraces.

The High Victorian Period (1860s to 1870s). This period sees a widening in the range of building materials and styles, and it is characterised by the revival of exposed brickwork. This revival is emphasised by the use of strongly coloured bricks, red, orange, yellow, white, black, two or three colours often being used together to produce some striking studies in structural psychromy. A common combination is yellow brick with red brick trim to doors and windows. Good examples of this "bacon and eggs" style are found in Folkestone and Ilfracombe. Also common is red brick with black brick trim, as in the first terraces of Colwyn Bay (1860s), the first
frontal houses at St. Annes (1870s), and several villas at Southport. Occasionally, wall tiles are used for decoration, eg. Deal (Victoria Town) and Weymouth. At Redcar, brick mottling consisting of red stretchers with yellow headers is used for a few poor-class terraces of High Victorian age - but this is to be seen much earlier in some inland towns. Stucco remains fashionable, as is illustrated by its use in Llandudno, Clacton and Broadstairs (The Vale), though the distinctive French Rennaissance style, introduced in this period, appears to employ a dull grey cement render rather than white painted stucco. (P. 252).

This revival of exposed brickwork is partly a reaction against the monotony of (un-English) stucco, but more the result of the demands of the Gothic style in all forms of building - a demand that the recently established railway helped to meet. No longer is gothic the light-hearted Regency and Early Victorian affair that can be clothed in stucco. Gothic, brick gothic, is now the most English, the most Christian, style. The Italianate style continues to be used, however, and is joined by the French Rennaissance style. At Southport, a distinctive Italianate form is produced in red brick and stucco trim.

(1) In the 1860s the old naval yard at Deal was scrapped. The land was bought by a syndicate who developed it estate fashion, to provide accommodation for visitors. The development was called Victoria Town. Today, the greatest concentration of boarding houses is found within this estate.
Plate III - Elms Avenue, Eastbourne.
In its simpler forms, High Victorian building can be remarkably pleasant, especially when using yellow/white brick with stucco trim, eg. the villas of Sandown, Shanklin and New Cliftonville (Margate) and some terraces of Great Yarmouth (the St. Georges Park area).

The Late Victorian and Edwardian Period (1870s to 1914): This is a most difficult period to summarise. It commences in the '70s with the revival of the so-called Queen Anne style. It is a revival of red brick, white-painted woodwork (for window mullions, balconies) and red tile for both upper walls and roof. A delightful style when not degraded, it is perhaps best seen in the Meads area (Eastbourne) and Southcliff (Scarborough). (Pla. III)

The revival of Jacobean/Elizabethan styles again demands red brick, while the freestone strapwork and ornamentation of this architecture, is simulated by pink or buff terracotta. This style is used chiefly for large and/or public buildings, eg. hotels and shop terraces - especially after 1890.

Other revivals include pseudo-Tudor timbering and, for public building, the baroque style in stone or red brick with terracotta.

(1) This building form is subsequently referred to as the "Meads" style.
Structural polychromy in brickwork is still practised in this period, but in more restrained manner. In Colwyn Bay, for instance, every conceivable hybrid between red brick and yellow brick is found.

In several resorts stone is now widely used (P. 79).

An important newcomer, from 1890 onwards, is the Accrington brick, a tile-like reddish/orange brick common in northern resorts.

This period begins with exposed brick fashionable, but ends with much brickwork being concealed behind pebble-dash, rough-cast, plaster, tile hanging and pseudo half-timbering.

Several styles have been already mentioned. At first they are distinctive, but soon, and especially in poorer-class building, hybrids are produced (in which Gothic and Italianate "remnants" are often evident).

The Inter-War period (1918 to 1939). The variety, or rather confusion, of building materials and styles continues in this period, though the Italianate influence - denoted mainly by the large brick bay-window - is no longer seen. In much domestic building, steel replaces the wooden mullion, and is the partial cause of the nondescript character of much post-1918 building. In public building, as always, certain styles can be distinguished. Of these, the most common is pseudo-Georgian used for town halls, schools, libraries and post-offices.
The Post-War Period. This period, in general, has witnessed a reaction against the confusion in the style and materials of inter-war building. In domestic building, exposed brickwork, and the use together of strongly coloured (and contrasting) bricks calls to mind the High Victorian period. Cleaner lines are also sought, especially in council housing. In important and/or public building, especially in schools, new building materials such as steel, glass and ferro-concrete are being fully exploited. This has a parallel form in high-class domestic building in which the use of external panelled woodwork is also a feature.

Local Building Materials.

One of the determining factors in the choice of building material is its accessibility. In seaside resorts, not only railway transport but also sea transport have to be considered. It was noted, however, that Swanage stone was widely used in Regency and later building in Ryde, that the London-type stock brick was widely used in the Thanet resorts and Southend (to which it possibly came by river) and that slate roofs were often associated with good-class housing long before the coming of the railway.

Some resorts were fortunate in possessing local supplies of building materials, and these are now considered.

Flint beach cobbles were used in several southeast resorts, notably Sheringham. Here, the traditional (pre-resort)
building style is coursed flint cobbles (unknapped) with sparse red brick trim and red pantile roofs. In pre-1914 resort building (ie. 1870 to 1914) both red brick and yellow brick trims are used with cobbles, usually in the poorer-class houses, while the roofs are of slate. Flints used in better-class housing are larger and knapped - and, no doubt, quarried. The greater number of better-class houses, however, are of typical "London Suburban" red brick, as are the hotels. In neighbouring Cromer, knapped flint is used with red brick trim in Late Victorian terracing, while in some early (Georgian) building, cobble fronts are trimmed with ashlar blocks. In Brighton, knapped flint was commonly used in late eighteenth century terraces, but rarely after this, while at Eastbourne it was commonly used for frontal garden walling of Meads villas, and occasionally for the villas themselves. Occasional examples of flint building are also found at Margate, Ramsgate (especially the St. Augustine Abbey area), Broadstairs, Littlehampton and Great Yarmouth.

In pre-1914 Torquay, the white/pink Devonian limestone was widely used for both house and garden walling, though much is concealed by stucco. Another limestone, the grey Carboniferous limestone, was widely used in pre-1914 Weston Super Mare and Clevedon and to a lesser extent in Penarth. Torquay has its Devonian limestone, and Paignton (physically joined to Torquay) its New Red Sandstone, but
the flow of these materials across the administrative boundary has been slight. In Paignton, for instance, the use of Devonian limestone is restricted to occasional garden walls - with yellow brick trim - a couple of Late Victorian schools and churches, and places where a resistant stone is essential such as sea walls, kerbstones and railway viaducts. The New Red Sandstone, rarely seen in Torquay, is, at Paignton, seen in two distinct periods of building. The first is the pre-resort period, whose old, sometimes thatched, houses are invariably of red sandstone. The second period is from 1870 to 1914 in which the sandstone is mainly used in the good class Meads-type house - where it replaces the red brick of the ground floor - and in public buildings. Many of the stucco facades probably conceal walls of red sandstone, however: it is not uncommon for a local building material to disappear behind stucco for perhaps 60 to 70 years, and then reappear in High/Late Victorian building. (P. 91).

Red brick at Paignton is mainly used in poorer-class Late Victorian terraces while yellow brick is mainly used in Late Victorian shopping terraces eg. Victoria Street. Both, however, are commonly used for "trim".

At Hunstanton, pre-1914 building used the local brown carstone, with one significant exception - an area of red brick in the northeast corner of the town. In the Tithe Map of Hunstanton, all the land of the present town area is
shown as owned by the Lord of the Manor, all except one piece, Plot 174, which is Vicarial Glebe (an earlier gift of the Lord of the Manor). When, in the 1860s, the Lord of the Manor began the development of his estate as a resort, the local carstone was used, probably because he insisted upon it. The development of the glebe, however, was independent of this, for in the early 1900s, the church leased the land to a private builder. He employed a London architect to lay out this "Glebe Estate", with the result - typical end-of-century London red-brick suburbia.

The carstone facades are of either cut blocks or rubble (sides and rear are usually of rubble). Trim is of freestone, (especially in earlier building eg. of the 70s) red brick or yellow brick. There is a tendency for red brick to become increasingly important with time, and by 1900, some bay windows are red brick throughout. Roofs are of grey slate or red pantile. More than most building materials, the carstone lends itself to the ponderous styles of the Late Victorian period. This is also true of the granite used in Penzance and St.Ives.

The most important pre-1914 building material of Ventnor is a creamy freestone which comes from a band of rock at the junction of the Chalk and Upper Greensand. As most of the

(1) Much of the freestone was produced in the excavation of the site for Ventnor Station.
roofs are of grey slate, and as the freestone weathers to a brownish grey, much of the town appears drab. Relieving this rather insipid monotony, however, are occasional buildings with red tiled roofs. These are of three types, (a) pre-1875 villas of freestone with red brick trim and pantile roofs - markedly Italian in appearance, (b) schools and churches of freestone with freestone trim, similarly a few large villas, and (c) Late Victorian red brick villas. In other freestone building, the trim is of red brick or freestone in poorer-class housing, and of yellow brick, and occasionally stucco in better-class housing. The freestone is also used, though to lesser extent, in Sandown, Shanklin and Ryde.

Most of pre-1914 Falmouth is of stone, though usually covered by stucco or pebble-dash. The stone is schistose, and is used in either squared block or rubble form. Exposed brick is rare and is mainly used as trim to the few Meads-type houses and to Late Victorian public buildings.

Some building materials have a regional distribution, for example, the London-type stock brick in the Thames estuary resorts, the Accrington brick in the Lancashire resorts, and a sandy brown Yorkshire Grit, also in the Lancashire resorts.

In studies of local architecture, examples are often given of the ways in which local building materials influence the form of building. Usually, these studies
refer to the pre-nineteenth century building. In resorts with Late Victorian stone phase, the outstanding feature is the way in which fashionable building forms influence the use of local materials. Granite, limestone, carstone, sandstone, flint, all are used to fit characteristic Late Victorian styles.

The Phasing of Building Materials in Resorts.

In this section, the building-material phases of several resorts are described. The first set of examples illustrate the way in which the social status of buildings determines the choice of building materials, and how these materials themselves acquire a social status. The second set illustrate the usefulness of building materials in indicating the nature of urban growth in both its areal and temporal aspects.

In resort development, the most fashionable building materials at any one time are the most recent ones. When new and thus fashionable building materials are introduced, their use is first generally restricted to better-class building. Poorer-class buildings, which either cannot afford the new materials or do not seek the "prestige" that is associated with them, continue to use pre-existing materials. In time, however, the use of the new building material(s) may spread to all classes of building, though expense may restrict its use to, perhaps, the frontal facades only.
Figure 28 - The 'social status' of building materials.
Figure 29 - The distribution of building materials in Great Yarmouth (Norfolk).

Note: The building materials of the "old town" and post-1914 areas are not shown.
These points are best understood if represented in diagrammatic form. Figure 28A, which is based on Scarborough, shows the use of building materials in various classes of building during the Late Georgian period. One material only is used, a pink/red hand-made brick. About 1800, stucco becomes fashionable and, in better-class building, displaces the red brick - at least on facades. In poorer-class building, however, the use of the red brick continues (Fig. 28B). In some "change-overs", the new material is used for all wailing in better-class building, and only in inferior building is it restricted to facades.

For several resorts, maps were constructed to show the distribution of building materials. The first of these maps to be described is that of Great Yarmouth (Fig. 29). All classes of building in the "old town", or rather what is left of it, have red brick walls and red pantile roofs. (The evidence of very old houses shows that red brick was used for the facades of houses as early as 1630). About 1800, yellow/white brick with grey slate roofing became the fashionable material, and it is this combination that is used in better-class Regency building, e.g. the resort area by the shore, the merchants' houses in South Quay, and the recently built Regents Street. The Royal Naval Hospital (1809) is also of yellow brick. In poorer-class building immediately east of the "old town", however, (and behind the frontal belt
Figure 30 - The distribution of building materials in Scarborough. Note. The building materials of the core and post-1914 areas are not shown.
of better-class building) red brick continued to be used.

Yellow brick, sometimes with a stucco ground floor, remained fashionable until replaced by red brick in the 1870s, though it was still used up to 1914 in the smaller terraces of the boarding house area on the north side of town. (The reason for the un-importance of stucco during the 1800 - 1870 period is not clear; the same problem is met at Margate, Ramsgate and Lowestoft). Meanwhile red brick continued to be used for the poorer-class housing area between the "old town" and the yellow brick/stucco belt along the front.

In the 1870s, red brick again became fashionable in Great Yarmouth, as did the red (flat) roofing tile. This is best seen in Norfolk Square (begun c.1870). Towards the end of the century, pink/buff terracotta was used with a rich brown brick in building north of Norfolk Square; it was also used in some byelaw terraces at the back of town. A slight revival in flint building also took place about this time.

The building map of Scarborough (Fig.30), like that for Yarmouth, does not include the post-1914 town or the core area. The most distinctive feature of this map is the discordance of frontal building - the stucco or hand-made red brick of the North Bay, and the stucco or stone of the South Bay. This is a result of discordance in age of building (Fig.5). Another distinctive feature is the contrast in building materials between the better-class villa areas south of the core and the poorer-class terrace areas north
of the core. For instance, the 1800-1850 stucco and ashlar building of the Southcliff side is not found on the north side (except along the front) and this period is, instead, represented by the pink hand-made brick. From 1860 to 1890, the same building materials are shared by both sides, namely red brick, white brick, and orange brick. However, the mostly post-1890 "Meads" combination of red brick, red tile etc., which is well represented on the south side and in the villa area at the back of the town, is absent from the north side. (Incidentally, the "infilling" of Meads-type building in, for instance, the Grosvenor Road area, reveals the "infill" form of town growth in that area).

It is difficult to place the pre-1914 building materials of Scarborough in correct chronological order even if good-class building only is considered. It appears to be:

Hand-made red brick.
Stucco or Ashlar.
Red brick. (Prince of Wales Terrace, 1860s)
Orange brick. (Royal Crescent, 1860s) Used together.
White brick.
Stone.
"Meads" combination.

(1) After 1890, red brick is used quite frequently, but the white brick only sporadically.
Figure 31 - The distribution of building materials, Sidmouth.
The building map of Sidmouth clearly shows the irregular distribution of Regency stucco villas (Fig. 31). There are two small concentrations, however, one in the Elysian Fields area, the other in the All Saints Road area — where also occurs a distinctive clot of brick Gothic villas. Wholly exposed brick walls are confined to the poorer terraces of the valley bottom. No such distinction, however, is found in the post-war building materials of good/poor-class houses. Nearly all have a wall covering of plaster, rough-cast or pebble-dash — council house and villa alike. This is partly due to the frequent use of building blocks, manufactured in post-war years from the waste of the china clay industry, which requires a cover of rough-cast etc. The widespread use of these and other building blocks also helps to explain the general absence of exposed brick in several other southwest resorts, eg. Penzance and Falmouth. A wet and damp climate is, perhaps, another factor in the general absence of exposed brick in these towns.

The social status of a certain building material, in this case red brick, is clearly demonstrated at Southend. Here, the first important resort building, the Royal Terrace (1790s), is of yellow brick, and this brick remains fashionable until

(1) When this distribution was related to the distribution of "strip fields" shown in a map of Sidmouth c.1789, it was found that only one Georgian/Regency stucco building — Fortfield Terrace — overlapped the strip field areas. This suggests that these areas were not available for building in the early resort period, and helps to explain the irregular distribution of villas (though similar distributions are found in resorts with no such restrictions on building).
the 1860s when red brick becomes increasingly used. The status of this red brick between 1870 and 1914 is very evident. Its use tends to be restricted to public buildings - especially schools and churches - large shop terraces and good-class housing (all walls). In poorer-class housing, the facade might be of red brick, and the side and rear walls of yellow stock brick. In the poorest-class houses, red brick is used for trim only. By 1900, however, some of these earlier distinctions have become blurred, and some low-class terraces built about this time might employ red brick for facades.

The most striking contrast in building materials at Southend is found about half a mile west of the High Street. Here, in the middle of an area of yellow brick terracing, is a very compact "inlier" of red brick villas. This contrast is due to (a) the later date of the villa infill (the nearer the building towards 1914 the more likely red brick is to be used), and (b) the better status of the villas which demanded the fashionable red brick. This villa area was originally a private park, as the street names imply, which became available for building only after the surrounding land had been developed. A similar red brick "inlier" is found at Queens Park, Brighton, a town whose building material phasing after 1870 is identical with that of Southend.
Figure 32 A - Growth phases, Penzance (Cornwall).
Figure 32 B - The distribution of building materials, Penzance (Cornwall).
The terraces about Queens Park are of yellow stock brick, but the houses fringing the park, because they are of better-class, are of red brick. The struggle between yellow stock brick and red brick in the latter decades of the nineteenth century is also seen in the Thanet resorts and Great Yarmouth.

The Relationship between Building Material Phases and Growth Phases.

The usefulness of building materials in the establishment of phases of urban growth and the form of that growth is one of particular importance to the urban geographer.

At Penzance, if the pre-resort use of granite is ignored, three building material phases can be distinguished: a stucco phase, an exposed granite phase and a non-granite phase. The extents of these building materials show a reasonable correspondence with the three growth phases that a comparison of the 1876, 1906 and present editions of the 6" OS maps reveals (Figs. 32A, B). Closer correspondence could probably be attained by choosing different dates, for instance 1914 instead of 1906, but this is not possible. In any case, perfect correspondence could not be expected. The coincidence between the outer boundary of local stone building and the extent of the town in 1914 is very characteristic of towns using local stone, and was also noted in Hunstanton, Falmouth and Weston super Mare.
Plate IV - Old houses and large Georgian house, Penzance.

Plate V - Typical Late Victorian house, Penzance.
Almost all post-1918 building at Penzance used a grey building block requiring a cover of pebble-dash or the like. In a few post-1945 public buildings, a pseudo-stone, grey in colour, has been used, eg. for the police and ambulance stations.

The varying use of granite deserves special mention. In the old, pre-resort houses of Penzance, the walls are composed of irregular blocks of coarse-grained granite held together with "rab", a decomposed granite clay (Plate IV). In the occasional grand Georgian house, granite was used either for quoining, plinths and side walls where the facade is of red brick (usually painted white) or for the facade itself (Plate IV).

For about seven decades after 1800, granite was still used but covered by stucco and cement. In the 1870s, however, exposed granite again became fashionable and a typical example of this period is shown in Plate V. The facade is of squared coarse-grained grey granite blocks, with trim and quoining of a finer grained brownish granite - an interesting example of structural polychromy. Sometimes the same granite is used for both wall and trim, the necessary distinction being achieved by having a smooth finish to the wall, and a rough finish to the trim. Sides and rear are of either rough granite blocks or red brick (a complete reversal of the relative status between brick and granite shown in Plate IV).
Plate VI - Regency terraces, Penzance.
The chimneys are usually of red brick, often with yellow brick banding — some of the few examples of exposed brickwork in the town. The roof is of small, rather thick, tiles which, lichen covered, lack the unpleasant hardness of most nineteenth century slates. Though such a house is quite pleasing to the eye, the chief delights of Penzance lie, however, in its humble Regency stucco terraces, with their small, but well kept, front gardens (Plate VI).

