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Beside the Seaside.

The archaeology of the twentieth-century English seaside holiday experience: a phenomenological context.

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Abstract

A recent survey commissioned by English Heritage highlights the rich cultural history of the traditional English seaside resort (Brodie and Winter 2007). Emerging in the eighteenth century, these towns grew in significance before the advent of cheaper continental holidays in the 1960s signalled their demise. Nevertheless they retain an affectionate place within English social memory, and are in their own right distinctive maritime communities. Using an archaeological case study and a broadly phenomenological approach this contribution analyses the experience of the resort holiday through reference to place, space and materiality. Further, it seeks to situate the English seaside resort, as a functionally distinctive post-medieval urban and maritime phenomenon, within a global context of the archaeology of tourism.

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Introduction

"Western seaside resorts are multi-layered places, redolent with meaning for the present and memory of the past"
(Gray 2006, 7)

A small-scale buildings archaeology project on a former hotel in a minor English seaside town was the genesis of this paper. As the exercise unfolded new perspectives emerged, particularly in terms of thinking about how architectural space and material culture of the hotel framed the experiences of the guests. What follows represents an attempt to capture the phenomenology--or 'archaeology of experience'--of the seaside holiday. Although rooted in the archaeology of English post-World War Two social history, many other influences have helped form the study. One aim is to recognise the potential for the archaeological study of the seaside resort experience within a wider global context, and investigate the tensions between past and present articulated in the quote above.

Within the USA historical-geographical-oriented tourism research has often tended to focus upon wilderness settings (such as National Parks) rather than resorts (Towner and Wall 1991). Edo McCullough's nostalgic memoir of Coney Island (1957) is a classic of its genre but does not move the analysis of the resort beyond the idea of a place to have fun. In reality, the biography of the tourist resort is more complex. This is best illustrated by the work of the social historian John Kasson. For him Coney Island reflected shifts in the socio-cultural conditions in America at the start of the twentieth century. He saw it as 'a harbinger of modernity' (1978: 8). It heralded a period of unbridled consumption and emphasis on having fun, a shift in horizons and away from accepted norms of behaviour prevalent in the more restrained nineteenth century. It is a consideration of the way in which the tangible physical and intangible structures of the seaside resort condition human expectations and behaviour that is central to this study.

A seaside holiday setting should evoke distinctive emotional cues formed by combinations of sun, sea, sand, food and architecture. This is the seaside experience alluded to in the title. One archaeological approach to accessing these sensory reactions is the concept of phenomenology. This idea was first fully explored within the context of prehistoric monumentality and landscape in southern England by the British archaeologist Chris Tilley (Tilley 1994), and he has gone on to develop his ideas in similar prehistoric landscape settings. This theoretical approach to accessing meaning in archaeological landscapes has not gone without extensive critique (Fleming 2006) or modification (Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006), but it is notable that the phenomenological approach has not been extensively used within historical archaeological studies. This contribution attempts to

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remedy this deficiency with a study of how the materiality of the seaside resort, in terms of artefacts, architectural space and form and manipulation of natural space, conditions and impacts upon human experience. This, in essence, is a phenomenological approach.

Nostalgia is central to this study as one of these experiences. It is a powerful emotion and one that engages archaeologists and heritage practitioners on many levels (Hall 2001). It represents an idealised longing for the past, and in many cases is a positive experience within the context of the seaside resort (Jarratt 2015; Jarratt and Gammon 2016). These emotions are often linked, as Jarratt demonstrates, to loss of family and childhood, and re-created memories of past family holidays. Jarrett argues that the seascape allows people to transcend time. This does not mean however that the character of the seaside resort is fixed, unchanging and universally positive, steeped in the glow of nostalgia (Agarwal 2002). For many years English seaside resorts have been perceived as social dumping grounds (Agarwal and Brunt 2006). The availability of plentiful ex-holiday accommodation in many places has resulted in them becoming the focus of resettlement of socially excluded people from elsewhere. This factor has altered the character of these towns somewhat; the psychogeographical Arcadespromenades project (with its punning on the work of Walter Benjamin on the arcades of Paris, here though linking the amusement arcade and seaside promenade) seeks to record through urban exploration, photography and prose, the dystopic and disjointed elements of the seaside resort (Arcadespromenades 2015). Psychogeographic approaches such as this also represents an attempt to reconstruct an archaeology of experience, and could perhaps easily form the cornerstone of more community heritage and archaeology projects (a detailed discussion of the concept is beyond the scope of this paper but see Coverley 2006 for an overview).

It is not altogether however a narrative of decay and urban neglect. Some English resort towns such as Brighton, Whitstable and Margate have re-invented themselves as boutique destinations for the twenty-first century, awaiting rediscovery by a new generation of ‘staycation’ visitors (Elborough 2011, 17; England Tourism Framework 2013; Hospitality and Catering News 2013; for a critique see Smith 2004). Clearly much of this demand is driven by an idealised perception of the seaside resort within a nostalgic context, although as we shall see, paradoxically, within a rapidly changing and highly managed environment (Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998). If we look deeper at these theatres of the seaside holiday experience, we find that the fabric of these functionally distinctive maritime communities materialises many traits of English socio-cultural history (and economic fluctuations) over the last three hundred years (Walton 1997; Walton and Wood 2006). This socio-economic context requires some amplification.

The cultural history of the English seaside resort: an overview

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"Coastal resorts are not only a particular feature of tourism development, they are also a distinctive urban form" (Goodall 1992, 5)

For many families in the post-World War Two period of austerity Britain, the annual trip to the seaside was the highlight of the year. It is difficult now in an era of relatively cheap global travel to imagine the set and fixed rhythms of the annual leave year, the complexities of organisation of travel by rail (and then, latterly by car), basic and all-inclusive accommodation, amusements and set activities often under grey skies (Walton 2000a; Williams 2005). No wonder that the archetypal seaside holiday retains such affection in British social memory (Braggs and Harris 2006; Elborough 2011). It is perhaps useful to clarify here at the outset what a resort is. A workable definition is: "a place which owed a substantial part of its prosperity to the fact that people visited it for a holiday by the sea" (Travis 1993, 2). Economics alone however cannot adequately define a resort, and they are more than places for holidays.

The first English resorts (the etymology of the word derives from the Old French a "help", or "remedy"; within the context under discussion here it is first recorded in use in English in 1754, *Oxford English Dictionary*) were not holiday destinations, rather places beneficial to health. Seaside holidays and vacations have their roots as far back as the eighteenth century when resorts became important as socially exclusive watering places inhabited by Royalty and the Aristocracy (Chalkin 2001, 12-16). The positive physical effects of bathing in seawater and taking sea air were widely promoted to treat glandular conditions (Sakula 1995), and seaside resorts belonged within the same context as spa towns such as Bath (Somerset) or Buxton (Derbyshire). One of the earliest of the eighteenth century seaside resorts, Scarborough (Yorkshire), combined a source of acidic natural mineral water with proximity to the North Sea. This was not a uniquely British phenomenon; resorts in eighteenth-century Europe (such as Heiligendamm on the Baltic Sea; see Apperley 2006 ed.) also developed primarily as curative centres rather than leisure destinations.

