

Coastal Resort Morphology as a Response to
Transportation Technology

by

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A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Geography

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1997

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Coastal Resort Morphology as a Response to Transportation Technology

Abstract

The primary goal of the thesis has been a comparison of heyday at three coastal resorts of the eastern United States. Cape May, New Jersey, represents steamboat and stagecoach travel in 1860; Atlantic City, New Jersey, represents railroad travel in 1886; and Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, the automobile in 1975. Land use maps generated for the resorts were later synthesized as diagrams representing each transportation case study.

Generalisations illustrated in the diagrams and thesis framework components guided the comparison of heyday.

Framework components included selected features of transportation, the resort, tourists, capital investment and government involvement. Questions raised from the review of contextual research contributed to the thesis conclusions:

1. What kinds of events influence progress in the evolution of resorts from one stage to another?
2. What kinds of data should be used to determine the evolution of resorts?
3. How does transportation technology influences resort morphology?

This thesis has shown that the resorts exhibit distinctive land-use patterns reflecting the contemporary social and technological contexts, of which transportation is a major component.

Acknowledgements

Completion of this thesis provides an opportunity to thank those who influenced my work in the "journey to play". I wish to extend hearty thanks to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Geoffrey Wall, for his expert, tactful guidance and for the frequent loans from his personal library; to Dr. Jeanne Kay for her detailed, thoughtful editing; to Dr. Leonard Guelke and Dr. Ron Johnson for the excellent suggestions regarding content; to Dr. Charles Stansfield who generously provided me with copies of his work on coastal resorts. I am also grateful to Ralph Moir, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, for his unfailing wisdom; to Valene Smith, California State University, my inspiration; to Wendy Hatch, who kept me on track; to Alex Keuper and to Barry Levely for the production of superb maps; and to the excellent librarians. Among those I especially remember are Ione Williams, Cape May Historical Society; Marie Boyd (now retired), Atlantic City Free Public Library; Jack Thompson, Myrtle Beach photographer; Ashby Ward, Myrtle Beach Chamber of Commerce; Tempe Oehler, Myrtle Beach historian; Barbara Horner, librarian, Myrtle Beach *Sun News*; and New Jersey railroad historians, Don Wentzel and Gerald MacDonald. Sincere thanks to the secretaries of the Geography Department, University of Waterloo; to Dr. Yifang Ban, Dr. Veronica Long, Christina Kerr and Heather Black for the gift of their friendship.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my children,
Natalie and William Brent.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

The primary goal of this research is to compare the morphology of selected land use categories at three coastal resort towns of the eastern United States during their heyday. The inquiry focuses primarily on the impact of differing transportation technologies on the morphology of resort land use.

1.1.1 Morphology

Early studies by Burgess [1925], Hoyt [1939] and Harris and Ullman [1945] referred to urban morphology as the internal structure of cities. They identified land use function as a basis for land use classification. Hoyt [1939] described morphology in research concerning the patterns of American residential neighborhoods:

The next step in our inquiry, therefore, is to ascertain whether there is an orderly arrangement or internal pattern according to which structures devoted to different functions are segregated in definite areas. This involves the examination of evidence presented by maps showing the use made of land within a given city [Hoyt, 1939, 15].

Daniel and Hopkinson [1979] offered a more recent, though similar definition:

The arrangement and layout of the buildings and the function or use of land and buildings in a town are collectively described as the town's *morphology* [Daniel and Hopkinson, 1979, 85].

Land use morphology here refers to the pattern and location of land uses and the relationships between them.

1.1.2 Heyday

The heyday of resort towns in this research is regarded as the time immediately after the peak of tourism's rate of growth. At such a point, all key tourist infrastructure would have been established. The host community and developers would have been optimistic and confident about the profitability of their investments. Visitor response would have been enthusiastic, and tourism would have been the main economic base of the resort community. The heyday of resort towns appears at the beginning of the mature stage(s) of its evolution.

1.1.3 Transportation Technologies

The three principal transportation technologies that are addressed here are the steamboat, the railroad and automobiles. Steamboat and stagecoach travel in 1860 is portrayed in Cape May, New Jersey; railway travel in 1886 is portrayed in Atlantic City, New Jersey; and automobile travel in 1975 is portrayed in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina (figure 1.3). A comparison of the morphology of these resorts at their heyday is then made.

1.2 Significance of the Research

Tourism geographers and tourism researchers of associated disciplines have expressed a general dissatisfaction with the progress of the thematic, areal and theoretical aspects of tourism research and understanding. Mitchell and Murphy [1991]

and Ritchie [1993] have criticized academic tourism research for the general neglect of important themes, one of which is transportation [Page, 1994; Witt et al., 1991].

1.2.1 The Transportation Theme

Without transportation, there could be no tourism. While it is true that transportation has been acknowledged as a component of urban tourism [Demars, 1979; Patmore, 1974; Vance, 1986; Meyer-Arendt et al., 1992; Murphy, 1985; Lundgren, 1983; Funnell, 1975; Pigram, 1977; Butler, 1980; R.A. Smith, 1992; Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Stansfield, 1969; Stansfield and Rickert, 1970; Miossec, 1976], acknowledgement does not constitute research. This investigation will reveal the importance and implications of transportation's role in resort morphology in a focused way.

1.2.2 American Destination Areas

The number of destination areas for tourism research needs to be expanded [Pearce, 1979; Ritchie, 1993]. A great deal of research relating to coastal resorts has focused on Europe, and to a limited extent, on Asia and other locations outside the United States. The volume of American research has been small compared to the relative importance of the American tourism industry [Matley, 1976; Carlson, 1980; Mitchell, 1984; Mitchell and Murphy, 1991; Pearce, 1979]. The United States is the world leader of tourism exports [Waters, 1991, 1992, 1993-

1994]. This means that America generates more tourism dollars than anywhere else on earth at the present time. As a major supplier of international and domestic tourism opportunities, the United States merits a body of coastal resort research that is much larger. Thus, American sites have been selected for this research.

1.2.3 Comparison of Land Use Morphology as a Contribution to Tourism Theory

There is growing recognition of the need for advances in tourism theory as expressed both in the literature [Jafari, 1992; Mitchell and Murphy, 1991; Pearce, 1979, 1995] and at tourism colloquia. Meyer-Arendt, tourism geographer at Mississippi State University, hosted discussions at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers (Atlanta) that explored the general applicability of resort morphology models. Morphology models generalize by nature. Meyer-Arendt (*Spatial Modeling in Coastal Tourism Geography*) questioned whether present models are widely relevant given their genesis from either single-resort studies or, in a very small number of cases, from regional studies. Furthermore, while early models of coastal resort morphology were static [e.g., Barrett, 1958; Stansfield and Rickert, 1970; Stansfield, 1971; Lavery, 1974], later ones have tended to be evolutionary, denoting stages progressing from initial growth through maturity [Miossec, 1976; R.A. Smith, 1992; Meyer-Arendt, 1987]. The complexity of resort models developed since

the 1950s has increased; however, absence of a standard format renders comparisons across models and across case studies difficult. This research achieves comparability by means of its research methods and its framework.

1.3 The Form and Function of Resort Towns

Resort towns have been overlooked in urban morphology research. Geographers Harris and Ullman [1945] acknowledged resort towns as *specialized-function cities* that rely on the development of a local physical resource. However, resort towns were then abruptly discredited:

Once started, a specialized city acts as a nucleus for similar or related activities, and functions tend to pyramid, whether the city is a seaside resort such as Miami or Atlantic City, or, more important, a manufacturing center such as Pittsburgh or Detroit [Harris and Ullman, 1945, 10].

One could reason that the emphasis placed on work and productivity in North America might have influenced urban scholars to neglect resort towns.

Reid's [1992] examination of the changing patterns of work and leisure addressed a shift in North American values:

The job which was originally viewed as a means for production has now become the object of production. Governments concern themselves with creating jobs in order to employ people rather than with increasing production and, hence, wealth....While most observers recognize that the West has moved to a post-industrial economy few have understood that this requires a different understanding of the role of work and the job [Reid, 1992, 14].

Activities related to work and home should indeed receive a great amount of interest. However, resort towns continued to be ignored by transportation scholars and by urban scholars

even after their economic importance was known. The United States government did not take an active interest in measuring and promoting tourism until 1981 [Edgell, 1983]. Worldwide expenditures of more than three trillion dollars (U.S.) annually have alerted authorities and citizenry that tourism is not merely a frivolous activity. It is a very significant industry. This research illustrates the distinctive forms of American resort towns when their rate of growth has just peaked.

1.4 The Distinctive Characteristics of Resort Towns

The nature of resort towns makes knowledge about their morphological progress crucial to their survival. The economic health of resort towns is more tenuous than commercial or other service communities because tourist activity in resort towns is often seasonal. Resorts are subject to changing public preferences. Another differing feature of resort towns relates to their product. Resort towns *manufacture* escape and pleasure which are invisible [Edgell, 1989]. Resort towns must be almost completely dedicated to tourism in order to maintain the atmosphere of recreation. The presence of industry unrelated to tourism detracts from that atmosphere. Therefore, by nature resort towns are different places than towns where most people live or work.

Coastal resorts, although distinctive in many ways, also bear resemblances to commercial cities. Land use morphology

studies [Vance 1977, 1986; Berry 1976; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Hoyt, 1939; Hanson, 1986; Muller, 1981; and Jones and Simmons, 1990] have been valuable for revealing the locations and patterns of human activities and human movement within cities. The similarities and differences of land use morphology in the coastal resorts of this research will be identified in the discussions of chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

1.5 The Basis for Morphological Comparisons

The research methods, thoroughly explained in chapter three, attempt to standardise the data by selecting an identical evolutionary point for comparison at each of the resorts. These comparable time periods are the heydays of the resort towns. A conceptual framework is subsequently applied to data related to heyday at each resort town (chapters four, five and six). The resulting schematic diagrams of land use morphology (conclusions of chapters 4, 5 and 6) and the resulting table of framework components (appendix D) provide the basis for comparative analysis (chapter seven) and conclusions (chapter eight).

The comparability of resort town morphology models has eluded tourism geographers for several reasons. Morphology of land use cannot be well compared across time without the identification of similar points within the evolution of each resort town. For example, it would be of little value to compare an early evolutionary stage of one resort town with a

mature stage in another. Comparative morphological research is, therefore, blocked from further achievement without the ability to identify and to pre-select points of evolution that correspond to a real landscape. A chart of morphology concepts embedded in a time-place context helps to explain the place of this research and the way in which it will be achieved (figure 1.1).

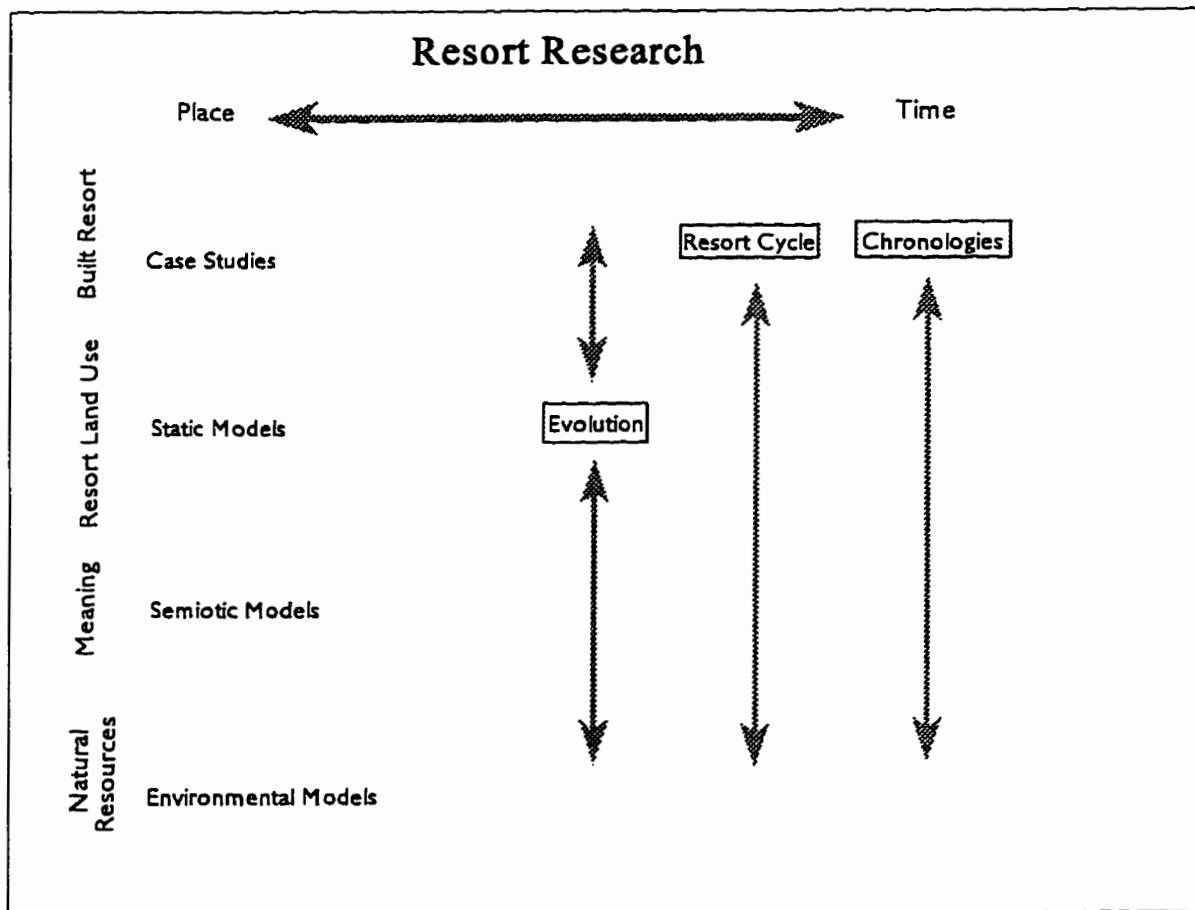


Figure 1.1 Conceptualisation of Thesis Design

The top of figure 1.1 illustrates the place-time continuum of published resort research. The vertical arrows indicate that chronologies and/or the evolution of resort can be applied to any of the types of resort research listed on the left side of the figure. The left side of the chart indicates categories of research about physical places. Examples of these categories are listed as the case study, static land use models, semiotic models and environmental models.

Past comparative resort morphology research has illustrated the entire evolutionary history of resort towns [Gilbert, 1939; Wolfe, 1952; Miossec, 1976; Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Smith, 1992; Kermath and Thomas, 1992]. One of the important goals common to these studies was observing differences between the evolutionary stages of one or more resort towns.

The present research compares morphology of three American resort towns at the onset of the mature stage. Only the beginning of the mature phase is compared. This is achieved as a result of reconciling real time with evolutionary time. Evolution (figure 1.1) is indicated to the left of real time because, in evolution, units of measured time are relatively less important than growth (positive or negative). However, in order to compare land use morphology during heyday, the production of maps showing heyday land use was necessary. It was necessary to consult real-time evidence

so that one could determine what was happening on the ground during the targeted heyday period. The isolation of each resort town's heyday to a stretch of real-time, as well as to its place in an evolutionary stage, permits comparison of functionally similar land uses by means of mapping and element-by-element comparison of framework components.

1.6 Framework

Although tourism is a 'state of mind' or experience for tourists [Driver and Tocher 1974, cited in Wall and Marsh, 1982, 1; Patmore, 1983, 5], it represents an income and profit (or loss) for others. The framework for this research has been organized into four related areas: transportation, the resort town, tourists and capital investment/government involvement.

A supply-side perspective is emphasized. Nevertheless, the framework is broad in scope and permits discussion of the dynamics present in the changing character of coastal resort morphology. Figure 1.2 shows an inflow of investment capital for building urban resort infrastructure and transportation infrastructure (solid-line arrows). Government is included with capital investment because it is sometimes the principal investor. Additionally, government has the capability to facilitate infrastructure building initiated by outside investors, and maintains a symbiotic relationship with investors. Returning broken-line arrows denote profit or loss from the investment. Capital investment and government have no

inherent, direct influence over tourist behaviour. However, they certainly attempt to influence tourists by broadcasting information about destinations and by making transportation opportunities and tourism opportunities available.

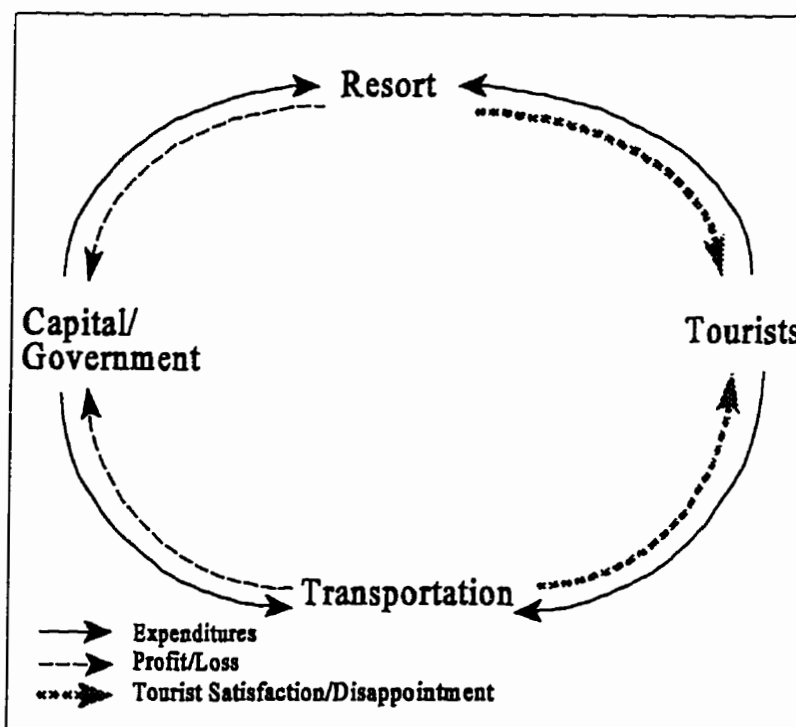


Figure 1.2 Framework Dynamics

Potential tourists can refuse or accept the opportunities. The solid-line arrows originating from *tourists* denote the purchase of transportation services and of recreation services at the resort town. The thick broken-line arrows suggest tourists' pleasurable holiday experiences.

1.6.1 Transportation

Transportation, as it relates to tourism, physically connects tourist markets to the attractions. In addition to providing a link between origins and destinations, transportation also forms a buffer between the tourists' everyday world and holiday opportunities at the destination.

Transportation can occur along natural thoroughfares (lakes, oceans, rivers and flight paths) or constructed corridors (highways, railroads, bridges, canals and tunnels). Potentially significant places designated for the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers and for parking of vehicles include: piers, railway terminals, automobile and carriage parking and possibly stables.

The vehicles associated with transportation-- automobiles, steamboats and steam-powered trains-- are often considered the icons of technology. However, by necessity, they will be reflected here as transportation land-use corridors and nodes.

1.6.2 The Resort Town

Form and function of resort land use are reflexive and dynamic. The location and pattern of one type of land use can have important implications for another. For example, the location of intensively used tourist areas at coastal resorts would seem to be straightforward. However, the issue is complex. While the apparent attraction of coastal resorts is

the ocean beach, a great deal of tourist activity might occur out of, and away from, the water [Wall, 1982, 239; Maguire, 1995]. The location of tourist activity might, in turn, have a bearing on the location of permanent residences.

The resorts studied here were examined during their heydays--a time when they had just passed rapid development, the period of the most rapid rate of growth and the beginning of the mature stage of evolution. Movement from the stage of rapid development to the beginning of the mature stage might have occurred from the momentum of a resort's success or even from a specific event.

1.6.3 Tourists

Tourists spend money. In the process of spending money, they hope to enjoy hospitality and opportunities for recreation away from home. Commonly considered tourist characteristics include origins, distance from the resort town, length of stay, motivations and preferred activities.

Preferred activities can be used to indicate tourist type. Changes in tourist type can be related to socio-economic status. For example, important changes in tourists' discretionary time and income can have implications for the number of hotels that will remain profitable. Thus, changes in tourist type can be an indicator of a resort's progress through stages of evolution [Lavery, 1974].

1.6.4 Capital Investment/Government Involvement

Investment seeks a profit. When profit becomes marginal, prevailing sources of capital wane and can be replaced by new ones. For example, 'start-up' capital originates with entrepreneurs who recognize an economic opportunity, organize sources of investment, infrastructure and, either implicitly or explicitly, a marketing plan.

The role of government is paired with capital investment here because the two institutions have worked cooperatively. Governments maintain administrative and regulatory functions but can also enter into entrepreneurship, as happens in Third World countries, such as Indonesia, Mexico and many Caribbean states. Governments also regulate the nature of development allowed in national parks and heritage sites around the world. The Mexican [Long, 1993] and Costa Rican government organizations have determined the types and locations of tourism that will occur.

The changing sources of capital are compatible with stages of resort evolution [Butler, 1980; Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Smith, 1992]. After the initial stages of resort evolution, non-local capital (and/or government) contributes to the rapid growth of infrastructure. During the late stages of resort evolution, by contrast, financial support for tourism might fall back to the local community as outside investors withdraw. Thus, investors and government involvement are grouped together not because they are the same institutions,

but because their relationship is often symbiotic.

1.7 Conclusion

This thesis is primarily important for its comparative focus and for its examination of transportation's influence on the morphology of land use in resorts. In the past, entire stages of evolution have been compared in morphological research [Miossec, 1976; Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Smith, 1992]. This research is original in its effort to extract heydays from the mature stage in the lifespan of resort towns. It is distinguished by the complementary use of real time and evolution (rate of growth) in order to extract and compare heyday. Cartographic comparison of selected land use furnishes evidence for conclusions regarding the influence of transportation on resort morphology. The following chapter establishes the place of this research within related previous work.