A similar correspondence between growth phase and building material phase is shown by Weston super Mare (Fig. 20). Again, however, a better correspondence is prevented by the absence of a more convenient map. Thus in 1853, several poor-class stucco terraces had not yet been built.

There was little pre-stucco building in Weston super Mare, and even less remains, just the occasional brick house with red pantile roof. Much of the stucco and ashlar — often used together on the same building — has gone owing to replacement by building more suited to commercial activities and to bomb damage. The lop-sided form of the stucco area is partly due to the barrier function of the former railway station, but more to the fact that the first main urban push was northwards around the bay. Post-1914 "infilling" on Worlebury Hill is indicated by the "gaps" in the limestone area.

(1) An excellent testimonial to the climate of the town.
Plate VII - Typical Late Victorian villa, Weston super Mare.
The use of exposed limestone dates from the 1870s, and Plate VII shows a typical house of this period. The house is of grey limestone, which is used in a "controlled irregular" manner. A distinctive feature of this house, and of many others, is the richness in ornamentation. This is made possible by the use of bath Stone, which, easily worked, also accounts for the popularity of intricate gables. The house described is clearly Jacobean/Elizabethan revival, and has a red pantile roof to match the style. All walls are of limestone in the early part of this post-1870 period, but by 1900 the use of red brick for the side and rear walls was common.

At the south end of the town, in the good-class Newcombe estate, the limestone is replaced by a purplish "volcanic" stone. Since 1914, the limestone has been used only sporadically, though the bath Stone was used for public and commercial building, e.g. the Winter Gardens and Police Station.

The growth phases of nineteenth century Swanage are best appreciated by the study of building material distribution (Fig. 33). The first phase is an "all stone" phase of the pre-resort town, and shows (a) the elongate form of the old town along the High Street lip of a steep-sided valley, and (b) the hamlet of Helston. Walls are entirely of Swanage Stone rubble (occasionally with a sparse red brick trim) and the roofs, of grey stone slate (sometimes replaced by ordinary slate).

(c) The local name for the Carboniferous limestone
Figure 33 - The distribution of building materials, Swanage (Dorset).
The second phase is denoted by the stucco area to the southeast of the old town. It represents the first resort expansion and is of pre-railway age. The third phase, (1870-1914), denotes the second resort expansion subsequent to the coming of the railway, and is represented by the return of exposed stone. In the Meads-type stone villas, the roof is of red tile, while the upper walls of some houses are of pebble dash or pseudo-timbering, eg. the De Moulham Estate, the Durlston Bay area and New Swanage. In some villas the facade only is of stone, the other walls being of red brick. Other villas are of red brick with stone trim.

In the inter-war period stone was little used, but since 1945, there has been a considerable revival in its use, notably in good-class private building and one recent council estate at Helston.

The distribution of building materials can be used to indicate not only "infill" and strong frontal growth, as the maps of Scarborough and Weston super Mare show, but also other irregular forms of growth. The growth map of Hove (Fig.11) shows the dual form of its early growth (i.e. pre-1875), and this can be seen very clearly on the ground by the distribution of building materials. The two early

(1) It is not uncommon to see mullions of bay windows made up of alternating bands of red brick and grey stone.
areas of resort expansion are of stucco, while the block "infill" is of brick, mostly yellow brick. At Paignton, the boundary of the stucco/cement render area shows the dual nature of early resort growth, the one area about the front, the other about the old town - these two areas separated by marshy ground later to become a public park.

It has been already described how some resorts experienced markedly discontinuous growth (p.34). This is often revealed in the clearcut juxtaposition of markedly different building materials - and building styles. For instance, the first burst of resort expansion at Ilfracombe occurred in the 1830s and 40s. It was a stucco phase, and is represented by the Baths (now the British Legion), a neighbouring gothic villa, and hillside terraces, eg. Adelaide Terrace and Montpelier Terrace. The second burst commenced in the 1860s, and is characterised by strongly coloured brickwork, eg. the "bacon and eggs" style, and red brick with yellow or black brick trim. Also popular in this second period was local stone, or Devonian Limestone with red or yellow brick trim. Stucco, however, was no longer used.

At Bognor, the first resort expansion is denoted by (a) the red brick building of Late Georgian times - mostly in "Upper Bognor", and (b) the later (Regency) stucco phase in Lower Bognor. After a period of c.30 years in which
Plate VIII - St Georges Terrace, Felixstowe. (b. 1827).
building activity virtually ceased, a second burst of building began in the 1860s. As in Ilfracombe, it is a brickwork phase, in this case yellow brick, though sometimes with red brick trim eg. Park Terrace (adjacent to the stucco bow-fronted Marine Parade Hotel of the first phase). The discontinuous growth of Herne Bay is likewise reflected in a clear-cut stucco phase followed by a non-stucco phase.

Stucco is a very useful index to the form and age of town growth, and in some seemingly modern resorts is a reminder of much earlier, easily overlooked, resort growth. At Felixstowe, whose growth really began with the red brick in the 1870s, there are odd bits of stucco from the 1840s, while the inland St. Georges Terrace dates from the 1820s (Plate VIII). At Cleethorpes too, Highcliffe Terrace (much delapidated) denotes the first resort stirrings in the 1840s. The stucco villas of Rhyl and New Brighton, some of them gothic, denote the first resort expansion in Early Victorian times. They also show, by comparison with later building, how the status of these two towns has changed. At Lytham and Southport the occasional stucco villa and terrace put back their resort beginnings into Regency times.

In some resorts, stucco is virtually absent. At Whitby, there is a "jump" from the red brick and red pantile of the "old town", to the exposed brick of the first resort expansion from 1850 onwards. A similar jump at St.Ives, Sheringham and
Plate IX A.

PLATE
IX A.
MISSING.
Bexhill is longer, for the first resort expansion (non-stucco) in these towns is from 1870 onwards. Incidentally, the absence of stucco from St. Ives is emphasised by its presence at Penzance, only seven miles away, and it stresses the contrasting resort histories of these towns.

In other non-stucco resorts, there is no such jump for there is no "old town", eg. Colwyn Bay, Whitley Bay, Skegness, Hunstanton and Newquay - all dating, as resorts, from the 1860s or 1870s. On the other hand, Clacton, another resort beginning in the 1860s, has a small but distinctive stucco area in and about the core. It must be remembered that in a few resorts the general absence of stucco does not indicate a missing period of growth, eg. the Thanet resorts and Great Yarmouth (P. 251).

The Concept of Architectural Devolutionary Chains.

A subject that receives little attention is the relationship between fashionable building styles and their degraded forms in poorer, and later, building. At Eastbourne, an attempt was made to study this relationship, and one style, the Italianate, was selected.

The grand stucco Italianate terrace first appears on Eastbourne's front about 1850. Two examples are shown in Plate IXA, one having a parapet to the facade, the other, overhanging eaves with supporting consoles. In the poorer
east side of the town, humbler though obviously related forms are seen (Plates IXB and C). In Plate IXD, the Italianate influence is scarcely visible for the upper wall is of red brick and the consoles of the eaves have gone - though in an even more humble terrace (Plate IXD(l) ) the Italianate form is still clearly retained. In Plate IXE, the entire facade is of red brick, and only the bay window remains: in Plate IXF even the bay window loses its distinctiveness.

It is suggested that all the above forms are related, that they form an architectural devolutionary chain. At first, the distinctiveness of the architectural style is obvious. Subsequently, however, the style is "sed in less fashionable building; not only does architectural distinctiveness disappear but different building materials come in. Eventually, perhaps fifty years after the initial use of the style, there remains a poor-class terrace apparently unrelated to the fashionable terrace on the front - until the intermediate links in the chain are filled in.

This chain concept, if valid, provides a way of linking together in building of varying status, architectural style, building materials and social status, all of which are seen within the context of time.

Part of the "poorer side" of Eastbourne is, therefore, the architectural backwash of the "better side". Unfortunately, no precise dates can be given for the photographs used. The first one, however, is about 1860 and the last one about 1900.
Plate X - Pre-1914 and post 1914 pavilions, the Wellington Pier, Great Yarmouth.

Plate XI - The 'Italianate' style, Branksome Chine, Poole.
Holiday Architecture.

Few of the amenities of the pre-1870 period survive, but the 1870-1914 period is strongly represented by kiosks, shelters, pier erections and trimmings, pavilions and bandstands. These are almost invariably mixtures of wood, metal and glass, and in some strange way, they seem to sum up the richness, the vulgarity and the security of Late Victorian Seaside England. Particularly fine examples of this architecture are some frontal shelters at Southport and Weymouth, the pier shelters at Llandudno and the 'pavilions' of Bridlington (Floral Pavilion), Ilfracombe and Great Yarmouth (Wellington Pier, Plate X) - all these looking like great glass houses - Blackpool (Central Pier), Margate (the pier) and Eastbourne (The Winter Gardens).

In the inter-war period, the wooden pavilion with balconies, and turrets at each corner, becomes very popular for piers, eg. Southsea, Penarth and Great Yarmouth (again the Wellington Pier, Plate X). On land, rather more sober styles were employed, of which two were especially popular. The first is the Italianate form, mainly for halls and shelters, with pink brick or plaster walls and low-pitching red pantile roofs with overhanging eaves, eg. the White Rock Pavilion (Hastings), the cliff-top amenity area (Ramsgate), the Marine Gardens (Worthing) and much of frontal building at Bournemouth (Plate XI). The second style is the
neo-classical frequently used for bandstands, eg. Southport and Worthing, and shelter colonnading, eg. Filey and Blackpool.

Much of the rest of inter-war building consists of nondescript white plaster boxes. An outstanding exception, however, is the De La Warr Pavilion, Bexhill, opened in 1935 and marking a return to metal and glass though now with concrete. In such buildings can be traced the beginnings of present-day architectural styles. Also worthy of mention is the west beach amenity area, Folkestone, in which the layout and design of shop kiosks and amusement hall was carefully controlled by the Radnor Estate. This denoted an important trend in holiday amenity building that has been particularly evident in post-war development, namely the change from temporary, often shack-like, building to near permanent, and carefully designed building.

This trend is most evident in beach hut building. In the past, many beach huts were painfully temporary in form, collections of wood and canvas shacks, each differing from its neighbour. Very occasionally such shacks remain, as at Minehead, but in most resorts, the Council, or beach-owning authority, has exercised control (and usually much care) over the form of subsequent beach hut building. These huts are no longer temporary in appearance but sturdily built, either terrace units or detached. In Bournemouth,
Plate XII - Beach-huts, Mablethorpe.

Plate XIII - Beach-huts, Tolcarne Beach, Newquay.
Plate XIV - Post-war kiosks, Seaburn (Sunderland).

Plate XV - Post-war building to house tripper trading activities, Cleethorpes.
a honey-coloured brick is used in such terrace units to harmonize with the yellow/brown sandy cliff slopes. The beach huts built in Mablethorpe to replace those swept away in the floods have roofs of corrugated asbestos which bring to mind the frivolities of the Regency 'cottage ornee' (Plate XII). Even more startling are remarkable terraced flights of beach huts at Newquay (Plate XIII).

This tendency to replace shacks by better-designed, more permanent buildings is also apparent in the newly-provided frontal kiosks at Southend and Seaburn and Roker (Plate XIV). Perhaps most significant has been the building at Cleethorpes of a structure designed to house tripper activities, eg. cafes and amusement arcades (Plate XV).

Few resorts have had the opportunity to employ the new styles of building - the not-too-old cannot simply be pulled down to make way for the new. In those resorts where new building has been possible, however, these new styles have shown themselves to be ideally suited to the seaside, eg. the modernised pier at Ventnor, and the new pavilion at Lowestoft.

Post-War Council Housing Estates.

In most resorts, the greater part of post-war expansion has been in the form of council estate development; in many, it is a council estate that first greets the visitor. It has been realised that these estates present excellent
Plate XVI A - Post-war council housing, Teignmouth. (Viewed from the front.)

Plate XVI B - The same housing viewed from the rear.
opportunities for putting into practice new ideas in building; more flexible layouts, communal frontal spaces, the revival of the terrace and its admixture with semi-detached and detached units, the linking of houses by walls to provide continuity (and to hide the garden from the street observer), the variation in colour - these are but some of the new ideas. Unfortunately problems remain; how to preserve the frontal green from the rampages of children, how to avoid the ugliness of back garden areas festooned with concrete posts and wire-netting fences. The importance of tree planting is accepted, but many estates have an unpleasant "bareness" that is only partly due to their newness.

There is usually little variation in style between the council houses of resorts. Almost all have clean, simple lines, with the maximum length of ridgeline. There are exceptions. At Teignmouth, hooded balconies, in pastel colours, bring to mind, and deliberately so, the elegance of Regency villas (Plate XVI, XVIA). The general absence of pipes and other fittings on walls should be noted. At Rhos on Sea (Colwyn Bay), a similar gay note ideally suited to the seaside is struck by striped and brightly coloured hoods to doorways. A complete break-away from the usual post-war council house style is found at Gorleston (Gt. Yarmouth)
Plate XVII - 'Cornish Unit' council housing, Weston super Mare.

Plate XVIII - Traditional building style, St Ives.

Plate XVIII A - Council housing, St Ives.
where, over part of a vast estate, flat roofs, large plate glass windows and external wood panelling produce a style that is usually found only in the most fashionable private building.

A variation of considerable importance, especially in southwest England, is the "Cornish Unit" council house. This is built unit fashion from pre-shaped blocks. Any length, and any number of storeys can be built. It is much used at Weston super Mare (Plate XVII).

With regard to building materials, a feature of post-war council housing is the revival of exposed brickwork, though rough-cast, pebbledash and similar wall covers continue to be very popular.

Distinctive styles in council housing are found when traditional styles are copied and/or traditional building materials used. At St. Ives, for instance, a traditional building feature is slate-hanging, and many granite house walls of the old town are thus partly covered (Plate XVIII). This feature is found in an inter-war council estate (Plate XVIII A) and in a few good-class private houses. At Whitby, in the council estate along the Ropewalk, the red brick and pantile style of the old town is aped (Plate XIX).

(1) These blocks are made from the waste of the china clay industry.
Plate XIX - Council housing in the traditional style, Whitby (East Side).
The 1949 Housing Act gave the Ministry of Housing power to allot a special grant to local authorities using local stone for council estate and other public building. In one of its council estates, that at Helston, Swanage has taken advantage of this grant by using Swanage Stone. Certain traditional building features are also retained, eg. semi-dormer windows with flat roofs. The grey stone slate traditionally used for roofs is replaced, however, by chocolate coloured tiles.

**Conclusion.**

If the study of building materials did no more than contribute towards the appreciation and analysis of townscape, such study would still be worthwhile to the urban geographer. However, other equally important uses have been already indicated. The distribution of building materials can, and often does, reveal the nature of town growth in a clearer manner than could the study of a set of maps showing the built-up area at various dates. Such maps often conceal important breaks in town growth owing to the commonly inconvenient dates of survey and publication. In contrast the use and distribution of building materials clearly emphasise such breaks.
CHAPTER SIX:

RESORT 'CORES' AND SUBSIDIARY SHOPPING AREAS

The 'Core' Area of Resorts

The 'core' area of resorts is of especial interest because its structure and location are influenced by factors peculiar to resort towns. The term 'core' refers to the main shopping/business (and usually entertainment) area which functions throughout the year and upon which the resident population is dependent. It therefore excludes areas of seasonal trading on the front. These are more conveniently studied separately.

The criteria used in delimiting the 'core' are:
(a) Continuity of business facades at ground-floor level.
(b) The residential/non-residential boundary, also at ground-floor level.
(c) Specialisation of service offered.
(d) Personal judgement.

The first two criteria were usually found to be adequate in the delimitation of the 'core' area, but where shopping streets of considerable length led into the 'core', consideration had to be given to the type of service offered. Even then, the boundary had sometimes to be drawn by the exercise of personal judgement.

The 'core' as thus defined and delimited is a functional area. Its relationship to any 'old town' centre, a morphological area, is examined later (P. 110).

Position

The core of a resort is characteristically located
Figure 34 - The characteristic location of resort cores.
adjacent to, and immediately behind, the frontal strip of holiday shops, hotels, boarding houses and private houses. An 'inner core', however, usually denoted by the position of chain stores, may occupy an 'inland' position, as at Minehead, Ryde and Eastbourne. The core is laterally, but only rarely transversely, symmetric to the built-up area (Fig. 34).

In several resorts, however, the core is clearly separated from the frontal strip, and occupies an 'inland' location. At Whitley Bay, Penzance, Ilfracombe and Shanklin, the position of the core has been determined by the inland location of the pre-resort settlement plus an old-established 'through' route (Figs. 32, 40a). At Exmouth, Littlehampton and Great Yarmouth, it has been determined by the inland location of the pre-resort settlement alone (Figs. 85). The cores of Shanklin, Littlehampton and Great Yarmouth, incidentally, are transversely symmetric to the built-up area. The influence of pre-resort settlements and roads upon core location and development is studied in detail later (P. 109).

Another possible cause of 'inland' core location is planning control. The main shopping-centre at Saltburn was probably sited to straddle the 'inland' railway station, while at Shanklin, any tendency towards coastward migration by the core - separated from the Front by a belt of hotels and boarding-houses - has been prevented through the controlling influence of the White-Popham Estate.

A second modification to the characteristic location of the core is where the core is not laterally symmetric to the built-up area is not, however, necessarily laterally symmetric to the distribution of town population.
symmetric to the town area. In small resorts, such 'offsetting' can occur without disadvantage, for the core remains easily accessible from all parts of the town, e.g. Cromer and Sheringham. Temporary or permanent 'offsetting' may be caused by the building of a large housing estate, for instance the Holland-on-Sea area at Clacton, the 'East Side' bungalow area at Rhyl - though here, compensating westward expansion has been restricted by the River Clwyd and adjacent low-lying ground - and the working-class Morehall and Cheriton areas at Folkestone. Undoubtedly, the need for a central position for the core has been lessened in this century by (a) the provision of purpose-built subsidiary shopping-centres in new residential estates, and (b) the coming of the motor-car, bus and tram - minimising any original disadvantage that an 'offset' core might have experienced.

The core, as defined on P. 105, rarely reaches the front. This is not, however, the outcome of an unsuccessful struggle by the core against holiday shops and hotels which have more urgent claims to frontal location and thus are prepared to pay higher rents etc. It must not be assumed that this latter group are forcing the core to take a 'back seat'. There are other reasons why a frontal location for the core would be undesirable, besides the economic 'urgency of claim' already mentioned. First, a frontal core would be one-sided, and thus elongate, lacking the desirable compactness of an 'interior' two-sided shopping street. Secondly, great inconvenience would be caused to shoppers during the holiday season by crowded pavements, queues etc. Thirdly, a frontal core, because of its marginal location, would be badly placed to serve the permanent residential population. Lastly, any increased trade resulting from a location on the front would be restricted to the holiday season, a mere three or four
Figure 35 - Core location.

A  Best position for core to serve permanent residential population, period visitors and other visitors.

B  Best position to serve permanent residential population and period visitors.

C  Best position to serve permanent residential population.
months out of twelve.

Even if the 'urgency of claim' factor were not operative and public and private planning authorities offered no objections, the core would probably still retain its present characteristic location.