From the late eighteenth century however the emphasis shifted from therapy. At Brighton (Sussex), for example, this is evidenced archaeologically by the emergence of extensive landscaping through parks and greens, and the addition of a more developed infrastructure for socialisation, such as ball rooms and opulent hotels (Farrant and Farrant 1980; Gray 2006, 17). With the development of the railways in the early nineteenth century, small fishing villages (such as Blackpool, Lancashire) became linked into a wider transportation network, and their characters changed perceptibly as, growing as resorts, they catered for a new type of leisure consumer drawn from neighbouring northern towns and cities (Soane 1992). During the nineteenth century grand hotels made their appearance, and other amenities developed for the entertainment of the seasonal masses: concert halls, smoking rooms, machines for bathing and segregated gender-based areas for swimming (a feature incidentally still prevalent in

middle eastern resorts, for more obvious cultural reasons; Weiss 2016). Resorts such as Torquay (Devon), Bournemouth (Hampshire) and Eastbourne (Sussex) represent this newer form of development (Soane 1992). All of the key functional features of the traditional English seaside resort have their roots in this period.

With the introduction of paid leave for employees formalised under the *Holiday Pay Act* of 1938 (Walton 2000a, 59), seaside resorts opened up to a new clientele and a range of different forms of accommodation developed in order to cater for this new consumer group (Perkin 1976). Boarding houses became the most popular form of accommodation, with rigid timescales attached to their daily rhythms of work: set meal times, set arrival and departure times, and management becoming a byword for grudging hospitality (Walton 1994). Cinemas, cafes and amusements were added to the spatial repertoire of the resort in order to cater for this new popular appeal (Braggs and Harris 2006, 19). Many resort guidebooks of the inter-war period, however, in an attempt to rekindle a form of exclusivity, continued to use the language of the Regency health spa (Braggs and Harris 2006, 15). The accent was placed upon the sun and sun worship, iconography that permeates 1930s Art Deco and hotel decoration in general in this period in Europe as a whole (Braggs and Harris 2006, 53; Gray 2006, 31-2).

A recognisable hierarchy of English seaside resorts continued to exist well into the twentieth century. Brighton and Bournemouth saw themselves in more elevated social terms (Braggs and Harris 2006, 25-6). Occasionally, even *within* resorts certain areas (in Edwardian Blackpool, for example, the North Shore, or in Scarborough the South Cliff area) set themselves apart from other more inclusive areas of the same resort town, thus setting up a spatial demarcation (Walton 2000a, 53). Another twentieth-century trend is the gradual multi-culturalisation of the resort towns in terms particularly of Jewish settlement (eg Bournemouth; Toberman 2015) and Greek-Cypriot and Italian immigrants working more generally in the service sectors, such as restaurants, fish and chips shops and ice cream shops (Walton 2000a, 160-1). This phenomenon of the multi-cultural resort, poorly investigated from an archaeological perspective (it would be easily recognised through commemorative material culture and religious buildings etc) subverts the dominant narrative of the English seaside resort experience as being one confined to the social memory of the white lower-middle class alone (Bursdey 2011).

The chronological rhythms of life in the seaside resort of the recent past were also fixed beyond the microcosm of the boarding house with its set and unvarying meal times and offerings. In northern England ‘Wakes Weeks’ (Wakes being an old English term for a religious feast) saw entire shifts of mills and factories move *en masse* in regular migration waves to resorts such as Blackpool and Morecambe (Poole 1984), thus making the annual seaside holiday experience a wider communal ritual, almost a pilgrimage. Railway companies inaugurated ‘Summer Saturday’ timetables (still in existence in 2016) which assisted in the mass

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movement of people from main industrial centres of northern and midland Britain into coastal resorts of the north-west, south and east, and then reversed the movement later in the day, (although in a less intensive manner) for the homeward bound holiday makers (Thomas and Smith 1973). The seaside resort was becoming a more democratic and socially inclusive phenomenon in the twentieth century through access to leisure time and transportation infrastructure. There are other material indicators of this process.

'Plotland' and bungalow-based seaside settlements developed in the interwar years (Walton 2000a, 36-7) as cheap land was sold by speculators, and affordable and easily adapted buildings made available, provided from the glut of wooden military accommodation in the post-1918 period. Not quite formal towns, they occupied interstices between conventional resorts as impromptu settlements, often not possessing grounded populations, more akin to shack towns. Owners of the shacks lived in cities such as London, and came down at weekends or for holidays. Peacehaven in Sussex and Canvey Island in Essex are good examples of these very distinctive inter-war seaside settlements often built on rigid grid plans (Gray 2006, 287). These types of 'informal resort' offer quite a different form of archaeological footprint than the more established and integrated resort towns (Stratton and Trinder 2000, 190-191). At Dawlish Warren in Devon, for example, the author has been investigating the site of an ephemeral inter-war seasonal wooden bungalow settlement. Historical photographs and mapping indicates a range of shacks often built on stilts (useful at the high Spring tides) and built of a wide range of lightweight materials with idiosyncratic individual touches (perhaps reflecting the personalities of individuals drawn to such a liminal landscape; figure 1). Surface survey has indicated the outlines of small garden zones attached to the plots to enable a degree of self-sufficiency for the inhabitants who lived here during the Summer months, often using large quantities of imported red soil dumped atop the dune sand, which still survives in pockets, as well as introduced, planted trees, now looking alien in the dunescape.

Figure 1

Holiday camps offer another contrast to the traditional resort town (Stratton and Trinder 2000, 193-195). In England they mainly date from the inter-war period, but their zenith is seen in the period 1950-1970 (Ward and Hardy 1986). The first Butlins holiday camp to open was at Skegness in 1936 (Braggs and Harris 2006, 108). These were effectively self-contained miniature resorts that catered to all the needs of the holidaymaker (who was drawn mainly from the working and lower-middle classes; Elborough 2011, 155). Pioneer camps mainly run by temperance or improving social movements vied with these brash, commercial operations (Braggs and Harris 2006, 114-6), and in the 1960s the repertoire of seaside resort types was extended with the development of caravan and camping parks (Walton 2000a, 43). So we cannot talk of the English seaside resort as being a single

type- site, there are many variations developing in the twentieth century, each with distinctive archaeological signatures that inform human experience. It is to this issue we now turn.