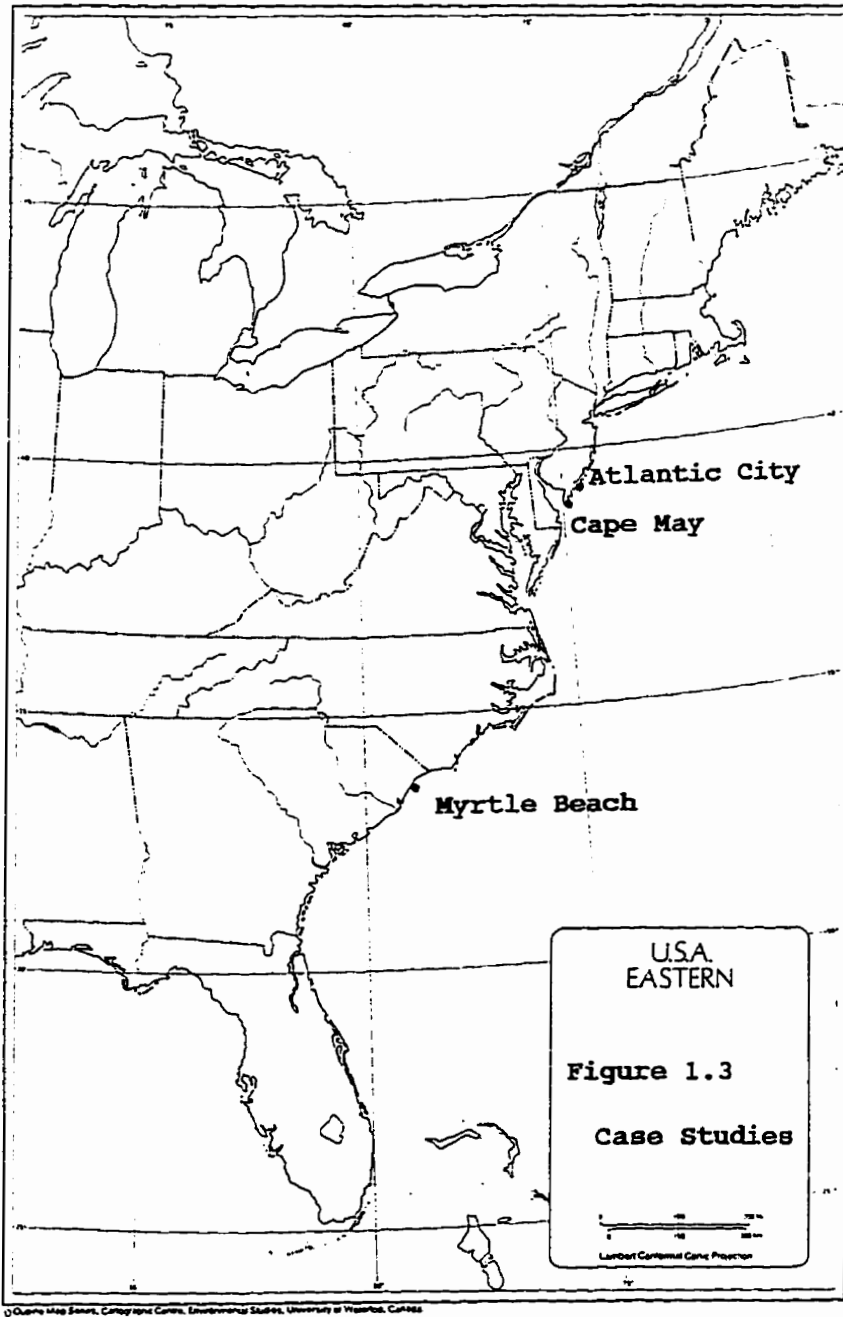


Figure 1.3 Case Study Sites

CHAPTER 2. CONTEXT OF STUDY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes a context for the present research and explains its contribution to the geography of tourism. Literature discussed here will remain within the limits of the framework topics (transportation, resorts, tourists and capital/government), with a special focus on the resort town. Methods for comparing case study land use morphologies are described in detail in the following chapter.

Examination of morphological research and related literature will provide a context for this thesis. Gilbert [1939, 1949] introduced the concepts of resort morphology and the evolution of resorts. These concepts separated and evolved in different directions for a time and then became intertwined again as evolutionary models from the 1970s to 1990s [Meyer-Arendt, 1987; R.A. Smith, 1992; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Miossec, 1976]. Following Gilbert's research, some important descriptive work (social histories and case studies) appeared concurrently with the beginning of morphological modelling.

Little research has addressed transportation as it relates to tourism. The transportation studies that do exist reflect concomitant changes in accommodations, the rural-urban population shift of the late nineteenth century, changes in tourist-activity and tourist-destination preferences (tourist gaze) [Urry, 1990] and general works that explain the genesis,

impact and statistical importance of various transportation systems [Page, 1994]. The following section begins with transportation research and then proceeds with an exploration of tourism literature (and important related literature) as it evolved from Gilbert's research: resort modelling to descriptive-social history tourism research, on the one hand, and evolutionary research (tourist types, resort types and the resort cycle) on the other.

2.2 Transportation Research

Tourist transportation research addresses tourist access (stagecoaches, boats, rail and automobile) and tourist mobility within resorts (pedestrian, streetcars, rail and automobile). Urban transportation scholars have established that transportation technology is an important influence on urban land use morphology. Geographer Genevieve Giuliano states:

The historical record demonstrates that land use changes and transportation investments go hand in hand....The ability of transportation investments to shape or influence urban structure is also a widely held conviction [Giuliano, 1986 247].

Early urban morphology research was also consistent with this position. Urban economist Homer Hoyt discussed important influences on urban structure:

The exact shape of each city is influenced by topography and transportation, and there are no two that have exactly the same form....Having determined the boundaries of the urban body, the next step is to break down what is so far an undifferentiated mass of structures into the component elements and to search for patterns of land use within the

urban body as thus defined [Hoyt, 1939, 12].

The most pressing concerns of transportation have been traditionally related to commerce and defense. In the context of urban studies, most transportation research has focused on the economy, markets and the journey to work. The journey to play has been largely ignored by urban scholars outside of tourism studies. In view of tourism's role in the current economy, one hopes that a more cooperative effort will occur in future research.

2.2.1 Building Follows Infrastructure (And Infrastructure Influences Building)

Transportation is generally viewed as a way of connecting people to destinations. However, transportation infrastructure can introduce physical barriers and/or encourage building. Warner [1962] portrayed streetcar technology as an isolating influence that restricted Boston's immigrant working class to its industrial workplace during the late nineteenth century. While the working class was confined to a dreary area of high density building, constant noise and unpleasant odours, the middle class could flee to the quiet surroundings and fresh air of their suburban homes at the end of the day.

The rapid growth of housing development along the path of road infrastructure was recognised in its early stages as urban sprawl [Hoyt, 1939] and in later ones as ribbon development [Potter, 1987]. This phenomenon is relevant to the present research, as tourism land uses also are affected by

transportation. Tourism geographer Lundgren [1983] convincingly demonstrated the influence of transportation technology in his important study of Quebec's Laurentian cottagers. In the 1890s, cottages clustered around railway terminals and nearby lakes. Highway construction between Montreal and Laurentian villages during the 1930s was reflected in a regionally diffuse pattern of second home building. Subsequent construction (1960s) of a limited-access freeway, designed to mitigate growing highway congestion, contributed to the formation of a new concentration of second homes along the borders of the freeway. Lundgren observed that resort morphology often follows the patterns created by transportation technology.

2.2.2 Transportation Related to Automobile Tourism

The freedom of mobility and relative independence of movement from automobile and highway technology has been a remarkable phenomenon in this century. However, it is not without negative consequences. Roadside tourism has become increasingly divorced from the landscape [Wolfe, 1952; Jakle, 1985]. The Romantic Movement of the nineteenth century encouraged admiration for natural places. The conflicting but concurrent Age of Technology inspired the popularity of mechanical amusements. For some, the expressions of technology became excessive, whether they were related to recreation or to the search for efficient profits in general. Mechanization

and other expressions of technology have contributed to a growing sense of 'placelessness', according to Relph [1976]. However, it can be argued that technology has also contributed to the development and evolution of recreational places with distinctive characteristics, such as coastal resorts.

The automobile is one form of technology which has had important consequences for human mobility, whether for work or play. Hugill [1985] described early elite motoring in the 1920s, the subsequent adoption of the automobile for weekend touring among the middle class, and made a case for "mass follows class". Belasco's [1979] *Americans on the Road* highlighted the role of automobile travel in the evolution of middle-class American roadside accommodations. Jakle [1980] traced the history of roadside accommodations in twentieth century America. Advances in highway and automobile technology were paralleled by changes in motorist accommodations: auto camps, guest homes, cabin camps, motel chains, and highway hotel chains. In *The Tourist* [1985], he complemented the accommodation study with a history of North American tourism phenomena resulting from various transportation systems. Jakle [1985] pointed out that highways and automobiles have remained the favourite mode of transportation for North American tourism even after inexpensive jet holidays (airfare and accommodations packaged together) became available after 1960.

Despite the passion among Americans for independent mobility, scholarly interest in recreational vehicle (RV)

camping has been slight. The response by campgrounds to snowbirds and to the family-oriented holidays market in recent years prompted Janiskee [1990] to describe the distribution and characteristics of large campground towns in America. Campground towns are campgrounds that include amenities normally associated with hotel resorts, such as security, television cable, swimming pools, convenience shopping, and sometimes doctors' clinics, pharmacies, beauty parlours and beach access. They occur in Sunbelt states within a day's drive of large population centres (tourist origins) or near resort towns (final destinations). The most important RV market has been the family on holiday, who want comfort, convenience, and a safe environment as well as opportunities for socializing. These requirements and the space requirements of RVs could only be met profitably by areal expansion of campgrounds that had previously accommodated tenting. In fact, the form and function of some campground towns now resembles small resort towns [Janiskee, 1990].

Ocean Lakes Family Campground, in the Grand Strand region of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, opened in 1971 during the early part of Myrtle Beach's evolution. At that time, the cost of land was relatively low. Myrtle Beach's unprecedented growth, 1960-1975, caused land values to soar. Since the time of Janiskee's research, two campground towns have been replaced by hotel/condominiums [Janiskee, 1997]. Fortunately the campground towns are prospering.

Page [1994] has also addressed the subject of tourism transportation. The first chapters of his *Transport for Tourism* textbook discuss transportation systems from the perspectives of economics, geography and marketing. Chapter 5 focused on tourist motivations and the quality of tourists' experiences: topics that are frequently overlooked by transport engineers. Page noted that links between government policy and transportation infrastructure development have often neglected the specific requirements of tourism within national transportation policies. A few examples include: frequent rest stations, accommodation of the needs of small children and elderly adults, and the projection of politeness and respect by transportation industry staff. Neglect of tourists' needs occurs in transportation policy because tourism has not been regarded separately, but has been categorized within other industries. Suggestions for future research included the problem of congested airspace, resort image differentiation, reputation for service among participants of the tourism industry and the related requirement of "excellence in service provision and the design of service delivery systems..." [Page, 1994, 179].

Towner [1996] examined the effects of recreation and tourism at selected European and North American locations on people, places and activities across space and time. Viewed from the perspective of historical geography, this broad tourism study employs a framework of supply, demand and the

role of transportation to examine several important examples of recreation and tourism: the dividing factor of personal preferences (taste differences) between affluent and popular society, popular recreation, spa resorts, the European Grand Tour, and the fashion for wilderness areas and seaside resorts. Towner disputed overly simplistic views concerning the concept of 'mass follows class' and of the causal role of transportation in the success of resort towns. While aspirations of social mobility have always existed, Towner disavows successive class intrusion on the basis of the disparate tastes of various social groups at places of recreation and leisure. Towner also cautioned against a simplistic case for transportation determinism. The debate concerning whether the primary causal agent for change has been technology or social movements [Smith and Marx, 1994] continues. Although Towner believes that transportation technology has been a direct and significant force in providing tourism opportunities, he regarded technology as one factor amid a mix of social and cultural forces that allow resort towns to prosper. Additionally, he considered the important role of local factors on resort morphology, such as landscape, natural resources and climate. Towner's book is certainly a rich and balanced overview of the historical geography of tourism.

2.3 Initial Morphological Research

Works by the British geographer Gilbert during the 1930s and 1940s marked the beginning of English resort literature. Gilbert's remarkable work is the touchstone for later descriptive, morphological and evolutionary studies. "The Growth of Brighton" [1949] included maps of evolutionary stages and documented the causes of growth. "The Growth of Inland and Seaside Health Resorts in England" [1939] established the significance of resorts as a unique urban form. Gilbert also suggested the concept of "linear development of the coastal resorts" for the "promise of a sea view" to visiting hotel guests [1939, 32-34]. In 1979, the idea of linear development of multiple coastal resorts was expanded by Stansfield as "leisureopolis". Gilbert's main contributions included integrated discussions of the related topics of development, morphology, evolution and cultural context.

2.4 Descriptive Research

Social histories that followed Gilbert's research offered syntheses of leisure and recreation at resorts. The majority of these works [Bailey, 1989; Jones, 1986; Pimlott, 1947, 1976; Walvin, 1978; Walton and Walvin, 1983; Cunningham, 1980] sprang from Great Britain, paid little attention to land use, and generally included no maps, which are an important component of morphological studies. The British works, as a

group, tend to be paternalistic and emphasize the role of social remedies that generated leisure opportunities for the working classes as well as opportunities for upward mobility. The themes that unite the American works, by contrast, are a predilection for technology, the opening of the western frontier and the irrepressible spirit of ordinary Americans. The majority of the works, both British and American, concentrate on, or at least include, leisure and tourism opportunities in the nineteenth century.

Walvin's [1978] work encompassed a broad period (1830-1950), revealed recreation trends beginning in the pre-industrial era, and included the activities of a range of social classes. By comparison, Jones' narrower [1986] treatment of the inter-war period focused on the central place held by leisure in working-class life, and the influence of social reforms affecting leisure to the present time. Although these two examples differ significantly in scope, they view tourism and recreational trends as reflecting broad changes in the social structure of society.

Dulles [1952] and Jakle [1985] surveyed recreation in the United States. Dulles provided remarkably insightful glimpses of gendered leisure activities within daily life and across social classes from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Jakle, on the other hand, examined North America in the twentieth century and focused on the special relationship of American society with automobile tourism. He suggested that

Americans identified with technology and employed it as a lens for viewing the world:

Thus, tourists traveled to validate the world around them: a world increasingly of their own making and a world viewed increasingly through an automobile windshield [Jakle, 1985, xii].

Histories of British resort development by Pimlott [1947], Walvin [1978], and Walvin and Walton [1983], on the other hand, provided stronger explanatory and interpretative evidence for the role of resorts in society. Pimlott's early [1947] work chronicled the progress of mass leisure. Walvin [1978] updated Pimlott's work with a description of top-down remedies for the dearth of mass leisure. The transformation of Sunday from *holyday* to *holiday*, the promotion of excursion railway fares and, eventually, of the family car, all provided opportunities for positive social changes in leisure for working-class people.

Walton and Walvin [1983] edited an interesting series of essays concerning British leisure of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each essay is a case study focused on a selected activity and location, several of which are coastal resorts.

2.5 Case Studies

The case study has characterized some American tourism research. Many of these case studies have been exceptionally interesting, incisive, descriptive works while remaining essentially ideographic. For example, Funnell [1975]

documented the colorful evolution of Atlantic City, New Jersey. Pilat and Ranson [1941] and Snow and Wright [1976] described Coney Island, New York, which rivaled Atlantic City in popularity. Amory [1952] described the amusing antics of wealthy personalities and the American playgrounds to which they escaped during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Some works of this type focused on regions such as the American West. Pomeroy [1957] presented the tourist as a constant presence whose changing ideologies, motives, and transport technologies interacted with the Western landscape. He viewed the relationship between tourists and residents as reflexive, cumulative and responsible for many social and landscape changes that have occurred in the West, such as the insistence on grassy lawns in arid and semi-arid lands.

One type of visitor to the West was the health-seeker, as portrayed by Jones [1967]. Humid conditions of the East Coast and Mississippi Valley, aggravated by urbanism and industrialization, contributed to malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid, and other diseases. The recommended cure for such ailments in the nineteenth century was a change of residence to dry, sunny places. Jones concluded health tourism influenced Western institutions and Western history.

Demars' [1991] treatment of *The Tourist in Yosemite* is also relevant to the Western theme. Demars argued that the disparate perceptions of wilderness as national heritage, or alternately as playground, are culture-driven. The purpose of

his work was the education of tourists and encouragement of the preservation of the national park heritage.

Both European and American descriptive works which followed Gilbert's studies are valuable for their historical context and for their descriptions of the social situations in which the resorts evolved. However, they lack a sense of cohesion and a framework for comparison [Wall, 1995; Pearce, 1993, 1991; Saunders, 1991]. This research utilizes comparative case studies and an explicit framework is applied to identical stages of development for the purpose of making generalisations:

Comparative studies can serve a very useful purpose in the search for generalizations in (tourism) by providing a sounder basis for comparing like with like and by establishing more clearly the role of contextual and causal factors [Pearce, 1993, 26].

Following Pearce's [1993] plea for the creation of robust generalisations, the case studies examined here are *comparative, offering element by element comparisons, quantitative and graphical analyses*, and the possibility of building on previous work.

2.6 From Morphology to Modelling

An alternative of social history that emerged from Gilbert's research was the theoretical-conceptual work of resort morphology and modelling. While Gilbert examined individual resorts, Barrett [1958] developed a generic model based on observations of features common to many resorts of England and

Wales of the 1950s. Barrett's classic model illustrated a compact business core perpendicular to a frontal recreational strip which paralleled the beach. He discovered an inverse relationship between the intensity of the recreation function and distance from the frontal strip (figure 2.1).

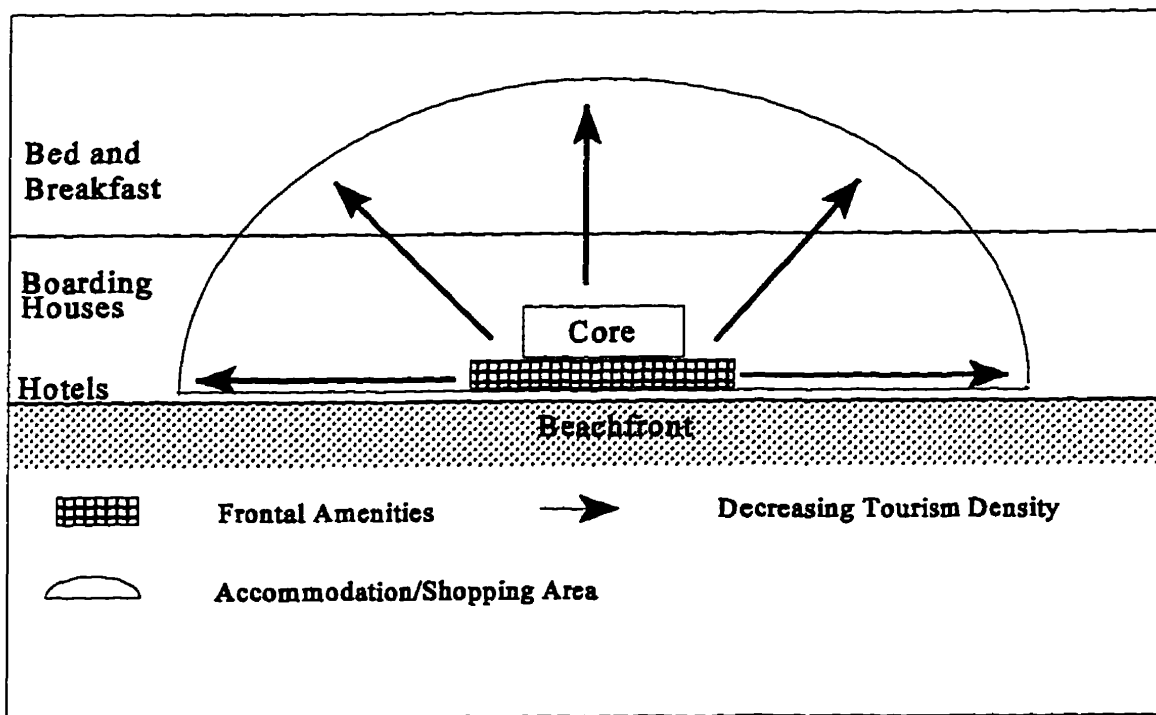


Figure 2.1 After Barrett's [1958] Accommodation/Shopping Model of a Coastal Resort

Weaver's [1993] model of Caribbean island ports shares similarities with Barrett's model of English and Welsh coastal resorts. However, in Barrett's model visitors arrive by train at an inland train terminal. By contrast, in Weaver's model visitors arrive by ship at a passenger pier. There is no

beachfront at the area of densest Recreational Business District (RBD) function in Weaver's model, while a beachfront extends the entire length of Barrett's model. This leads to the question of whether the beach-RBD association is really inherent.

Jeans' [1990] semiotic coastal resort model addressed the symbolic meanings associated with various land uses of the physical resort. For example, while the ocean surf might be perceived as a place for surfing and play by modern tourists, tourists of past eras perceived the same place with apprehension: a wilderness to be respected for its potential dangers of floods, shipwrecks and loss of life. The changing nature of tourists' behaviour on the beach and in the ocean is related to changes in the symbolism of the physical landscape over time and has been recognised in this research.