The core derives trade from both permanent-residential and visitor populations, though their relative importance, in terms of yearly income, varies with the type of shop and its location within the core. The core is faced, therefore, with the problem of taking up the best location to exploit these two types of customer. The usual solution is the characteristic position referred to earlier. This is clearly a compromise (Fig. 35). In large resorts, a second solution is employed by duplicating shopping activities. Thus Blackpool has Woolworth's and Marks and Spencer's stores on or near the front as well as an 'inland' suite of such shops. Morecambe, too, has a frontal and inland Woolworth's. In both towns, Burton's occupies a frontal corner-site, as does the recently built Woolworth's at Rhyl. This type of site also represents a compromise.

It is evident that the major chain-store concerns, in an endeavour to enjoy the best of two resort worlds, are either duplicating their 'inland' shops along the front or occupying strategic corner-sites. It will be interesting to observe the further development of this trend.

Location and Form of the Core

The location, shape and orientation of the resort core will now be considered in detail, and in relation to the pre/early-resort settlement, roads, the railway and planning control.
1. The Influence of Pre-Resort Settlements and Roads upon the Location and Form of Resort Cores

A fundamental principle of urban geography is 'old-established settlements and roads tend to attract commercial activities!' Why is this so?

In the case of old-established (pre-resort) settlements, this affinity can be explained in several ways. First, as the core requires a central location, and as urban growth is usually accretionary to a pre-existing nucleus (where present), the position of the latter is likely to coincide, more or less, with the desired core location. Secondly, the pre-resort nucleus will have its own shops, which tend to remain, geographical inertia sometimes counter-balancing any slight disadvantage of situation. Shop attracts shop, and the core expands. Thirdly, the pre-resort settlement was probably the focus of a local pre-resort road pattern, thus possessing a degree of nodality favourable to core development. Lastly, new urban accretions, with a residential function initially maintained by restrictive covenants, look to the nucleus for the provision of services, and it is here that the new shops are established, not in the newly-built areas.

In the case of old-established (pre/early resort) roads, the tendency towards commercialisation is explained in two main ways. First, old-established roads, now incorporated within the town area, originated in a rural not an urban context, and provided the essential links in the rural town settlement pattern, e.g. linking village to village, village to church, village to sea and beach. Thus, because

(1) This principle has already been employed to account for the 'inland' locations of certain cores (P. 106).
(2) This refers to the pre-1890 period. After this date the provision of purpose-built shopping areas in newly developed residential estates becomes a frequent occurrence.
many of these early roads were 'through routes', they have, in this automobile age, become major traffic thoroughfares. As such, they tend to become commercialised in accordance with another principle, that 'major circulation routes tend to attract commercial activities'. Though early resort roads are of urban origin, they also tend to be the more vital and therefore 'through' roads. The second reason is that old/early roads tend to attract early building - there is no problem, nor cost of road provision - and this building attracts commercial activities through the operation of the 'age' factor referred to at the end of the preceding paragraph. Of course, most pre-resort settlements were either along, or at the end of, old-established 'through' roads.

The various relationships between core location and pre/early roads and settlements can be summarised as overleaf. These categories are now considered.

It has been argued that coincidence between the core and the pre-resort settlement is to be expected, and in twenty-three of the twenty-nine resorts with pre-existing settlements, this coincidence occurs. In twelve of these twenty-three resorts the core is contained with the area of the pre-resort settlement, but in the remaining eleven, it is either larger than the pre-resort settlement, or embraces only part of it. This latter relationship can be explained in several ways; the original settlement may have been too small (as at Bridlington and Redcar), its site may have been unsuitable for large modern stores (Folkestone and Swanage), similarly its irregular lay-out. Some settlements were simply too coastal (Sheringham) or too far inland (Minehead). The influence of a railway station or of planning control are further factors.

(1) The development of a secondary road pattern is mostly
A Classification of the Relationships between Core Location and Pre/Early Resort Roads and Settlements

A. Where pre-resort settlement involved with core
   (i) By itself.
   (ii) Plus town expansion.
      (a) where pre-resort more important.
      (b) where expansion more important.

B. Where the pre-resort settlement is not involved

C. Where long-established road involved with core
   (i) Plus pre-resort settlement.
   (ii) By itself.
   (iii) Plus town expansion.

D. The remainder
   (i) Planned/controlled growth.
   (ii) Unplanned/uncontrolled growth.

N.B. Details of the analysis are given in Appendix 1

Through the building of estate blocks which, in the almost certain absence of co-operation between estate builders, are unlikely to produce any important 'through' roads of any length (though some may emerge quite fortuitously). On the other hand, in controlled town growth, new 'through' roads may be built - even replacing the pre-resort 'through' roads, as at Southport.
Figure 36 - Filey.
In a few resorts, the core does not coincide at all with the pre-resort settlement - though the latter probably has its own sprinkling of shops. At Filey, the Church Ravine, along whose southern edge the old village was sited, has acted as a barrier to northward extension of the town - possibly supported by restrictive land-ownership north of the ravine. Instead, nineteenth-century expansion was entirely southwards, and in sympathy with this non-concentric growth, the core developed south of the old village (Fig.36).

The old village area of Paignton, though adjacent to the core and with shopping activities of its own, is clearly separated from the core. Here, the inland position of the village (half a mile from the front) and the siting of the railway station to the east have been the main factors in the eastward movement of 'business' focal points. At Morecambe, too, the original settlement of Poulton Le Sands is marginal to the core. This can be explained by reference to the growth map of Morecambe (Fig.42) which shows the old village to be marginal to the 1914 town and thus poorly placed for core development ( ). Another probable cause was the south-westward pull of the railway station on commercial activities. At Morecambe certainly, and Paignton probably, purpose-built shops in the newly-formed area around the old village were an added inducement to traders to leave their 'old town' shops or set up branches.

The map of Hastings in 1872 (Fig.6) shows the remarkable form of its growth, the 'old town' being marginal to, and almost separated from, subsequent resort expansion. Inevitably, business activities moved westwards from the 'old town' in sympathy with the direction of growth, a process facilitated by the absence of a railway station in the 'old town'.
Figure 37 - The influence of road and settlement on core development.
Pre- and early resort roads often have an influence upon core location similar to that of old settlements. At Whitley Bay and Lowestoft, both road and settlement are embraced in core development (Classification C (i)) but in contrasting manner. The old road at Whitley Bay, linking near-coastal settlements, follows a winding route, and the old settlement - the hamlet of Whitley - coincides with the centre of the core (Fig. 2). At Lowestoft, however, the relevant road is more recent and straight, and the 'old town' marginal to the core.

An interesting example of how the combination of old road and settlement has influenced core location, though in a manner very different to the above, is provided by Ryde and Torquay. In Figs. 37A and 37B, the immediate pre-resort road and settlement pattern is shown, consisting in both cases of a 'parent' inland village and a coastal fishing settlement connected by road. During Regency times, Ryde underwent much expansion as a resort. The track across a field (Fig. 37A) was replaced in the 1800s by a new road - aptly named Union Street - lined by the white stucco facades of private houses. This road is now the main shopping street, and though modern shop-fronts line the street at ground-floor level, the stucco facades of the original houses can still be seen in the upper storeys.

At Torquay also, the inter-settlement link has become the main shopping street; it, too, is called Union Street. There are differences however. At Torquay the position of the 'link' was topographically determined, for it followed the valley base of the river Fleet - a stream now culverted and forming part of the town drainage system. Also, the inland 'parent' village of Torre is marginal to the core. The railway station here has undoubtedly confirmed the strategic importance of Union Street. At Ryde, none of these features are found. There is no topographic
Plate XX - Typical Late Victorian/Edwardian shop terrace, Clacton on Sea.
control. (1) The inland village forms part of the core and the railway station is sited on the front.

Several resorts had no pre-existing nucleus of settlement (Class C (ii) and (iii)). In some, the core is virtually confined to a pre/early resort road, for instance, Mablethorpe, Felixstowe and Whitstable - the core road of the latter resort being a 'turnpike'. In others, the core also embraces part of the subsequent resort expansion (Class C (iii)), e.g. Colwyn Bay - the 'road' involved being another turnpike - Shanklin, Sandown, Southend, Rhyl and Bournemouth. In this latter group can also be placed those resorts whose influential roads, though not of pre-resort age, appeared early in the town's growth, e.g. Worthing and Southport.

The last group are resorts in which neither pre-resort settlement nor pre-resort road influenced core location. In most of these, growth was planned, or at least controlled (Class D (i)), often giving to the core a spaciousness, elegance and 'tidyness' rarely found in other resorts, for instance, Clacton (Plaxton, St. Annes and Llandudno.

2. The Influence of the Railway upon Core Location

In his attempts to prove the influence of the railway upon town development, the geographer often cites, as evidence, the town itself - its morphology, land-use and rhythm of growth. Unfortunately the use of such evidence usually involves assumptions that are not always warranted. For instance, it might be hastily assumed, after reference to Fig. 38A, that the siting of the railway station had been the main factor in the location and development of the principal shopping street. Yet it is possible that the converse is true: the siting of the station determined by

(1) Though the location of Upper Ryde was possibly determined by a spring line.
Figure 38 - The influence of the railway upon core development.
the intensive commercial activities along this street and simply confirming, not creating its pre-eminence. Perhaps the street was an old-established road, likely to become commercialised, station or no station. (This was a very common situation, see P. 118). On the other hand, the situation illustrated in Figure 38B provides clearer evidence for regarding the siting of the station as a factor of primary importance.

The manner in which the railway station influences the location and form of the core must now be examined.

The station usually has one or two main approaches. These form important elements in population circulation, especially the approach from the core, and thus are desirable locations for business establishments, provided the siting of the station allows its approach to enjoy the advantages of a central location etc.

A criticism of this interpretation is that the 'time-overlap' between periods of maximum circulation to and from the station - the 'rush hours' - and the business hours of shops and offices, is too slight to warrant the significance given to railway stations in this matter. Applied to the present day, this appears a valid criticism; certainly many stations are remarkably idle between 'rush hours'. On the other hand, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century - when most cores were undergoing vigorous development - the railway played a more important part in town life than in this motor-car and bus age. The station was used far more during 'business hours' than today, and exerted, therefore, a greater influence upon core development. Also, proximity to the station would be an added advantage to shops etc. in the receipt and dispatch of goods. The relationship between station and core is often a product of the past rather than of the present.

The influence of the railway will now be considered in
more detail, and under four headings:

(a) Non-applicable cases, the station being too far inland, too coastal, or too marginal.

(b) Where the station has had no apparent effect upon core development.

(c) Where the influence of the station is inseparable from that of other factors.

(d) Where the station has had an obvious effect upon core development.

Resorts with the station too far inland are Ventnor and Ilfracombe, both having a station perched high above the town, Filey, Folkestone, Ramsgate, Sidmouth, Sandown and Great Yarmouth. At Minehead, Dawlish, Cleethorpes, Ryde and Fleetwood, the station is too coastal, being sited on the front. In several of the above, the station will have had a slight confirmatory action upon the core position. The stations of Hunstanton and Colwyn Bay are also frontal, but here, as the coming of the railway and the commencement of town growth were simultaneous, the station is more intimately bound up with the core's development. The stations of Falmouth, Margate and Tenby were too marginal to the pre-1914 town - especially to the 'old town' area - to influence core development, this being accentuated at Tenby by the inland site of the station.

In a few resorts, the station, though conveniently placed, has had no apparent effect upon the core. At Weymouth, it has failed to draw the core from its 'old Town' and riverside location (Fig. 71), and at Whitstable, from its pre-resort road (High Street) location. At Redcar and Lytham, the station has failed to reorientate an east-west elongate core whose form and location reflects that of the pre-resort settlement. (Though admittedly at Redcar, a feebly developed transverse shopping prong leads from the station to the front, while at Lytham, an east-west core best serves the town's squashed shape (Fig. 39)).
Numerically most important are resorts in which the influence of the station cannot be separated from that of other factors. Undoubtedly, the station has, in all these cases, confirmed the commercial superiority of the road leading seawards from it, but its importance in helping to create this superiority cannot be assessed. (1)

The table on the following page lists all resorts in this last category whose station serves a main shopping/business street, and its purpose is to indicate other factors of probable significance in the core's development. These 'other factors' suggest the recognition of four groups, and these are considered in turn.

In resorts whose growth was planned and/or controlled, and in which the coming of the railway was simultaneous with the commencement of town building, the existence of a main shopping street tied to the railway station is probably the deliberate result of planning policy - the controlling body appreciating the strategic importance of the station-beach link. In such cases, the station has played a primary role in core location, though in a specialised and indirect manner. Thus Bexhill and Skegness might justifiably be placed with those resorts in which the railway had an obvious effect (Ps. 119). It is probable that St. Annes could be similarly placed, though the core-station relationship is modified here through the main station-beach link being initially developed as a residential road. Much of the spaciousness of this link has been determined by the original frontal garden space of houses.

At Felixstowe, planning control, the deliberate fostering of Hamilton Road as the main shopping street, could not be proved, but, in view of the part played by a Col. Tomline

(1) Detailed researches into early newspapers and directories might show more clearly, in some cases the relationships between the coming of the railway, the siting of the station, and the development of the core.
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<th>Adjacency to old town expanding core</th>
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<td>OER Old-established road (of at least pre-resort age)</td>
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(who owned 4,000 acres in the town area) in the early development of Felixstowe, the existence of such control was likely (Fig. 67).
Most common are resorts whose station-front link follows an old-established/early resort road, the road upon which much of the town's early development often pivoted (Group II). In this group, and in Group I (described above), the station-front link is transverse to the front. The one exception is Newquay, whose shopping street is parallel to the coast (Fig. 58).

The third group (III) are resorts in which the station is adjacent to either the pre-resort settlement or the very early resort area. In these resorts, the station has undoubtedly helped the 'old/early resort town' retain its core function.

The last group (IV) consists of resorts requiring special consideration. In a large resort, the station-front link — unless the station be well inland — is likely to be involved in the core's expansion simply because it is central to the town and marginal to a rapidly expanding core. Thus Brighton's station-front link, Queen's Road, was likely to become commercialised without being served by a station. It is, perhaps, significant, that many of its commercial premises are offices — for which a station-approach location has no advantage. Talbot Road, Blackpool, may be similarly regarded, especially as it appeared early in the town's development. It is, however, a shopping street.

In some resorts, the railway station has had an obvious effect upon core development. Least important are cores modified only in detail by the station — for instance, the growth of a small commercial 'prong' connecting station to main shopping street, as at Herne Bay (feebly developed), Deal (Fig. 12), Whitley Bay, Teignmouth and Llandudno. 'Prong' growth at Llandudno, however, is equally well developed in other streets leading to the main shopping street.

Most important are station approaches which form part, or the whole, of the main shopping street (Figs. 40A, B, C).
Figure 40 A

The influence of the railway upon core development.

Figure 40 B
Shanklin's station approach, Regent Street, is flanked by two old-established through routes to Sandown. Yet this station approach, created by the railway and not even a through road, forms part of the main shopping artery. At Eastbourne, the coming of the railway also caused the creation of a new road, which has become the main shopping street - in spite of an old-established road and pre-resort settlement (South Bourn) on its western flank. A similar example is seen at Bognor. In fairness, however, it must be noted that the new road at Eastbourne provided a convenient 'short cut' to the front, and that at both Eastbourne and Shanklin, planning control probably influenced shopping street development.

The old High Street, Swanage, along whose sides the linear pre-resort settlement was sited, is now subsidiary in its shopping activities to the main shopping streets of the Station and Institute Roads. This shift in emphasis can be justifiably attributed to the siting of the railway station at the head of Station Road - at the time, a track leading to a brewery upon whose site the station now stands (Fig.33). The more suitable physical site offered by these roads for shopping activities - they are much flatter than the High Street - must also be taken into account, however.

The main shopping streets at Paignton are tied to the station - a station which, as old prints show, was sited in the midst of the fields and marshy ground which originally lay between 'Old Paignton' and the beach. The track which crossed these fields in linking station to beach has become one of the main shopping streets - Torbay Road. It is, however, heavily 'tripperised'.

It is tempting to cite Clacton as another example of railway influence upon the core, for its station approach is the town's main office area; it also possesses some shops. Here, however, a more important factor was probably the
Figure 41 - The street pattern about the main Station - Front road link, Brighton.
building of the Town Hall in Station Road in the thirties. For many offices, proximity to the Town Hall is desirable. It is significant that the pronged expansion from the hub of Clacton's core - along Station Road and the High Street - has occurred on the same side as the great inter-war residential growth at Holland-on-Sea.

The map of Portsmouth and Southsea opposite P. 64 shows the position of a former branch railway line and station. Adjacent to the station site is a small shopping area - mostly holiday shops - whose initial development was possibly related to this station. Another railway 'hangover' is suggested by Northumberland Street, Morecambe, the town's only distinctive office area. Well removed from the shopping core, though adjacent to the entertainment and amusement area, this road once led to one of the town's railway stations (since demolished) and its part-commercialisation may have been due to this.

In conclusion, two general remarks upon core-station relationships. First, because of its strategic importance, the station-front link, or station-core link, is usually a direct link, a straight road throughout most or all of its length. This facilitates circulation and makes the road suitable for commercial activities, in contrast to the disjointed road patterns usually found on either flank, e.g. Brighton (Fig. 41). Secondly, the stream of visitors, especially day-trippers inclined to be somewhat noisy in the evening, to and from the station, must tend to drive out any private residential function initially possessed by the station approach and pave the way for its replacement by the less particular, less sensitive shops and offices. It may be noted that heavy traffic along a main 'through' road will tend to drive out any private residential function in a similar manner.
Classification of Resort Cores

The basis of this classification (overleaf) is the shape and orientation of the core. Further division is made according to the core's relationship to old roads and settlements, and to the railway station. It is a classification of convenience only, applying specifically to resort cores, and it is not suggested that it applies to cores generally.

Core Migration

The core shows considerable mobility in its locational adjustments to changing circumstances. This was especially true in the nineteenth century and for two reasons:

(a) In this period, the core was more sensitive to changes, its central location more essential than today (P. 107).

(b) This period witnessed many great changes, the coming of the railway (specifically the siting of the station) and the building of new straight roads and large terrace blocks - the first flush of urban expansion being of greater significance than the addition of a council-house estate in present times. It witnessed, also, the building of the pier, which often created or confirmed focal points in frontal activities and gave the street leading to it special importance.

The migration might be complete, the transference of all core activities from one area to another, or, less spectacularly, a shift in the focus of core activities - a focus usually indicated in old town areas by the position of the market, and in modern towns, by the large chain-stores.

The most obvious examples of bodily shift are where, in pre-resort times, the dominant settlement - usually with parish church - was located slightly inland, from a half to one and a half miles from the coast, e.g. Bridlington,
CLASSIFICATION OF RESORT CORES

UNILINEAR CORES

A. Angular to the Front.

Importance of road linking inland and coastal settlement

- Torquay
- Ryde

- Skegness
- St. Annes
- Rhyl
- Southend
- Mablethorpe
- Felixstowe
- Porthcawl
- Sheringham
- Paignton
- Eastbourne

Served by railway station.

Planning control.

Importance of pro-resort settlement

Others

Whitstable
Brixham
Minehead

B. Parallel to the Front.

Importance of pro-resort settlement and road.