Framing an archaeology of the English seaside resort

This paper is grounded in recent archaeological interest in consumption and leisure, from what we may term a supra-modern perspective (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 2). Materially-based approaches to the already well-investigated social history of tourism can add a great deal to the analysis of a topic that may superficially be about having fun, but which also, as John Urry among others notes (2002) has implications for the study of consumerism, consumption and capitalism, class, exploitation and inequality (eg. Camp 2011). Drawing on Sefryn Penrose's survey (2007), the archaeological focus of this study is on what Harrison and Schofield (2010, 45) term 'people, profit and pleasure'. Few archaeological studies have addressed the concept (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 208-14), although there are pertinent perspectives from North America (Camp 2013; O'Donovan and Carroll 2011), Australia (Jones and Selwood 2012) and South Africa (Hall 2005; Hall and Bombardella 2005). It is worth considering a few case studies drawn from this broad literature that can help illustrate the directions that an archaeology of tourism can take in the direction of understanding impact upon human experience and emotion.

Rebecca Graff's work on the site of the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian exhibition parallels Kasson's historical analysis of Coney Island in so far as she identifies the site as being at a pivotal moment in the emergence of modernity at the end of the nineteenth century (Graff 2011). Interestingly her work offers two different scales of analysis: the nineteenth-century tourist who felt that the world was changing before their eyes through visiting the Fair and becoming acquainted with unfamiliar novel technology. The twenty-first-century tourists to the excavations of the attraction, however, felt too familiar with what was being uncovered. They did not perceive the experience as being anyway special through this perception of over-familiarity. As Graff suggests, the site 'continues to be a site of multiple forms of tourism, and through it, modern self making'. This is an important point: the resort (or tourist attraction) is never a fixed entity in the eyes of its visitors: its ability to provoke emotion shifts over time.

Megan Springate's study of the Wiawaka holiday house, Lake George, New York (2012), to which we shall briefly return later, shows us how the spatial layout of the resort manipulated class relations. This theme is also picked up by Eleanor Casella in her 2005 study of the improving Sutro Baths complex in nineteenth-century San Francisco, and to a similar extent in Tricia Cusack's study of ordered landscapes of Victorian Irish seaside resorts (2010). A parallel example of space structuring human relations can be found in a different age at colonial Annapolis (Leone 2005). In the seaside resort though the issue is not

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surveillance and control over people, more control over nature and emphasis upon space for socialisation. Superficially the resort landscape then emphasised 'fun', but beneath this veneer many class-based and economic tensions were mediated through differential access to certain types of accommodation, eating places and leisure facilities. These are complex spaces.

Much of the recent British work on the tourism/leisure industry is drawn from cultural heritage studies, although mention should be made of Stratton and Trinder's analysis (2000, 177-199) of the archaeology wider British leisure scene of the twentieth century. Apart from this source, few attempts have been made to understand the phenomenon of the archaeology of British tourism within the framework of 'experience'. Peter Williams' 2005 photographic survey of the material culture of the English coast presents a typology of material culture elements all lovingly photographed although linked with minimal text (Williams 2005). Obvious sites, such as beach huts and piers vie with lesser-known elements such as public clocks, weather stations and joke shops to provide a comprehensive photographic characterisation of the English seaside resort. Fred Gray's 2009 work '*Designing the Seaside*' is predominantly written mainly from an architectural perspective, analysing change in the diverse elements of the English (and non-English) seaside experience, such as the holiday camp, the pier as well as more ephemeral physical manifestations. Using these sources, one might construct an archaeological framework for the study of the English seaside resort by drawing out the following themes (see also Pigram 1977).

Firstly we have the creation and maintenance of the resort fabric itself. In many cases the holiday resort started out as a fishing village, and in time, the relict fishing townscape becomes fossilised as an 'old town', a heritage centre almost, within the new 'modern' resort (Walton 2000a, 133-4; Williams 2005, 10-15). This allows the resort to lay claim to a wilder, romantic and more elemental past, perhaps linked to activities such as smuggling and wrecking (Braggs and Harris 2006, 13). Hastings in Sussex represents a good example of the survival of an older industrial settlement as the heritage centre of a later Victorian seaside resort (Aldous 1987). This change of role is accompanied by the addition of a number of functionally specific elements which transform the fishing village into a leisure resort, although it retains to some extent an 'authentic' core (Urquhart and Acott 2013), which adds to its cachet (Sedmak and Mihalič 2008).

Secondly, transportation is a crucial element for the development of the seaside resort, and from the early nineteenth century this was informed by the spread of the railway system (Cain 1988). By the end of the nineteenth century, all major seaside resorts in England had at least one mainline railway station (Walton 2000a, 73-4). As in a conventional urban setting, the resort railway infrastructure was geared to the regular movement of large numbers of people at set times, but within a more concentrated period of the year, and indeed on a main day of the week: Saturdays and in the months of July and particularly August, but also at

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Easter. This need gave rise to the development of separate timetables for these days as well as large investment in railway infrastructure in resorts (Walton 2000a, 75). The growth of railways in the nineteenth century and the human responses thus invoked, has been investigated in a perceptive book by the German historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch (1986). He suggests that this new mode of transport altered people's perceptions of time and space as well as their behaviour. In a sense, mirroring Kasson's reading of Coney Island, the railway ushered in modernity and grew a new corpus of tourist consumers, changing the resort townscape forever.

It is only at the end of the 1950s, with a massive growth in car ownership in the UK (Leibling 2008, 4), that the importance of the railway diminished somewhat. From a wider landscape archaeological perspective, this new emphasis in transportation is evidenced by the construction of extensive car parking facilities and improved roads in and around major resort centres (Walton 2000a, 91). Under the infamous 'Beeching Axe' of 1963, when the Government sought to rationalise the UK rail network, many seaside resorts simply lost their rail link. Into this vacuum came car-based infrastructure, and cars needed roads. Within the seaside resort hinterlands, newly built bypasses changed the character of long-established roadways (often old coaching routes) through the landscape. Many of these new 'trunk' roads themselves took on a mythology and identity of their own, as is the case of the A303, or 'Highway to the Sun' (Fort 2013) which itself provided the main route from London to the south-west. This element of choreographed movement to the resort was all part of the wider experience of the holiday.

Thirdly, the availability and diversity of resort accommodation obviously reflects wider social concerns and needs. Grand hotels of the Victorian resort gave way to the all inclusive 'boarding house' culture of the interwar and post-war period as part of a process of democratisation (Taylor and Bush 1974). Bed and breakfasts (now the mainstay effectively of the UK tourist accommodation market) have in fact only recently become popular. Families historically expected to pay a fixed fee for full board, meaning breakfast and evening meal. Self-catering accommodation is more associated with the post-war period, and with it came the growth of the holiday/caravan camp culture (Ward and Hardy 1986). All of these different forms of accommodation have distinctive archaeological implications in terms of thinking about scale, complexity, functional zones within the building (lounges, bars, ballrooms, small communal areas, shared bathrooms) and associated material culture. This aspect is drawn out further in table i below.