2.6.1 The Recreational Business District (RBD)- Central Business District (CBD) Dilemma

Urban scholars have made a large contribution to the understanding of the genesis of cities, urban structure and urban change. With the exception of Stansfield's [1983, 1970, 1971] research, there has been little recognition among tourism researchers about changes occurring in the CBD during the past one hundred years. Traditional CBDs still occur downtown in many cities, as they have since the nineteenth century. Since the 1960s in North America, new peripheral urban places have generated their own CBDs [Leinberger et al,

1986; Vance, 1990; Goss, 1993; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990]. Carter [1995] discussed the change in intra-urban hierarchies between the 1960s and the present:

Hardly had some settled notion of a hierarchy of intra-urban sub-centres become accepted in the literature of urban geography, than a major revolution became apparent in the decline of the CBD and the growth of out-of-town shopping centres...All these changes have undermined the idea of a reflection of the broad central place system within the city [Carter, 1995, 71].

The concept of a galactic metropolis has been suggested by Peirce Lewis:

(T)he residential subdivisions, the shopping centres, the industrial parks seem to float in space: seen together they resemble a galaxy of stars and planets, held together by mutual gravitational attraction, but with large empty spaces between the clusters [Lewis, 1983, 35; cited in Carter, 1995, 141].

The urban hierarchical-to-galactic transformation that has occurred since the 1960s has changed the definition of CBD among urban geographers. Carter [1995] has proposed that a definition is problematical:

It is rather akin to the ranking of central places by a centrality index...the CBD is not a single spatial unity, but is made up of a complex set of interlocking use regions [Carter, 1995, 188].

Thus, it is relevant to question assumptions concerning the nature of the CBD in urban tourism literature because one suspects that the use of the word CBD by tourism scholars has often remained tied to the concept of one central place. While traditional cities and traditional CBDs still exist, the galactic pattern emerging around traditional cities changes the importance of the initial urban core.

In his discussion of the rural-urban population shift, Gordon [1984] divided urban development into three stages: the commercial city (1800-1850), the industrial city (1850-1870), and the corporate city (1898-1920). Cape Island's heyday occurred during the early period of the commercial city. The height of CBD development occurred in the third period. By the 1920s, businessmen had completed the process of centralizing functions which had formerly been widely distributed and disorganized: manufacturing, government, banking, department stores, office space, service businesses and transportation. Tourism geographer Stansfield [1983] described the early phenomenon as centripetal and the recent one, centrifugal [see also Colby, 1933].

Urban geographer Vance [1977] offered a morphogenetic approach to CBD growth that is clearly evolutionary in nature. Morphogenesis is the "origin of the physical forms that characterize a specific pattern having observable areal extent" [Vance, 1986, 621]. CBD evolution was described as the successive processes of inception, exclusion, separation, extension, competition, readjustment, and urban redevelopment. *Inception* is marked by a city core that functioned as a *point of attachment* for long distance trading; was "strongly affected by transportation technology"; and was characterized by undifferentiated land use. *Exclusion* (early CBD) was characterized by differentiated land use that arose from the ability to pay high rent within the core area. *Separation*

occurred when a discrete land use accumulated competitive and/or complementary businesses to such an extent that other land use types were excluded (e.g., a financial district, a garment district). *Extension* was described as the advancing frontier of the CBD. *Competition* was the replication of CBD functions in outlying areas. *Readjustment* in the core indicated a decline of the CBD's physical infrastructure and function. *Redevelopment* indicated the demise of CBD functions in the core, the drop in rents and clearing of the physical infrastructure. It is interesting, however, that although buildings can disappear in *redevelopment*, the original street plan often remains.

Vance [1977] further explained the nature of urban core evolution and sharply distinguished it from planning:

One of the most interesting aspects of morphogenesis is that it is an expression of institutional attitudes and practices by which a society shapes the forms to its needs. Thus, social, political, religious, cultural, and economic practices are at work, and these processes normally stem from society at large rather than the ideas of a small elite. For that narrower conception we must look to planning, which can be a totally arbitrary act, as it was when Richelieu laid out his patronymic town. Admittedly planning may be democratically based, though exceedingly rarely, so we may nearly equate the notion of development of a place by its citizens with the broader idea of morphogenesis, and of planning with a conferred preconception of the eventual nature of the place, which is seldom determined by consensus [Vance, 1977, 4].

The Vance term, *extension*, is analogous to an advancing CBD frontier line for new businesses. This same phenomenon was described by urban geographer Domosh [1990] in her classic comparison of core expansion in Boston and New York City during the nineteenth century. Because Boston's core expansion

was based on elite conservative values, it was predictable, slow and orderly. By contrast, New York's ethnically diverse elite class lacked a common value system. New York's ambitious merchants practiced leap-frog expansion northward in Manhattan in response to changes in residence among their best customers. This fascinating comparison of CBD expansion illustrates non-traditional CBD growth in the nineteenth century and illustrates the effects of a consensus of values.

Ward [1971] also described the CBD development of Boston and other major American cities during 1820-1920. Additionally, his work integrated the American distribution of immigration origins with the dynamics of national and international trade. Before 1870, trade occurred in port cities while industrial activity took place in rural settlements. Rural settlements located next to rivers were able to provide good sources of energy from water mills. Manufactured goods and farm produce from rural settlements could easily be transported on rivers and canals to cities for trade and shipping.

However, the American rural-urban shift occurred with the availability of steam power [Vance, 1990]. When steam became widely available as a source of energy, industrialists moved their factories to cities in order to consolidate the manufacturing and trade activities in the same location, thus saving time and money. The non-skilled immigrant population followed employment opportunities. This move by industry and

by immigrant workers gave greater formal and functional substance to the traditional CBD. Rivers were the main transportation corridors, but afterward the main transportation mode was the steam railway [Ward, 1971, 20]. Viable CBDs still exist but are evolving. Once unified by form and function and universally recognised as downtown, their land uses are distributed as clusters in the galactic city [Carter, 1995].

2.6.2 Recreational Business Districts (RBDs)

Stansfield and Rickert [1970] developed the concept of the Recreational Business District (figure 2.2), a refinement of the frontal strip first found in Barrett's [1958] model. Stansfield and Rickert [1970] and Stansfield [1971] provided empirical evidence for twelve retail categories that occupy resort towns. Stansfield discovered that three of the twelve categories overwhelmingly characterise RBDs: food and beverage services, souvenir shopping and commercial amusements. Candy and ice cream concessions can be added as a possible fourth category [Stansfield, 1971]. Stansfield's research compared British and New Jersey (American) resorts during the 1960s and is important for its morphological description and for the validation of RBDs as an international phenomenon.

Pigram [1977] discovered that CBD and RBD functions could be assumed by adjacent towns of Australia's Gold Coast when there was a change in transportation technology. Thus RBD

location is subject to change.

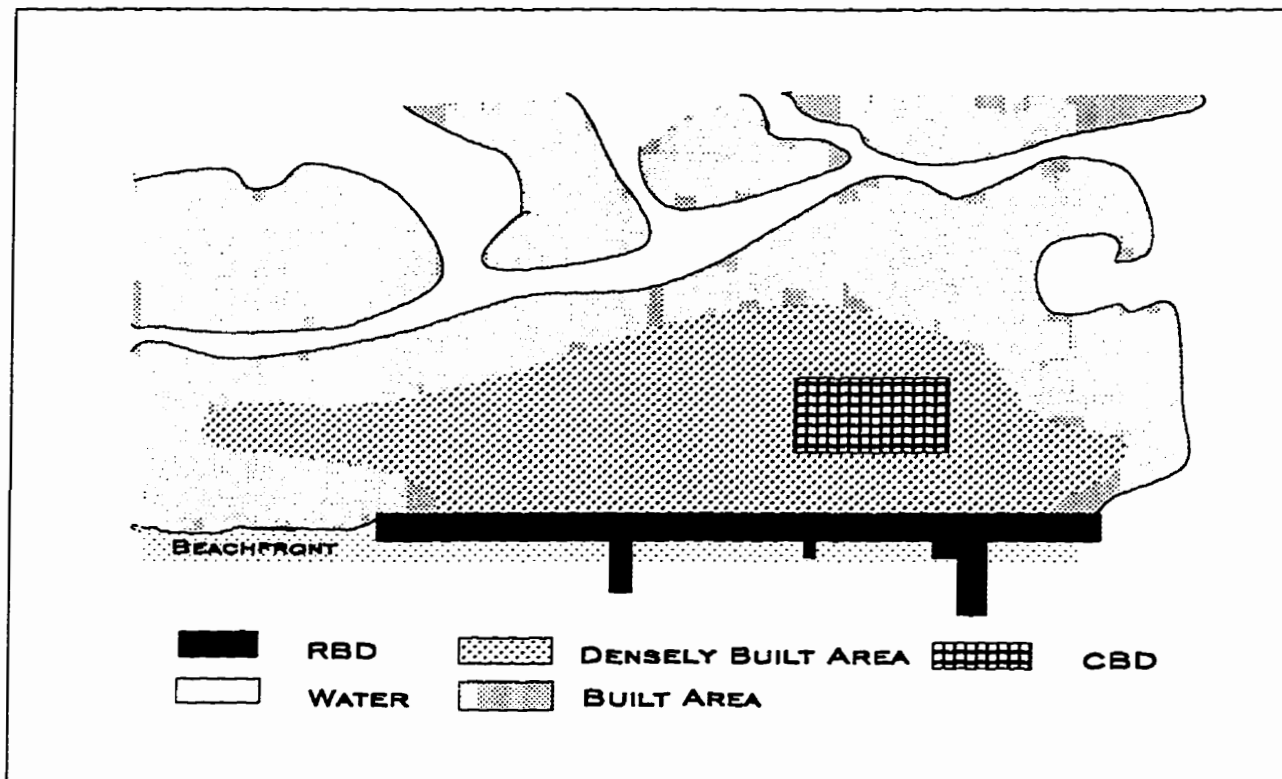


Figure 2.2 After Stansfield's [1971] RBD in Atlantic City

Besides leaping to an adjacent town, as seen in Pigram's [1977] work, RBDs sometimes expanded into places traditionally occupied only by CBDs. For example, Stansfield [1991] discovered that contemporary CBD and RBD functions can merge, as they have done at the historic mall in Cape May. Meyer-Arendt [1990] subsequently found that RBD nodes could also expand laterally along coastal roads and change from successive nodal patterns to linear patterns with the rise of

the automobile culture. Meyer-Arendt also related the location of the primary RBD to the proximity of tourist access. Usually "original RBDs still constitute the cores of the present RBDs" [Meyer-Arendt, 1990, 45], reflecting continuity through the influence of past landscapes.

Ashworth and Tunbridge [1990] pointed out in *The Tourist-Historic City* that the tourist function was not limited to resorts towns, but occurred in many European and Middle Eastern cities as a result of their historic past. Cathedrals, castles, ancient towers, Roman walls and aqueducts, traditions and pageantry represented attractions that can be either discrete or blended with the CBD (figure 2.3).

Getz [1993] also discussed merged tourist-business districts. In his case study of Niagara Falls, he argued that tourism functions exist, or can be planned to exist, in CBDs of contemporary North American cities. He named the downtown areas often visited by tourists Tourism Business Districts (TBDs). TBDs are areas comprised of attractions such as historic buildings, museums, and conference space and combine recreational attractions, CBD functions and essential services within a central area accessible to pedestrians. The TBD concept combined the *tourist city* zone previously identified in Ashworth and Tunbridge's *The Tourist-Historic City* [1990] with a planning perspective. Thus, cities can have a tourist function that is characterized by attractions and hospitality.

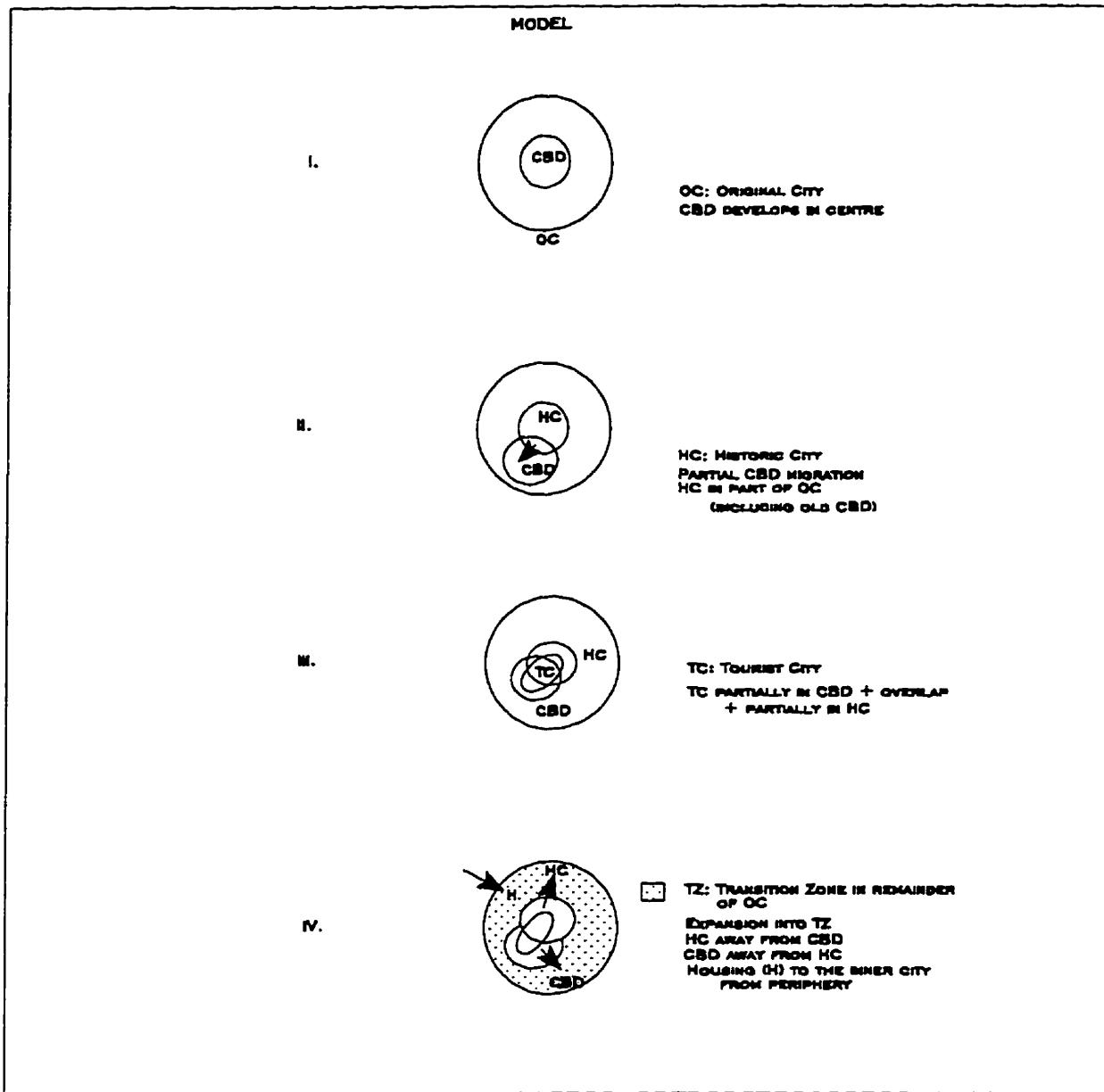


Figure 2.3 Evolutionary Migration of Tourism Land Use in the Historic City (after Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990)

By contrast, a strong characteristic of urban resort towns is their dominating function as places of recreation and hospitality.

Maguire [1995] analyzed recreation land use in his Myrtle Beach, South Carolina case study. He identified the Leisure Business Districts (LBDs), linear clusters of "leisure oriented businesses with spatial, functional, and seasonal dimensions". Unlike RBDs and TBDs, discrete LBDs did not merge with each other or with the CBD. An interesting feature of Maguire's research was his use of geographic information systems (GIS) to analyse and display the database. Use of GIS in tourism research has practical implication for planning, tourism data analysis and as visual illustration.

Weaver's [1993] model of small Caribbean island ports resembled Barrett's [1958] coastal resort model. Weaver's static model illustrated the mature evolutionary phase of small Caribbean island ports for cruise ships. He portrayed four land use zones by concentric semi-circles. The specialized pedestrian tourist zone and a surrounding RBD were the most tourism-oriented. An enveloping CBD was comprised of a transitional area serving tourists and local residents, while a peripheral CBD catered only to local residents. Distance decay characterised the small hotels and tourist attractions that occupied the CBD and local neighborhoods: there were fewer of them as one traveled toward neighborhoods of permanent residents. By contrast, exclusive, coastal resort

hotel strips extended laterally (along the shoreline) from the adjacent excursionist tourist zone. While the coastal hotel strip and the tourist zone both served tourists, only the hotel strip accommodated overnight stays. Inland from the hotel strip resided the wealthy local population in low-density estate housing.

Modifications in the definition of the RBD to TBDs and LBDs may reflect widespread social change since 1970 rather than a correction of the original concept. The essential RBD concept still applies: places where tourists gather to recreate, socialize and spend money, although it must be acknowledged that the physical RBD location is subject to change, as are CBDs. Additionally, while the accommodation land use has been sometimes included within the RBD in the past, this research first *separates* the many known activities and services present in the RBD as different land uses and then describes the situations in which they appear to cluster.

2.7 From Spatial to Cyclical

After Barrett's [1958] resort model, two related concepts appeared: tourist types and tourist cycles. A translation from the work of the German scholar, Christaller, is often quoted as an important early description of resort cycles. Christaller convincingly described how a place is inhabited by successive groups of visitors, each of whom introduces changes

that beckon to the following group:

The typical course of development has the following pattern. Painters search out untouched unusual places to paint. Step by step the place develops as a so-called artist colony. Soon a cluster of poets follows, kindred to the painters; then cinema people, gourmets, and the *jeunesse doree*. The place becomes fashionable and the entrepreneur takes note. The fisherman's cottage, the shelter-huts become converted into boarding houses and hotels come on the scene. Meanwhile the painters have fled and sought out another periphery...More and more townsmen choose this place, now *en vogue* and advertised in the newspapers... [Christaller, 1964, 103].

2.7.1 Tourist Types

Subsequent research relating to tourist types appeared in the 1970s. Plog [1972], Cohen [1972, 1979], and Smith [1977] each developed a succession of tourist-type classifications. The continuum of types ranged from explorers to mass tourists. With the exception of Cohen's later [1979] article, however, tourist typologies have not addressed individual preferences, or the evolution of individual preferences over time: once a mass tourist, always a mass tourist, it seems from the literature.

Whereas Christaller [1964] connected tourist types to resort cycles, Lavery [1974] associated tourist types with resort types and addressed the strong general relationship between landscape and recreation activity.

2.7.2 Time, Distance and Cost

Key concepts relating to tourist types and resort types were time and distance. Distance alone could not determine the

length of time needed for travel to a destination because of the improvements in the speed of travel resulting from successive transportation technologies. Thus, time and distance were combined to create *time-distance*, a measure of distance in terms of time units required by tourists for travel to their destination.

Stansfield reiterated the concept of *time-distance* [1983] and discussed *cost-distance*, a measure of distance in terms of cost units required by tourists for travel to their destinations. Cost-distance became particularly relevant after inexpensive jet travel holidays began to compete with automobile holidays. One could pay the same price to spend a week at a Mexican coastal resort or in a European city as to tour a region of North America by automobile. Time-distance and cost-distance are concepts that are relevant to changing transportation technology and to tourist types.

Two additional studies [Wall, 1974; Travis, 1993] yielded conclusions regarding visitor types, distance decay, frequency of visits and length of visits. Wall [1974] considered the effects of time-distance for car owners from a single demand area (Hull, England) to inland and coastal resorts at varied distances. Length of visit is especially important to the economy of resorts, because extended visits require accommodations and amenities that are unnecessary for day-trips. Survey results demonstrated that highly favoured resorts received more frequent and longer visits if they were

situated close to tourist origins. By contrast, highly favoured resorts situated far from the demand area suffered evidence of distance-decay: "...on many occasions recreation choices are restricted by the constraints of distance, and...distance decay is in evidence on even the shortest pleasure trips" [Wall, 1974, 133]. Thus, car owners who preferred a distant resort nevertheless often visited closer, less desirable ones because of time and money constraints.

Conclusions regarding visitor types, demand and distance were described by Travis [1993] in his regional study of the Devon seaside resorts, 1750-1900. South Devon resorts drew affluent visitors from Exeter and London from the time of the French Revolution, which ended their annual winter holidays on the French Riviera. By contrast, North Devon developed slowly because of poor overland transportation and a lack of proximity to urban centres. North Devon eventually did become known for its spectacular scenery and enjoyed steady patronage when good steamship service became available. Physicians' recommendations for drinking, and bathing in, the water at Torquay were also a factor in its continued success.

All of the Devon resorts maintained a fashionable, elite atmosphere over time. This was originally due to remoteness from urban areas and difficulty of access. However, when South Devon resorts began catering to middle-class families after the availability of railroad access, the high social tone continued to be maintained. Travis stresses the importance of

politically powerful residents and landowners, who determined the character of these regional resorts.

Whereas *time-distance* from a destination influenced tourist type, tourist type, in turn, was associated with certain types of resorts. Visitor types have been associated with a continuum of resort types in the Dominican Republic [Meyer-Arendt et al., 1992]. Criteria for typologies were domestic vs. international tourism and the degree of tourist interaction with Dominicans, leading to an identification of five types of resorts. Urban *balnearios*, beaches commonly used by the local population, offered refreshments but no accommodations. Domestic destination resorts were characterized by middle-class national patronage and small beachfront hotels with contiguous restaurants and bars. The integrated domestic/international destination resort was distinguished by the high degree of interaction of local and international tourists, a highly visible informal sector and, often, an international tourist ghetto. By contrast, the interactive enclave resort and the self-contained enclave resorts illustrated increasing degrees of security and insularity from existing settlements and decreasing contact with the local population. Additionally, a given resort type could evolve to another type, depending on landscape constraints, degree of use and other factors.