Newquay
Ilfracombe
Whitley Bay
Lowestoft
Ventnor
Shanklin
Sandown
Bournemouth

Pre/Early resort road plus pre-resort settlement

Pre-resort road plus later road

Reflect linear form of village.

Reflect linear form of settlement along estuary.

Importance of pre-resort settlement

Lytham
Redcar
Falmouth
West Cowes
St Ives
Deal

Planning control.

Others

Tankerton
Southport
Llandudno

Northdown (Margate).
Fleetwood.
NON-UNILINEAR CORES.

"Old town" irregular.

Grid-iron.

Cruciform.

Rectilinear (open).

Late 19th C (loose).

I9th C Sprawl.

"Old town" in valley plus extension on higher ground

Others

Great Yarmouth
Littlehampton
Exmouth
Cromer
Teignmouth
Whitby
Margate
Poole
Teignmouth
Sidmouth
Cleethorpes

Inland, adjacent to river.
Adjacent to parish church.
Adjacent to harbour

Reflect form of pre-resort settlement.
Reflect form of pre/early resort roads.

Georgian.
L. Regency/E. Victorian.

Hove
Filey
Penarth

Clacton
Bexhill

Blackpool
Weston super Mare
Morecambe

Folkestone
Brighton

Hunstanton
Colwyn Bay
Saltburn

Tied to station
Planning control

Aberystwyth
Swanage

Railway causing core migration.
Eastbourne, Clacton, Southend and Bexhill. Subsequent resort expansion at the coast, perhaps around a small fishing settlement, eventually engulfed the inland settlement - though it too, probably formed a subsidiary nucleus for expansion. Even before its engulfment, the inland village loses to the hub of the resort its status as the area's business centre - though it might acquire a commercial status greater than it originally possessed, as has Monkseaton (Whitley Bay).

More important are internal bodily shifts within the built-up area. These are commonly caused by 'lop-sided' growth about a pre-existing settlement, tending to produce a sympathetic shift in the position of the 'core', e.g. Filey, Morecambe and Hastings (P. 112).

More interesting, on account of their subtlety, are shifts in the focus of commercial activities. Lowestoft may be taken as an example.

The 'old town' of Lowestoft is sited along a cliff immediately above the slope leading to the transverse Lake Lothing depression. Under the 'gravitational' pull of several factors, the focus of business activities has slipped down this slope, from the High Street and old market place area to London Road North. In 1831, the original harbour was opened, linking Lake Lothing to the sea, and intended as an outlet for Norwich. By the 1840s, the need for a railway was realised, to allow the quick dispatch of live fish and to revive a seriously declining harbour trade - it did, in fact, close down in 1842. Thus in 1847, through the exertions of a great benefactor, Sir Morton Peto, the Lowestoft-Reedham railway was opened and the station placed adjacent to the harbour. From this time

(1) A distance of circa 650 yards.
onwards the harbour prospers and the fishing industry grows. Docks are excavated out of the shingle accumulating against the northern pier of the harbour and industries develop along the flanks of Lake Lothing. Meanwhile, Sir Morton Peto was building a new town, a resort, south of the harbour - its building beginning about 1850. By 1914, the 'old town' had become almost marginal to the built-up area; it had become marginal, also, to the new foci of economic activities - the dock, fishing, industrial and railway complex about the harbour, and the resort town to the south. Understandably, the shopping focus migrated towards these new foci.

Until the 1890s, the east side of London Road North was not built upon. Instead, it formed the western flank of the Grove Estate - two large houses standing in extensive grounds. When this estate was sold off, the London Road margin became lined in part with purpose-built shop terraces more suited to expanding shopping activities than 'old town' properties (Plate XXIIIIB). This no doubt aided the southward movement.

The migration of the business 'focus' at Aberystwyth is discussed in other town studies, which attribute it to the siting of the railway station. Though the station has undoubtedly been an important factor, the nature of the town's growth must not be overlooked. This growth has been mostly confined to the quadrant north-east of the 'old town', and, presumably, has tended to cause a sympathetic north-eastward shift of business activities - especially as there was no harbour-side trade or industry (of importance) to anchor these activities within the 'old town'. (Cf. the anchored cores of Great Yarmouth and Poole.)

(1) This and other parts of the core at Lowestoft are illustrated by Plates XXXIII and XXIV.
(2) A. E. Smailes: The Geography of Towns
E. G. Bowen (Ed.) Wales. A Physical, Historical and Regional Geography (1957)
Plate XXI - Dock Street, Fleetwood; once the main shopping area.
The shift in shopping emphasis at Swanage (P.120), is not included in this section as it is unlikely that the pre-resort settlement possessed a well-developed shopping/business area. Similarly Skegness, whose main shopping street 'strings' the 'bow' of the pre-resort settlement (Fig.59).

Through bodily or focal shifts of the core, a land-use vacuum is sometimes created in the abandoned area. Drained of its life-blood of commerce, only the shell remains. Shop windows become boarded-up, a few shops eke out a livelihood by selling second-hand clothes or by unofficial pawnbroking; decay grips the area (Plate XXI). Such is the Dock Street area of Fleetwood, where former shopping and business activities have migrated northwards to Lord Street, a street better placed to serve the town, having two shopping sides, whereas Dock Street has one, and possessing the highly important Fleetwood-Blackpool light railway.

Double Cores

Most resorts have only one core, which, occupying a physically continuous area, is markedly superior to any other business area. In a few resorts, however, core activities are duplicated in two areas. The resultant diffusion of commercial intensity can seriously handicap the town, for neither core part attains the anticipated status that size (population) alone might warrant and which would be probably possessed by a single core.

The growth map of Morecambe (Fig.42) shows a pre-1914 duality in form that is reflected today in the distribution of shopping activities (Fig.43). North of the railway, Morecambe proper had expanded south-westwards from a pre-resort village of Poulton Le Sands. South of the railway, and around a coastal corner, a group of Bradford businessmen had, in the 1880s, founded the 'West End' - apparently
Figure 42 - The growth of Morecambe (Lancashire).
Figure 43 - Land-use, Morecambe.
for Bradford holiday-makers. This duality in growth caused
duality, not only in shopping activities, but in entertain-
ments as well. Both areas have a pier (Morecambe 1869,
West End 1896), while Morecambe's great end-of-century pile,
the Winter Gardens (1897), has its West End counterpart in
the Alhambra (1901). Other nineteenth-century entertain-
ments include the People's Palace (1878), Morecambe, and the
Pleasure Gardens, West End. (1) The main amusement area about
the frontal railway station is common to both Morecambe and
West End.

Though the Morecambe shopping area is superior to that
of the West End, the latter is too important to be dismissed
merely as subsidiary. There is, moreover, a mediocrity in
the shopping status of the Morecambe 'limb' which indicates
the detracting influence of the West End 'limb' - though a
similar influence must be exerted by the neighbouring, and
larger, Lancaster, a town almost contiguous to Morecambe.

Duality in growth causing duality in core activities is
also found at Whitstable, the curving High Street shopping
area of lowland Whitstable contrasting with the straight
and comparatively recent shopping street of cliff-top
Tankerton - a residential area laid out estate-fashion
before 1914 but mostly developed in the inter-war period.

At Margate, core duality is even better developed, though
less easy to explain. The core part in the 'old town' is
clearly the more important. Not only does it possess a
mature suite of chain-stores - Woolworth's, Marks and
Spencer's, Burton's, British Home Stores and Bobby's(2)-
but also the main office area. As at Morecambe, however,
the other core part, Northdown Road, is too important to be

(1) Regent Park is a shrunken remnant of these gardens.
(2) A department store with branches in Kent, Sussex and
Hampshire.
relegated to subsidiary centre status, for it has a Woolworth's, Bobby's and significantly, a W. H. Smith's. (1) The shops of this latter area are generally superior to those of the 'old town' - an impression confirmed in discussion with residents, and especially by the possession of the town's W. H. Smith's bookshop - and suggest that this core duality is, in part, a product of the cleavage in social status between the old town area in the valley and the Cliftonville/Palm Bay area on the cliffs. It must also be remembered that the Northdown shopping area escapes the suffocating hoard of day visitors in summer; the 'old town' does not. Neither part attains the status that one might expect for a town of Margate's size, and it is interesting to note that W. H. W. Morgan, in a study of the Thanet resorts, states 'although smaller in population and area of hinterland than Margate, Ramsgate has a reputation of being a better place at which to shop than Margate ............... Ramsgate High Street serves the whole of the town and its hinterland, Margate High Street has powerful rivals in Northdown Road and the Westgate and Birchington centres'. (2)

A special form of core duality is its physical division into two adjacent parts by a railway, often the station, as at Bexhill and Saltburn (Fig. 13), or by a river, as at Whitby.

(1) It has been suggested that the possession of an F. W. Woolworth's store is indicative of urban status (A. E. Smailes: The Urban Hierarchy, Geography, 1944). In a similar manner it is now suggested that the possession of a W. H. Smith's bookshop (other than that on the railway station) is usually indicative of good social tone. A W. H. Smith's bookshop within the core reflects the dominant social tone of a town (unless the town be so large that the possession of a W. H. Smith's is inevitable). Within a subsidiary shopping centre, however, it reflects the tone of the adjacent and dependent residential area. Details of the presence or absence of a W. H. Smith's bookshop are given in Appendix 2. Its absence in some large popular resorts, e.g. Blackpool, Southend and Morecambe, and
In a few resorts, the core is weakened by a relatively well-developed subsidiary shopping centre. This is probably true of Cleethorpes, where core and subsidiary centre reflect the two separate pre-resort nuclei of Oole and Itterby\(^1\) - though the 'overshadowing' influence of Grimsby, a much larger town contiguous to Cleethorpes, is possibly even more important. Incidentally, Grimsby, too, exhibits core duality.

An extreme case of core weakening is found at Wallesey, a great residential tract with a small tripper resort area at New Brighton. Though a county borough, and possessing a population of over 100,000, the status of its main shopping centre at Liskeard is woefully low and more appropriate to a town with a population of 35,000. For instance, the only chain-stores of this centre are Woolworth's, Marks and Spencer's and Burton's. In fact, the superiority of this centre over the many other shopping areas in the town is so slight that it is difficult to regard Liskeard as the core. The mediocrity of core development is partly due to the 'overshadowing' influence of Liverpool, a much larger town for which Wallesey is a major dormitory. These towns, moreover, are connected by an excellent ferry service. It is more due, however, to fragmentary growth which, in turn, has caused the diffusion of shopping activities. A map of 1840, when the town's growth had just begun, shows several areas of separate growth - New Brighton, the area about the old village of Liskeard, the Egremont ferry area, and the

\[\text{contd. from previous page: its presence in some small select resorts, e.g. Filey, Tenby, Clevedon, Minehead and Sidmouth, should be noted.}\]

\((2)\) P.150. 'The Development of Settlement on the Isle of Thanet in its Geographical Setting with Special Reference to the Growth of the Holiday Industry' M.Sc.(Econ.) 1950

\((1)\) Two hamlets sited on the 'horns' on a transverse (east-west) morainic ridge.
Seacombe area. By 1914, most of these parts had been welded into a continuous urban tract, but several shopping centres remained, a testimony to this earlier sectoral growth. It is possible that in the 1920s, Seacombe, not Liskeard, was the most important shopping centre. If this was so, the westward push in building in the inter- and post-war years could account for this shift in emphasis.

In conclusion, it is well to remember that not least of the important 'by-products' of concentric growth about a single nucleus is the development of a single, and therefore most efficient and highly developed, core.

The Core – Internal Differentiation

Part I: Functional

The degree of functional differentiation within the core is determined mainly by town size, though it may be greatly modified by duality in growth and proximity to a large town (Ps. 126, 128). An expanding town produces an expanding core. As this core grows, so does the range in commercial significance of certain locations within it. The greater this range, the greater the degree of differentiation.

The degree of internal differentiation should indicate, therefore, the status of the core, and possibly allow the determination of a core hierarchy. In some smaller resorts, no such differentiation is discernible, e.g. Filey, Saltburn, Cromer and Hunstanton. In others, offices and banks are beginning to 'separate out' from the shopping area. At Tenby, for example, three banks and the Post Office focus upon Tudor Square (2) – the hub of the 'old

(1) Suggested in discussion with local inhabitants.
(2) The existence of a well-defined 'public area' in old-established towns, no doubt, aids the process of functional differentiation, even in small towns. It also provides car parking space.
town' - while immediately to the south-east, in Julian Street, a slight concentration of offices occurs. Another slight concentration of offices, including those of the U.D.C., occurs beyond, and to the north of, the core - the result of deliberate planning by the U.D.C. in post-war years, two Georgian houses being used to form the nucleus of a 'civic centre'. At Sheringham, also, a small but distinct office area, marginal to the core, has developed along one of the station approaches.

The above represent the lowly members of the hierarchy. Cores ranking high are indicated, among other features, by street specialisation, the identification of a certain street with a particular commercial function. Of all the resorts, only Blackpool has this feature, for in Queen's Street nearly every shop is a woman's shop, e.g. costume shops, furriers and hairdressers. It is significant that this, the most 'fashionable' (though this is hardly the word) street in town, is the street farthest removed from the 'Golden Mile' and seasonal shopping area but still remaining within the core. Alexander Road is the equivalent street for men's clothing shops (Fig.48).

The determination of the intermediate grades in the core hierarchy would present the greatest difficulties and much caution would be required. For instance, in Bognor (pop. 25,647), Bexhill (25,693), and Ramsgate (35,801), office differentiation is very poorly developed. The list below is of features that might be used in determining the status of the core. They are roughly in ascending order.

1. Bank grouping.
2. Office differentiation.
3. Establishment of various suites of chain and department stores.
   (a) Basic - Woolworth's, Marks and Spencer's, Burton's.
   (b) Subsequent phases:
       (i) Second suite of 'popular' chain stores.
       (ii) Departmental stores.
4. Development of an inner core, denoted by the abundance of clothes shops and the absence of food shops.

5. Street specialisation.


8. Street vice.

9. 'Quarter' development.

10. Emergence of a 'bright light' area (functioning throughout the year).

The core is best regarded as an outward representation of the stage reached by the processes of functional differentiation. These processes, and their results, (nos. 1-5 in the above list), which give to the core a dynamic quality, are now considered.

First, however, a necessary reference to a fundamental distinction in the locational requirements of core land-users. It is the distinction between commercial premises, for which a location along major circulation routes is not essential, and those, for which it is. The reasons for this are well known and require no elucidation.

One of the earliest processes of differentiation is 'bank' grouping. Though giving a specialised service, and not tied, therefore, to major circulation routes, banks are almost invariably sited along such roads, characteristically on strategic corners. The reasons for this are (a) the need for easy accessibility by the shops constantly using the banks, and (b) the strong competition between the 'Big Five', causing them to seek out the best (shopping) sites which, in the absence of such competition, would not be essential.

Another early process is the 'separating-out' of offices from shops. (1) The driving force behind this is the

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(1) The offices leave the shops, and not vice versa.
Figure 44 - The influence of a "better side" upon office development.
distinction referred to above, offices either migrating from major circulation routes (the shopping streets) to marginal areas, or becoming initially established in such areas. The offices are still tied to the shopping streets, however, by the need for accessibility (a) from the shopping streets - for the convenience of clients, and (b) from offices to the shopping streets, and especially the banks.

Though a 'major circulation route' location is not essential for offices, it would not be functionally disadvantageous. There is no incentive, however, for the office to seek this location as it can function equally well in a marginal area where rental values are considerably lower. Offices are found along main shopping streets, but usually in the storeys above the ground floor. As shopping activities are carried out mostly in a horizontal plane at ground-floor level - except in the heart of great cities - such offices are also marginal to the shopping area - though now in a vertical, not a horizontal plane. Incidentally, along main shopping streets, rental values of the upper storeys are lower than those of the ground floor.

The outward moving offices tend to form either an office area, or several office areas, distinctive not only functionally but also visually (P.150).

Of outstanding importance in office area, and indeed in core, development is the existence of a markedly 'better side' to the town, for the office area is generally located on that flank of the core which abuts onto, and originally was part of, the 'better side' (Fig.44). And the reasons: (a) The 'better side' is the 'respectable side', and respectability is a desirable, though not essential, quality to be sought in office location. (b) The existence on this side of large nineteenth-century villa 'hangovers', unsuitable for continued residential use but suitable for conversion into offices and whose freehold/
Figure 45 - Land-use pattern, Colwyn Bay (Denbighshire).
leasehold can be often purchased cheaply.
(c) Proximity to that part of the town from which the most rewarding business can be expected.
(d) Proximity to banks and council offices, both likely to be on this better side.

This 'better side'-office area relationship is perfectly demonstrated in several resorts, e.g. Colwyn Bay (Fig. 45), Folkestone, Eastbourne and Worthing. It is also clearly seen at Rhyl, Deal, Littlehampton and Whitley Bay. Respectability, residential unsuitability and accessibility also help to explain why Georgian and Regency terraces are so often occupied by offices, for instance, Wellington Square (Hastings), Cecil Square (Margate), South Quay (Gt. Yarmouth), the Steyne area (Brighton), and Liverpool Terrace (Worthing).

A 'better side' not only causes offices to be located on one side of the core, but also tends to concentrate them into a certain area. A few resorts, however, though not possessing a 'better side', have an office concentration comparable to that of 'better side' towns, for example, Cecil Square (Margate), Station Road (Clacton), Church Road (Hove) and the Hoghton Street area, Southport (Fig. 46). The main office area of Great Yarmouth, including the banks, is found on the riverside flank of the core, being strongly tied to the riverside maritime activities of the town, especially in the past. (Cf. The City of London and its relationship to the Pool.)

In resorts with no 'better side', offices may (a) occupy almost any position marginal to the main shopping streets, and (b) form several groups of offices.

This is clearly seen at Blackpool, where several office areas occur in various parts of the core, some occupying quite lowly, originally residential, terraces (e.g. Edward Street), indicating that a position marginal to the core is
Figure 47 - Office areas, Southend.
more important than respectability or suitability for office conversion. Bournemouth also has several small concentrations of offices, though the 'core surround' here is far more suited to office conversion.

Southend has several distinct office areas (Fig. 47) and, with the aid of Kelly's Directories, the development of these areas was traced. The figures in the table overleaf are the number of separate office organisations listed in the directories, and do not, therefore, allow for the fact that one organisation might occupy five rooms, another, only one. Departmental offices of the Council were counted as separate organisations.

Though 'rough and ready', this method clearly shows the older, stable, office areas in the early (pre-1900) resort area immediately west of the High Street and the more recent expanding office areas in Warrior Square and Victoria Avenue – both areas of large pre-1914 houses. The London Road office area is intermediate between these two categories. It was noted that the office growth in Victoria Avenue was preceded, in part, by a surgery phase.

Other resorts with several small concentrations of offices include Scarborough, Bexhill and Brighton. Scarborough does possess a 'better side', but this has had little influence upon office development. A feature of Scarborough is the interdigation of office with shop, hotel, boarding-house and flat.

A few resorts possess just two office areas. At Hastings, where this is especially well shown, the Wellington Square group contrasts with the Havelock Road group in its preponderance of governmental offices. At Weston Super Mare, one office area is on the northern flank of the shopping area, in the Boulevard, and the other on the southern flank, about the Town Hall.