From an archaeological perspective, the hotel as a functionally distinctive building is an interesting subject of analysis. These are liminal social spaces with a distinctive spatial and material culture signature and provoke a range of human emotions (Sandoval-Strausz 2007). Megan Springate (2012) refers to the Wiawaka hotel, using a term coined by Michel Foucault, as

heterotopias ('other spaces') that according to Springate 'act as mirrors reflecting society back on itself'. This notion of the hotel somehow constructing and subverting the experience of the guest experience is a useful one to follow. As Walter Mead suggests (in fact when describing the phenomenon of the modern airport), the heterotopia 'is a collection whose members have few or no intelligible connections with each other' (Mead 1995). This is a useful approach to understanding the communal yet disconnected social experience of being in a hotel, and this experience can allow for social transgression and changed behaviour (Pritchard and Morgan 2006). The hotel then is more than just a place to stay.

Fourthly, arguably the most importantly from the viewpoint of the whole seaside holiday experience is the concept of 'having fun' (Cross and Walton 2005). This facet of course has recognisable material manifestations within the resort landscape (cf Stansfield 1969). Initially in the early phases of the physical development of the seaside resort the infrastructure was geared very much towards an elite clientele. The Georgian seaside resort is, with its emphasis upon spatial segregation and formality, far different from the later Victorian or inter-war or post-war version (cf Berry 2000). Certain resorts made great efforts to retain social cachet through maintenance of elements such as concert halls or winter gardens and resisted the need to cater for perceived 'lower class' clientele. Golf, for example, was an activity in the early years of the 20th century, which was very much a leisure pursuit of the middle and upper classes, so the presence of a golf course, for example, would suggest that a resort was aiming for a different class of customer (Durie and Huggins 1998). Other diversions would include fairgrounds and, as a strange crossover with the transportation infrastructure, miniature railways (Coulls 2003). Having outlines some potential approaches to the archaeology of a seaside resort, and investigated briefly how these material manifestations impact upon human experience, we now turn to a case study from south Devon.

Figure 2

The resort landscape of Teignmouth, Devon

Teignmouth is a small town of some 15000 inhabitants located on the estuary of the River Teign some 20 kilometres south of Exeter (Figure 2; Office of National Statistics 2001). In keeping with the social profile of a number of south coast English holiday resorts, a significant number of these inhabitants (c. 30%) are retired (Devon County Council 2005, 7). The modern town retains a great deal of tourist-related infrastructure, although now relies more heavily upon a more diversified economy based upon retail and light industry. The town was chosen as a case study because the author has resided here for a long time, and the wider region forms a focus of a new maritime archaeology research project aimed at understanding the totality of human interaction with the sea

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and rivers in south Devon over the last 10000 years. In addition much of the material on the buildings archaeology section below derives from a small consultancy project undertaken in the early 2000s.

Figure 3

The town originated as a small medieval salting and fishing settlement (Griffiths 1989, 38-9). By the early nineteenth century it had become something of an exclusive resort with a refined character (figure 3); extensive Regency terraces were constructed, and on the outskirts of the town spacious villas in expansive gardens grew over the steep hills reflecting this status. In terms of visitor numbers, in the late nineteenth century it was second only to Torquay in terms of visitor numbers to the South Devon coast (Travis 1993, 115) Travis also notes that the demographic profile of the South Devon resorts tended to focus upon more exclusive clientele, and also included a number of second home owners of professional and armed services officer class. The South Devon Railway, made famous by its association with the engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806-1859) opened up Teignmouth to a wider customer base from 1846 (Kay 1990; 1993). During the nineteenth century additional infrastructural development continued with the construction of large hotels, a theatre, public baths, meeting rooms and the use of bathing machines on the beaches (which according to usual practice were segregated by sex; Griffiths 1989, 88-90). A pier was constructed in 1864 and by the Edwardian period Teignmouth was a booming seaside resort. The interwar and immediate post-war years marked the high water point of Teignmouth's fortunes as a seaside resort, which then declined from the 1970s.

Figure 4

The modern townscape reflects early patterns of land use as can be seen in figure 4. The oldest houses are found on the lowland areas around the port, and represent the vestiges of the medieval fishing community. These merge into the commercial centre, which preserves much of the higher-status Georgian and Regency resort development. Post-1945 conversions of larger Regency and Victorian villas, making up the bulk of the visitor accommodation for the town in the post-war period (and reflecting changed economic fortunes now either converted back to dwellings, flats or retirement homes), are located on the lower hillsides surrounding the town centre. Beyond this zone are found council estates and bungalow developments that attest to the expansion of the town from the 1950s and the influx of retirees. This then led to the conversion of holiday accommodation into retirement homes from the 1980s (Phillips and Vincent 1998). Let us now analyse the archaeological implications of Teignmouth’s development as a resort under the themes (roughly delineated in the section above) of ‘getting there’, ‘staying there’ and ‘having fun’, emphasising how the experience is reflected in materiality and space.

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The archaeology of getting there

The railway journey into Teignmouth along Brunel's sea wall is widely celebrated, and the town announces itself at Sprey Point on the sea wall with a large 1930s 'Teignmouth' sign. A close inspection of the sign reveals a difference in typography between the 'O' and the rest of the lettering. This is archaeological evidence for a 1980s branding exercise, when a red heart replaced the 'O' (a nod to a more successful attempt by Milton Glaser to market New York in the 1970s). After a few years the heart was painted out and a new painted 'O' took its place. Teignmouth station itself is constructed according to the wider Great Western Railway (GWR) 'brand', a turreted 'chateau-like ' structure (Kay 1990, 11). The modern building is now reduced to a waiting room, ticket office, cafe and toilets; in its original incarnation many more offices would have been manned, offering parcels services, left luggage and other ancillary functions. The GWR publicity department contributed towards the development of the holiday line in the Edwardian period (1902-1911) and it was during this time that the rhythms of the summer holiday became more established locally and nationally. Hotels now began to enforce Saturday-to-Saturday bookings, so from the 1930s and into the 1950s rail traffic became heaviest on those days (as a rough example of figures, in the 1950s on a given Summer Saturday an average of 2,500 holidaymakers arrived in Teignmouth. In comparison some 16000 arrived in Torquay). Although 'Summer Saturday' arrivals fell off after 1962, special Summer Saturday timetables are still in operation (Kay 1990,17).