Stansfield's [1978] tourist cycle for Atlantic City proposed a three-stage progression from discovery through

false stasis and abandonment. Comparisons could be made between Stansfield's cycle and Butler's [1980] five-stage cycle of evolution. For example, characteristics of Stansfield's discovery period (1854-1917) are similar to some aspects of Butler's development stage: fierce, protracted real estate speculation, rapid construction, relatively affluent visitors, and new, elegant accommodations. A study that compared the elements and stages of various tourism cycles would be an interesting and useful project.

Recent sustainable development research by Wall [1993] addresses tourist types and evolutionary status. While attraction, location and cultural compatibility are important factors to include in a sustainability plan, Wall advocates identification of the evolutionary status, because recommendations for sustainability cannot be made without knowledge of a community's developmental stage.

The importance of developmental stage identification is extended to studies of comparability [Wall, 1995] and shared by Pearce [1995]. Comparability of cyclical phenomena is blocked without identification of the evolutionary stage upon which the comparison is built. Identification of evolutionary status is fundamental to comparability and to the present research.

2.7.3 The Resort Cycle

In 1980, Butler developed a resort evolution model that has

received wide attention. During the resort evolution process, successive stages emerge as the resort changes over time. These evolutionary stages can be equated with essentially different places on the landscape, ranging from a total absence of tourist amenities (exploration) to conspicuously overbuilt landscape (stagnation). Each place, or evolutionary stage, attracts different types of tourists (figure 2.4). The concept of the evolutionary stages is important for economic survival of resort towns because of their seasonality and their extreme dependence on external forces.

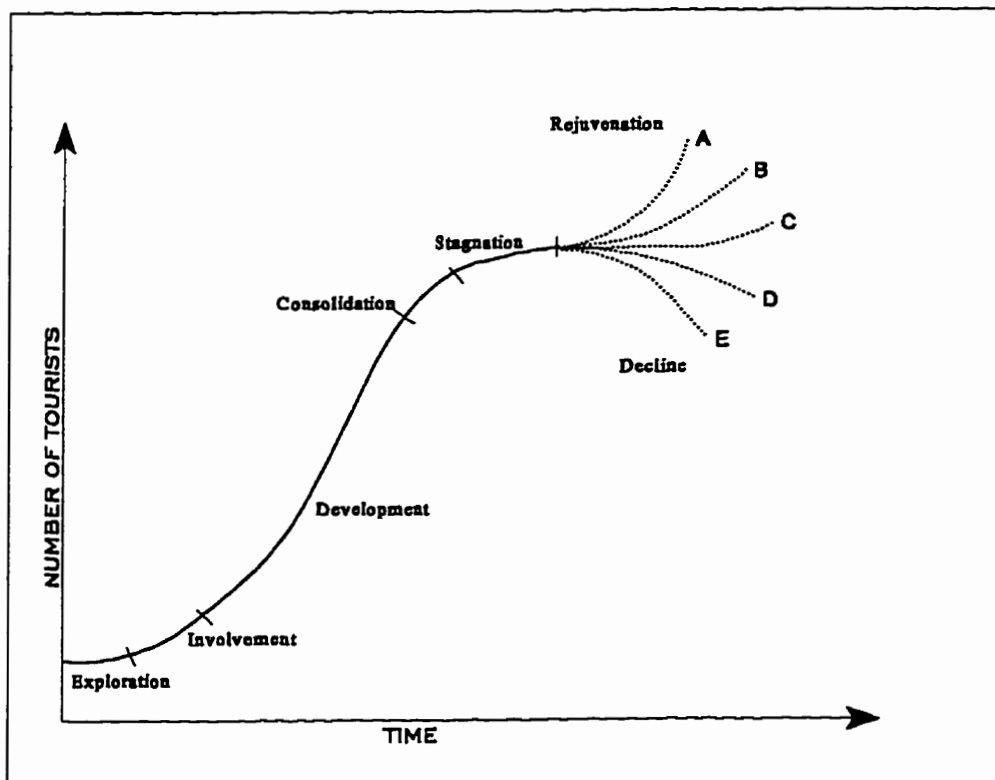


Figure 2.4 After Butler's [1980] Resort Cycle Model

Butler's resort cycle concept has been the recipient of criticism [Agarwal, 1994; Haywood, 1986] and of modification [Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Smith, 1992]. Haywood's [1986] thoughtful arguments challenged the utility of the resort cycle for its difficulty of being operationalised. For planning, marketing and preservation purposes, Haywood advocated that the resort cycle should be defined by standard units of analysis.

Agarwal [1994] has also offered more recent critical analysis of Butler's resort cycle. The most serious criticism is that that Butler's cycle has not been demonstrated empirically. However, this statement can be questioned for numerous researchers have found the cycle to be useful in organising case study data and interpreting their results [Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Strapp, 1988; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Debbage, 1990; Foster and Murphy, 1991; Kermath and Thomas, 1992]. Butler's [1974] research used quantitative evidence that suggested a resort cycle. Not satisfied that he had established an empirical resort cycle model, Butler regarded the [1980] model as descriptive. However, there is no doubt that resorts, like most other phenomena, have an observable cyclical nature. The cyclical (evolutionary) nature of cities has been verified by urban scholars of sociological [Hurd, 1924; Burgess, 1925], economic [Hoyt, 1939] and geographical [Ullman and Harris, 1945; Vance, 1977; Andrews, 1986] perspectives.

Butler's cycle is cited extensively by tourism scholars.

The apparent limitations and inconsistencies of the resort cycle could have been generated from the frustrations resulting from attempts to use it in quantitative research based in real time. Evolution is not based in real time units. Quantitative researchers want the concept of resort evolution to be divided into stages of sharp onset and conclusion. To date, measurement of resort stages has been difficult, particularly for earlier time periods for which quantitative evidence may be fragmentary. This research addresses both real time and evolution. It utilises the descriptive markers and the nomenclature from Butler's [1980] stages of resort evolution in the chronologies (appendix A).

Life cycles are utilised by Theodore Modis in his work. Modis is a former physicist who conducts life-cycle research for Digital Equipment Corporation and has convincingly argued [1995; 1992] that the growth (evolutionary) curve is a reliable tool for prediction. According to Modis, predictability derives from the symmetry of the overall growth patterns of phenomena. These patterns, however, can be concealed. A smooth curve can be interrupted by chaotic events. It can be broken into steps. It can also be composed of many growth curves that combine to create a larger one. Thus, the responsibility for locating data that reflect the overall life of a resort, for example, is redirected to the researcher. Locating data for the overall life of coastal resorts was an important challenge of this research.

The aim of this research is not to evaluate the validity of evolution cycles, a task which has been undertaken by science, marketing, tourism and other fields. The resorts of this research existed in different eras, and the determination of their heydays required data standardisation. The concept of evolutionary growth was used to achieve the goal of data standardisation by ensuring that resorts at a similar stage of development, albeit at different times, were compared.

2.7.4 Resort Evolution

Meyer-Arendt [1987] and R.A. Smith [1992] have provided morphological research relating to the evolution of coastal resorts in widely different geographical locations. Both authors illustrated the dynamics of changing morphologies; both created a cyclical element; and both possessed a distinctive focus.

Meyer-Arendt analysed environmental aspects of eight coastal resorts along the Gulf of Mexico littoral, while evaluating the variability of historical and spatial contexts. He concluded that, since its inception 1969, government legislation effectively reversed environmental degradation (shorefront, back bay and damage from natural disasters such as hurricanes) even at resorts experiencing mature stages of evolution and regardless of the bias from developers. The transformation from a natural to a cultural landscape need not necessarily imply environmental decline. Meyer-Arendt's model

comprised five stages, from exploration to maturation, and represents constructive and optimistic utilisation of the growth cycle.

R.A. Smith [1992] based his conceptual model on land use and the role of the entrepreneur at coastal resorts in the Asian Pacific. His dynamic model comprised eight phases of evolution from predevelopment to the separation of CBD and the Recreational Business District (RBD), and utilized five indices of change: physical, environmental, economic, social and political. Smith theorized that beach resorts "undergo deterioration of quality with increasing urbanization..." [Smith, 1992, 318] with no inference of positive government intervention to protect the environment. Highly specific by location and culture, Smith's model illustrates the result of unplanned growth of a coastal resort town, where the only incentive for growth is short-term profit without a concern for stewardship.

Selected locations in Europe and North America have been analyzed by historical geographer Soane [1993] to reveal their historical, economic and cultural evolution. Soane's resorts were seen mainly from the broad perspective of social and economic systems and provided impressive comparative qualitative and quantitative evidence. Whereas resorts were formerly dependent on metropolitan regions for tourist origins, they are presently less dependent on concentrated population demand regions. One of Soane's conclusions

indicates that formerly fashionable resorts became a magnet for less affluent vacationers who remained in pleasant coastal environments to seek employment and permanent habitation. Expanded to a general level, Soane foresees resorts as a flexible "urban cosmos" in a free market context that, nevertheless, can include a place for people of all socio-economic means while retaining a *douceur de vivre*. This humanitarian and optimistic view is refreshing and unexpected from an historical work that stressed industrial dominance. The author embraces Soane's optimism but is uncertain of the practical application of Soane's proposed master plan for resorts.

2.8 Conclusions

The comparison of the morphology of resort land use is the intellectual goal of this research. The vehicle for comparability is the case study. Comparisons will be framed within the areas of transportation, resort land use tourists and capital/government involvement. Element by element comparisons and quantitative and graphical analyses [Pearce, 1991] will lead to generalisations about the relationship between transportation and resort land use morphology.

The changing nature of the location and pattern of CBDs and RBDs has been noted in this chapter. Consequently, this research divided the retail categories normally associated with the CBD and RBD into smaller categories and then observed

how they clustered in each case study. RBDs have been discrete [Stansfield and Rickert, 1970], merged with the CBD [Stansfield, 1989; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Getz, 1993], acquired linear, fragmented functions and locations [Maguire, 1995] and enveloped a pedestrian tourist debarkation node [Weaver, 1993]. It is expected that RBDs and CBDs of the case studies will differ because it is known from the literature that they change over time.

Additionally, the dynamic of building and infrastructure is reflexive. In this research, the effects of transportation infrastructure was analysed. It was uncertain, before cartographic analysis, what patterns would emerge from the functional land uses.

Time-distance and cost-distance are concepts that are pertinent to tourist type and that are directly relevant to transportation technology. Furthermore, the symbolism that tourists associate with the landscape changes over time. These changes are reflected in tourist behaviour and tourist preferences and will be addressed in the case studies.

The process of examining contextual research has prompted the following questions:

1. What kinds of events influence evolutionary growth in resorts from one stage to another?
2. What kinds of data should be used to determine the evolution of resorts?
3. How does transportation technology influences resort

morphology?

If responses to these questions can be made, then this research will have contributed a better understanding of the role of transportation in influencing resort morphology.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This research compares urban land use patterns at three American Atlantic coastal resorts during their heydays. The important common feature among the resort land uses is heyday. Heyday occurs at the beginning of the mature stage of the tourism industry in the resort town. It is characterized by the recent eclipse in the peak of the rate of growth (figure 3.1).

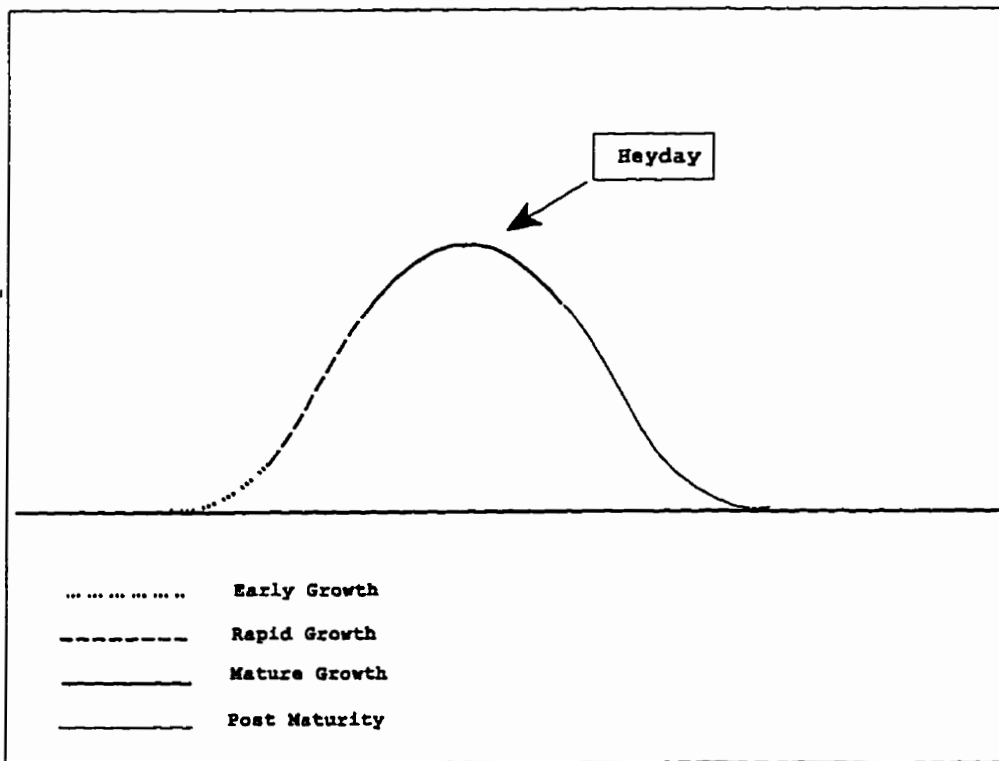


Figure 3.1 Heyday: The Time of the Recent Peak in the Rate of Growth of a Resort Town

The important dissimilarity among the case studies is transportation technology as reflected in the physical infrastructure. The objective of comparing land use patterns at resorts with dissimilar transportation technologies led to the development of the following four tasks: selection of resorts; description of the heyday; the collection of both qualitative and quantitative evidence to support the dates selected for heyday at each resort; and the production of heyday maps (figure 3.2).

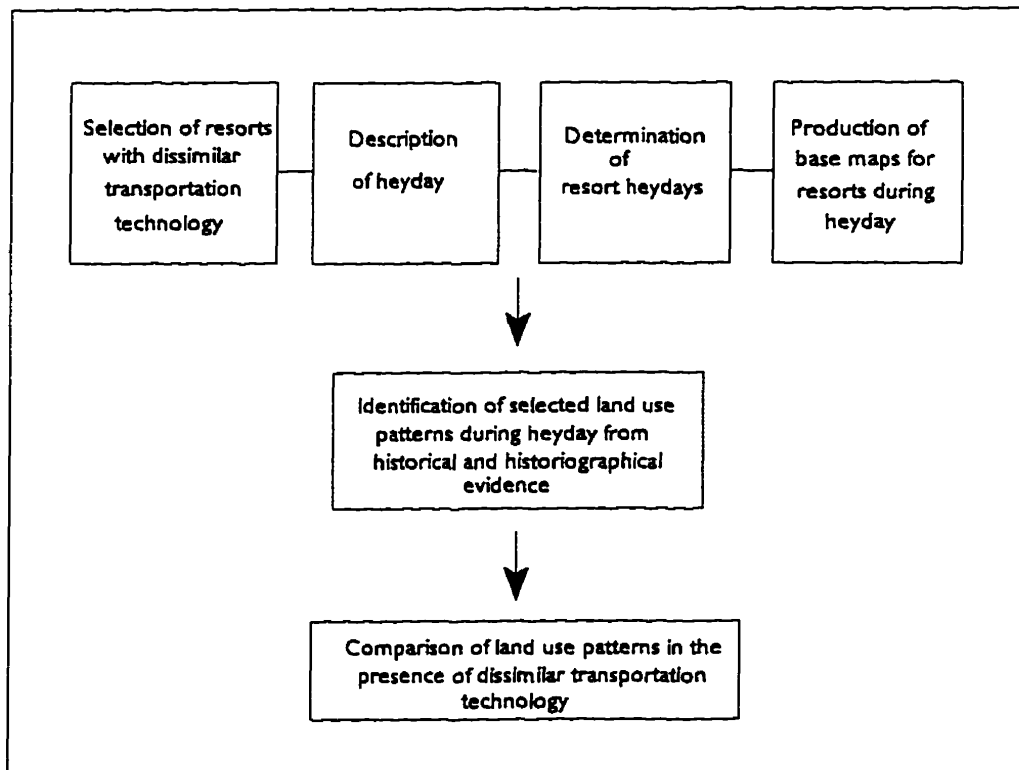


Figure 3.2 Sequence of thesis tasks

3.2 Selection of Resorts

Coastal resorts have a strong tradition in the history of tourism. Tourism at coastal resorts was enjoyed by wealthy Romans during the second century A.D. [McCourt, 1989]. The taste for hydrotherapy among the European elite relocated from inland spa locations to coastal resorts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The democratisation of coastal resort tourism occurred among the working class and middle class of Europe and North America during the second half of the nineteenth century. Modis [1992] and Sagan [1994] have noted that dominant transportation technologies appear consecutively. Thus, transportation technologies, although emerging in different eras, could be effectively illustrated as a result of the long history of coastal resorts.

Another consideration in the choice of coastal resort study sites was the availability of data. Abundant qualitative and quantitative data were required for this research. The probability of data availability was considered stronger at resorts that are well known. Thus, the author chose to concentrate upon the famous coastal resorts of Cape May, New Jersey at the height of steamboat travel; Atlantic City, New Jersey during the railroad era; and Myrtle Beach, South Carolina during the automobile era.

3.3 Heyday

A heyday is regarded in this research as a time when all key

tourist infrastructure is established and the resort town's rate of growth has very recently peaked. Hosts and developers alike are prospering. Tourism increasingly occupies a major role in the economic base of the community. One of the indicators of heyday is the intense tourist response among the original socio-economic class of visitors. A major change in tourist type indicates passage to the following stage of evolution.

Heyday is based on the concept of growth and is consistent with the models produced by urban scholars [Burgess, 1925; Hoyt, 1939; Ullman and Harris, 1945; Vance, 1977, 1990; Andrews, 1986] and with theories of urban change, such as adaptation (succession) [Smailes, 1966; Foley, 1964] and discontinuity [Schmal, 1981]. Tourism scholars have also addressed resort town growth [Butler, 1974, 1980; Meyer-Arendt, 1987; Smith, 1992; Strapp, 1988; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Debbage, 1990; Foster and Murphy, 1991; Kermath and Thomas, 1992; Soane, 1993; Pearce, 1995].

Butler's [1980] concept of resort evolution was helpful in estimating the stages of growth in the case study chronologies (appendix A), because Butler recognised many key characteristics of the evolutionary stages of resorts. The peak of the rate of growth, the easiest to determine empirically, determined heyday. Rate of growth, in turn, was supported by various data sources that are described in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3.4 Evidence Supporting Heyday

Supporting evidence was acquired by applying the tools of historical research and by using maps. Evidence for heyday comprises two steps: preliminary formulation of the evolutionary stages of the resorts from a plethora of historical and historiographical sources and selection of a specific year of investigation at each resort.

Generation of chronologies for each resort satisfied several requirements. Most obviously, chronologies suggested the approximate times of the resorts' evolutionary phases. Further, they provided a context from which an empirical determination of heyday could emerge.

Selected tourism-related historical data (published and manuscript census records, manuscript tax rolls, historical newspaper articles and advertisements, guidebooks, tourists' accounts, a variety of maps and historical atlases) and historiographical references were accumulated and sequenced in chronological order from the inception of each resort to the present. Analysis of events in the chronologies produced an estimation of the resorts' evolutionary stages (figure 3.3). Specific documented justification of the years selected for land use analysis occurs later in the thesis (4.2, 5.2 and 6.2: determination of heyday).