In resorts with well-developed maritime activities, a suite of offices related in function and location is likely
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**Table 3 - Office development in Southend. (Based on Kelley's Directories.)**
to be found, e.g. the Harbour (Scarborough), South Quay (Gt. Yarmouth) and the Waveney Dock area (Lowestoft).

Control exercised by important land-owning bodies has probably influenced office development in a few resorts. The only direct evidence of this, however, is at Skegness, where office development has been confined or directed to Lumley Avenue and Algitha Road - a policy carried out by the Earl of Scarborough and now supported by the Town Planning authorities.

Resorts possibly have a greater number of offices per 1,000 population than any other type of town, and for the following reasons:
(a) The large proportion of elderly people, this stimulating office activities by the numerous changes in property ownership. (1)
(b) The great number of 'outsiders' coming to live in the resort who require houses and often legal advice.
(c) The unstable foundations of the holiday industry, which cause properties, especially commercial ones, to change hands more frequently than in other towns.

The second process of functional differentiation is the development of a focal area denoted by the grouping of the large chain and department stores. Woolworth's is invariably the first to arrive, followed by the almost simultaneous establishment of Marks and Spencer's, Burton's and Boot's. The next phase depends upon the 'tone' of the town and core. If select, it will probably be the 'non-popular' department stores (sometimes of regional distribution), if non-select, it will be the other popular chain stores, British Home Stores and Littlewood's, though in large town cores both these latter suites will be represented. The possession of two or more non-popular departmental stores usually denotes a shopping centre of outstanding importance, e.g. Bournemouth.

(1) The large number of 'to let' signs in resorts are, in
The sites of these stores are carefully chosen, and are usually the best. (1) Moreover, the stores, in their turn, impart to the immediately adjacent shopping areas an added locational value.

The highly developed core at Bournemouth divides into two parts hinging on the Square. The western wing, the original shopping area, is the 'popular' part, and has the 'popular' chain stores - Woolworth's, Marks and Spencer's and British Home Stores. The eastern wing (2) is the superior shopping area, with the more specialised and select departmental stores, e.g. Bright's, Plummer-Rëddis and Beale's - though the latter has a 'subsidiary' on the west side. Here, too, are branches of leading London firms, Alkit, Moss Bros. and Lillywhite's. W. H. Smith's is also found on this eastern side, as is the main banking area. Separate 'early-closing days' emphasise this east/west distinction. Differentiation may thus occur in the distribution of large stores.

The third process, the development of an 'inner core' denoted by the abundance of clothes shops and absence of food shops, is best seen at Blackpool (Fig. 48). In this Abingdon Street forms a significant divide. At Eastbourne, part of Terminus Road forms a distinctive 'inner core' - the concentration of shoe-shops being particularly noticeable.

The clothes shops of an 'inner core' are often highly specialised, as are other typical 'inner core' shops, e.g. jeweller's, coffee shop, bookshop. It is paradoxical, therefore, that the hub of this 'inner core' is denoted by the very antipathy of specialisation, the 'popular' chain stores.

Street specialisation has already been considered (P. 130). A very distinctive and different form of this process is the part, attributable to this cause and not only to the unstable foundations of the holiday industry - as is sometimes supposed. (1) Though this desired site might not be obtained at once. (2) The first shops on this side were built in 1863. W. H. Smith's occupies one of them.
Figure 49 - The development of Lord Street, Southport (diagrammatic).
'antique shop' street or area. At Brighton, for instance, a concentration of such shops in the 'lanes' produces a distinct land-use region, while at Hastings, a similar though less pronounced concentration occurs in the John Street area. Such shops are bound to 'ye olde' areas of towns, and not the core. Thus they may or may not form part of the core. At Brighton they do, at Hastings, they do not. The association of antique shops with old parts of the town is extraordinarily strong. Little remains of Worthing's pre-resort settlement along the High Street, there is no suggestion of 'olde worlde' charm, yet most of the town's antique shops are found here.

Very occasionally, the two sides of a main shopping street show a marked contrast in land-use. At Southport, the asymmetric location of the road in Lord Street gives to its western flank a greater strategic value for shopping activities than the eastern flank - where are found those core land-users for whom a lesser main circulation route location incurs no disadvantage. Of the six cinemas along Lord Street, five are on the east side (Fig.46). The development of Lord Street is shown diagrammatically in Figure 49. This is based on maps and reproductions of mid-nineteenth-century prints appearing in F. A. Bailey's 'History of Southport'.

In concluding this section on functional differentiation, it is convenient to consider the development of a distinctive land-use area which, though not part of the core, is often closely related. It is a 'surgery' area - doctors, dentists, physiotherapists etc.

It is convenient and economic for surgeries to be attached to, or form part of, the practitioner's house. Thus, large houses with several rooms - of which at least two will be required for the surgery - the nineteenth-century 'hangovers' are suitable for conversion into combined surgery and residence. Such houses, moreover,
are located in a reasonably pleasant and fashionable residential environment befitting members of the professional classes. The second factor in surgery location is accessibility from the core. These two factors tend towards a grouping of surgeries, as they do of offices. Restrictive covenants against surgery conversion in post-1914 good-class housing areas no doubt strengthened the process of concentration.

Where the town has a 'better side', this tendency towards concentration may be especially well developed, the 'surgery area' developing adjacent to, and on the outer side of, the 'office area'. Outstanding in this respect is Colwyn Bay (Fig. 45), while a similar pattern is found at Rhyl (Fig. 68) and Deal. In all three, the succession outwards from the core hub is shopping area, office area and surgery area.

Surgery areas may occur in towns without 'better sides'. At Morecambe, emphasising and related to the duality in shopping activities, are two distinct, though small, surgery areas, both on the front. Incidentally, the northern group occupy an Early Victorian terrace of ashlar, which represents the resort's earliest expansion. At Ryde, a compact surgery area in Melville Street flanks the core, while at Sandown, a rather more dispersed surgery area is found along the 'Broadway' - the most fashionable road of the town, though slightly removed from the core. The well-developed surgery area at Whitley Bay is also removed from the core (Fig. ), its location being influenced by (a) the occurrence here of the town's largest houses (built c. 1890) and (b) the 'inland' urban expansion about Monkseaton.

In conclusion, reference must be made to an outstanding feature of post-war commercial development: the great increase in commercial premises concerned with the buying,
Superior shops and offices of the "better side."  

"Popular" shopping area (the chain stores etc.)  

 Inferior shops and holiday shops of 'Old Town'.

Figure 50 - The relationship between core structure and slope, Folkestone.
selling and servicing of motor-cars, motor-bicycles and scooters. These tend to group together, especially along main roads leading out of the core, and in some areas form small but significant concentrations. Few examples of this are found in resorts, Holdenhurst Road, Bournemouth, being a possible exception. In inland towns, however, many excellent examples are found, e.g. at Catford and Bromley in South London.

The Core - Internal Differentiation

Part II: Socio-Economic Aspects

Socio-economic differentiation is a characteristic feature of residential areas. It is equally characteristic of cores. In fact, the two are closely related, for the socio-economic status of the shopping area is determined by the status of the residential area which it serves and onto which it abuts. If a town has a 'better/poorer side' structure, its core probably has a corresponding division. At Eastbourne, for example, the shopping streets leading westwards from the main shopping street are markedly superior to the eastward offshoots (Fig. 60). (1) At Colwyn Bay, Scarborough (St. Nicholas St.) and Folkestone, the better shops are located on the better side, near the main banking zone. The varying status of the core at Folkestone is emphasised by changes in slope (Fig. 50).

Whitby's superior shopping street, Skinner Street, forms almost an 'outlier' to the main shopping area. Built during a distinct phase of Late Georgian expansion resulting from maritime prosperity, this street contrasts in

(1) The pavement displays of these 'eastern' streets are not found in the superior 'western' streets (Plate XXII).
Plate XXII - Typical 'side-street', Eastbourne.
origin with the main shopping streets of the medieval 'old town'. It is the shopping street nearest the better-class residential areas on the West Cliff and is also the highest.

Chain stores mark, and help to create, the focal shopping area. This area, therefore, though apparently the most advantageous for shops, is the 'popular' shopping area. Because of this, superior shops tend to avoid it, seeking instead a more select and fashionable location. They can do this because, offering a more specialised service, they are less dependent upon 'impulse' shopping.

If the town has a 'better side', the better shops will be on that side, from which they derive most of their trade. If there is no 'better side', almost any reasonable street may develop as the superior street. This is so with East Street, Brighton, though the adjacency of this street to the Steyne - once the centre of fashionable life - may be of significance.

Many shopping streets, when traced outwards from the core hub, show rapid deterioration in status, especially if adjacent to the 'poorer' residential areas. Non-specialised food shops (though including fish-and-chips shops) become prominent, second-hand furniture and clothing as well as auction rooms appear. Since the last war, such streets have been invaded by petrol-stations and second-hand car 'marts'. Farther along the road, semi-industrial workshops - some with window-displays - mingle with the shops, e.g. printers, dyers and cleaners (the work being done on the premises), building and decorating merchants, shoe-repairers and watch-repairers. Several shops are likely to exhibit 'Vacant' signs.

The degree of 'tailing-off' varies with the socio-economic tone of the adjacent or enveloping area. At Llandudno, the increase in food shops and pavement displays along the north-south offshoots of the east-west main
shopping street, and indeed at both ends of this main street, indicates but a mild degree of 'tailing-off'. In other resorts, however, 'tailing-off' may be more marked, e.g. King's Street (Ramsgate), Holdenhurst Road (Bournemouth) and the High Streets of Deal and Falmouth. Examples can be found in every resort.

In 'better/poorer side' towns, the superior shopping area usually ends abruptly against an adjacent office or residential area, producing a 'clean edge' to the shopping area. On the other hand, shopping streets of the poorer side tend to persist in a more obstinate manner before petering out, especially along main traffic arteries, and give to the core a more ragged edge (Fig. 51).

The Core: Summary

The core of resorts is characteristically located in a laterally symmetric position adjacent to and behind the frontal strip. Its precise location, form and orientation are greatly influenced by pre-resort settlements and pre/early resort roads. The influence of the railways and planning control is also important but more difficult to assess precisely.

The stability of the core is conditioned by the stability of the town and area which it serves. As these are rarely stable (at least in resorts), neither is the core. Instead it possesses a dynamic quality which is demonstrated in two ways, (a) its liability to locational shifts either bodily or in the position of its 'focus' - especially in the nineteenth century, and (b) the processes of differentiation acting upon it, both functional - based primarily upon the varying necessity for major circulation route locations - and socio-economic - conditioned by the residential pattern. In both processes of differentiation,
Figure 51 - The influence of a better/poorer side structure upon the form and functional differentiation of cores.
the existence, or absence, of a 'better side' is of outstanding importance (Fig. 51). Thus the core evolves, and its structure at any one time is but a stage in this evolution. Finally, the existence of a single core is dependent upon concentric growth - duality in town growth tending to produce duality in core activities.

**Subsidiary Shopping Centres**

This form of shopping activity is found in most resorts, though in smaller resorts, e.g. Newquay, Ilfracombe, Sheringham and Penzance, it may be poorly developed or absent. Though it is impossible to frame any one principle governing the location and distribution of these centres, there are certain urban environments in which they are likely to occur:

- **(a)** Villages and hamlets absorbed by resort expansion.
- **(b)** Old-established roads.
- **(c)** Main roads passing through low-class residential areas.
- **(d)** Inter-war and post-war council housing estates.

Large independent estate developments.

The affinity with old village nuclei is particularly strong. The resorts provide many fine examples, e.g. the 'old towns' of Eastbourne, Bridlington and Bexhill, the villages of Sidley (Bexhill), Beltinge (Herne Bay), St. Mary Church (Torquay) and Monkseaton (Whitley Bay). The extent to which the village retains its original character varies with the degree of assimilation. If the village is peripheral to the built-up area, it may be quite well preserved, as at Bridlington, Clacton and Bexhill, but if closer to the core, and especially if along a main road (as is likely), little may remain of the old fabric. An old cottage terrace might be concealed behind modern shopping facades, or replaced by blocks of purpose-built shops, until, ultimately, the shopping area differs little, visually, from one that
started 'from scratch', e.g. Southbourne (Eastbourne).

Another spontaneous form of shopping development is often found along main traffic routes, especially where these pass through poor residential areas. It may persist for a considerable distance, though the growth of minor focal shopping areas, perhaps at important intersections, is characteristic. At Southend, this 'through route' shopping form is developed to a remarkable degree, the main east-west 'through' road having more or less continuous shopping activities for nearly five miles (Fig. 52). Other good examples are the Wimbourne, Holdenhurst and Christchurch Roads (Bournemouth) (Fig. 62), the east-west artery of Highland Road, Albert Road and Elm Grove (Southsea) and the Grimsby Road (Cleethorpes). At Clacton and Bridlington (Fig. 3), this form is well-developed along the road linking coast and parental inland village.

Most numerous among 'non-spontaneous' subsidiary centres are the planned and purpose-built shopping areas of inter-war and post-war council estates. Good-class residential estates, also, occasionally possess a planned shopping centre, e.g. Penarth, Birkdale, where it is adjacent to the railway station, Southbourne Grove and Westbourne (Bournemouth) and Westcliff (Margate). These centres, in their compactness and 'tidyness', often contrast markedly with the 'spontaneous' growths.

Most subsidiary centres are linear in form; those based on a railway station or important intersections, however, may be 'nodal', while a few may reflect the irregularity of a pre-resort village.

The importance of subsidiary centres relative to the core varies greatly; in some resorts they are sufficiently important to compete significantly with the core (P. 127). Generally, the relative status of subsidiary shopping centre to core is inversely proportional to the degree of
unity in town growth. This only applies, however, to the more important subsidiary centres. The validity of this statement is not seriously weakened by the strong association between subsidiary centre and assimilated 'inland' villages, for the latter usually form nuclei for local expansion, i.e. cause non-unified town growth. Examples of important subsidiary shopping centres which reflect former non-unified town expansion are Craig Y Don (Llandudno), St. Leonards (Hastings), Cheriton (Folkestone) and Boscombe (Bournemouth). In contrast are resorts whose growth was unified and whose subsidiary centres are unimportant if compared in status to the core, e.g. Eastbourne, Rhyl, Scarborough, Southport (excluding Birkdale) and Weston Super Mare.

Functional and socio-economic differentiation occur in subsidiary centres as they do in cores, but there are important differences. First, the subsidiary centre exhibits less diversity in its commercial activities than the core. As it is essentially a shopping area, offices are usually poorly represented, even in subsidiary centres important enough to possess a Woolworth's. Exceptions to this are centres which, serving good- or high-class residential areas, are often exceptionally well provided with banks and offices (especially estate agencies), e.g. Littlecommon (Bexhill) and Birkdale (now administratively joined to Southport). The latter is probably unique amongst shopping centres, for it has about ten shops, seven banks, a large library, part of which was the town hall, and a police station. The second difference is that subsidiary centres are usually contained within a homogeneous residential area - compare this with the typical 'buffer' location of the core - and are, therefore, more homogeneous in socio-economic tone. It is in subsidiary centres that the 'harmony' between shop and residential
area is best demonstrated. A distinctive form of this relationship is revealed in the Westcliff (Southend) shopping centre where a marked concentration of Kosher shops serves the large Jewish community residing in Westcliff.

This section concludes with a brief consideration of the subsidiary shopping centres of Bournemouth. As Figure 62 shows, the outstanding feature of these centres is their location and linear development along the main 'through' roads radiating from the core. (1) All these roads originated in the Enclosure Award of 1805 and were the first roads to be made. The analysis overleaf shows the commercial "suites" of these centres and roughly grades them according to status.

The most important subsidiary centre is Boscombe, an area developed initially as an independent resort. (2) Though its shopping and entertainment equipment is equivalent to that of a moderate-size town, offices are feebly represented. The Westbourne and Southbourne Grove centres, at opposite ends of the town, have much in common. Both serve good-class residential areas, a fact indicated by the number of their banks and estate agents and the possession of a W. H. Smith's bookshop, and both contrast strongly with the 'popular' Boscombe centre. Visually, however, the two centres differ. Westbourne is very much a Victorian shopping centre, with its gothic windows and strongly coloured brickwork - red/black brick trim upon yellow walls, whereas Southbourne is essentially 'end-of-century in both age and character. The neatness and compactness of both centres is a result of planning control.

(1) Only one of these radiating shopping streets links up with the core; the others, Wimborne Road, Charminster Road and Christchurch Road are separated from the core by a 'buffer' sort of zone of good-class residential development - including hotels. Along the Christchurch Road, however, post-1945 commercialisation - a cinema, shops,
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* Trustees Saving Banks not included.
# Where post-office activities located in a shop.

} Combination indicative of urban status.

Table 4 - Analysis of subsidiary shopping centres, Bournemouth.

Note. The names of the shopping centres which are numbered above are given in Appendix 3.
Winton, developed initially as an artisan suburb, and, for a time, experiencing independent expansion, is a 'popular' centre, as is Moordown.

Corner Shops.

These represent the lowest level of shopping activity and their development is closely associated with pre-1914 terracing. They may be completely absent in better-class, or more recent, residential areas. Unlike the core and subsidiary shopping centres, these shops are tightly woven into the residential fabric. Providing goods in daily use, the essence of this type of shop is accessibility, and its sphere of influence is, at the most, two hundred yards, often one hundred yards. Its accessibility, moreover, is one also of time, for the corner shop invariably opens much earlier, and closes much later, than higher levels of shopping activity. The sight of a housewife, hair in curlers, shuffling in slippers to the corner shop at 8 a.m. to buy something for breakfast, underlines the essential basis of this type of trading.

The advantages of a street-corner site for these shops are a degree of nodality, a two-sided window-display, and ease of access for trade goods. Sometimes, two, three or four shops

contd. from p.146: Offices and showrooms - has eaten into the buffer area for about one-third of its length.

(2) This past distinction is emphasised by present planning policy which aims to develop Boscombe as the "popular" resort area of Bournemouth.
Figure 53 - Corner-shop development and its possible relationship with the growth of linear shopping streets.
will occupy corner sites at a road junction and possibly some subsidiary shopping centres originated in this manner. Another form of corner-shop concentration occurs when a low-class terrace area is crossed by a main traffic route (Fig. 53). This would help to account for the strong linear shopping growths along main roads which are so characteristic of modern towns.

All resorts possess corner-shops, the number being conditioned by the amount of pre-1914 low-class terracing. They are especially well represented in Folkestone — in the area northeast of the gasworks — Lowestoft and Great Yarmouth. Examination of pre-1914 directories at Folkestone indicated that corner-shop growth in the area referred to above was more or less contemporary with the building of the terraces.

Corner-shop development deserves the geographer’s attention. It poses a number of important questions:
(a) To what extent do corner-shops divert trade from the core?
(b) What is the corner-shop’s sphere of influence? Is its growth internally generated, or can it be stimulated by subsequent residential development on its flanks?
(c) What part has corner-shop growth played in the development of larger shopping centres?

It is possible that the corner-shop will ultimately disappear from the urban scene. (Certainly it appears to have no place in the orderly minds of modern estate builders and planners.)
Plate XXIII a. - Late Victorian purpose-built shopping terrace, Lowestoft.