The layout of Teignmouth station reflects this temporal rhythm. In order not to waste any valuable holiday time, holidaymakers set off from their homes in the north or the midlands very early on a Saturday morning or on Friday overnight trains. Many direct timetabled trains were due to call at Teignmouth in a short period, and often had so many carriages that they were forced to draw up on the station, then go forward to allow access for another set of carriages to the rear (Kay 1993, 74). The problem of many trains and many *long* trains attempting to enter the station in a short period during late morning and early afternoon was compounded by the fact that boarding houses would often not admit new guests until the afternoon. People had nowhere to go but the beach. The town would become crowded during these hours. This is the reason why the 'down' platform at Teignmouth (i.e. direction away from the terminus at Paddington, London) was lengthened in 1938, whilst the 'up' platform remained shorter. People tended not to rush back home at the end of their holiday on a Saturday, and as such there was less pressure on the 'up' services from the resort. The complexity of the layout of the station also reflected a wide range of different roles and tasks inherent in the 'processing' of a large number of visitors drawn from a range of social backgrounds and with differing expectations.

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The period c. 1905-1960 marked the zenith of the railway as the 'holiday line' (Kay 1993, 79); nationally car ownership became more widespread, and this impacted upon the hinterland of the resort. The emphasis shifted to providing car parking spaces for thousands of cars, and in the case of Teignmouth the construction of a new inner by pass and a number of extensive car parks bears witness to this change in consumer behaviour. A number of seafront hotels concreted over front gardens to provide car parking space for guests, and this amenity is trumpeted in the tourist literature. In recent years however, the townscape has changed again with an emphasis upon pedestrianisation, almost a reaction against the trend of the 1950s-60s when cars could go anywhere. Pedestrianisation however changes the perception of the townscape, altering the experience of the tourist and impacting upon the local alike, as well as attempting to recreate an 'authentic' experience of the old-world streets, free from the threat of the modern. It is arguable a very post/supra-modern to urban planning. In a similar vein, the materiality of accommodation mirrors changing social and cultural trends.

The archaeology of staying there

The 1962 guide to Teignmouth (*Teignmouth, Sunny South Devon*) is typical of a rather dated and conservative brand of tourist brochure common to most English seaside resorts at the time, but for the purposes of this study is a valuable source for quantifying the types of available accommodation. It is significant that over 150 different accommodation establishments are advertised in the guide (today the figure would be nearer 25). These range from high-end hotels, such as the 26-room London Hotel (offering 'saloon and public lounges with television and ballroom dancing'), to the more middle-range Portland Hotel (offering "hot and cold water in every room and beds fitted with interior sprung mattresses") right down to smaller guest houses, flat lets, chalets and caravan parks. Again, each form of accommodation has different archaeological implications (table i).

Table i

If we take 1962 as an idealised snapshot of the character of the post-war seaside resort at its zenith (which according to visitor number estimates, it probably would be), it is clear that the town had a wide range of accommodation pitched at a range of different consumers. The hotels tended to be sited closer to the town centre or on the sea front itself, and were mainly converted Regency or Victorian structures or in the case of the larger hotels purpose-built earlier Georgian/Regency structures. Smaller bed and breakfasts or guesthouses were located further out. By the time we reach the 1979 *Teignmouth Town Guide*, it is noticeable that the advertising emphasis is placed more upon pubs and restaurants; the Royal still remains prominent ("with world class chef and five star service"), but the guide is now pitched more at delineating walking tours and making a heavier historical emphasis on

the qualities of the town. This in itself has fascinating implications when set against wider British trends in heritage consumption and a gradual shift towards a more democratic and localised attitude to heritage management from the 1970s as epitomised (albeit in an east London, urban context) by the work of the Marxist historian Raphael Samuel, for example (Samuel 2012, 274).

Bed and breakfast offerings rather than the full-board boarding house experience become more common after the 1960s (for an overview see Walton 2000b). Times were changing. By the 1990s a number of the larger hotels had been converted to flats (eg. The London), retirement homes, bed and breakfasts or even demolished (as was the case with the Royal Hotel). The dominant form of accommodation is now the bed and breakfast, either as a modified boarding house (with the addition of en suite facilities) or as a modified domestic house at a smaller scale. The 1970s BBC comedy Fawlty Towers accurately caught the zeitgeist; a conservative hotel owner fighting new social mores and trying to retain a sense of Edwardian (or at least inter-war) decorum in increasingly fraught times. We have the shabby bedrooms, fading bar and dining rooms, attempts to maintain high social standards that never really existed in the first place.

ABC Hotel in Teignmouth (not its real name at the request of the owner) was originally built as a gentleman's residence, or 'marine villa', in the 1820s. The house was converted into a hotel round about 1959 after the death of the last private owner. During the course of renovations in the 2000s, the present writer undertook extensive buildings archaeology analysis of the fabric of the building. Consultation with a surviving 1958 auction catalogue which described in detail the original layout of the house as a private residence enabled the development of an archaeological view of the process of the construction of a 1950s hotel--and with it an awareness of what the seaside holiday experience at that time entailed. The main structural and cosmetic changes made to the building during its conversion from a middle-upper class seaside residence (‘phase one’) into a fifteen-room hotel run on an intensive business model suitable for the expectations of the post-war English seaside holidaymaker (‘phase two’) can be described as follows.

Dating evidence for these renovations include extensive use of Swedish imported post-war chipboard as partition walls, studwork walls covering existing degraded plaster walls, and standardised built-in cupboards and wardrobes. Sinks (in this case standardised Armitage Shanks porcelain sinks and taps) and electric power points were installed in all rooms. Internal wooden shutters had been nailed shut and replaced with curtains. Original Victorian and Regency fireplaces, many with original ornate grates, were covered over. It appeared that the emphasis was on internal modernisation, and downplaying the Victorian identity of the building. Only two bathrooms were in use, one on the top floor, and one on the first floor. Additional toilet space was built in on a freestanding brick-built block on the north-eastern side of the building provided extra toilets for the ground and first floor.

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The configuration of the old house changed completely. On the top floor, three former servants' bedrooms, which formerly had a bed each, were now converted into two twin and one double room. In fact the maximum capacity here could be as high as eight, all sharing one bathroom and toilet. On the first floor, there were two large sea-view rooms (the former owners' rooms) and ancillary dressing, guest and household rooms were all converted (and in one case subdivided) to form in total ten bedrooms. This floor possessed two toilets and one bathroom, with a maximum estimated capacity of 22 guests. The ground floor had two bedrooms, a converted library and sitting room. These had further capacity for five people. It was therefore not unknown, in the height of the season, for 35 guests to be in the house, and in some weeks demand was so high that guests were lodged with neighbours.