3.5 Date Selection

Selection of a specific year during the heyday of each resort

Chronology of
Evolutionary Stages

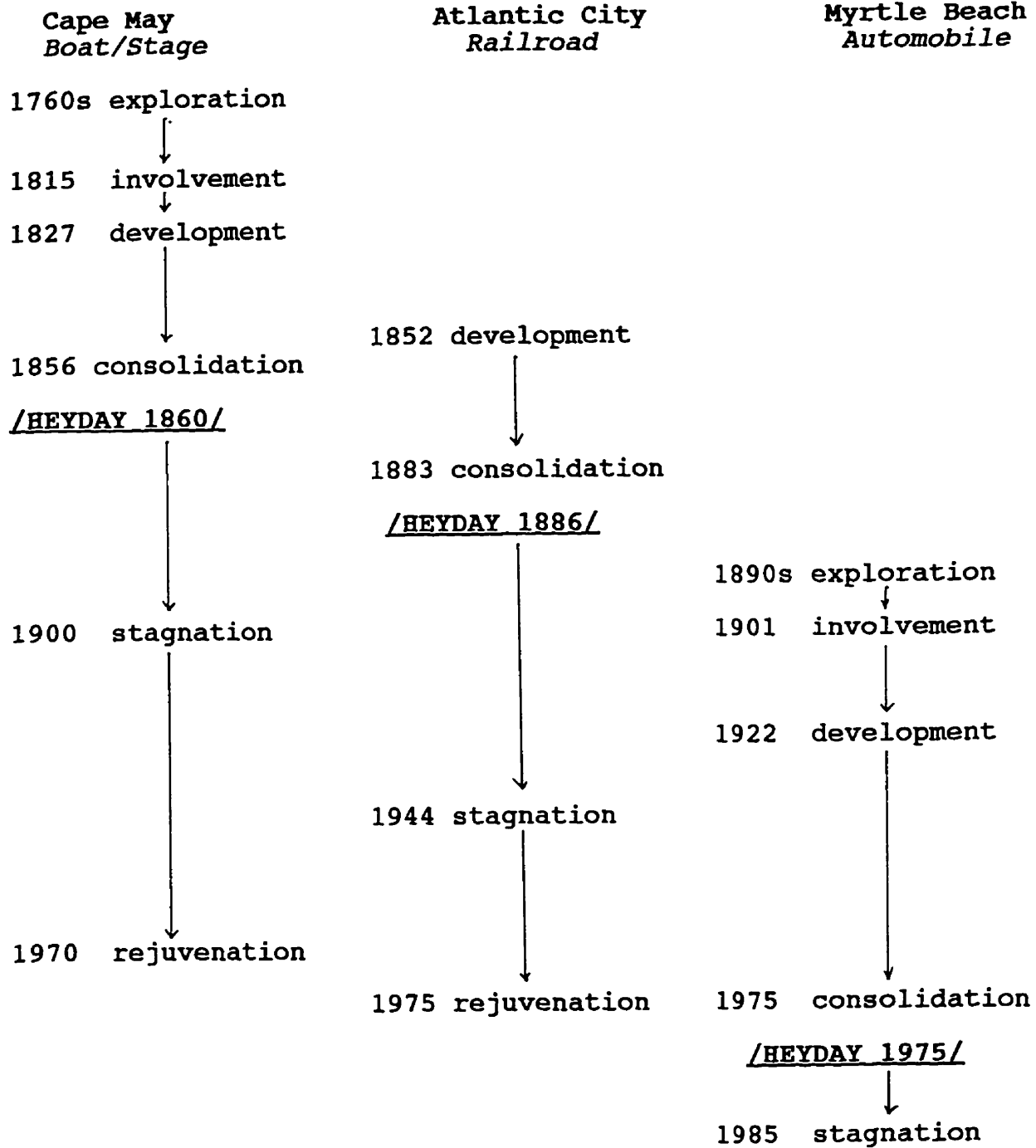


Figure 3.3 Evolution of Resort Towns Based on Butler's [1980] Evolutionary Concept of Resorts.

was based on the availability of data for a year closest to the resorts' highest rate of growth. These data could be drawn from tourist arrivals or from surrogate sources. Cumulative growth of the resort towns is portrayed by the simple conversion of data to a line graph. The graph of cumulative growth represents a record of growth from the inception of resort to the present. By contrast, the rate of growth is derived from cumulative growth, as reflected by the following equation:

If A = population census in 1850, and
if B = population census in 1860, then percentage of increase
(or rate of change) based on ten-year intervals =

$$(B-A) / (A) \times 100$$

This process was repeated until all data (e.g., A, B, ...X, Y, Z) were exhausted and was represented by a curve reflecting rate of growth. Data tables used as the basis for the graphs appear in appendix B.

3.6 Map Production

Each resort has been considered to be 'a creature of its time' with its own particular conventions, fashions, architecture, transportation technology, and other characteristics of its place in history. The first step toward map production involved the generation of base maps appropriate for the heyday year at each resort. Accurate base maps were produced from a variety of maps that existed near the time of the

heyday. Identification of sources consulted for the generation of base maps appears on all maps in appendix C.

The selection of land uses to be mapped were derived from elements of the framework described in the preceding chapter: capital investors and related government involvement, transportation corridors and termini and resort land use. Resort land use was further divided into accommodations, food and beverage services, tourist amusements, public space, commercial functions and administrative-public service functions. The final component of the framework, tourists, is reflected within the first four subdivisions of resort land use. These subdivisions, accommodations, food and beverage services, tourist amusements and public space, comprise the elements of the RBD, a zone of intensive tourist activity, tourist-community interaction and tourist spending [Stansfield, 1971; Smith, 1977; Getz, 1993; Maguire, 1995].

Subsequently, land use data were added to the base maps. Finally, eight maps were produced for each resort. Each map illustrated a separate land use. Each land use exhibited a pattern. The sources of information for the land use were varied and included city directories, tax assessment rolls, newspaper accounts and advertisements, tourist guidebooks, historical photographs, interviews with local 'experts', engravings, post cards, drawings and historical maps. These morphological maps appear in appendix C. Schematic diagrams that summarise the land use patterns of each resort, appear at

the end of chapters four, five and six. The schematic diagrams are utilised as a basis for morphological comparison between the three resorts. Accordingly, both the maps and schematic diagrams are crucial to the conclusions for this research.

3.7 Conclusion

The methods employed here support comparability across time and across models and have the potential to contribute generalizations concerning the influence of transportation technology on the morphology of resort land use. It is acknowledged that, in fact, any stage of the evolutionary cycle (or its transition) is worthy of investigation. Moreover, the more stages, themes, and areas represented, the more complete will be any generalizations produced from these methods. It is acknowledged that these methods are appropriate as a first step in comparing land use at pre-selected points of resort evolution.

CHAPTER 4. CAPE MAY CASE STUDY, 1860

4.1 Context

The resort town of Cape May is located at the southern tip of the New Jersey peninsula on the eastern seaboard of the United States. In order to avoid any possible confusion between Cape May City and Cape May County, it should be stated now that in 1860 the resort city was still called Cape Island (or Cape Island City). At that time, 'Cape May' referred to Cape May County, after Cornelius Mey, a Dutchman who explored the Delaware Bay several times during the 1620s. Cape Island (City) was changed to Cape May (City) in 1869 [Dorwart, 1992]. The diminutive resort of Cape Island City existed in the Lower Township of Cape May County.

As the result of a social experiment introduced by a British physician, 35 French Huguenots were brought to Cape May County to begin a whaling industry during the seventeenth century [Alexander, 1956]. Descendants of the whalers are often referred to as whaler-yeomen, meaning landed free men. Their social status ranked below that of gentlemen, who were wealthier and generally more educated. It is significant that the whaler-yeomen had acquired economic, social and political control of Cape May County by the early eighteenth century by profiting from a stable land policy, intermarrying and producing large families [Dorwart, 1992]. This control prevailed through generations of their descendents to the

middle of the nineteenth century. One important means of maintaining control was the protection of family land ownership.

A physical description of Lower Township appearing in the *Historical and Biographical Atlas of the New Jersey Coast* described the landscape of Cape Island as rich farmland and forests with a few "houses of entertainment" for visitors as early as 1768 [Rose, 1878, 43]. By 1860, agriculture and tourism were both economically significant. While the elite society of northern and southern American states socialized in hotels during the summer season, cattle grazed freely on the grassy beaches during 'off-season' months, contributing a rural character to the landscape [Marcy, 1940, 303].

Cape May County's economy was well diversified in 1860. While tourists arrived and departed from Lower Landing on the Delaware Bay, a shipping industry developed on the east side of the peninsula at Schellenger's Landing. The Atlantic port at Schellenger's Landing provided opportunities for trade with Maryland, the Carolinas [Dorwart, 1992] and the West Indies by 1800 [Hand, 1937].

Farming and timber harvesting thrived during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as whaling declined. Stevens [1897] noted a fifty percent increase in farm products from 1850 to 1857. Although native cedar stands had already been depleted by the mid-eighteenth century according to an essay by Dr. Beesley [1857], replanting had already produced

several generations of new lumber. He notes regretfully:

Between the years of 1740 and '50, the cedar-swamps of the county were mostly located; and the amount of lumber since taken from them is incalculable, not only as an article of trade, but to supply the home demand for fencing and building materials in the county. Large portions of these swamps have been worked a second, and some a third time, since located. At the present time, there is not an acre of original growth of swamp standing, having all passed away before the resistless sway of the speculator or the consumer [Beesley, 1857, 197].

Other noticeable changes in the landscape were caused by shoreline erosion in Lower Township. While erosion has always occurred naturally, it alarmed guests and residents of Cape Island [Beesley, 1857, 186]. One guest, a Mr. Watson, measured the water's encroachment upon each return visit:

Since my former visit to Cape Island in 1822, the house in which I stopped then nearest the surf, has been actually reached by the invading waters!...The distance from (the) house to the sea...in 1804...was 334 feet [Barber and Howe, 1844, 127].

Storms accelerated erosion of the shore and dunes [Alexander, 1956], causing serious flooding. Methot [1988] credits the destructive tropical storm of 1821 with floods that created the cape's island (figure 4.1). However, Cape Island Creek had previously separated the resort from the mainland [Barber and Howe, 1844]. Moreover, the cape was so thoroughly infused with bogs, inlets and creeks that it had always conveyed a strong feeling of isolation:

Prior to (1707) the county was completely isolated from the upper districts of the State by the extensive bed of cedar swamps and marshes stretching from the head-waters of Cedar Swamp Creek to the head-waters of Dennis Creek, and no communication could be held with Cohansey or Burlington except by the waters of the Delaware, or by horse-paths through the swamps that constituted the barrier [Beesley, 1857, 170].

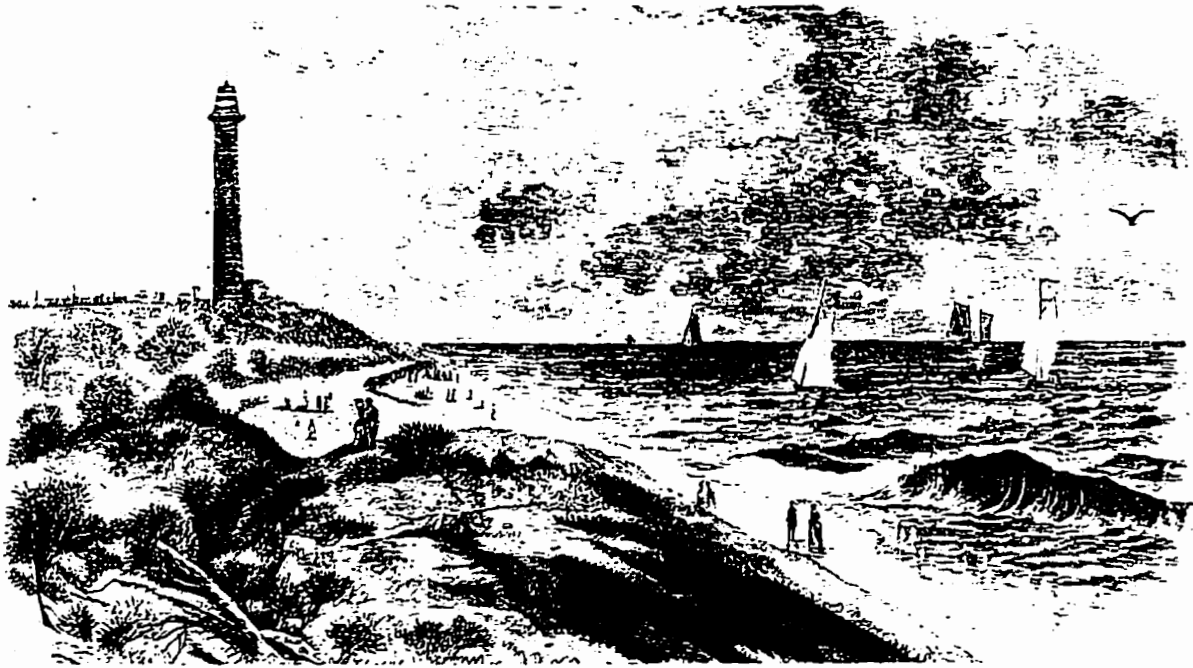


Figure 4.1 Shoreline Erosion on Cape Island. Source: Methot, 1988. By permission of publisher.

By 1860, previous industries in Lower Township had slowly acceded to tourism. A chronology of tourism-related events on Cape Island is provided in appendix A.

4.2 Determination of Heyday

Historiographical evidence suggests that the Civil War, 1861-1865, was a catalyst that propelled Cape Island into the mature stage [Hand, 1937; Stevens, 1897; Thomas, 1976]. Wilson [1964; vol 4, 69; 1953, vol 1] indicates that Cape May "felt the effects of the Civil War sharply and never regained its eminence as a resort of fashion".

The character, atmosphere and patronage of Cape Island had changed permanently after 1860. Although population climbed once again during the 1880s, most new residents were African-American former slaves and did not possess the resources for land ownership or the opportunity of an education [Dorwart, 1992, 115]. Other new residents, carpetbaggers and opportunists who had benefitted financially from the war but made few positive contributions to the resort [Dorwart, 1992, 113].

Graphs of cumulative growth for Cape Island illustrate the increasing numbers of residents (figure 4.2) and accommodations (figures 4.3 and 4.4). By contrast, rates of growth are combined in one graph to illustrate the entire life cycle of Cape Island (figure 4.5). Butler [1980] utilised tourist arrivals to indicate cumulative growth and rate of growth. However, visitor arrival data for Cape Island were not dependable for 1860, and surrogate sources were used: two accommodation types.

Boarding houses and large hotels both experienced steep rates of growth between 1800 and 1860. Modis [1994] notes that the overall rate of growth pattern can be exhibited a series of small ascending cycles that are followed by a series of descending cycles. These accommodation data illustrate successive cycles of a generally ascending pattern up to the Civil War. Thus, quantitative evidence suggest that accommodations rate of growth reached a peak by 1860. After

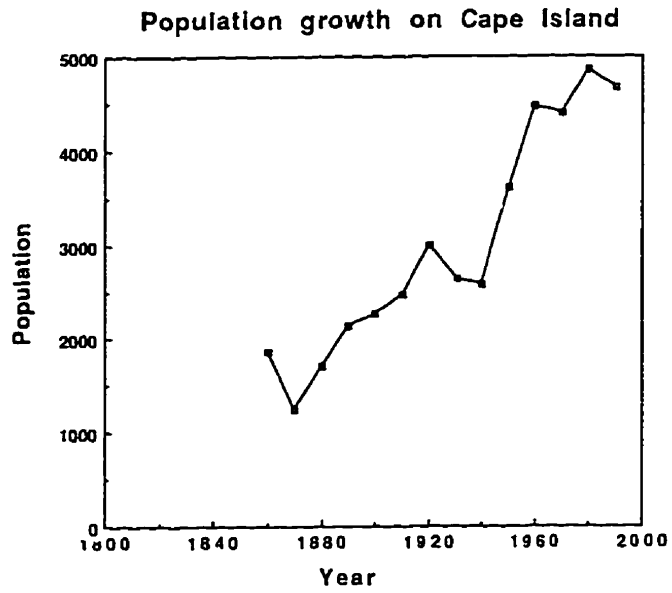


Figure 4.2 Cumulative Growth of Population on Cape Island, 1800-1990

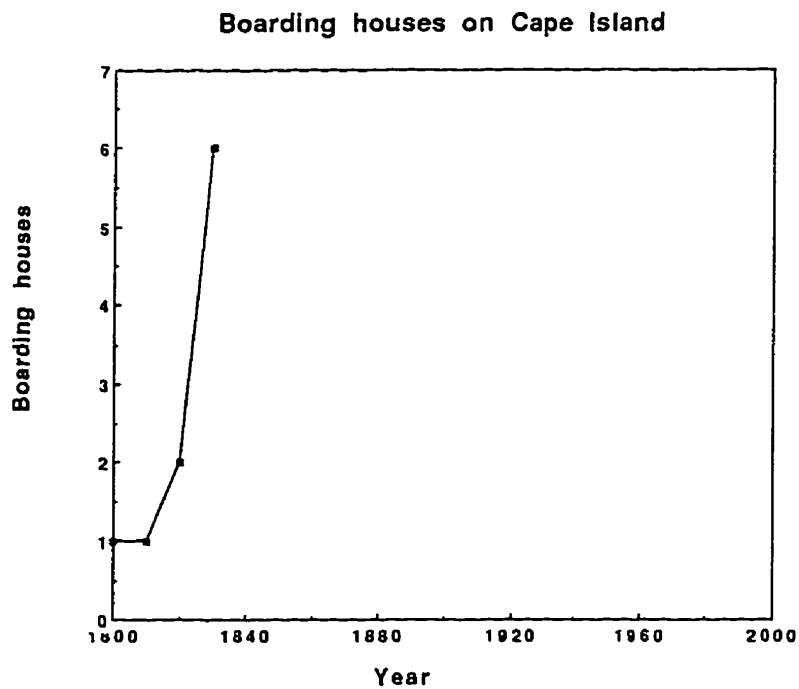


Figure 4.3 Cumulative Growth of Boarding Houses on Cape Island, 1800-1990

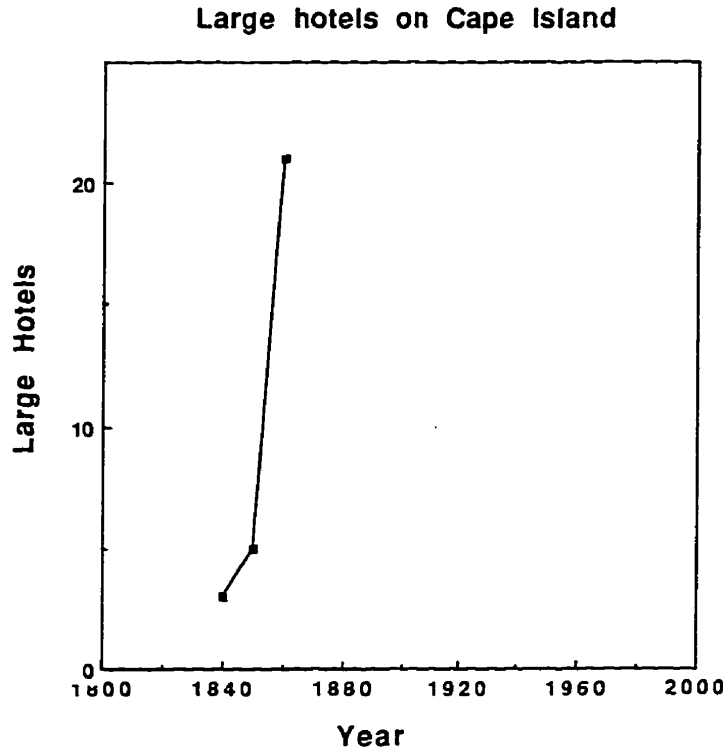


Figure 4.4 Cumulative Growth of Large Hotels on Cape Island, 1800-1990

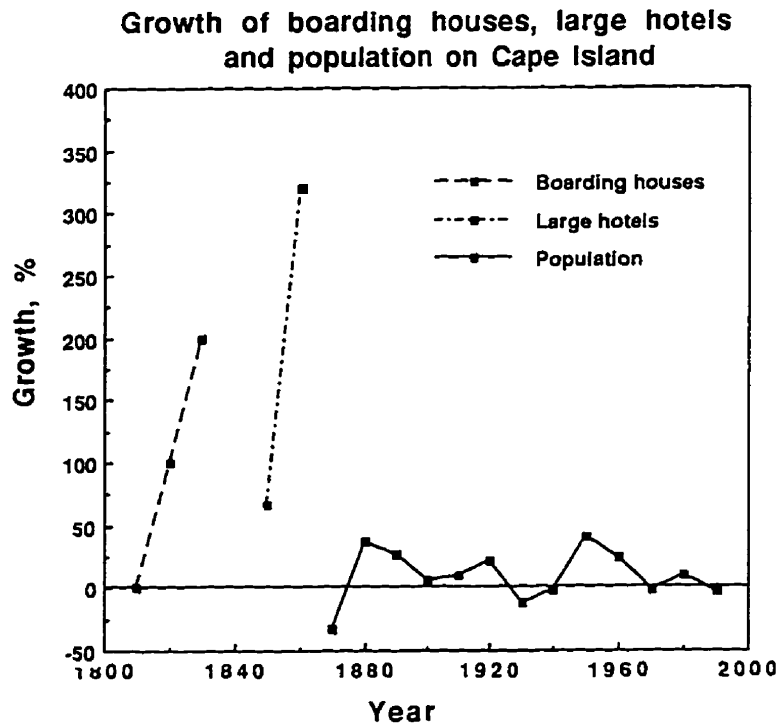


Figure 4.5 Rate of Tourism Growth on Cape Island 1800-1990

1860, one would expect a series of descending cycles. Quantitative evidence is lacking after 1860. However, qualitative evidence verified [Stevens, 1897] that Cape Island's accommodations had badly deteriorated by 1879. Dorwart noted this even during the Civil War:

One summer visitor found the largest hotel closed and others in disrepair. He walked streets and sidewalks covered with hot blowing sand and observed that the unpainted picket fences had crumbled in the blazing sun [Dorwart, 1992, 110].

Even the arrival of railroad technology with its masses of middle-class and working-class tourists could not stop the slow decline of Cape May [Dorwart, 1992]. Moreover, the change in patron type alone argues for the irreversible shift into the mature stage of evolution.

However, there is evidence that the mature stage began just before the Civil War. Cape Island suffered an abrupt and serious loss of permanent population 1860-1870. The Civil War alone caused a dramatic loss of patronage. Also, a westward outmigration (1830s onward) was widespread throughout the North American east coast [Cooke, 1989; Turner, 1893]. Dorwart [1992], Stevens [1897] and Beesley [1857] note that the migration was experienced locally in Cape May County:

The population meets with an unceasing annual drain in the way of emigration. Numerous families, every spring and fall, sell off their lands and effects to seek a home in the far West. Illinois has heretofore been the State that has held out the most inducements to the emigrant, and there are at present located in the favored county of Sangamon, in that State, some sixty or seventy families, which have removed from this county within a few years past, ...[Beesley, 1857, 199].

Stevens [1897] estimated an emigration of one hundred

families, most of whom were from Cape Island. Many Cape May County settlements suffered economic depression even before the Civil War. This suggests that slowed rate of population growth may have begun on Cape Island before the Civil War.

However, the onset of Cape Island's mature stage of evolution before the Civil War was not readily apparent. Even with the significant loss of seventy families, Cape Island continued to grow. This is indicated by the increase in land prices, the rapid growth of accommodations from 1820 to 1860 and the expansion of public amenities and services, especially from 1850 to 1860 (Appendix B). For example, many visitor amenities were added during the 1850s. The tariff for boat passage to Cape Island included a carriage ride to town on an improved toll road, the Cape Island Turnpike (1851). Important services were introduced between 1850 and 1860: the establishment of the Bank of Cape May (1853), telegraph communication with Philadelphia (1856), gas street lights (1859), and the construction of a second pier at the boat landing (1860).