Plate XXIII b - Post-war purpose-built shops, Lowestoft.
Plate XXIV a - Conversion of villas and gardens into shops, Lowestoft.

Plate XXIV b - Conversion of terrace into shops.

Plate XXIV c - Conversion of old houses into shops.
Figure 54 - The distribution of shop types, Lowestoft.
The Appearance of Core Areas.

The core of any town is characteristically a mixture of purpose-built commercial properties and conversions from non-commercial properties. The relative amounts of each vary greatly, however, but in general the relative amount of purpose-building increases with increasing town size, increasing control over town growth, and reversion of that growth. Resorts with the greatest amounts of purpose-building in their cores are, therefore, those developed towards the end of the nineteenth century and whose growth was controlled, at least in part, e.g., Clacton, Bexhill, Felixstowe and Saltburn. As would be expected, the amount of purpose-building increases inwards towards the core's focal area, an area which, in large towns, may consist entirely of purpose-building.

To illustrate the visual contrasts between purpose-building and conversions, and also to show the various types of conversions, photographs of the main shop types at Lowestoft are included (Plates XXIII a,b,c, XXIV a,b,c). The distribution of these types is shown on Figure 54.

An important factor in the development of core character is the nature of the residential area into which the core is expanding. If this area consists of large nineteenth century terraces with flat facades and small frontal gardens, the necessary external alterations may be only slight. If, however, it consists of small low-class terraces, the original facades may completely disappear. An excellent example of this is
Plate XXV - Conversion of low-class terrace into shops, Blackpool.
illustrated by Plate XXV. Here, the old facades of a small terrace have been completely replaced by tiered glass frames. This form, incidentally, is characteristic of much of Blackpool's core.

Of course, conversion of a house into offices may involve little facial alteration. However, the absence of curtains at windows gives to an otherwise apparently residential area a distinctive visual character. Also, frontal gardens and trees tend to be replaced by gravel and cement.

One of Brighton's main shopping streets, Western Road, displays a marked visual contrast between its two sides. The north side consists entirely of purpose-built shops, most of them large departmental stores, whereas the south side consists of conversions from stucco terraces. This is to be explained by an inter-war road-widening scheme in which the old properties on the north side were demolished and replaced by purpose-built shops set back to the new building line. The south side was not affected.

The process by which buildings are put to a use differing from the original one can be conveniently referred to as "functional pseudomorphism." In resorts, this process is not restricted to shopping centres but is found on a widespread scale in the conversion of private houses to hotels and boarding houses. Functional pseudomorphism provides useful information on the nature of core growth; it is also largely

(1) In some properties, several successive land-uses may be found.
responsible for the visual complexity of many cores and partly responsible for functional complexity. An obsolete chapel might determine the location of a garage or workshop, and the assembly rooms, the location of the auction rooms.
SEASONAL TRADING AREAS.

The commercial establishments of most resorts show a complete gradation in their dependence upon seasonal holiday trade. Some are almost entirely dependent upon this trade, and, if sufficient in number, form distinctive trading strips or areas. Many of these establishments close down for the 'off-season', but some remain open throughout the year as if by force of habit. The term 'establishment' includes not only shops - mostly cafes and gift shops - but also amusement arcades and other diffused amusement park features. All these are usually found in close association.

As would be expected, the seasonal trading area is best developed in "popular" and/or "tripper" resorts. In more select resorts, especially those with an important private residential function, seasonal trading may be virtually absent, as at Colwyn Bay, Sidmouth, Llandudno and Bournemouth.

Although frontal trading is invariably seasonal trading, the converse is not always true. If such trading development is very intense, and/or its expansion along the front restricted, expansion may, and often does, take place 'inland'. This is particularly evident at Blackpool (Fig 48) and Scarborough (Fig. 61), and to a lesser extent at Rhyl (Fig. 68), Ramsgate,
Figure 54A - The distribution of holiday shops about the High Street, Ramsgate.
Southsea, Skegness, Clacton, Weston super Mare, New Brighton and Folkestone. The distribution of seasonal trading at Ramsgate (Fig. 54 A) suggests that the long-established non-seasonal shopping area of the High Street - it was one of the pre-resort roads - has diverted seasonal trading into the adjacent York Street. A somewhat similar relationship is seen at Rhyl, between the High Street and Queen Street.

The seasonal trading area is usually adjacent to the core, unless of course, the core is inland as at Littlehampton, Great Yarmouth and Whitley Bay. In several resorts it is located in front of the core, for example at Redcar (Fig. 74), Bognor, Brighton, Herne Bay and Weston super Mare, but in some it is clearly to one side, for example at Southend, Blackpool and Rhyl. In all these last three resorts, this is the "poorer" side of the core, which, in the case of Southend and Blackpool, means the non-cliffed side. At Whitley Bay, the seasonal trading area is on the top of a low cliff as there is not sufficient space at the cliff base, but elsewhere it is invariably at beach level. In Southend and Scarborough, therefore, the seasonal shops are separated from the core by a cliff slope. If only a small area of beach, especially a sandy beach, remains exposed at high tide, the seasonal trading area will skirt this beach. This is clearly seen at Redcar, Cleethorpes, Blackpool and Scarborough. Of course, it is in the seasonal trading area, the area of greatest resort activity, that the greatest efforts are made to retain
or build up a beach not covered at high tide.

The location of the seasonal trading area at Great Yarmouth is of particular interest as it coincides with the area of initial resort growth in Regency times. This is yet another illustration of the principle that "the older the building, the more likely it is to attract commercial activities". (P. 109). The 'block' form of this part of the front retains the block form of this initial growth, though the reason for such growth is not known.

In resorts largely dependent on the holiday industry, but in which tripper traffic is poorly developed, seasonal trading establishments tend to be located throughout the core rather than to form one area adjacent to the core. This was found in several resorts of the 'South West', for example Newquay, Swanage and St. Ives, and also in the Isle of Wight, e.g. Sandown.

In many resorts, frontal commercialisation occurred comparatively recently. At Weymouth, for example, the commercialisation of the front only began after 1900, while at Margate the commercialisation of Marine Terrace (today the main area of seasonal trading) commenced in 1903 (and was practically complete by 1914). A photograph of the 1890s shows that the present forecourt trading area of Blackpool's "Golden Mile" was then still residential, except for Read's Baths. The purpose-built shops of the remaining part of the Golden Mile, however, were functioning as such back in
the late 1860s (the evidence for this again based on photographs). At Rhyl, frontal trading has rapidly expanded in this century. In 1914, its length was 110 yards, in 1935, 285 yards and in 1957, 400 yards. In contrast, the expansion of frontal trading at Southend over the last sixty years has been comparatively slight, if the opening of the Kurhaus in 1901 be excluded.

At Paignton, seasonal trading is almost absent from the front, except for a slight concentration about the pier entrance, and is found, instead, in the main access street to the front, Victoria Street. One possible explanation of this is the existence at this resort of a large frontal open space. A frontal open space has a very high amenity value. This gives the controlling authority a strong incentive to maintain such amenity value by preventing the development of seasonal trading along the inner edge of the space. Secondly, the existence of this space means that the frontal building strip, i.e. the potential seasonal trading area, is separated from the main flow of visitors (especially day trippers) which is along the promenade adjacent to the beach. As main visitor flow and seasonal trading development are closely linked, the possibility of the commercialisation of the building strip is thereby greatly reduced. The separation of this strip from the promenade and beach also means that the amenity enjoyed by the strip is not diminished by proximity to main visitor flow. There is not the tendency for the sensitive residential function to be driven
out, and to be replaced by less sensitive trading. (This type of factor is also referred to on Pages 121).

In resorts with frontal open space, the development of seasonal trading is not, therefore, likely along the strip of frontal building. Nor is it likely along the outer edge of the open space (adjacent to the main visitor flow) as it is neither desirable here nor (probably) legally possible. Instead, any seasonal trading is forced to exploit main visitor flow in one of the access streets to the front - as at Paignton. Such reasoning is confirmed by other resorts with a large frontal open space. At Littlehampton, seasonal trading is absent from the frontal building strip, and is found along the main access road from the station and core to the frontal area (Fig. 85). At Southsea, frontal trading is only found where the frontal building strip flanks the beach, yet there is a marked 'inland' concentration of seasonal shops (adjacent to the site of a former railway station, and at the junction of the main access road from Fratton Station and the main access road from Portsmouth).

Although frontal commerce has greatly expanded in the present century, and in some resorts was continuing to do so for several years after the second world war (2), its further expansion is unlikely. In most resorts, the planning authorities have not allocated additional space for such expansion, e.g. at Blackpool, Brighton, Southend, Margate, Morecambe, Rhyl and Weymouth. Most authorities regard any
further lateral expansion of frontal trading as highly undesirable. This does not mean, however, that the internal re-organisation and expansion by vertical growth of present trading areas will not take place. At Great Yarmouth, incidentally, an additional frontal area has been reserved in which the council is prepared to consider applications for the establishment of further trading properties.
HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

All towns possess accommodation for the reception of visitors, but it is only in resorts (coastal and inland), and in great cities and/or university towns, that the amount of accommodation is large enough to warrant special study.

In this chapter, several aspects of holiday accommodation in seaside resorts are considered. These are:

1. Historical development and present-day trends.
2. The mapping of accommodation.
3. Accommodation distribution patterns.

It is first necessary, however, to list the varying forms of accommodation. The most satisfactory criterion for this is the completeness of service given. This permits the recognition of the following:

- Hotels (licenced and unlicenced).
- Holiday Homes.
- Guest Houses and Boarding Houses.
- "Bed and Breakfast ("B. and B.")" (with/without Evening Meal).
- Apartments.
- Holiday Flats, (or Flatlets), Holiday Bungalows, Furnished Accommodation.

(To this last group can be added the caravans and chalets of holiday camps.)

No doubt, subtle distinction could be made between guest
house and boarding house. The two terms are used so loosely, however, that separate treatment seems pointless. "Apartments" are rooms let for a week or more in which the landlady's only function is to cook the food brought by the occupying family, and probably to control the front door.

The last type of accommodation, holiday flats, etc., is self-contained accommodation in which the visitor has complete freedom.

If completeness of service were the only factor operative in the location of accommodation, a simple zoning pattern would result in which establishments giving the most complete service were nearest the front. It would result because the owner of frontal land wants the highest return for his land. He realises that the profit percentage in properties providing visitor accommodation increases with completeness of service, and that the nearer these properties to the front the more complete the service that can be successfully offered. Add to this the amenity value of frontal and near-frontal location, and it is easy to understand why land values rapidly increase towards the front. Thus plots of land along the front command especially high
Figure 55 - The theoretical zoning and location of accommodation.
prices, and are likely to be taken up by establishments which can (a) afford to buy or rent these plots, and (b) make the most of such plots by offering a complete service. In other words, hotels.

Just as, in theory, the intensity of letting activities increases towards the front, so this intensity should also increase towards the "core" area. Not only are shops and some entertainments concentrated in the "core" but many resort amenities are likely to be located along the frontal strip adjacent to the "core". The probable location of bus and rail termini in the "core" is another factor. The accommodation area, therefore would be evenly situated about the "core". (Fig.55). In many resorts, however, such ideal accommodation patterns are not found, as some of the subsequent maps show.

**Historical Development**

Holiday accommodation, in its adjustments to new ways of living and new forms of holiday making, provides a story of continuous change. To add to the complexity of its study, the sequence of change is not necessarily the same for each resort, nor is the phasing of these changes. The table
overleaf gives the types of accommodation, and their origins, found in a typical resort.

For resorts with an important pre-existing settlement, there are often references to eighteenth century visitors staying in fishermens' cottages. The Reverend Clarke's letter from Brighton in 1736 is one such reference, (P. 6) and this phase no doubt occurred at Scarborough, Margate and Ramsgate, Exmouth, Tenby, Weymouth, Hastings and other resorts. A similar phase possibly occurred much later in a few resorts, for at Sheringham, where resort building began about 1880, the author was told by a local historian that his grandmother could recall the time members of the aristocracy stayed at her humble fishing cottage.

This initial phase was soon to give way to true resort expansion, the building of accommodation for the wealthier classes — either seaside villas or terrace apartments, owned or rented and occupied by the visitor who often stayed for the "season". With the development of the railways, the granting of longer holidays and increased wages (to name but a few factors), the seaside cult rapidly spread through the lower socio-economic strata. As a result, the latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the gradual break-up of the original "watering place" phase, and the emergence of what has now come to be regarded as the traditional form of holiday making - the weekly or fortnightly stay at hotels,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WATERING PLACE HEALTH RESORT</th>
<th>I860</th>
<th>PLEASURE RESORT</th>
<th>SEASIDE RESORT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-resort building.</td>
<td>→ A few inns, also sporadic hotels and boarding houses.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaside villas.</td>
<td>→ Hotels, boarding houses, holiday homes, holiday flatlets.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrace apartments.</td>
<td>→ &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose-built hotels.</td>
<td>→ Hotels.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose-built hotels.</td>
<td>→ Purpose-built hotels.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose-built boarding houses.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private houses → hotels, boarding houses, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaside bungalows → furnished accommodation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose-built hotels.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holiday camps.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B &amp; Bs in poorer-class terracing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B &amp; Bs in council housing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I860</th>
<th>I900</th>
<th>I918</th>
<th>I930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
boarding houses, apartments and "B. and B." establishments.

Of course, these changes were not so spectacular as might appear from what has just been said. The railway would not necessarily come right to the resort in one "go", but might stop, or pass, several miles away, causing the remainder of the journey to be made by coach, and sometimes cart. (1) The original form of holiday making did not immediately disappear, but declined as the new form grew in importance. (2)

In resorts which developed before the growth of this latter "pleasure resort" phase, the old forms of accommodation were eventually converted into hotels and boarding houses, and added to by purpose-built establishments. In other resorts whose beginning, or main expansion, was contemporary with this phase - e.g. Blackpool, Morecambe, Skegness, Littlehampton and Southend - the required new forms of accommodation were purpose-built. The significance of

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(1) Examples of this are Clacton, Cleethorpes, Llandudno, Exmouth, Herne Bay, Bournemouth and Littlehampton.

(2) In one or two small yachting anchorages in the Isle of Wight, something of the old "watering place" phase still persists. Houses are rented for the season, sometimes by members of the nobility, and a very fashionable social life revolves around the yacht club houses.
this distinction in the distribution of accommodation will be seen later (P. 181).

One of the outstanding features of the latter half of the nineteenth century was the building of enormous hotels piles which represent not only the great wealth of this period but also its great faith in the future of the holiday industry. Many of these hotels were built in anticipation of, rather than the response to, public demand. In fact, in some resorts, e.g. Saltburn, Colwyn Bay, Sheringham and St. Annes, the provision of a large hotel, invariably coupled with the coming of the railway, was the first step in the resort's growth.

The oldest of these hotel piles must be the North Euston Hotel, Fleetwood, built in the 1840s. Its first phase as a hotel was relatively short owing to the failure of Fleetwood to retain its initial popularity, and in 1863, the hotel was taken over by the Military. Its later reopening was probably due more to the town's development as a port than its revival as a resort. Other early hotel piles include the "Grand", Scarborough, built in the 1850s and the "Zetland", Saltburn, and the Ilfracombe", Ilfracombe, built in the 1860s. Part of the "Ilfracombe" was acquired by the council in the 1920s, the remainder in 1945. Today, part of this building is the "town hall", its laundry room is the town museum, its library the coffee
lounge, its lower floor the "Holiday Inn"(1) and its lawn a putting green. Many of its rooms remain unused, however.

Very different, at least in style, are the late Victorian/Edwardian hotels, characteristically built of red/brown brick with pink terra cotta trim. Many of these hotels were built by one of two large hotel syndicates, the Gordon syndicate and the Frederick syndicate. These hotels are so common that there is no need to cite examples. In some resorts, for instance, Sheringham, Southend and Birkdale, one such hotel dominates the front. A specialised type of late nineteenth century hotel was the "hydro" - a large hotel specialising in hydrotherapy, e.g. the "Norbreck", Blackpool and the neighbouring "Cleveley", and the "Craigside", Llandudno. The first and last still function as hotels.

Another distinct phase of hotel building occurred in the inter-war period and is well represented at Morecambe, Blackpool, Skegness and Whitby (P. 252).

The recognition of purpose-built boarding houses is less simple, and, indeed, many terraces and semi-detached houses, known to have been built as holiday accommodation in the latter part of the nineteenth century, differ little if at all from inland forms built for private residential use. Much of such building appears to be of general purpose type - a house which could be used as a private house, apartments (for visitors or for residents), boarding house or furnished

(1) A Public House and Dance Hall.
accommodation. The absence of large rooms to serve as communal dining rooms and lounges, though now remedied by the demolition of a partition wall, suggests that much of this building was intended to serve as apartments rather than a boarding house, even in the more popular resorts.

Because of the tremendous increase since 1945 of new forms of holiday accommodation (especially holiday camps, caravan camps and holiday flatlets), the hotel, boarding house and "B. and B." suite of accommodation is usually referred to as the traditional form. But, in fact, this suite shows some marked contrasts with that of pre-war times, particularly in the past importance of apartments. The pre-war distribution of apartments was not even, however, for they tended to be more popular in northern resorts - though any such regional pattern would be locally modified by difference in the social "tone" of resorts.

In an attempt to determine the relative importance of apartments today, the accommodation advertisements of resort guides were examined. This is unsatisfactory, however, because apartments are usually provided by the small house, often offering "B. and B." as an alternative, whose representation in guides varies greatly. The examination that did suggest, though, the pre-war contrast between north and south still remains, as some northern resorts have a few apartments while the southern resorts have virtually none. In a few resorts, for example Weston super Mare and
Bridlington, some of the apartments are available only for the early or late part of the season. This indicates that the apartment is less profitable than the "B. and A.", and, no doubt, helps to explain the decline of the former.

The great decline in the number of apartments is, indeed, a feature of the post-war holiday scene. Another feature is the growth of the holiday flatlet. At the moment this new form is in its infancy, but there is every reason to believe that it will steadily grow in importance. Its development has been most marked in Rhyl, where it forms an important, though still subsidiary, element in the accommodation structure. Other resorts where the holiday flatlet is of some significance are Herne Bay, Fleetwood, Clacton, Mablethorpe, Llandudno, Skegness and Morecambe. Its association with the "popular" resort should be noted. Next to a hotel, the holiday flatlet is probably the most profitable form of accommodation.

An older accommodation form is the seaside bungalow built initially as a seasonal or weekend residence - the twentieth century counterpart of the seaside villa of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. It is particularly common at Herne Bay (Studd Hill), Exmouth (the Dock area) and Clacton (Jaywick). Unfortunately many of these bungalows, often of temporary construction, have become permanently occupied, though the owner might "let" the bungalow during the summer.
Plate XXVI - Bungalow characteristic of Mablethorpe and Sutton. It is quite likely that in summer the family live in the garage adjacent to the house, the house being let as 'furnished accommodation'. 
At Mablethorpe, a town with a greater proportion of bungalows than any other resort, many bungalows, built as seasonal residences or permanent residences, are "let" as furnished accommodation throughout the season. Some of the owners move into caravans while their bungalow is "let", but others simply move into the garage adjoining the house; in several streets, garages are seen to have curtains. This is a striking example of the town's dependence upon the holiday industry, having no other industry and no large nearby towns which to serve as a dormitory; nor is its east coast location favourable to retirement. The local council is fully aware of this garage habitation and of its undesirability, but, as one official pointed out, it would be very difficult to stamp out. For many people, moreover, this "letting" is the only source of income. The bungalow is too small to function as a boarding house and, so, has to be used as furnished accommodation, with the above results. If such "letting" were stamped out, the prosperity of the town, and the ease of its government, would be adversely affected; this also applies to resorts where council house "letting" is important. (P. 169).