The functional rooms are found on the ground and basement floors. On the ground floor was an extensive lounge opening onto a veranda with sea/garden views and a Victorian glass conservatory. Guests ate in the main dining room, which was furnished with standardised and functional Eastern-European built 1960s wooden tables and chairs. A small kitchen area with gas grill and gas hot cupboard was used as a servery, and connected to the main lower kitchen via a 1950s built dumb waiter. In the basement were storage areas, an original slate-lined larder, the main kitchen and scullery connected to the servery above, and a bathroom/two bedrooms, which were used by the owners during the summer season.

Today the business has scaled down considerably, reflecting the downturn of the fortunes of the English seaside resort since the late 1970s and has become a small bed and breakfast concern. A number of rooms on the ground floor have been reconverted back to functional rooms; en-suite bathrooms have been added to three of the first-floor rooms, resulting in the loss of three bedrooms. From an era when overcrowding and sharing of bathing and toilet facilities was accepted, we have now moved to an era where greater privacy is demanded. Rooms have to be en-suite, and in addition the element of communality has been lost. There is no longer a resident's lounge, for example, reflecting perhaps the more private behaviour of the guest of the twenty-first century (Shaw, Agarwal and Bull 2000).

Communal dining at fixed times (and with unvarying menus) was the norm in the 1950s-70s, and this places this hotel at that time within the definition of a boarding house rather than continental-style hotel. With upwards of 30 guests per week during the ten-week summer season, the material culture of seaside holiday dining had at once to be durable, yet also had to subscribe to certain aesthetic values. A small box of original crockery and cutlery was located in the basement of the house, having long since been replaced by plain white wares used today in the modern B and B. This is in itself interesting; no attempt was made to curate

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or recycle dining material as it was regarded as being passé, and not suited to the tastes of the modern visitor. The crockery is of the same standardised pattern: tough 'Bristol' Vitrine, 'Sampson Bridge wood' or 'Churchill' to withstand heavy usage and washing.

The 'Bristol Vitrine' pottery was a range of catering wares manufactured at the Poultney factory in Fishponds, Bristol that closed in 1971 (archivetoday 2014; jocorbettceramics.blogspot.co.uk 2011). The back stamp on this corpus of Bristol pottery is not identifiable from the 1955 edition of the *Pottery Gazette* (www.retroselect.com 2014) so may be assumed to post-date that year (which would suggest it was purchased anew when the hotel was established c. 1960, or purchased when the family of the present owners took over in 1966). Sampson Bridgewood pottery derives from the Sampson Bridgewood works in Stoke on Trent where the company was founded in the early nineteenth century, ceasing production in the 1990s (thepotteries.org 2014). The firm first produced Vitrite hotel ware in 1980, and the brand was renamed Churchill in 1984 (Churchillchina.com 2014). This suggests that the Samson Bridgewood Vitrite in this corpus dates within the period 1980-4, and that the Churchill material dates from after 1984 (figure 5).

With pottery from all three manufacturers, there is a minimal restrained similar decoration: brown and blue banding round the edges of plates and round the tops of cups akin to earlier annular ware, but much more restrained. The ceramic forms are varied and include: tea cups, saucers, small side plates, small plates, large plates, milk jugs, soup bowls and interestingly miniature coffee cups; perhaps reflecting tastes of the post-war period when coffee was still regarded as an exotic, Continental taste and something to be taken in strict moderation. This evidences a full dining experience; there is no compromise in terms of variety of form, just restraint in decoration, and a very uniform, homogenous corpus of material allowing for easy replacement of breakages. This, one would suspect, would be the overriding factor in the archaeological definition of ceramic catering wares. Here, analysis of the surviving catering crockery indicates an initial large purchase of Bristol Vitrite, and gaps in the service (caused probably by breakage) were subsequently filled by similarly decorated Sampson Bridgewood pottery from c. 1980, and then latterly by the rebranded version under the name Churchill. By the late 1990s none of this material was used for service, and was replaced with smaller numbers of plain white wares sourced from local catering suppliers. Remaining plates were boxed away and stored.

Cutlery also reflects these functional needs. The stainless steel cutlery by Russell Bradley and Co. of Sheffield and includes large knives and forks, desert forks, desert spoons, soup spoons, small plate knives, teaspoons and fish knives and forks. The curious mix of the functional and attempts at decorative mimesis are also found in the cutlery forms: restrained and minimal fluting and decoration on the knife and fork handles, for example. The variety of cutlery used here implies a full and proper dining experience. The stainless steel/silver plate tea and coffee pots are faux-Georgian style, permitting an illusion of elegance fitting to

the ethos of the hotel. Steel toast racks look like silver from a distance; these elements would probably not have been in the domestic inventory of the normal guest who stayed here in the 1960s or 70s. This material permitted an illusion of luxury dining, yet also served strict utilitarian functions. The material culture of catering (in terms of ceramics and cutlery) offers a different story to the domestic sphere where aesthetical concerns are arguably more to the fore. Indeed, Megan Springate makes similar observations on the ceramics she encountered at the holiday house of the Wiawaka (Springate 2012). Within the material culture of the catering industry, durability and ease of replacement were driving concepts, yet a degree of aesthetic influence had also to be admitted to help the consumers 'live' the experience of the hotel.

Figure 5

The foregoing analysis would probably be similar to a study undertaken in any of the large converted Teignmouth residences/hotels. The biography of the building mirrors wider social and economic trends in Britain since the war as revealed through the seaside holiday. From our viewpoint today, this may look primitive, but it was a successful, full-board business model which engendered a great deal of customer loyalty and affection and which cannot be described as a hotel but more a boarding house. The material culture and use of space evidences an illusion of grandeur and style, still built upon functionality, and also in the rooms modernity. The decoration of rooms and accessibility to toilet and washing facilities however evidences a different approach to maximisation of economic resources. The illusion of grandeur was perhaps only skin deep. In its latest much slimmed down incarnation as a bed and breakfast business, modern trends have impinged and the house has again evolved to reflect changing consumer tastes. Much the same can be said of the functional and spatial organisation of the resort infrastructure itself as well.

The archaeology of having fun

Contrary to the blue-tinted ektrachome depictions of the holiday brochures and John Hinde postcards, the sun did not always shine in South Devon. Another crucial component of the archaeological biography of the seaside resort was the 'support mechanism' (eg Williams 2005, 132-161), and different British resorts built these elements on different scales. At Teignmouth the Assembly Rooms (figure 3 above) transformed into the nineteenth century into some form of exclusive club, then theatre, then inevitably a cinema until it closed in the early 1990s, a victim, along with so many hotels, of changing patterns of holiday behaviour. The Carlton Theatre was originally created from the Edwardian Carlton Pavilion. When it was renovated in the late 1960s modernist taste

demanded the application of white plaster and concrete and angled roofs; the original steel frame of the Edwardian glazed building was still visible, its windows covered though in plywood prior to its recent development.