Nevertheless, upon close investigation, there is evidence of economic and political pressure on Cape Island before 1861. In 1860, Joseph Leach, editor of the local newspaper, *The Ocean Wave*, felt serious concern that competition from nearby Atlantic City would decrease local profits. During the summer season of 1860, *The Ocean Wave*, conscious of tourist readership, printed an article that emphasized Cape Island's

superiority over Atlantic City:

It is surprising to see so many of the New Yorkers come in the out-side line every morning, as other watering places are more accessible to them. But when the truth, and nothing but the truth is told, we do not wonder. Cape Island is a beautifully located place; when there is a breeze, it is refreshingly tasted here; the scenery on the waters of the broad Atlantic and the noble Delaware, are truly romantic to the visitor's eye; the natural bathing ground is not surpassed for safety and pleasure in the world; the hotels are large and finely built, with first-class proprietors, who conduct them in a superior manner, ...Such are among the advantages we claim over other watering places. And who disputes our right to this claim? We have at this time no railroad; but, anxious friends, just wait till another summer, and then, we trust you will have the pleasure of taking the long looked for ride on a railroad to this place. That road will be the *Millville and Glassboro Railroad* [*The Ocean Wave*, #10, Jul 26, 1860, 2].

By contrast, in the early fall of 1860 after the tourist season, a different tone appeared for the benefit of permanent residents, beginning with a lament for the low prices of produce by comparison with previous years and continuing:

Why then has Cape Island declined and Atlantic City arisen out of a sand heap, to a place of considerable importance? The answer is obvious. It is simply because of the facilities for access to it; or, in other words because they have a railroad. Here lies the whole secret of their success.....We have only to arise and build the railroad, and we shall soon see the comparative prosperity [*The Ocean Wave*, #16, Sep 13, 1860, 2].

The plea was successful. A railroad to Cape Island was in operation by 1863. But by that time, the resort had changed forever.

Natural disaster in 1856 and 1857 contributed to economic stress. Two fires seriously reduced Cape Island's accommodation capacity during the 1850s. The luxurious and amenity-rich Mt. Vernon Hotel (1853), which excited both national and international interest, burned to the ground soon

after its grand opening (1856) [Alexander, 1956]. In June of the following year (1857), three more hotels were lost to fires, reducing Cape Island's accommodation capacity by more than 2000 beds [Alexander, 1956].

Additionally, the political rifts between northern and southern Americans widened by 1860, when Civil war was anticipated. From 1860 on, important southern patronage at Cape Island suddenly disappeared. The resort became dilapidated during the Civil War. Although the railroad eventually generated large numbers of northern visitors again in the 1870s, they were of a lower socio-economic class than those of pre-war days. Railroads initiated inexpensive and relatively rapid transportation that was affordable to the middle and working classes for the very first time. However, aside from momentary prosperity the resort gradually waned.

Despite a migration of national scope, devastating fires and serious political problems, Cape Island's economy flourished during the 1850s. The number of local families who migrated to Ohio, Illinois and Indiana was noted with quiet alarm, but the permanent population on Cape Island grew at a considerable rate. The arrival of new entrepreneurs seeking residence on Cape Island surpassed the outmigration. Whereas no more than fifty dwellings (households) were counted in 1844 [Barber and Howe, 1844], the 1860 census counted a population of 1,865, not approached again for at least twenty years. Huge social and infrastructure changes after 1860 provide evidence

for the beginning of the mature stage. However, economic pressure on Cape Island was felt by the local population in the late 1850s. The year 1860 was chosen as heyday because it is the nearest date of data availability after the beginning of Cape Island's mature stage.

4.3 TRANSPORTATION

4.3.1 Transportation Corridors and Termini

In 1860, tourists arrived on Cape Island by stagecoach (or private carriage) or by steamboat. Arriving by stagecoach from the north, they would enter Cape Island from Lafayette Street. The stage road roughly followed the existing route 9, passing through Bridgeton, Port Elizabeth and Dennisville on the way to Cape Island.

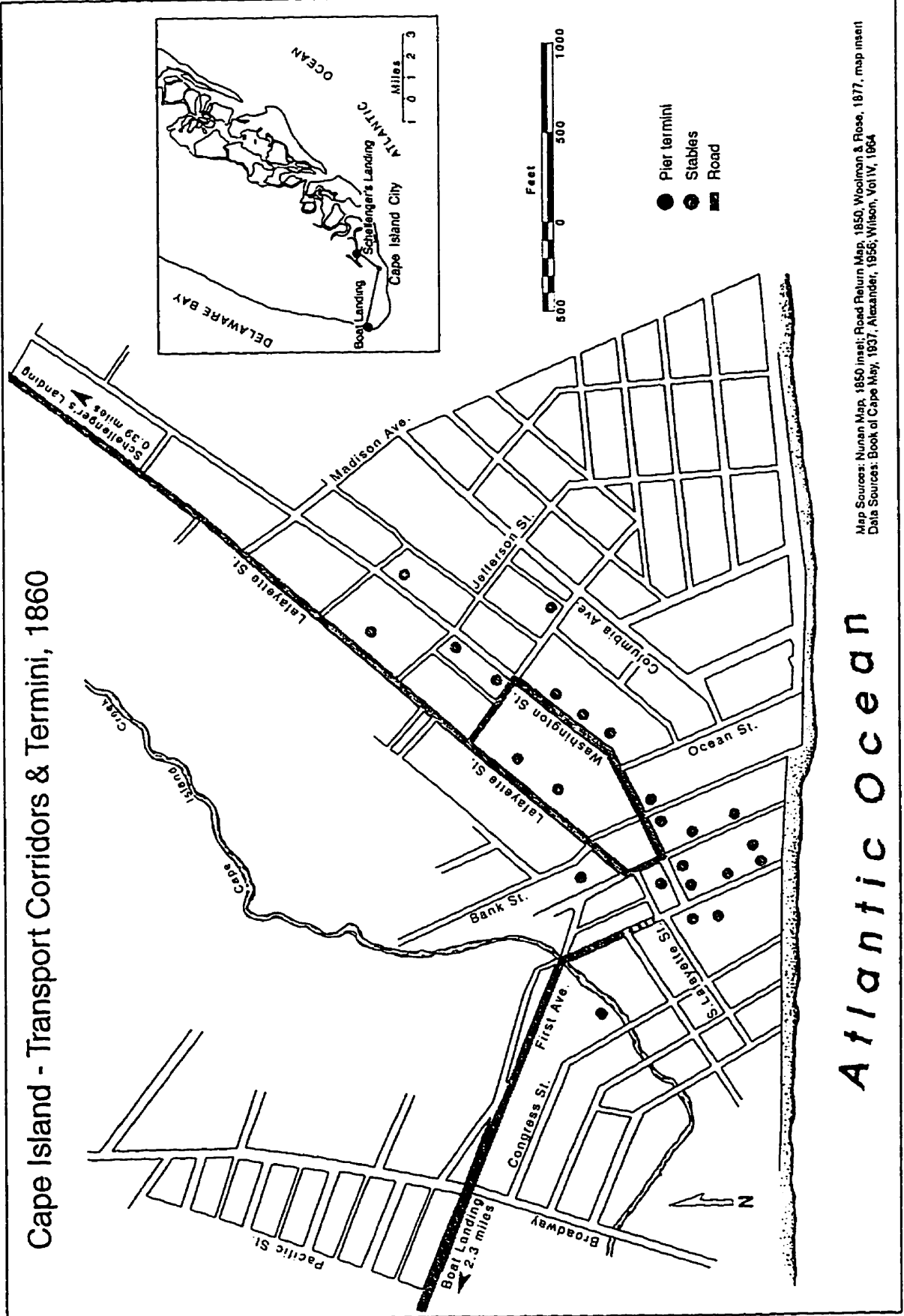
The stagecoach route had also served as the original boat road before 1852, when Higbee Beach was the boat landing pier for tourists. Higbee Beach is located two miles north of Lower Landing on the Delaware Bay. Boat passengers in 1860 entered town from the west on the Cape Island Turnpike, which merged into Cape Island's First Street. Steamboats maintained regular, frequent schedules to Cape Island from Philadelphia with a stop at Newcastle, Delaware, where they took on southern passengers.

Southern tourists had a long and complex journey to Cape Island by comparison with tourists from the north. Having arrived in various ways in Baltimore, Maryland, their next

objective was to take the Frenchtown-and-Newcastle Railway that connected the Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware Bay. This short rail ride across the DelMarVa Peninsula linked southern tourists to the Delaware Bay steamships that delivered passengers to Whildin's Pier (Cape Island). DelMarVa is a modern abbreviation for the more cumbersome and time-consuming phrase Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.

Travelers had two options for reaching Frenchtown, Maryland from Baltimore. They could cross the Chesapeake Bay by boat, or they could take the longer land route around its northern shore. Once arrived at Whildin's Pier, tourists transferred to a prepaid carriage and proceeded to their hotels by way of the Cape Island Turnpike, a distance of slightly more than two miles. Confusion at the pier must have been impressive because hundreds of parked carriages competed for space [Hand, 1937] and clamoured to make contact with their clients.

Whildin's Pier, a seasonal wooden structure, was rebuilt every year. Wooden piers were not strong enough to withstand the energy of winter storms. If tourists happened to arrive before the pier had been constructed, they were brought ashore in whale boats and carried to dry land. In 1860, the New York and Philadelphia Steam Navigation Company provided competition for Whildin's, and for local steamship interests, by building a second pier of iron construction at Lower Landing (map 4.2; Cape Island Transportation and Termini Map, from Appendix C).



Cape Island - Transport Corridors & Termini, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.1 Transport Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877, map inset
 Data Sources: Book of Cape May, 1937; Alexander, 1956; Wilson, Vol IV, 1964

Thus, the two access corridors, Lafayette Street and the Cape Island Turnpike, intersected in the resort. The major termini were Lower Landing pier and its parking lot for carriages. Livery stables maintained by each hotel could be considered termini as well. However, tourists would not necessarily have had contact with them.

4.3.2 Internal Mobility

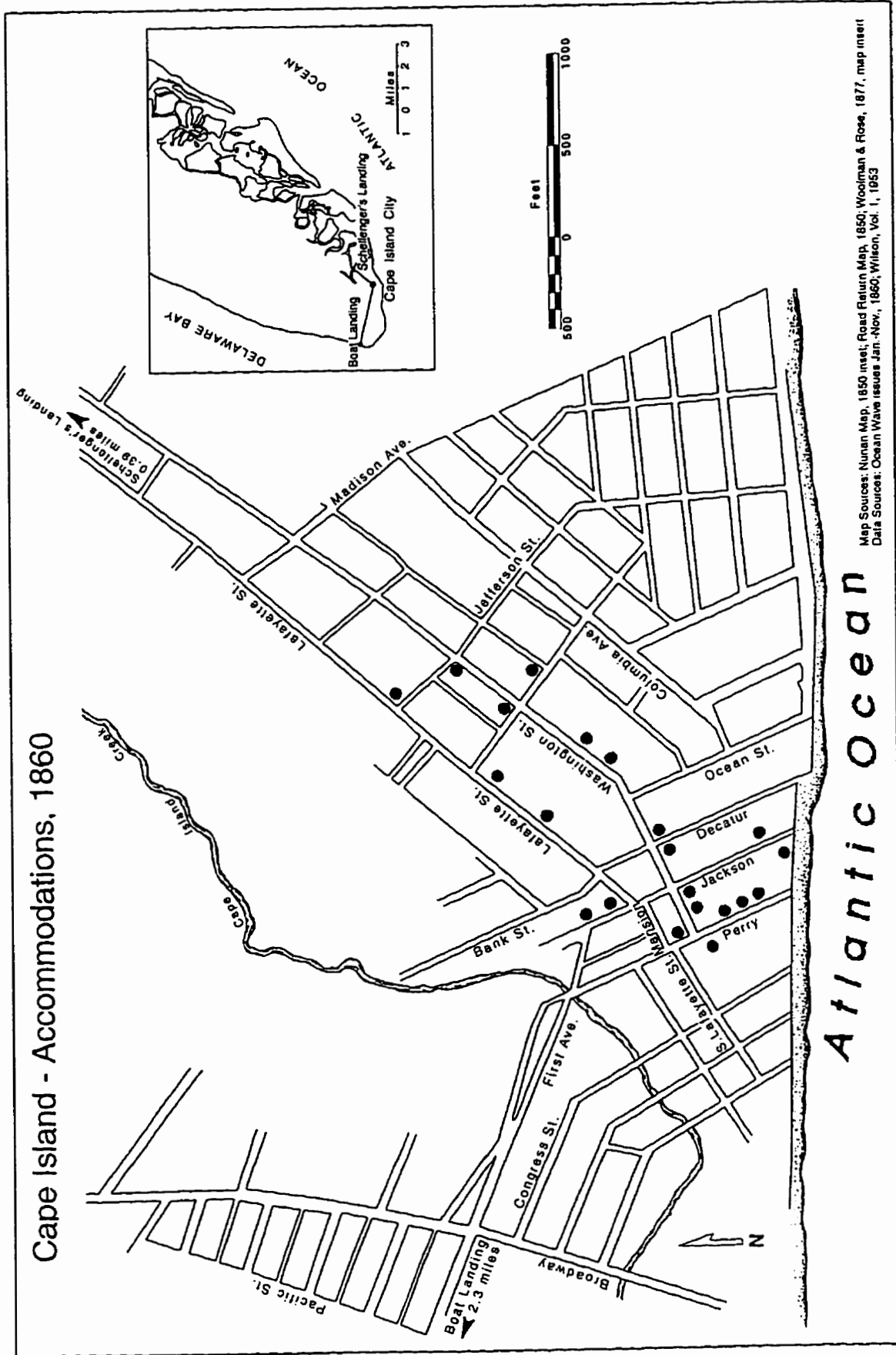
There is not much reference to transportation or circulation within Cape Island in the documents that have been consulted. The resort town was small and compact. Mobility within the resort was probably mostly pedestrian with some use of carriages.

4.4 THE RESORT

4.4.1 Tourist Accommodations

Accommodations on Cape Island revealed a complex pattern in 1860. The node of the first hotels began on Mansion Street, and continued northeast on Lafayette to Decatur, where it turned toward the beach, proceeded northwest to Perry Street and returned again to Mansion. This dense node grew from the intersection of the Cape Island Turnpike with Lafayette and Washington Streets (map 4.3; Cape Island Accommodations Map from Appendix C).

A secondary, more dispersed, elongated pattern occurred along the major stage access routes, Lafayette and Washington



Cape Island - Accommodations, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.2 Accommodation Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877, map insert
 Data Sources: Ocean Wave issues Jan.-Nov., 1850; Wilson, Vol. 1, 1853

Streets. Finally, a third small accommodation node at the Whildin's Pier furnished hospitality to tired, hungry visitors upon landing.

There is some evidence that the compact pattern of Cape Island might have changed to a more linear one, paralleling the beach, given different circumstances during the 1850s. The mammoth Mt. Vernon Hotel (1853) was positioned at the foot of Broadway (street) at the beach, laterally extending the compact accommodation node. There is no evidence on Nunan's 1850 map that Broadway existed and it was probably built expressly for the Mt. Vernon Hotel. After the 1856 fire that completely destroyed the hotel, no subsequent construction immediately replaced it. Thus, in 1860, Cape Island's accommodation pattern retained its compact nature.

It is notable that hotels were constructed well back from the ocean. Views of the ocean were important, but developers' apprehensions about damage to construction that might occur as a result of flooding and erosion took priority. Moreover, the Mt. Vernon Hotel provided horse-car transportation to the beach, a fact that emphasizes its distance of approximately a block from the water as well as the amenities offered to its guests. Eventually, increased proximity of accommodations to the sea revealed less apprehension toward the ocean and occurred well after 1860.

An analysis of the three accommodation patterns reveals a generalised pattern. The important accommodation node of Cape

Island grew from the intersection of main access roads: Lafayette Street, the stagecoach road, and the Cape Island Turnpike, the boat road. Developers' fear of flooding and erosion damage discouraged seaside hotel construction despite the appeal of ocean views.

4.4.2 Food and Beverage Services

Discrete food establishments consisted of a few ice cream 'saloons' and some bakeries. There were two ice cream concessions within the city accommodation area and one at the boat landing. Bakeries were scattered within the central city area, as were taverns (Appendix C, Cape Island Food and Beverage Services Map).

In 1860, visitors took meals and drinks mainly in hotels. There were no amusement piers that offered restaurants or food concessions. Although food and beverage establishments were beginning to appear in 1860, they continued to be relatively small in number. Thus, the pattern of food and beverage consumption largely corresponded to the accommodations pattern: a large node, a small node and a corridor.

4.4.3 Tourist Amusements

Some of the popular activities for tourists included 'hops' (informal dances), formal balls and concerts held in hotel dining rooms. Visitors also played cards and entertained each other on hotel verandas. One could participate in games of

quoits or archery on hotel lawns. Libraries, bowling and billiards were available inside the large hotels. Boat rentals for fishing or sailing were available at Schellenger's Landing.

A few places for entertainment existed in Cape Island's city centre. Bowling and billiards establishments on Decatur Street were popular with tourists. Additionally, three gambling halls in the same area were very well known. The apparent favourite, named The Blue Pig, was located at Perry Street near the ocean and next to Congress Hall (Figure 4.6).

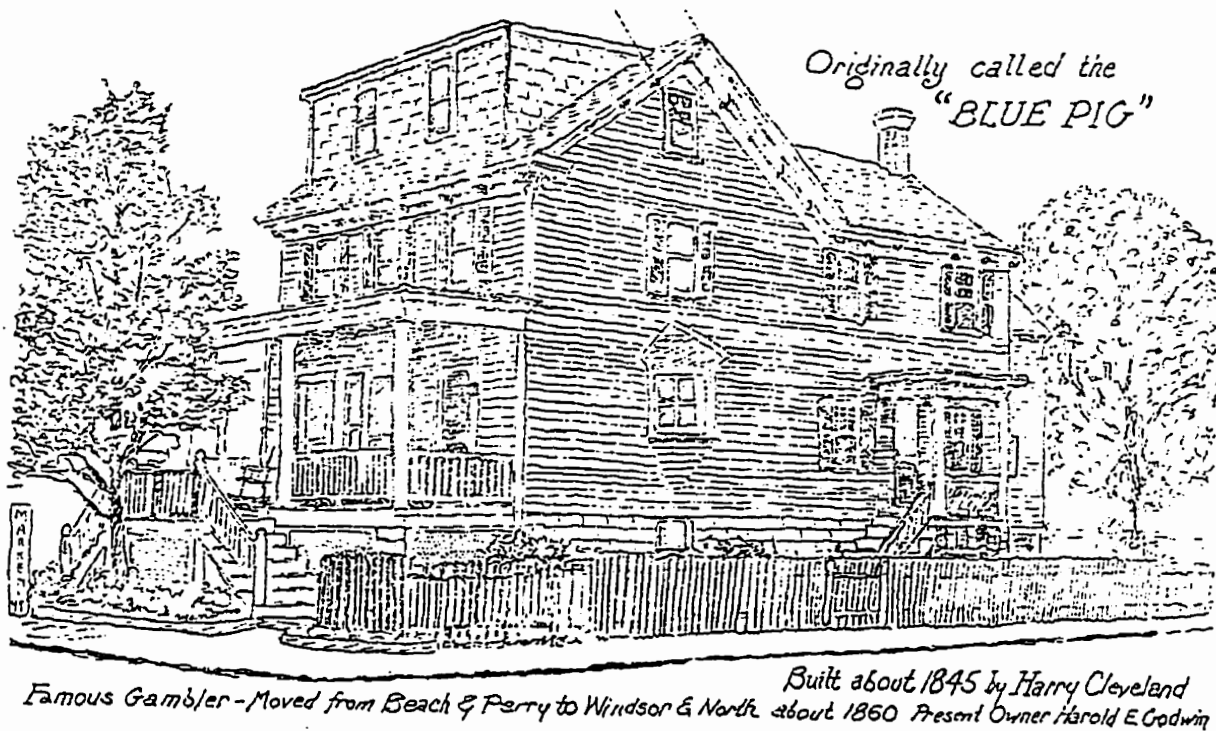


Figure 4.6 The Blue Pig. Source: Cape May Historical Society

In a discussion about the compact nature of nineteenth century European resorts, Lavery [1974] described resorts as "a self-contained provider of all the visitor's needs from accommodation to entertainment, for the visitor was not mobile and spent most of his holiday within the resort" [Lavery, 1974, 178]. Thus, a great deal of tourist activity took place in the large hotels. Gambling halls, billiards and bowling establishments existed independently of hotels. However, their number was small and they existed within the perimeter of the hotel node.

The limited provision of amusement for tourists outside of the hotels and the absence of a promenade normally associated with them indicates that an RBD did not exist on Cape Island in 1860. Ordinarily, RBDs are easily identified as amusement corridors near the water where tourists purchase souvenirs, food and beverages. Possibly American RBDs were developed only after the Civil War. It is also possible that RBDs evolved in response to changes in patron tastes and/or patron types. A full description of RBDs and of the circumstances surrounding their development is provided in chapters five and six. The only real evidence of a tourism industry on Cape Island in 1860 was the presence of a large number of accommodations.

4.4.4 Public Space

Public space here is considered to be a public outdoor area

where tourists gathered without the necessity or the expectation of spending money. The attraction that potentially brings tourists together under these circumstances could be scenery, common interests, sports or artistic events or a wish to socialise with other tourists.

Before the fire of 1856, the Kursaal, an open air concert pavilion, greeted stagecoach travelers from one vantage point (at the foot of Lafayette Street) and boat passengers from the other (the Cape Island Toll Road). However, the Kursaal was never rebuilt.