Incidentally, the proportion of apartments in Mablethorpe is

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(1) This large number of bungalows results in part from the clearance, in the inter-war period, of residential caravan camps (mainly for health reasons), and the rehousing of people thus displaced.
probably the highest for any resort, again a reflection of the large number of small bungalows.

In many resorts, council housing estates occupy a large proportion of the built-up area. If reasonably close to the sea, for instance, within three quarters of a mile, these estates must be considered as potential "B. and B." areas. Although in most resorts, council house tenants are forbidden to take in paying guests, such activity is likely to be quite strongly developed in the better placed housing estates - though on a very unofficial and "hush-hush" basis. There is rarely any visible evidence of "letting", and most of the visitors staying in these houses come through personal recommendation. It would appear that the councils turn a blind eye to this "letting" - unless carried out in a flagrant manner - again not wanting to "cut their own throat". At Newquay, however, the council has adopted a more realistic attitude by sanctioning such "letting" upon payment of an additional rent. This seems to be the most sensible thing to do in resorts whose sole source of income is the holiday industry.

It is generally believed today that the amount of "traditional" type accommodation, hotels especially and boarding houses, is smaller now than in pre-war times, this being due to the increase in new forms of accommodation. To see if this was so, a comparison was made between the amounts of frontal accommodation listed in a pre-war and
post-war directory for twelve resorts. The method of "scoring" is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Osborne Hotel</td>
<td>1 Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Hotel, Nos. 9-14</td>
<td>6 Units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Williams, No. 15</td>
<td>1 Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the following resorts no significant change was found in the amounts of accommodation: Eastbourne, Worthing, Bournemouth, Weymouth, Paignton, Scarborough and Torquay. A common internal change, however, was consolidation, the amalgamation of two or more originally separate accommodation establishments to form one large hotel.

The results for Scarborough are of particular interest. This resort has three main hotel and boarding house areas, one focusing on North Bay, one focusing on South Bay, and one slightly inland (Fig. 61). The North Bay area showed no change (44 to 43), the South Bay area a decline (60 to 51), at least along the front, and the inland area an increase (17 to 21). The comparison for Weymouth, incidentally, showed a marked increase in frontal holiday shops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cafes</th>
<th>Amusement Arcades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results for Folkestone (91 to 75), Southsea and Brighton, however, revealed a marked decrease in accommodation since the war. This was due to flat conversion at Folkestone, flat, municipal office and military hostel
conversion at Southsea and shop, office and institution conversion at Brighton. A small decrease was also found at Southend.

Great Yarmouth, on the other hand, showed an increase in frontal accommodation, especially on the northern side of the frontal trading area. A considerable increase in holiday shops was also revealed, some of them taking over hotels and boarding houses.

The above examples suggest that no generalisations can be made. Even if it can be shown that the number of hotels is less, this does not necessarily mean that hotel capacity has decreased. Many hotels have increased their capacity by building extra storeys, or by adding new buildings to their sides.

In some resorts, however, even the most casual survey cannot fail to note a marked decrease in hotel accommodation, and this was most evident in some East Anglia resorts, e.g. Felixstowe, Cromer and Sheringham.

On the whole the very large Late Victorian hotel pile has been the first to go. Yet, as has already been mentioned, an outstanding feature of post-war development has been integration and consolidation, the production of bigger hotels - this trend, incidentally, producing some remarkable "architectural" forms.

This increasing integration of hotels is typical of the expanding basis of the holiday industry (P. 427). It reaches
an extreme form in Margate where four adjacent hotel blocks, stretching for four hundred yards along the top of the cliffs, have been bought by "Butlins" and converted into a hotel holiday camp; four hundred yards of brilliant blue and yellow paint. To some observers this intrusion of the holiday camp into the heart of a resort dramatically heralds the replacement of the traditional form of holiday accommodation by new forms, and certainly there is every reason to believe that the Margate experiment will be repeated in other popular resorts, perhaps Rhyl, Skegness, Scarborough or Newquay.

The "traditional" form is unlikely to disappear, however. Its great strength, though also its weakness, is the intimate bond between guest and landlady, a bond produced often through many years of return visits, a personal relationship lacking in the holiday camp. The holiday camp, moreover, is still a novelty, and still has to be tested by time. It cannot be assumed that the attraction of slick organisation will continue its present popularity.

The Mapping of Accommodation.

The task of constructing maps to show the distribution of accommodation types consists of two parts, the obtaining of the data (giving both "status" and "address") and its actual plotting. Accommodation data can be obtained from the following sources:
(a) Accommodation Registers.
(b) Valuation Lists.
(c) Detailed street directories.
(d) Personal survey.

Accommodation registers are either included in the holiday "guide", or published separately. Their main disadvantages are incompleteness, and variation in completeness and form of presentation from one resort to another. Some large hotels, with national reputations, may not need to advertise, though, few in number, these are easily located in other ways. More troublesome are "bed and breakfasts" and smaller boarding houses which dispense with guide advertisement, and, instead, rely upon highly effective personal recommendation to attract trade. A large number of these establishments, moreover, are not rated as accommodation, and do not wish, therefore, to advertise their status to valuation officers whose first source of information may be the guide. Instead, they might advertise in other publications, the British Railways Guide being especially popular. Thus, incomplete guide coverage is more marked in the representation of these "lower" forms of accommodation then in any other.

Valuation lists, held by all local authorities, show the rateable values and addresses of all accommodation rates as such. In theory, at least, the great advantage of this source is uniformity between resorts. It also allows the determination of accommodation "types" on a statistical basis. A further advantage is that this data can be used to
determine the accommodation structure of resorts (P.196). Unfortunately, though coverage of the more important letting establishments is complete, this is not so for the smaller boarding houses and "bed and breakfasts" — many of which are rated and described as private houses. In this respect, the shortcomings of the valuation list resemble those of the accommodation register.

The same drawback attends the use of detailed street directories. Also, in such directories — which do not exist for every resort — the only indication of accommodation type is in the often misleading self-styled designations of the letting establishments.

In the preparation of a 25" Land-use survey (a visual survey), Town Planning authorities are required to distinguish between private houses (pink) and flats, hotels and boarding houses (brown). Unfortunately they are not required to distinguish flats from hotels, etc., and only for one or two resorts has this been done.

The great advantage of the personal survey is its thoroughness. During the holiday season, it should be possible to locate the majority of "bed and breakfasts" and smaller boarding houses whose presence would not be revealed by other methods. Signs in windows, tables laid for meals in front rooms — with table napkins prominent — large house names, freshly painted fronts — especially if red, blue
or yellow - dressing tables at ground floor level, the grouping of several cars - all these prove, or suggest, letting activities. Of course, the establishments can be plotted on a map at the same time, while other details can be noted, e.g. the form and age of the buildings. The disadvantages are, (a) the great amount of time and physical effort involved, especially if carried out by one person, (b) the need for such surveys to be carried out in the summer, and (c) the problem of determining "status".

The three methods of plotting accommodation data are:

(a) Street directories.

(b) 50"/25" O.S. maps giving house numbers, and other maps, held by Borough Surveyors, or estate offices, upon which house numbers have been inserted.

(c) Personal survey.

If the scale of the base map is sufficiently small, e.g. 6" to 1 mile, mapping by directory is a very satisfactory method. This was done for the rated, i.e. official accommodation of Scarborough. When the resultant map was compared with a visual survey of accommodation made by the Town Planning authority, the degree of co-incidence was most gratifying. Directories were also used to plot accommodation at Blackpool, Morecambe and Southend.

Large scale maps showing house numbers allow the completely accurate plotting of accommodation, and were used for Southport and Lytham St. Annes. Unfortunately, few resorts possess maps of this sort.
Personal survey was the method usually employed, not necessarily because it was the best, but because it also allowed other information to be collected.

The ideal method of constructing an accommodation distribution map is probably as follows. First plot by personal survey or by directory the official (rated) accommodation. Secondly, determine obvious non-letting residential areas. (These are usually the better-class areas whose extent can be determined either by personal survey, or by marking on the map private houses with a R.V. of £40. Occasionally, an absence of letting activities over a restricted area can be caused by the lowly nature of the houses. (P. 192.) The remaining area - between the official accommodation area and the non-letting areas - is best regarded as a potential "bed and breakfast" area. Personal survey, and the accommodation register, reveal some "B. and B.s", but what proportion of the total "B. and B." activities of the area these represent, cannot be deduced - though, of course, a decrease in letting intensity away from the "core" is to be expected.

Throughout this section has been the constant problem of "unofficial" accommodation. In some private houses, this is clearly on a commercial basis, while in others it takes the form of entertaining friends and relatives. During the holiday season, most houses are likely to contribute to the visitor population in one way or another. It is
possible that a detailed comparison of non-season/season milk consumption by streets, and perhaps by individual houses and letting establishments, would provide valuable information on both the extent and amount of visitors reception and allow comparisons between resorts. The rhythm of the holiday season could also be determined by keeping a daily record for selected streets. This type of project is especially suitable for team research, perhaps one member of the team per milk round. Possibly the necessary information could be obtained from milk sale records.

**Accommodation Distribution Patterns.**

Reference has been made to the theoretical zoning and location of holiday accommodation. (Fig. 55). In this section, the accommodation distribution patterns of several resorts are examined to determine the extent to which the above zoning is developed and the factors causing its modification. This examination is made within the framework of a threefold division based on the relative areal extent of holiday accommodation to built-up area. The divisions are:

**Group A.** Resorts whose accommodation area occupies a large part of the built-up area.

**Group B.** Resorts with a well-developed accommodation area, but with private residential tracts also well represented.

**Group C.** Resorts with a poorly developed accommodation area.

Resorts of Group A. are those most dependent upon the
holiday industry, and five examples are now considered: -
Sandown, Shanklin, Ventnor, Newquay and Skegness.

The mapping of accommodation at Sandown was done by
personal survey during the holiday season, and the determi-
nation of "type" was based on the establishment's own
designation (plus personal judgement). The resultant
pattern (Fig. 56) shows that although there is a well
developed frontal hotel zone, the remaining accommodation
must be related to the suitability of former private houses
for conversion into hotels, etc. Only in this way can
inland hotel development, especially along the Broadway,
be explained.

At Shanklin, however, the accommodation pattern (Fig. 57)
shows some degree of zoning parallel to the coast. Two
reasons help to explain this contrast with Sandown.
First, an inland "valley" roughly parallel to the coast at
Shanklin, has attracted the more humble forms of residential
development - the small boarding houses and "B. and B.s" -
while the higher land between it and the coast has attracted
good-class villa development, these villas later being
converted into hotels. The second reason, overlapping the
first, is the control exercised over the town's growth by
the White-Popham estate. The development policy of this
estate was undoubtedly influenced by both topography and the
desire to have the best houses nearest the front. Like
Sandown, however, Shanklin also has an inland hotel area,
though very small, in the vicinity of Victoria Avenue – an originally high class, somewhat secluded villa area, located in a very delightful valley. (Fig. 57, VA). It might be noted that the existence of a well developed cliff-line allows the development of a double row of hotels. This feature is occasionally found in other resorts, for example, Filey.

The accommodation map for Newquay (Fig. 58), based on rateable values and personal survey, reveals three hotel areas; a coastal belt, an inland belt along Mount Wize, and a detached area at East Pentire. An outstanding feature of the first area is the great purpose-built pre-1914 hotel piles which command magnificent views of the coast. The inland belt occurs just below the crest of an east-west ridge, and several of its hotels also have excellent views owing to their elevated position. The form of Newquay in 1914 (Fig. 58), suggests that this belt was developed as a secondary "amenity exploiting" area – the primary area being along the cliff-top – whose significance was expressed in larger houses suitable for conversion into hotels. Building here was also facilitated by a pre-existing, now the Mount Wize, road. The East Pentire area is almost separated from the main built-up area, and its hotels enjoy the amenity of either the coast to the north, or the wooded and attractive slopes of the Gannel estuary to the south. The boarding
Figure 59 - Land-use, Skegness (Lincolnshire).
houses are closely associated with the hotels. "B. and B.s" abound, but are significantly absent in the East Pentire area, and the good class residential areas of the Trencnance Valley and part of the recent expansion on the east side of the town.

The accommodation pattern at Skegness (Fig. 59) shows only those hotels and boarding houses rated as such, i.e. the official accommodation area. Unlike the above examples, this pattern reveals more or less ideal zoning, the hotels, many of them purpose-built, being mainly restricted to the front. In contrast to most resorts, Skegness has, in the Firbeck Avenue and Sandy Avenue area, several purpose-built boarding houses of inter-war age.

In Sandown, Shanklin and Ventnor, a greater part of the official accommodation, especially hotels, was not built as such but was converted from private residential properties. As a result, the accommodation pattern has been greatly influenced by the distribution of buildings suitable for such conversion. This fact is of fundamental importance, and to be properly appreciated the changing basis of the resort and of holiday making must now be considered.

In many resorts, early building activities were not concerned with the provision of hotels and boarding houses, but of villas, etc., built as seasonal seaside residences for the wealthier classes who would either own or rent these buildings. During the 'season' - not necessarily the summer
season - the villa would serve as, and in fact be, a "home from home", complete with servants. Although "accommodation" in a very specialised sense, this form of building could be regarded as private residential development. As such, it was not tied to the front - time was unimportant - and, instead, might occur in almost any area suitable, or which could be made suitable, for fashionable residential development. This might be, and often was, on the coast, but it could also be inland, exploiting hill sides commanding fine views (not necessarily of the sea) or perhaps in a secluded wooded valley (p.212).

If an early watering place acquired a reputation for a highly beneficial climate, the incentive for seasonal residence was particularly strong. This was especially true of watering places that could boast an equable climate to which one could flee from the rigours of an English winter without stranding oneself socially. Indeed, a number of nineteenth century watering places enjoyed a high reputation as winter resorts, e.g. Torquay, Bournemouth and Ventnor.

Early growth at Ventnor was primarily villa development. A steep seaward slope, broken into a complex of ledges and gulleys by intense land slipping, provided numerous ideal sites for these villas. Some were perched on ledges high up the seaward slope and with magnificent coastal views, others preferred the topographic seclusion of the valleys - emphasised by lush tree growth, either pre-existent or the
result of deliberate planting in the moulding of a fashionable residential area. The present irregular distribution of hotels and boarding houses is founded upon that initial villa phase.

Other resorts (not necessarily of Group A.) with an irregular distribution of hotels and boarding houses related to the distribution of former private houses - some of the later ones built as permanent seaside residences - include Sidmouth, Cromer, Ilfracombe, Minchhead and Llandudno (the Church Walks area).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the basis of holiday-making commenced a transformation which resulted in the evolution of the "traditional" holiday form - the visitor staying one or two weeks in a hotel or boarding house. Time was now important, and hotels and boarding houses built as such during this period were likely to be tied to the front. The more recent the growth of a resort, the greater the proportion of purpose-built hotels and boarding houses and the greater the amount of accommodation complying with the theoretical zoning pattern. Skegness, whose growth began in the 1880s, was developed from the start as a hotel and boarding house resort. The siting of its accommodation, was, therefore, determined by proximity to the front.

Unfortunately, this simple distinction, between early
villas (and also terraces) not tied to the front which were later converted into hotels and boarding houses, and hotels and boarding houses built as such and tied to the front, is greatly modified, and in two ways. First, the "change-over" was gradual, and the two forms would exist side by side for many decades, though one growing, the other declining. Secondly, and more important, the timing of the "villa" and "hotel and boarding house" phases, and the existence of a villa phase, would depend on the recency of the resort's growth and the nature of that growth. For instance, while in the 1880's, Shanklin, Sandown and Ventnor were in the midst of the "villa" phase, other resorts of lower social tone, for example, Blackpool, Morecambe and Skegness, were commencing the purpose-built "hotel and boarding house" phase. As late as 1900, the resorts of highly fashionable "poppyland", Sheringham, Overstrand and Sidestrand, were experiencing "villa" growth, as was Cromer — though in both Sheringham and Cromer the purpose-built "hotel and boarding house" phase was also well represented (on their west cliffs) during this period.

Group B Resorts: The most typical resort is that in which both accommodation and private residential area are well represented. An interesting resort of this type is Eastbourne where the influence of its better-side/poorer-side structure is apparent, not only in its "core" but also
Figure 60 - The distribution of holiday accommodation, Eastbourne.
in the distribution of accommodation (Fig. 60). The area west of Terminus Road - the most significant line in town - is the main hotel area, with hotels not only along the front, but also away from the front. The area east of Terminus Road is the main boarding house and "B. and B." area in which zoning is quite well developed; it has, however, a narrow hotel zone, limited to the frontal strip. This hotel strip is backed by a guest-house zone, which, in turn, is backed by an admixture of boarding houses and "B. and B.s". On the north side of the railway, a sharp rise in social status is responsible for a secondary, though minor, guest house area (which, if closer to the front would probably be a hotel area). On the west side of town, the accommodation area ends abruptly against the good to high-class private residential "Meads" district; on the east side, the accommodation area has no well defined boundary.

Much of Eastbourne's growth has been controlled by the Dukes of Devonshire, and in order to maintain the private residential character of the Meads area, the present Duke's agent has placed, along Grange Road, a limit to the westward expansion of "letting" activities. (Fig.60). This introduces a factor of great importance in accommodation

(1) Based on the Accommodation Register and personal survey.
distribution, the influence of estate development and control. This is considered in detail later.

Other resorts with "better/poorer side" structures reflected in their accommodation patterns are Colwyn Bay (Fig.45), Folkestone and Rhyl.

There is a very strong, and understandable, association between pre-1914 town areas and accommodation development. This association is clearly demonstrated in Morecambe where the distribution of accommodation reveals the tripartite form of pre-1914 growth - the "West End", "Morecambe" and "Bare" (Figs.42 & 43). Why should this be so? The answer lies in a combination of reasons. First, as letting activities usually increase in intensity towards the "core", they are most likely in the "inner", and therefore pre-1914 areas. Secondly, there is a marked contrast between pre and post-1914 private houses in their suitability for conversion into hotels and boarding houses, the multi-roomed character of pre-1914 houses being especially favourable to conversion, just as it is unfavourable to continued private residential use. Thirdly, by 1914, most of the purpose-built accommodation had been provided - with a few significant exceptions. Lastly, the post-1914 period has usually seen the introduction of, or a great increase in, the private residential function of resorts, i.e. the building of houses for people not concerned with the holiday industry, for example the retired and commuting elements.
Figure 61 - The distribution of hotels and boarding houses, Scarborough.
Most of the above points apply to Morecambe. Terraced blocks of purpose-built boarding houses built before 1914 are strongly represented, but there is a significant scarcity of pre-1914 semi-detached and detached houses, i.e. larger houses. This indicates the relative unimportance of the private residential function before 1914. In contrast, the inter-war and post-war has witnessed the tremendous growth of private housing estates, much of it good class, related to the present importance of the town as a dormitory for Lancaster, and as a place of retirement.