On the seafront, that liminal space between water and land has been colonised over time, from rough natural dunescapes in the early nineteenth century, to a formal promenade with flowerbeds and public toilets. Order has been given to the natural coast in the shape of straight roads, paths and railings. Here is the natural focus for playgrounds and tennis courts (although these have declined from four to one over the last forty years), as well as putting greens and playgrounds for children (really a very recent, post-war phenomenon). On the Point, by the estuary, another familiar indicator of the resort is seen in the presence of beach huts; round on the back beach these are fishermen's' huts; on the point temporary huts, all of the same build type stand in a regimented row, with some addition of paint, or a small decorative feature betokening some act of individual agency or creativity (cf Williams 2005, 76).

The most important element of the seaside resort is of course the sea, and it is worth spending some time considering the relationship between land and sea at these liminal points in a resort such as Teignmouth, a landscape archaeology of margins and of changed experience and perception (Preston-Whyte 2004). Williams' 2005 photographic survey of the components of the English seaside starts, logically, with the wild, or natural seascape (Williams 2005, 8-9). It is clear from nineteenth-century prints and maps of Teignmouth, for example, that the beachfront was never formally demarcated from the actual town, rather separated by a sandy expanse (which today forms the Den gardens), but even this space formed a cultural space in the shape of a pleasure ground. Even dunescapes themselves, which formed a seeming 'natural' barrier between resort and sea could not be solely thought of in terms of 'natural' or 'wild' spaces. At Westward Ho in north Devon, and at Dawlish Warren, these spaces became progressively managed, either as nature reserves, golf courses or parkland. In time, a promenade (a feature common to many seaside resorts) developed at Teignmouth to distance the sea from the ordered cultural construction of the resort. This dichotomy between nature and culture has however become blurred over time; the beach is very much a managed, albeit dynamic phenomenon, as witnessed by the extensive use of groynes over the years in order to maintain and manage sand levels (older forms at Dawlish run parallel to the sea and are stone built; at Teignmouth later forms are wooden fences running perpendicular from the beach into the sea). They are just one example of cultural management of the seascape margins within a wider global context (Kunz 1997).

As was the custom at the time, sea bathing in nineteenth-century seaside resorts was segregated according to gender. There was no formal physical demarcation of the beach at Teignmouth, so there is no archaeological visibility for gendered space

here on the seafront, but further to the south, in Torquay, we do find recognisable demarcated areas for swimming. Just below Beacon Quay in Torquay the small cove here is clearly marked on a succession of Ordnance Survey maps from at least 1890 (but not from the 1860-1880 versions) as the ‘Ladies’ Bathing Cove’. By the 1930s it is named ‘Beacon Cove’. Further to the north-east, towards Teignmouth, at the northern end of Oddicombe Beach at Babbacombe is found the remains of a series of steps and a concrete platform with the legend ‘Gentlemen’s Bathing Place’ clearly visible along the wall (figure 5). This feature though does not date to the Victorian period and is not actually evidence for gendered bathing during that time. It actually first appears on the OS 1930 map as a ‘shelter’. It may be that another beach marked ‘bathing cove’ to the south, just behind the Carey Arms may have been the original male bathing place.

To the north of Teignmouth, in the neighbouring resort of Dawlish, Coryton’s Cove was demarcated as the male only bathing area. Females bathed on the shore in front of the railway station. A ladies’ bathing pavilion was constructed here, and a small railway/tramway linked this pavilion to sea (presumably for use of bathing machines). This rather unusual piece of seaside architecture, which is marked on the 1890 and 1900 series of OS maps clearly as ‘Ladies’ Bathing Pavilion’ was only finally removed in 1940 (by 1930 it had reverted simply to ‘Bathing Pavilion’) as an anti-invasion measure (Kay 1990, 9). What is clear that segregated bathing does appear to remain as a feature of the twentieth century seaside resort, at least in south Devon. What we perceive to be Victorian ‘anti-modern’ behaviour surprisingly survives into the early part of the twentieth century.

Figure 6

Behind the beach, the sea wall acts as a barrier to natural forces, but also provides a means for visitors to walk along the stretch of the shore in relative comfort. This of course the function of the classic seaside promenade alluded to above. At Teignmouth, the present promenade structure, as evidenced by study of older photographs, is much higher above the sea than the earlier promenade. It is railed off, and regular access points or steps are provided at regular intervals to access the beach. Flower beds are a common feature of making the promenade look less functional (Williams 2005, 122-127); in addition older shelters have been preserved at intervals. These shelter forms are common to a number of English seaside resorts (Williams 2005, 102-107); open on four sides, each with a bench a separated by glass partitions, roofs are distinctively steeply pitched. Many of these structures are poorly maintained however, and mainly serve as gathering places for street drinkers, homeless or teenagers. As such many of the benches bear graffiti and other evidence of usage by marginalised groups of people (a theme developed further in the UK by the work of archaeologists Rachel Kiddey and John Schofield 2013).

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There is another category of seating along the promenade that again moves beyond the functional. Benches are set up at regular intervals along the Teignmouth Promenade. Between St Michael's Church and the first (easterly) ice cream kiosk there are 17 wooden benches of limited design repertoire. Of these, three bear memorial plaques. These memorial plaques all refer to single individuals, or family members. The formula on each is limited; usually a full name and dates of birth and death, with some brief additional inscription. Plaques are either of plastic or thin metal. Between the easterly ice cream kiosk at the Pier however, there are 20 benches of which seventeen bear memorial plaques, one of which is also associated with a memorial flower bed.

Moving southwards, to the section of the Promenade beyond the Pier there are 35 benches all of which bear a memorial plaque (at the time of one visit there were three floral tributes left here). This is also where the town war memorial is located. It is also noticeable that in this area there is a greater variety of bench forms and designs, suggesting that there is more scope here for the erection of privately bought benches rather than simple conversion of existing council benches into memorials. This pattern of distribution suggests most simply that the area around the Pier, and towards the Point, is regarded, in terms of commemoration, as being 'prime' real estate; the Promenade at the northern end, being relatively less populated with visitors and with benches, is not a popular spot.

The promenade as a landscape archaeology feature at the English seaside resort has fulfilled several functions. In basic terms, it sits atop a barrier between land and sea; it mediates the two zones and allows for comfortable transition into the wild, natural zone, from the managed landscape of the resort. The Promenade acts as a protective barrier, physically, yet the liminality of the place suggests other symbolic connotations (Gray 2006, 134-6). Here is a natural gathering place and socialisation (cf Scobey 2008), and also a place for contemplation and by extension commemoration and memorialisation. Memorial benches here recall happier times ('for they so loved this view' is a common theme; cf Williams 2011; Wylie 2009), and emphasise the shared family experience of the seaside itself, referring back to Jarratt's observations above on the nature of seaside resort nostalgia. As a contrast, In Teignmouth town, for example, memorial benches away from the sea record the presence of old established businesses, made defunct by the remodelling of the town centre in the 1970s. It is a different form of remembering in a different place.