Tourists also gathered at Sunday church services. Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, and two Presbyterian churches formed a circle around the hotel corridor of Lafayette-Franklin-Washington Streets in 1860. The predominant religion of Lower Township was Presbyterian [Dorwart, 1992]. A diversity of five additional denominations must have been built partially for the religious preferences of summer visitors.

Sea bathing for health and recreation were the highlight of a sojourn at Cape Island. Married couples were permitted to bathe together. Most often, however, men and women followed segregated bathing schedules. Bathing suits and dresses were woolen. However, before 6AM, no clothing at all was required of men bathers, and it was understood that women would not venture near the beach at that time of day.

Women's bathing costumes consisted of a straw bonnet tied close to the face and secured under the chin as a shield against the sun. The woolen bathing dress covered arms and body while stockings and bathing shoes protected legs and feet [Wilson, 1953, vol.1; Hand, 1937; Alexander, 1956]. This costume became very heavy and cumbersome when wet. Therefore, in 1860, most bathers did not actually swim. They walked through the surf, allowing waves to wash over them. The theme of protection from sun and water suggest an apprehensive attitude toward nature as well as a fashion for paleness (figure 4.7).

Besides sea bathing, carriage rides on the beach claimed favorite status among tourist activities. Those who wished the convenience of their own carriage at Cape Island could arrange for their transport aboard steamship or overland. Alternatively, carriage rental was available. Most afternoons a procession of gleaming carriages introduced Cape Island's stylish guests against a backdrop of sparkling water.

Other activities on the beach included walking, relaxing, shell collecting or 'diamond' collecting. Cornelius Weygandt [1940] described Cape May 'diamonds':

There are no other pebbles on the beach that have been so long an institution, though, as those pebbles, of quartz chiefly, that are found on the bay shore at Cape May, and known as "Cape May diamonds"... (They) range in size from those as small as lentil seeds to those as large as bricks... and lie on the steep pitched shore in great drifts, tons on tons of them for who will to play with, sort over and carry away. ...Joseph Keen Swift Hand, of South Jersey stock, went into the jewelry business in Philadelphia in 1831. He moved to Cape May about 1850, and there he was immediately famous for

the cutting and setting of Cape May "diamonds." [Weygandt, 1940, 224-25].



**Figure 4.7 Women's Bathing Costume, Cape Island, 1860.
From the Cape May Historical Society Museum
Source of Photograph: Author**

Thus, the beach corridor, for bathing and carriage rides, was the principal public space on Cape Island. Additionally, a church circle (node) provided a social venue on Sundays. Before its demise, the Kursaal had attracted tourists for public concerts at the juncture of two important street corridors, the Cape Island Turnpike and Lafayette Street.

4.4.5 Commercial Functions

Half of Cape Island's retail businesses and services were concentrated in the central city area bordered by Franklin Street, Lafayette Street, Perry Street, Washington and Hughes Streets to rejoin Franklin Street. These businesses included general stores, grocery stores, a bank, clothing stores, shoemakers, house painters, physicians, drug stores, tobacconists, blacksmiths, seamstresses, tinware merchants, plumbers, gas fitters and laundries. Some pilots and steamship captains lived in town, and a few of them took boarders. However, many pilots, steamship captains and farmers, all whalers in previous generations [Dorwart, 1992], lived and worked from the periphery of town [Cape Island Census, 1860, manuscript; Stevens, 1897].

The pier at Lower Landing contained a small carpet weaving business as well as hospitality for tourists. Cape Island's port at Schellenger's Landing contained a small cluster of retail stores and a lumberyard. Businesses requiring a relatively large amount of space, such as gravelers, roofers and wheelrights, could be found on First Avenue, west of Cape Island Creek, just outside the central city.

Thus, half of the non-recreational, commercial functions of Cape Island were integrated into tourist accommodation nodes, while the remainder were dispersed in nodes and corridors on the periphery of the town. It is notable that

most local businesses catered to the commercial requirements of the local residents rather than to tourists, whose needs were largely served by hotels. There was, in 1860, little separation between accommodations and tourist entertainment, and the retail function of the town mainly served the permanent community. Dorwart [1992] attributed Cape Island's undisciplined early growth to its seasonal nature. The tourist season lasted for only two months, July and August. Lower Township consisted of only a scattering of houses before tourism began. Especially in the early stages of Cape May's evolution, there would have been no reason for the clustering of buildings because there were not many services. In the mature stages, however, many types of building functions were intermingled in the compact "walking city" of Cape Island.

4.4.6 Administration/Public Services

Public services such as the school, water works, gas works, and the telegraph generally followed Washington Street from Perry Street to Franklin Street. There was also a gas works on Jefferson Street, just beyond the above area. However, it is unclear whether it was located on the corner of Corgie or the corner of Lafayette in 1860. What is certain, though, is that Washington Street must have been a busy thoroughfare, the 'Main Street' of Cape Island. *Main street* is used here and elsewhere in this thesis to indicate the principal street of a town where the retail and service businesses and the public

administration offices were originally built.

Cape Island at this time had no city hall. Town meetings were held first in private homes and subsequently in the schoolhouse on Washington Street [Stevens, 1897]. The sprawling nature of administrative and public buildings is consistent with the findings of Ward [1971] and Gordon [1984] concerning the development of the CBD. Although land use patterns were becoming discernable, discrete CBDs had not yet emerged in 1860.

4.4.7 Architectural Style

Architecture reflects social values and provided a sense of place to tourists and residents of the three communities examined:

(One can) tell more about a civilisation from its architecture than from anything else it leaves behind. Painting and literature depend largely on unpredictable individuals. But architecture is to some extent a communal art--at least it depends upon a relationship between the user and the maker much closer than in the other arts [Clark, 1969, 330].

The various architectural styles existing on Cape Island in 1860 were distinctly different than the late Victorian hotels now advertised to modern visitors. The architecture of 1860 was greatly influenced by outside investors and by the wealthy owners of second homes. Few examples of the 1860 architectural styles remain because the entire city centre of thirty acres was destroyed by fire in 1878.

The present Cape May Visitors' Center (formerly the Cape

Island Presbyterian Church) was built in 1853 and represents a rare existing example of classic revival style. The symmetry of this style projects order and serenity (figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8 Cape May Visitor's Centre (First Presbyterian Church). Source of Photograph: Author

Built during the early Victorian period (1840-1870) [Rifkind, 1980, 143; McAlester, 1984], the former church presents an impression of simplicity. However, aside from the 'fanciful belfry' [Rifkind, 1980], many details of classical revival architecture exist. The front-gabled, one-storey building of horizontal wood cladding employs strict symmetry and rests on a raised foundation to achieve an effect of

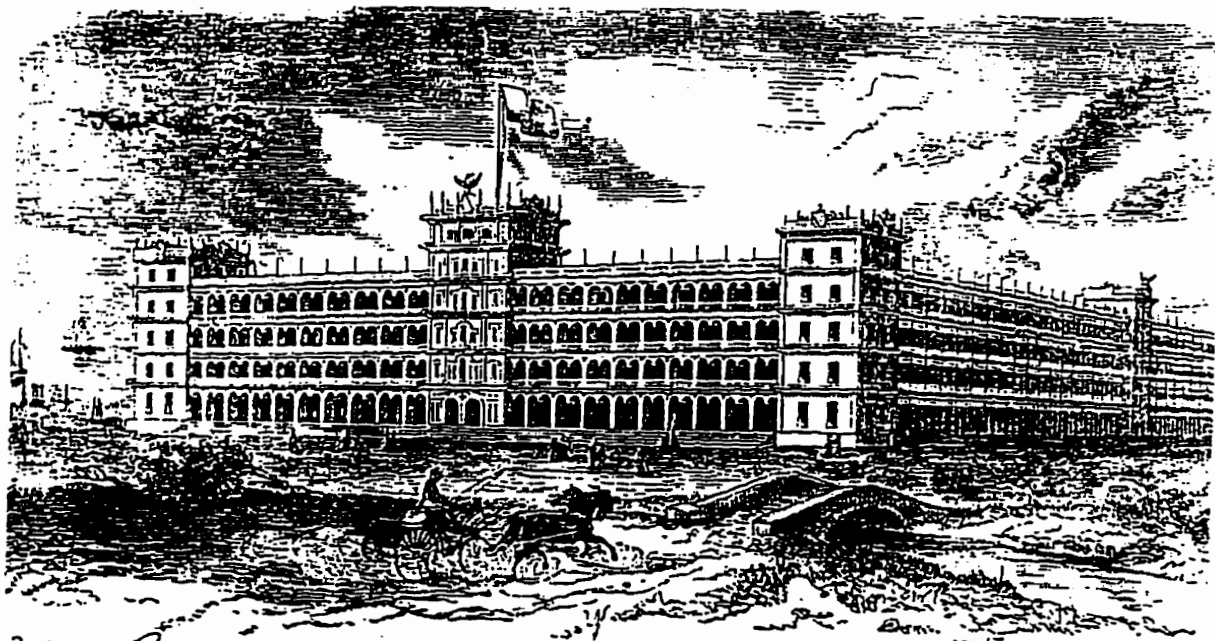
stability and peacefulness. Some Romanesque details included Doric, fluted pilastred quoins embellished with a cornice return. Windows feature detail of arched fanning, and the double-arched door is framed with a single-arched surround.

While some classical revival buildings illustrated serenity, others, like the Congress Hall Hotel, elicited a contrasting air. A feature common to 1860 hotels is the appearance of "tall verandas supported by slender wood posts" [Thomas and Doebly, 1976], and is illustrated by Congress Hall (figure 4.9).



Figure 4.9. Congress Hall. Source of Photograph: Author.

The repetition of the Greek Revival image presents the impression of power. The pillars also function as support for the roof extension that shaded hotel rooms and the wide veranda, where guests enjoyed card playing, afternoon tea and the sea breeze. At the same time the 'L' shape guarantees that all rooms have some view of the sea from within. An elegant example of Renaissance Revival style was provided by the ill-fated Mt. Vernon Hotel, of which only engravings remain (figure 4.10).



3000 Rooms
 Holding 2500 Carriage
 Dining Room seated 2000
 Verandas
 CAPPE MAY, NEW JERSEY. *Printed Sept*

Figure 4.10. The Mount Vernon Hotel. Courtesy of the Cape May Historical Society.

Permanent residents, by contrast, did not hire architects. Their self-designed homes are described as a "rustic and stark form of classical revival" [Thomas and Doebley, 1976] or less elegantly as "boxes with flat or low-pitched roofs" or barn-like [Dorwart, 1992]. The locally-built homes of 1860 reflect simple, practical functionality. After the fire of 1878, local builders probably used pattern books for the intricate Victorian styles for which Cape May is known today.

A Gothic Revival influence is suggested in structures with pointed arches over windows and pointed towers. Contemporary with classical revival, Gothic Revival was popularized as a rural style by Andrew Jackson Downing in two books: *Cottage Residences* (1842) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850) [McAlester, 1984]. Stylish cottages of wealthy Philadelphians such as the McCreary Cottage could be found in Cape Island in 1860. Although McCreary Cottage itself was built in 1869, it exemplifies an early Victorian expression that complements the classical forms of the period.

Cottages, or second homes, were an important form of tourism that created impacts on the host community. On Cape Island, land was sold for the first time in its history to cottagers. Until the land sales of the 1840s and 1850s, Cape Island was relatively closed from outside intrusions except those it chose to allow [Dorwart, 1992]. However, not much is known about the cottagers on Cape Island before the Civil War,

because specific information is difficult to find.

Cape Island of 1860 teetered on the brink of technical, cultural and political change. Its architecture provided an atmosphere of refinement that was valued by its guests: public buildings evoking the stability and elegance of classical forms and the romantic, picturesque aspect of Gothic Revival cottages. In 1860, there existed a striking lack of excess that the future architecture would exhibit.

4.5 TOURISTS

4.5.1 Motivation

During the heyday of Cape Island, its description as a summer capital implies that it was an alternative place in which to conduct the intense business of nation building [Wilson, 1953, vol.1]. Many statesmen visited Cape Island to discuss political problems. However, the main motive for visiting was undoubtedly recreation rather than business, given the popularity of gambling houses, billiard halls, taverns and other documented activities. Articles and references about Cape Island appeared in city newspapers, magazines, guidebooks, travelers accounts and novels that had a wide circulation.

4.5.2 Patronage, Geographic Source and Length of Stay

Visitors were members of the American elite whose origins were relatively dispersed and distant from Cape Island. Wealthy

politicians from Washington, industrialists from Philadelphia and New York City, and plantation owners from the South converged to experience pleasant isolation from everyday surroundings.

Cape Island tourists with families and servants could afford the time and expense of staying the season, July 1 to September 1. The round-trip journey alone would have required a week. Those heads of families who lived in nearby cities (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Camden, New Jersey; or Lewes, Delaware) commuted to their homes by steamboat during the week and returned to join the family on weekends. However, there were relatively few cottagers on Cape Island until after the Civil War [Wilson, 1953, vol.1].

Thus, Cape Island's patrons were wealthy. Their households stayed the season. Their origins were distant and dispersed. Their visits were extended. Their activities were motivated by a wish for a fashionable summer holiday by the sea.

4.6 CAPITAL AND GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

4.6.1 Large Investors

During the 1850s, pilots and steamship captains (former whalers) dominated water access to Cape Island and introduced tourist inns on Cape Island. For example, The Ocean (Landing) House, offering room and board at the lower pier, was built by pilot John C. Little in 1850. Within the decade, two hotels

and excursion houses occupied the landing where hundreds of carriages awaited steamship arrivals [Hand, 1937].

Visitors arriving by stage were also common until 1863, the beginning of railroad access. Ellis Hughes advertised in the *Philadelphia Daily Aurora* (1801) that his public house at Cape Island was available to sea bathers who needed room and board [Alexander, 1967].

From early days, hoteliers from other towns and cities sporadically built hotels on Cape Island. In 1812, Jonas Miller of Port Republic, New Jersey, built Congress Hall, the first boarding house on Cape Island [Hand, 1937]. Richard S. Ludlam, who visited Cape Island during the War of 1812, later built Mansion House in 1832 [Alexander, 1956]. Benjamin and Joseph McMakin of Philadelphia purchased Atlantic Hall in 1839 and built the New Atlantic in 1842 [Alexander, 1956]. A.W. Tompkins of Philadelphia built the United States Hotel in 1849 [Hand, 1937]. Moreover, cottagers from Philadelphia began buying land and building stylish summer residences around 1850 [Thomas, 1976]. Thus, by 1860 the Cape Island's popularity had proved its profitability to local and non-local entrepreneurs.

4.6.2 Small Investors and Human Resources

Small investors (merchants) and human resources (workers) comprised the permanent residents of Cape Island. According to the manuscript census of 1860, permanent residents of Cape Island lived on the main access roads of the town (Lafayette

and Washington Streets to the northeast and First Avenue to the northwest) as well as in the centre of the town. All of Cape Island's residents were involved in the dynamic of its survival as a tourist destination. Their professions were associated with farming, fishing, timber and tourism services that contributed to tourism development directly or indirectly.

Very often workplace and dwelling occupied the same structure, especially among small entrepreneurs. Mrs. Dougherty, a storekeeper, lived at the corner of Ocean and Washington Streets, the same address as the store location [Cape Island City Census, Manuscript, 1860]. This location, in fact, was the stagecoach terminal for overland arrivals. Physicians who lived along the stage route of Lafayette and Washington Streets also owned hotels at the same address [Cape Island Census, Manuscript, 1860; Nunan Map, Cape Island insert, 1850]. The last example reinforces the entrepreneurial role of physicians who advocated water-based tourism to promote health.

Free African-Americans lived on Cape Island before the Civil War. Slavery had been outlawed by the state of New Jersey from 1830. Although a few former slaves remained in their original households, most manumitted African-Americans had no regular means of support. A few were entrepreneurs. Alexander [1956] mentions a Mr. Harding who ran a hotel for African Americans in 1850, with wagon transportation from the

lower boat pier. However, the hotel location was not identified. The Cape Island insert of the Nunan Map [1850] shows a "colored" church on Franklin Street between Lafayette and Washington. Complaints of excessive African American visibility on North Franklin Street suggest the possibility of an African-American residential enclave there. The customary living arrangement for servants was small quarters behind their place of work.

Alexander [1956] pointed out that the number of African Americans on Cape Island was relatively high. Nevertheless, very few resident African-Americans were included in the census of 1860. Those identified are listed as servants and labourers. It is probable that unidentified African-Americans also worked as porters, waiters, drivers, maids and stable hands. Without the African-American contribution, neither agriculture nor tourism could have flourished on Cape Island before the Civil War.

Thus, information from the 1860 manuscript census and published censuses has suggested the location and concentration of town residents. Small business owners lived near the town centre. There may have been a cluster of servants' quarters on North Washington Street. Cape Island farmers and whaler yeomen lived on the perimeter of town, nearer to the water. A generalized map of Cape Island dwellings in 1860 appears in Appendix C as Human Resources.

4.6.3 Role of Government

In 1860, the United States government was responsible for navigational safety along its coasts. Funding for Cape Island's lighthouse was appropriated following several shipwrecks involving loss of life and property during heavy storms. The U.S. Department of the Treasury released funds for Cape Island's first lighthouse in 1821, following the great destructive storm of that year [Methot, 1988].

The state government of New Jersey, by contrast, was responsible for approving requests for roadbuilding. 'Road return' maps illustrate part of the process of urban incorporation. For example, a hand-drawn draft of Cape Island's proposed town plan with essential landmarks, buildings and street names was submitted to the state legislature August 29, 1850. It was subsequently approved, recorded and returned on March 11, 1851 [New Jersey State Archives, Trenton](figure 4.11). Stevens [1897] offered a reason that the streets of Cape Island do not form a grid:

The reason why Cape Island was not laid out in squares, like the more modern towns, is because streets were only made when they were needed. Jackson street was the first made street in the town, and that was more than one hundred years ago. Lafayette street was a cow path for the most part, and for convenience it was made a wagon road, and finally adopted as a street. Washington street was made to run parallel with Lafayette. Delaware avenue is probably the next oldest. Franklin, Jefferson and Queen are also very old streets [Stevens, 1897, 406].

The three townships (Upper, Middle and Lower) of Cape May County were interdependent politically and economically. In the 1840s, an opportunity for increased public coach access

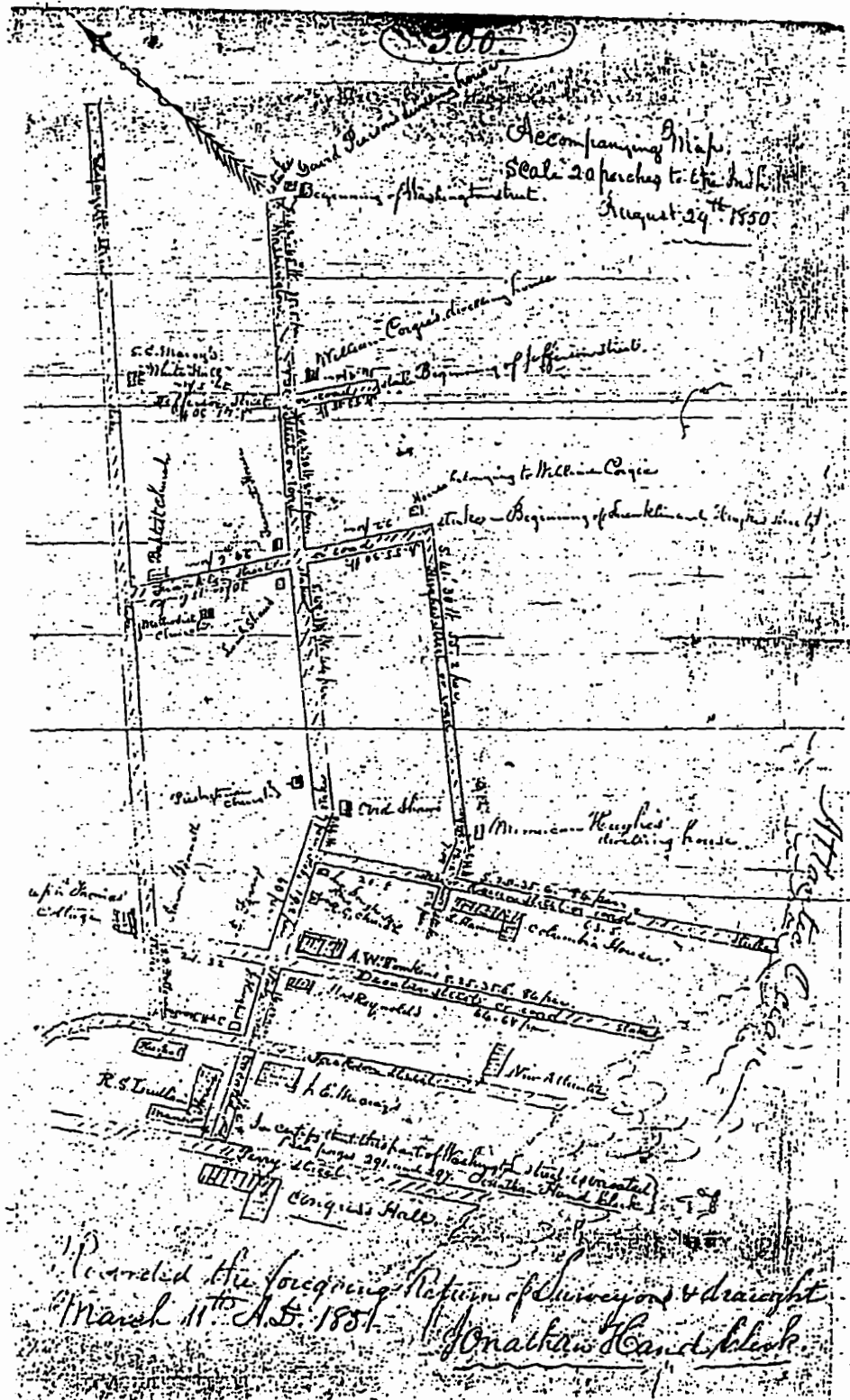


Figure 4.11 Road Return Map of Cape Island, 1850. Courtesy of the New Jersey State Library Archives.

escaped Lower Township when financial and political support from Upper Township and Dennisville was withheld [Dorwart, 1992]. At that time, former whalers of Lower Township were increasingly turning to steamboat routes and harbour piloting in the Delaware Bay. Manufacturing towns of the upper peninsula, such as Millville and Dennis Creek [Alexander, 1956; Stevens, 1897] that were on the north-south stage route to Cape Island, had always benefitted from tourist expenditures. In particular, wary residents of Upper Township suspected that an increase in steamship travel on the bay would yield diminished profits locally and finessed political moves in the state capital that blocked funds for road and bridge improvements in Lower Township [Dorwart, 1992]. Steamships did indeed offer time-distance and time-cost advantages over coach travel. However stages were eventually displaced by the railway in 1863, not by steamboats [Stevens, 1897]. In any case, it is ironic that withholding better land access to Cape Island was directly counterproductive for tourist spending in Upper Township. Economic tension between townships illustrates the growing dependence on tourism within southern New Jersey in 1860.