The promontory form of Scarborough's coast has caused an areal duality in resort development (1) which, among other features, is revealed in the distribution of accommodation (Fig. 61). Both North and South Bays have a frontal belt of hotels. At South Bay, however, the occurrence of large, originally private, houses (this is the "better side" of town) has allowed inland hotel development. In contrast, the frontal hotel belt of North Bay (the "poorer side" of town) is backed by lower-class residential growth unfavourable to hotel conversion. This north side also possesses a highly distinctive hotel area that is between a quarter and a half a mile inland from the coast. Most of these hotels were built as such in the inter-war period, and their location is no doubt related to the development of the adjacent Peasholme valley.

(1) This must not be confused with duality of resort function (P. 4/5).
- which the hotels overlook - as an area of public amenity and recreation. Tenby, also with a promontory coast, shows a similar duality in its distribution of accommodation, though on a much smaller scale.

The accommodation patterns of several of the resorts considered above illustrate "irregularities" that often occur. There are, however, many resorts whose accommodation pattern, in its "regularity", is more in accordance with the theoretical zoning pattern, e.g. Skegness and Morecambe - already described - Clacton, Blackpool and Great Yarmouth.

The distribution of accommodation at Blackpool shows two noticeable features. The first is the distinctiveness of the frontal strip. Practically all the accommodation along this strip has a rateable value of £150, while practically all the accommodation behind the front has a R.V. of £150. Many of these frontal properties are not hotels, however, but large boarding houses. The second feature is the location of the main hotel area along the cliff top north of the core, and especially north of the Gynn. In resorts with both cliffed and non-cliffed fronts, the development of the main hotel area along the cliffs is characteristic. Other examples of this are Southend and Felixstowe.

The Influence of Estate Control and Development.

Estate development and control can greatly influence the distribution of accommodation, and estate boundaries often
form significant divides in the accommodation pattern—especially when they relate to a good class residential area whose character as such is being protected from "letting" activities. Below, the distribution of accommodation in Bournemouth, Margate, Bognor and Southport is examined with reference to estate development.

The accommodation map for Bournemouth (Fig. 62) is based on a visual survey made in 1950 by the Town Planning Department to show the extent of hotels and boarding houses. It is outstanding for the "gaps", the non-"letting" areas, in which "letting" activities would be expected. The reasons for these gaps become clear if the boundaries of certain estates are inserted. Thus in the west, the high-class private residential character of the Cooper-Dean estate, an estate developed just about 1900, has been maintained by restrictive covenants in the leases against "letting" activities—though invasion by institutions, e.g. nursing homes, has already begun. The eastern gap coincides with two freehold estates, the Portman Estate, and the rather better-class Boscombe Manor Estate, both mostly of post-1914 age, whose private residential character is similarly maintained.

The development of Bournemouth "estate fashion", and the influence of this mode of growth upon the distribution of accommodation would make a most rewarding research topic—especially as the initial division of the area into "estates" dates from the Westover Enclosure Award of 1805. It is true
to say that only by reference to this award can the accommodation pattern of Bournemouth be properly understood.

The employment of restrictive covenants in leases, etc., to safeguard the character of a private residential estate is a normal procedure. More important is the extent to which these covenants are maintained by the controlling body. Laxity in estate control often results in blatant disregard of the covenants - the lower the tone of the area the more prevalent this is likely to be - just as rigorous control ensures, as far as is possible, that the covenants are observed. Incidentally, the leaseholder can request of the controlling body that a covenant be rescinded if changing circumstances would appear to render it obsolete. If his request is refused he can legally appeal against the continued maintenance of the covenant(s).

In freehold estates, the extent to which the restrictive covenants are maintained by the estate developers may be determined by the completeness of the estate, and the wishes of its residents. If part (A) of an estate has been developed as a good-class residential area, and the remainder of the estate (B) is to be developed in similar fashion, it is essential that the initial character of A be safeguarded, by the rigorous maintenance of the restrictive covenants, so that the value of building sites in B will not depreciate. But, after B is completed, the estate owners have no further
interest in the estate, and their obligation to maintain the original covenants will depend on the determination of the estate residents to preserve the estate's character.

The maintenance of the restrictive covenants in good class residential areas does not necessarily ensure freedom from letting activities. It does, however, ensure the outward appearance of a private residential area — for instance, by preventing notice board advertisement. Because the visual character of such an area is maintained, those people seeking a good class residential environment — and who will wish to preserve its character — are attracted, thus preventing the development of widespread letting activities within the estate.

The accommodation map for Margate (Fig. 63) is also based on a survey made by the Town Planning authorities, and it, too, shows the influence of estate development. As at Bournemouth, the outstanding feature is a "gap" between the Margate accommodation area and the Westgate accommodation area. The apparent absence of letting activities can, in part, be explained by the "infill" nature of the area — a post-1914 infill between the accommodation area of Margate and the independent resort of Westgate; letting activities did not "leap frog" westwards over the area and recommence at Westgate. The other important factor is estate control. Just before the first World War, this area — the Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospital Estate — began to be developed as a good-class
private residential area, though most of the building took place in the inter-war period, and this character has been maintained.

The abrupt eastward termination of the main letting area at Margate can also be explained in terms of estate control, for here, the New Cliftonville Estate was, from 1913, developed as a good-class private residential tract. Although it has declined in social status, and probably possesses some unofficial "letting", there is no visible evidence of "letting" and the area is essentially an eastward continuation of the good-class residential East Margate. In both the Bridewell and New Cliftonville Estates the post-1914 age of building - contrasting with the pre-1914 accommodation areas - makes the areas less suitable for letting activities.

At Bognor, estate development has also influenced the accommodation pattern. The 1914 map of Bognor shows an undeveloped quadrant, adjacent to the front, on the west side of the town. This formed part of the Manor of Aldwich, and was subsequently (i.e. after 1914) developed as a good-class private residential estate - except for a couple of purpose-built hotels. On the west side of town, therefore, the main "letting" area is located behind this estate, i.e. north of the Aldwich Road.

The distinctive features of the distribution of accommodation at Southport are the interdigitation of hotels and boarding houses with private houses, and the absence of
Figure 64 - The influence of an estate boundary on the distribution of accommodation, Eastbourne.
letting activities in Birkdale (Fig. 46). Running north west to south east through the built-up area is a boundary which originally separated (administratively) Birkdale from Southport. It is also the northern boundary of the Birkdale Estate originally owned by the Blundell family. This estate possesses only two letting establishments, a small hotel near the boundary, and a very large hotel on the front. Developed initially as a high class private residential area, this original character has been maintained by rigorous estate control.

A very different example of the significance of estate boundaries is illustrated in Figure 64 which shows part of the poorer eastern side of Eastbourne. Here, an estate boundary separates a letting area from one which, instead of being "too good" for letting activities, is too poor.

So much for private control. Now a brief comment on "public" control, the influence of Town Planning upon accommodation distribution. Normally, Town Planning authorities do not establish definite "letting zones", but instead consider each application (to convert a house into a hotel or boarding house) on its merits. Of course, in doing this, close liaison is kept with the relevant estate owners, and it is probably true to say that, in trying to maintain the private residential character of areas, the policies of estate owner and Town Planning authority coincide. For
Blackpool, however, the Town Map of the Development Plan allocates, for private hotel and boarding house use, an area fronting the Promenade and extending inland roughly for a quarter of a mile, though around the "core" the eastern limit is pushed inland to three quarters of a mile from the front.

**Group C. Resorts:** These are resorts with a poorly developed accommodation area, at least with regards official accommodation. This can be explained in two ways: (a) the outstanding importance of the "tripper" element, (b) the importance of the residential resort function as opposed to the visitor resort function. In some Group C. resorts both (a) and (b) occur together, e.g. Southend, Cleethorpes and Whitley Bay. These resorts have a strongly developed "tripper trade", Southend being linked to the London area, Cleethorpes to the East Midlands and Whitley Bay to the North East industrial area and Scotland, and all three are important dormitory towns - Southend for London, Cleethorpes for Grimsby and industrial Humberside, and Whitley Bay for Tyneside. Although official accommodation is poorly represented in these resorts, "B. and B." activities may be considerable; certainly Southend and Cleethorpes have an enormous "letting" potential in this respect.

At Southsea, the official accommodation area appears disproportionately small when one considers the town's strongly
developed holiday resort function. In part, this can be explained by the importance of the day tripper, but the main reason probably lies in the enormous extent of low-class pre-1914 terracing whose "B. and B." potential must soak up many of the working-class period visitors from the Midlands - especially Birmingham. The presence of thousands of servicemen helps to maintain the town's resort activities without increasing the amount of accommodation.

The following table, drawn up from analyses of rateable values, 1956, shows the relative importance of accommodation to private houses and flats. Though this basis for comparison is open to criticism (P.196), it does, nevertheless, reveal major contrasts.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESORT</th>
<th>R.V.</th>
<th>ACCOMMODATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newquay</td>
<td>69,367</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandown/Shanklin</td>
<td>95,670</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skegness</td>
<td>40,053</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfracombe</td>
<td>35,075</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastbourne</td>
<td>117,654</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridlington</td>
<td>34,578</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morecambe</td>
<td>81,960</td>
<td>1,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackpool</td>
<td>535,011</td>
<td>4,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>100,610</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southport</td>
<td>76,769</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth</td>
<td>536,158</td>
<td>1,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margate</td>
<td>101,661</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southend</td>
<td>29,528</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleethorpes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitley Bay</td>
<td>8,754</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexhill</td>
<td>23,962</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthing</td>
<td>43,233</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herne Bay</td>
<td>6,564</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Under certain conditions, the accommodation distribution pattern of a resort can closely approach the idealised pattern referred to earlier. The most favourable conditions for this are relative lateness of main resort expansion (to lessen the likelihood of a villa phase and increase the likelihood of purpose-building tied to the front), development as a popular resort (for the same reasons), a flat site (to ensure that the only main amenity to be exploited is proximity to the sea), unified growth (to ensure that the accommodation area forms an unbroken tract about the core) and, provided it does not cause the emergence of a better/poorer side structure, unified estate control (to ensure that the natural operation of the above factors is not disrupted by irregularities arising from varied land ownership and development). Skegness is one of the few resorts in which all these conditions are fulfilled, and whose accommodation pattern closely approaches the ideal - though even here, topography has imposed an elongation of the town and accommodation pattern.

On the other hand, a well developed, and especially an early, villa phase, irregular topography, a better/poorer side structure, vigorous but multiple estate control and non-concentric growth can cause an accommodation pattern that can only in part, if at all, be reconciled with the ideal pattern. In spite of the frequency of such highly irregular patterns, no one resort possesses all these features, however.
Accommodation Structure.

One of the major problems in the study of a resort is the assessment of its socio-economic status as a holiday resort. The ideal solution - to resolve the clientele into its various socio-economic parts - is not possible, and, instead, indirect methods must be employed. Logically, the accommodation structure of the resort should reflect the socio-economic structure of the clientele, and it is this approach that is now considered.

The accommodation structure can be determined from various data, e.g. the number of letting rooms, the services provided, even the tariff. Such information can sometimes be obtained from an accommodation "register" - published in the holiday guide, or kept by the publicity officer - but the completeness of this information varies greatly. Moreover, not all letting establishments are listed, (P.173). For these reasons, and also owing to the shortness of time, rateable values were used. The larger the letting establishment - in number of letting rooms and services provided - the higher its rateable value. Also, the larger the establishment, the greater the number of services provided relative to its accommodation capacity, and the higher the socio-economic group that it is likely to serve. Rateable values denote quantity, but also imply quality.

It might be argued that an accommodation structure based on rateable values often reveals the former, rather than present, character of the resort, that large villas, built in an early
fashionable phase, might, in a later "popularizing" phase, be converted into lowly boarding houses - though with high rateable values. This does happen, but it is more usual for such villas to become hotels, and for the former character of the resort to thus influence the present character.

In a few "accommodation registers", not only are the establishments listed, but also their number of letting rooms, single and double. Using Torquay's register, which gives such information, an analysis was made to reveal the relationship between rateable values (Revaluation, 1956) and accommodation capacity. The results of this analysis are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.V. Groups (£100-100)</th>
<th>100-150</th>
<th>150-250</th>
<th>250-500</th>
<th>500-1000</th>
<th>1000-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total R.V.</td>
<td>£2540</td>
<td>£7450</td>
<td>17686</td>
<td>2316</td>
<td>22178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total SREs</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>1052</td>
<td>2336</td>
<td>2418</td>
<td>2273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.V. of SRE</td>
<td>£5.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. of Est.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SRE. Single Letting Room Equivalents, a single room counting a double room as two.

Est. "Letting" establishments for which the necessary information was available.

Clearly, the more highly rated a property, the fewer the letting rooms in proportion to the rateable value - this reflecting the increase in the number of services provided, lounge, bar, recreation room, etc. The table also offers a possible method of determining and comparing the "capacity" of the official i.e. rated accommodation in a resort - though other detailed analyses would be needed to determine the size of the
variation in the Single Room Unit rateable value for each group.\(^{(1)}\)

**Accommodation Structures based on Rateable Values.**

The rateable values of all hotels and boarding houses (rated as such) were obtained for most resorts visited. These were the values shown on the Revaluation Lists of 1956. Since then:

(a) Amendments have been made due to errors in, and successful appeals against, the 1956 assessments.

(b) Most boarding houses have been reassessed at a lower level.

Lack of standardization in valuation is most evident in the attitude towards the smaller private house offering "bed and breakfast". In some resorts, the valuation officer was likely to rate as a boarding house any house which showed evidence of letting activities, e.g. Southport. In others, a more lenient attitude was taken. In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, any boarding house with a rateable value of £50 is ignored in the determination of the tables, etc., below. This figure is chosen because:

\(^{(1)}\) The results of a similar analysis made for Weston super Mare are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RV</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>100-150</th>
<th>150-250</th>
<th>250-500</th>
<th>500-1,000 p.n.g.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SRE</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) In most resorts, very few boarding establishments had an R.V. of £50.

(b) A boarding house with an R.V. of c. £50 would, as a private house have an R.V. of c. £35-£40 - which means it would be sizeable enough for the valuation officer not to overlook unconsciously or ignore deliberately.

The rateable values of hotels and boarding houses are divided into six groups (Table 7). Of these groups, the third (£150-250) is the most significant, having on its lower side properties which are essentially boarding houses, and on its upper side properties essentially hotels. The £150-250 group itself is intermediate in this respect and cannot be safely allotted to either the boarding house or hotel side.

It was observed, however, that a rateable value of £150 generally formed the divide between the majority of properties calling themselves boarding houses or guest houses, and the majority of those calling themselves hotels (private or otherwise). Reasonable proof of this was obtained by referring to the accommodation register for Torquay and to the R.V./Capacity analysis (Table 6).

The accommodation register is divided into sections according to the number of letting rooms (though single and double rooms each count as one). First, for two of the lower capacity sections the following "designation ratio" was determined:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>£50-100</th>
<th>101-150</th>
<th>151-250</th>
<th>251-500</th>
<th>501-1600</th>
<th>1001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morecambe</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skegness</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyl</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridlington</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsgate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitby</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torquay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastbourne</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newquay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandudno</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weston s. Mare</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidmouth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkestone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexhill</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southport</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gt. Yarmouth</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margate</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfracombe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandown/ Shanklin</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colwyn Bay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytham St Annes II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackpool</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 65.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hotels</th>
<th>Guest Houses</th>
<th>Not designated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-15 Room Section</td>
<td>107(1)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9 Room Section</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) 53 private hotels.

Clearly, the first section is comprised mostly of hotels, and the second of guest houses. The next step was to determine the Single Room equivalent capacity of each section. This gave the following set of results:

Hotel Section - Average of 22.9 SREs per hotel
Guest House Section - Average of 13 SREs per guest house.

Lastly from the R.V./Capacity analysis (Table 6), the following was deduced:

Average No. of SREs for R.V. £150-250 group - 24.3
" " " " R.V. £50-100 & £100-150 groups - 16

By comparing the two sets of results it is seen that a rateable value of £150 forms a reasonably clear division between hotels and boardings (by designation).

To return to Table 7, only those resorts whose "official" accommodation exceeded £15,000 in total rateable value are listed. (2) For these resorts, block graphs are drawn to show more clearly their accommodation structure (Fig. 65). Outstanding for their amounts of R.V. (£150 accommodation are Blackpool

(2) This was done to avoid "irregularities" in structure resulting from the limited number of "letting" establishments.
Ramsgate, Bridlington, Rhyl, Skegness and Morecambe, and for amounts of R.V. > £250 accommodation, Sidmouth - whose structure is unique - Eastbourne, Torquay, Newquay, Bournemouth and Southport. Certain comparisons are of interest, for instance, Blackpool and Bournemouth, and Ramsgate and Margate.

A more revealing structure is obtained by consolidating the figures in Table 7. The first two groups (£50-100 and £100-150) are combined to form the boarding house section, and the last three groups (£250-500, £500-1,000 and £1,000 plus) to form the hotel section. The remaining group, £150-250, because of its transitional nature, is not included in either section, but constitutes the third section. These three sections are listed in Table 8. In this table, any resort whose Column 1 total exceeds the combined totals of Columns 2 and 3 is designated a Boarding House type. (B) If its Column 2 total exceeds that of Columns 1 and 3 it is designated an Hotel type. (H) If an "overlap" is made by adding Column 3 to either Column 1 or 2, the resort is "Intermediate". (I)

The Boarding House types are the "popular" resorts, and all have amusement parks. It is significant that Margate, without Westcliff and Birchington, would be a Boarding House type. The Hotel types include all those resorts enjoying a national reputation for "selectness" - this is especially true of Bexhill, Sidmouth, Eastbourne, Bournemouth and Torquay. Of the eleven Hotel types, only three have amusement parks,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>RV</th>
<th>£50-150</th>
<th>£250 plus</th>
<th>£151-250</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morecambe</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skegness</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyl</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridlington</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsgate</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitby</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torquay</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastbourne</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newquay</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandudno</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weston s Mare</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidmouth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkestone</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexhill</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>IO</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southport</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gt. Yarmouth</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>IO</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margate</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margate (By itself)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfracombe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandown/ Shanklin</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colwyn Bay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytham St Annes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Int.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackpool</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Folkestone, Hastings and Weston super Mare. The Intermediate types form a less homogeneous group, and for some, the duality in accommodation structure would appear to reflect their functional duality. For instance, Scarborough, Sandown/Shanklin, Southport and Margate have both "popular" and "select" resort facets; all have amusement parks. The three Hotel types with amusement parks, Folkestone, Hastings and Weston super Mare, tend to have a "non-specialised" resort function, that ties them more to the Intermediate type than to either the Boarding house or Hotel type. This is especially true for Folkestone. One of the reasons why a few undoubtedly "popular" resorts appear as Hotel types is that this accommodation structure does not take into account the importance of the tripper resort function.
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