Conclusion: the English seaside resort in a global historical archaeology context

"Perhaps every trip to the beach as an adult is an attempt to capture lost innocence, or at least to feel as carefree as a child" (Elborough 2010, 8)

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In her 2005 book *A Shifting Shore*, the historian Alice Garner (Garner 2005) weaves a compelling historical narrative of the development of a quiet French fishing town of Arcachon into a formalised and popular beach tourism centre, and intriguingly charts the tension between the locals and the outsiders. The biography of Arcachon as written by Garner, using a wide variety of source materials and looking from a range of different perspectives and angles could apply perhaps to the development of any seaside resort across the globe. The present paper has attempted to formulate a biography of such a settlement, but from a different perspective, a material culture-archaeological and phenomenological. Emphasis has been placed on how space and materiality constructs the experience of being at the seaside. This is visible from the spatial choreography of travel into the resort, the spatial structure of the resort accommodation and its associated material culture as well as the construction and delineation of urban space. An idealised package is frame for the tourist consumers, each appropriate to their social level. The seaside resort and its functional components mediates and controls human behaviour.

The English seaside resort still retains a huge amount of affection and a central place in the social memory of the country. Nearly all of us have at some stage in our life experienced a period of time in one of these towns; humans are fixated by the sea in its many elemental moods (Corbin 1994), and at the seaside we engage with it directly. Swimming in the sea, or visiting the seaside is in fact tapping into deep-seated human cognitive needs. The seashore is at the boundary of two quite different worlds, which humans have traditionally sought to mediate through a variety of cultural responses (Westerdahl 2012). The English seaside resort is just one place on this continuum of experience. This experience can be see through a lens of nostalgia, the spatial ordering of the hotel and resort structuring familial experience and perception, perhaps making it better than it really was, forming the basis in later years of patterns of commemoration and remembrance. In the twenty-first century our archaeology of the seaside experience is viewed more dystopically through the medium of psychogeography, a post-modern phenomenon of a recreated authentically historic seaside town, albeit with rough edges.

As we have seen, the spatial layout and content of these very functionally specific forms of post-medieval urban maritime settlement hold a mirror up to wider changes in society (Gale 2006). The period defined here was a period of great social and cultural change in the UK (Sandbrook 2005). It was a period of increased social mobility and wealth, and a period when a new post-war generation questioned the certainties of their predecessors. Seaside resorts shed (or attempted to) their earlier incarnations as exclusive places and attempted to become more egalitarian. It is hard to think of another category of post-medieval settlement in which flux and mechanisms relating to socio-cultural change are so diverse (Agarwal 2002) and yet so apparent archaeologically. Using a localised case study, emphasising the analysis of key discrete features of a site biography and using a range of different

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historical archaeological approaches including map regression study, oral history and material culture study, this paper has attempted to build upon an initial idea aired elsewhere (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 208-14). This archaeological approach may also have implications for studying wider global interconnectivity in the physical development of the seaside resort (Demars 1979 posits just one starting point from a transatlantic point of view). Above all, set against other current themes in historical archaeology, it is refreshing to be able to write of the archaeology of people having fun…. even if it did rain most of the time.

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Figure 1: 1939 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 3rd Revision map of the seasonal ‘plotland’ settlement at Dawlish Warren, Devon. This would disappear in less than ten years. (Courtesy Digimap 1:2 500 County Series 3rd Revision [TIFF geospatial data], Scale 1:2500, Tiles: devo-10212-4,devo-10301-4,devo-10305-4,devo-10309-4, Updated: 30 November 2010, Historic, Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, Downloaded: 2016-10-16 15:34:49.167).

Figure 2: location of study area. Horizontal scale 50 kilometres.

Figure 3: Public Reading Rooms (latterly Riviera Cinema) and Cockram’s Hotel (latterly the Royal Hotel) engraved by F. Havill, published 1840 (author’s collection).

Figure 4: Urban land use characterisation of Teignmouth in 2014 (based on Google Earth imagery)

Figure 5: the ceramic material culture of the post-war seaside holiday: functional and durable, yet in a diverse range of forms maintaining a pretence of social exclusivity. Top: Teacup, small coffee cup, large coffee cup. Middle: Bristol makers mark (l) and (r) Sampson Bridgewood catering ware.

Figure 6: gendered zones of the beach. The Gentlemen’s bathing spot, Oddicombe, Torbay evidencing the survival of Victorian cultural bathing mores into the twentieth century

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Table i

Archaeological indicators of different forms of resort accommodation: a typology

(Analysis and definitions based upon content and listing of Teignmouth official accommodations guides from 1962-)

	Hotel	Boarding House	Bed and Breakfast	Self-Catering
Indicative size	10 plus bedrooms	10 plus bedrooms	1-10 bedrooms	varied
Characterisation	Large building, often purpose built, with en-suite rooms and with a restaurant/bar and function room; offers full board options and generally open all year round. Large dedicated staff with staff quarters.	Large building, often not purpose built and converted; extensive post-War architectural interventions; no bar, dining room/communal tv room; full board offered.	Small-medium to large; not purpose built and converted; extensive post-War architectural interventions; no bar, dining room/ possible communal tv room; breakfast only	Cottage or property perhaps with inherent heritage character, varied size, effectively a domestic unit.
Sleeping units	Large; en-suite bedrooms.	Varied according to pre-existing architectural form; not en-suite. Unstandardised.	Varied according to pre-existing architectural form; tending towards en-suite over time. Unstandardised.	Varied according to size
Material culture implications	Standardised material culture.	Adapted domestic material culture; occasional use of	Adapted domestic material culture; occasional use of	Domestic.

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		catering forms	catering forms	
Chronological span	Popular from the early period of the resorts generally; declining post -WW2 especially with opening of newer chains from 1980s and fall-off in wealthier visitor numbers.	Popular from end of WW1, predominant forms of accommodation in this period, tending to disappear 1960s onwards and replaced by Bed and Breakfasts.	Becomes popular from 1960s; Bed and Breakfasts are rarely seen before this time, most working-lower middle class focus is on the Boarding House.	Becoming more popular from 1970s.
Other remarks	Each resort had at least one or two long-standing larger hotels and these catered for a distinctive clientele.	Cf 'case study' above pre-1990s. Accommodation here was based upon week-long residency with full or half board. This relative lack of flexibility sees the development of the B and B as a more favoured form of lower/lower-middle class accommodation preference from the 1970s.	Cf. 'case study above' above post 1990s. The B and B effectively emerges from the Boarding House phenomenon and in response to less flexibility found in that environment. From the 1970s/80s see emergence of more en-suite and in-room facilities.	More of a niche middle-class market from the 1960s.

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