Although the economy of Cape Island City seemed invincible even in the face of social and cultural upheaval, there existed one sign of economic strain. During the 1850s (and, to some extent, the 1840s), estates of the original whaler-yeomen families were subdivided for speculation for the

first time [Thomas, 1976]. Prior to these land sales, land had always been leased in Cape Island City, never escaping ownership by the original whaler families [Hand, 1937]. The sale of land on Cape Island, in the 1840s and 1850s, marked the beginning of outside influence and represented a significant departure from previously-held values concerning land ownership [Dorwart, 1992].

Cape Island's development was financed by private money, essentially the efforts of local pilots (former whalers), local landowners and a few non-local but influential individuals. The role of state and federal governments warrants some recognition for resort development by virtue of the regulation of roadway approval and shoreline safety. By contrast, the political role of Cape Island's former whalers was important until the 1850s. Noticeable outside political influence occurred on Cape Island only after the former whalers began to sell the land they acquired from Great Britain in the seventeenth century.

4.7 A Happening: *The Great Eastern*

On July 26, 1860, the *Great Eastern*, largest steamship in the world, dropped anchor at Cape Island. The *Great Eastern* was a British iron steamship of monumental size (693 feet, 18,000 tons) and great technical sophistication [Wetterau, 1969]. Hosting 1,500 passengers on this southward excursion along the American Atlantic Coast, it was capable of accepting 4,000.

Local admirers and tourists eagerly inspected the *Great Eastern*, harboured at the diminutive summer capital, for fifty cents admission. Advertised for weeks in the *Ocean Wave*, the *Great Eastern* was greeted by cannon salute from the lawn of Congress Hall and by Dodworth's Band, which boarded the ship to serenade. Unwilling to quit the event, thousands camped that night on hotel lawns, in lobbies and any place that they could find space available [*Ocean Wave*, Vol.6, #11, Aug 2, 1860]. It was a joyous moment of the 1860 season and perhaps a conscious salute to the passing of an age.

4.8 Conclusions

Cape Island's heyday in 1860 was described in accounts recorded by contemporaries of Cape Islanders of 1860 [Stevens, 1897; Rose, 1878]. Additionally, the reported competition from Atlantic City, the important technology change to railway (1863) and the corresponding change in patronage after the Civil War all add credibility to the probable time of heyday.

Confirmation of Cape May's heyday has been provided by an analysis of changes in the rate of population and hotel growth from 1800-1990. Boarding houses experienced a dramatic rate of growth from 1800 to 1840. The first hotel (Mansion House) was built in 1840, and the rate of growth in hotels between 1840 and 1860 was more than 300 percent. Dorwart [1992] and others observed that the resort had badly deteriorated during the Civil War and never regained its former standing.

Events of the 1850s that influenced Cape Island's transition from development to consolidation were loss of permanent population to the westward migration and uncharacteristic land sales by descendants of the original whaler families. The influence of outside capital was first visible in the design of stylish cottages and large hotels during the 1850s.

Natural processes and transportation technology literally shaped the resort of Cape Island of 1860. Tides and currents rendered the ocean side of the peninsula less fit for tourist arrivals than the bay side, while beaches on the south end were best for bathing. Permeated with marshes and inlets and subject to continual landward erosion and floods, Cape Island was difficult to reach, and therefore isolated.

While the limitations and assets of the natural landscape are important for access, transportation technology organized the town plan. The route of the stagecoaches generated a minor hotel corridor on Lafayette and Washington Streets. When the boat road intersected with the stagecoach road, a dense large hotel node was generated.

Administrative services followed the interior route of the stage corridor (Washington Street). Commercial functions and about half of the permanent residences clustered within the area of the hotel node. The most striking land use morphology of Cape Island of 1860 is that of accommodations, whose location and growth were clearly influenced by access roads. Access roads,

in turn, were influenced by landscape features, such as the location of the best beach and the safest landing for boat passengers. A schematic diagram of land use during the Cape Island heyday follows (figure 4.12).

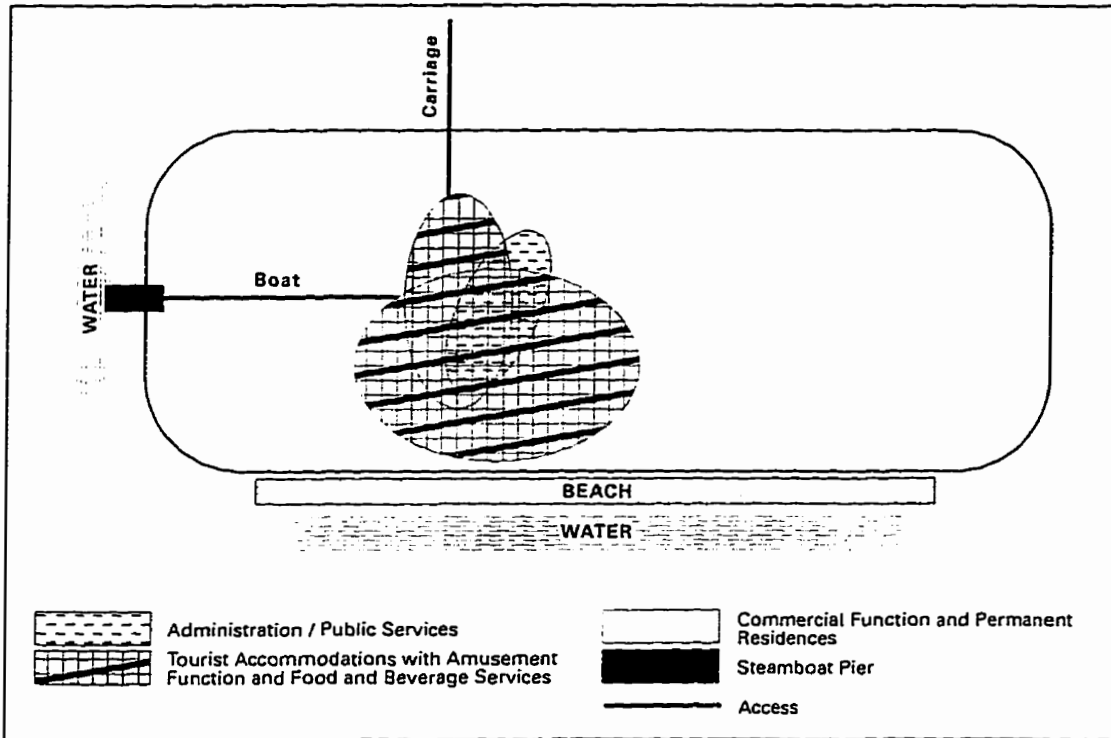


Figure 4.12: Schematic Diagram of the Heyday Era on Cape Island

CHAPTER 5. ATLANTIC CITY CASE STUDY, 1886

5.1 Context

Atlantic City is a barrier island belonging to a system of islands and salt marshes on the Atlantic coast of New Jersey in the United States. Approximately ten miles long, it is located in the southern half of a peninsula whose western border is the Delaware Bay and whose immediate eastern border is the Atlantic Ocean. Cape May lies forty miles south; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sixty miles northwest.

Atlantic City was designed for only one industry--tourism. In the 1930s, Atlantic City was universally recognized as an icon of mass tourism, immortalized in American popular culture by the board game Monopoly. The gradual disappearance of entrepreneurs and tourists from Atlantic City coincided with the decline of rail service, which ended in the early 1960s [Funnell, 1975; Stansfield, 1983]. The resort currently pursues a vigorous struggle for viability from casino gambling profits [Stansfield, 1978].

In 1852, Absecon Island, as Atlantic City was then known, lay peacefully among New Jersey's numerous barrier islands. Prior to the development of a resort community, a few fishermen and a lighthouse keeper lived on the island with their families [Stansfield and Richardson, 1979; Funnell, 1975].

Dramatic landscape changes occurred within a very short

time, one of which was beach erosion. Significant beach erosion explains the unusual length of some oceanfront blocks. The map insert of Rose's [1878] *Historical and Biographical Atlas of the New Jersey Coast* illustrates that in 1852 all city blocks were of equal length, while by 1876 sand deposits from northeast Absecon Island lengthened beachfront city blocks between Missouri and New Jersey Avenues significantly. Some city blocks adjacent to the ocean tripled in length. This phenomenon was partly a natural process. However, beachfront property owners who were motivated to increase their wealth assisted the rate of sand accretion:

The hotel owners and other proprietors, with direct access to the sea at that period, soon discovered and took advantage of a peculiarly effective method of extending their property out to sea. Sand accretion along the (beach)front was actively encouraged by construction of wooden jetties at right angles to the southward flowing alongshore current, thus accelerating the lodgement of sand being shifted to the south. The local government finally stopped this intriguing display of initiative by declaring all land seaward of a stated line as municipal property in perpetuity [Stansfield, 1969, 7].

By contrast, northern streets became drastically shortened or, in some cases, entirely deleted.

The resort was a fully operational resort within only four years (1852-1856). Plans for transportation access, real estate sales, and marketing were in place before any construction took place on the island. Originally, entrepreneurs hoped that Atlantic City would attract wealthy and elite tourists. That is why the Camden and Atlantic Railroad (C&A) built the large, amenity-rich United States Hotel as Atlantic City's first accommodation. When Atlantic

City gained the attention of the giant Pennsylvania and Reading Railroads, the opportunity for profits was directed toward the working class and the lower-middle class of industrial Philadelphia:

Atlantic City could not have existed without the railroads, and the railroads could not have existed without the lower middle and lower classes. During summer weekdays, lower-middle-class families and young single people poured into town on their annual vacations, and their fares sustained the railroads, which waited for weekends to make the big killing [Funnell, 1975, 35].

5.2 Determination of Heyday

A chronology of tourism-related events (Appendix A) guided the estimation of dates for the onset and completion of Atlantic City's evolutionary phases. Atlantic City was an 'instant resort' and did not evolve from an established community that gradually shifted to tourism. Thus, Atlantic City's evolution essentially skipped the early stages of evolution to begin in the "development" stage:

Although a consistent evolution of tourist areas can be conceptualized, it must be emphasized again that not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as other. The establishment of what has become known as the 'instant resort' is a case in point. The process whereby areas for development, such as Cancun in Mexico, are selected by computer from a range of possibilities allowed by certain preselected parameters has meant that the exploration and involvement phases are probably of minimal significance, if they are present at all. Under these circumstances the development phase becomes the real commencement of the cycle [Butler, 1980, 10].

Permanent residents planned to create a new suburb for themselves in nearby Chelsea after a marketing decision by the railroads targeted the lower-middle class. The evidence of a

clash between permanent residents and tourist clientele is a characteristic of the beginning of Butler's [1980] consolidation (mature) stage. Funnell noted that the visitor-resident clash was mentioned in Atlantic City's local newspaper:

The *Daily Union*, complained in 1892 that the resort was failing to attract "the patronage of millionaires" because it lacked a really posh hotel of the "first class Ponce de Leon" variety. Indeed, by 1887 Atlantic City was already developing a suburb named Chelsea, to which its upper-middle-class natives were retreating. The locals had begun to sniff at their customers [Funnell, 1975, 28].

A graphical analysis of the change in permanent population reinforces qualitative evidence for the time of Atlantic City's heyday. The change in permanent population is used here as a surrogate for visitor numbers and as the indicator of the beginning of the consolidation stage. This is a valid substitution because there was no evidence from maps or from city directories that any industries or sources of employment competed with tourism in Atlantic City. Additionally, Soane [1993], Funnell [1975], Towner [1996] and others have successfully employed the same substitution in order to document resort evolution.

Atlantic City's actual population peaked in 1930, while the rate of change peaked in the mid-1880s (Figure 5.1, 5.2). After 1890 the percentage of population increase began a steady decline (Appendix B). This suggests a parallel decline experienced in tourism arrivals.

Other evidence for the beginning of the consolidation

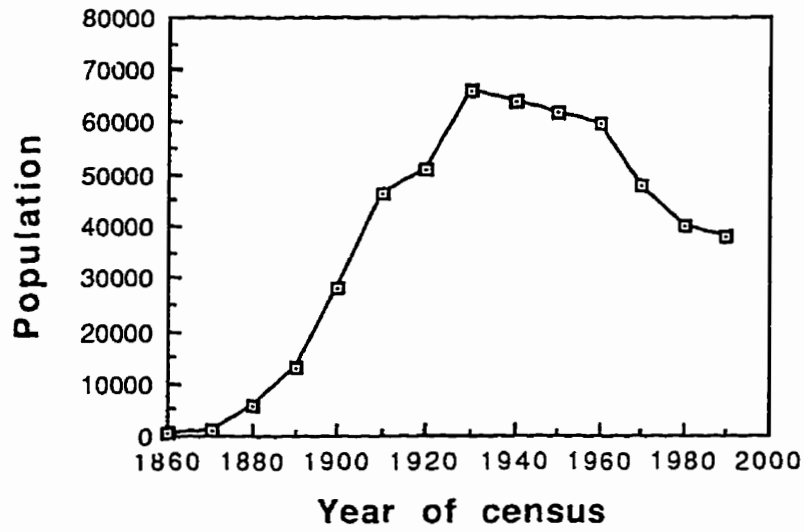


Figure 5.1 Cumulative Population Growth in Atlantic City

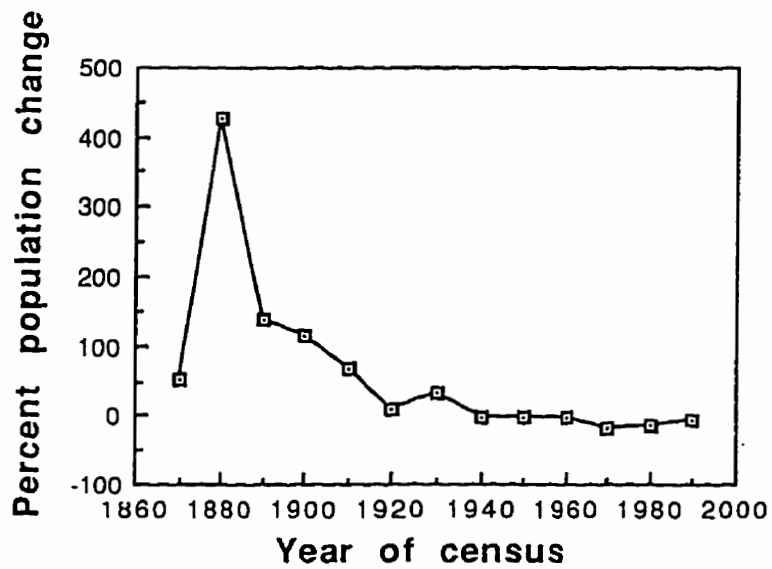


Figure 5.2 Rate of Population Growth in Atlantic City

stage occurring in the mid-1880s rests with a reported sudden increase in tourist visitation and a shift in patronage type, both of which corresponded in 1883 with enormous railroad mergers. For example, the first step taken by the Pennsylvania Railroad toward control of the C&A occurred with the introduction of its representative, the West Jersey and Atlantic in Atlantic City:

The West Jersey and Atlantic Railroad, controlled by the Pennsylvania, was organized in 1880 specifically to attract "the medium and poorer classes". The fare was "the astonishing sum of fifty cents each--less than hackfare from Market street, Philadelphia, to the Park...On the mass patronage of the ordinary tourists the railroads were able to maintain service which provided for upper-middle-class and upper-class visitors as well [Funnell, 1975, 35-36].

Railroad competition reduced fares and greatly encouraged mass tourism from industrial Philadelphia's working class. Increases in mass tourism caused a strain upon the existing hospitality infrastructure that was followed by growth among the permanent population, as seen in the population census:

(From 1877) (t)he crowds in the city were so large at times, especially over Sunday, as to nearly exhaust the supply of meat, milk, bread and provisions in stock [Hall, 1900, 197; cited in Funnell, 1975, 35].

By 1890, the marketing, financing and profit-taking of the tourism industry in Atlantic City had begun to stabilize as the rate of growth slowed.

The change in the rate of population increase of the 1880s bears out the estimated heyday of 1886 from Atlantic City's chronology. The resort thrived when daytrips for the Philadelphia working class were promoted by the Reading and

Pennsylvania railroads. Permanent residences in Atlantic City showed a concomitant rise as infrastructure demands for daytrip tourists and the short stays of the lower middle class were eventually met. However, in 1886, permanent residents also moved to an adjacent suburb in order to separate themselves from the resort.

5.3 TRANSPORTATION

5.3.1 Transportation Corridors and Termini

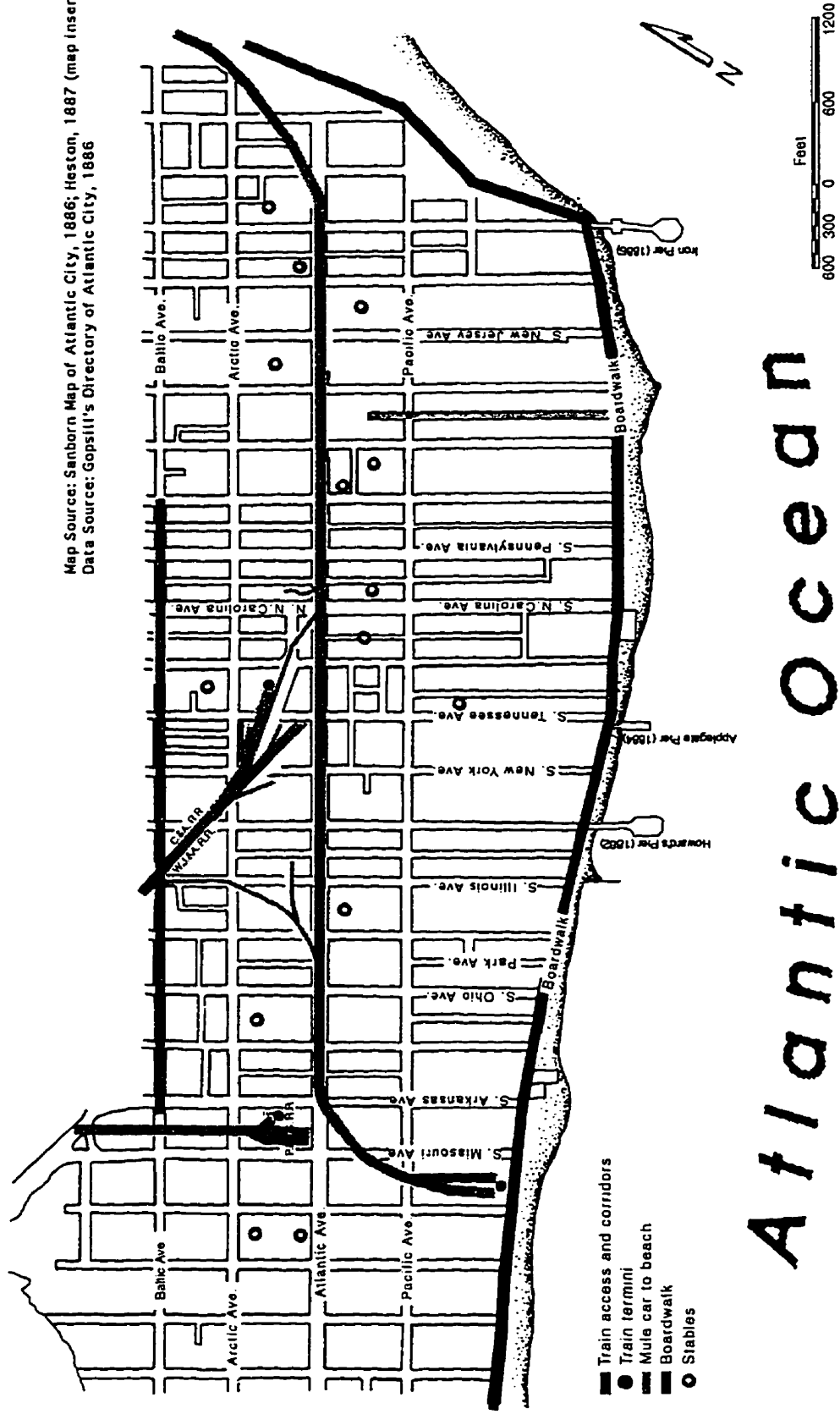
The shortest time-distance and cost-distance route to Atlantic City was the 'beeline' from Philadelphia, constructed by the C&A 1852-1856 [Stansfield, 1983]. A split in the tracks north of Atlantic Avenue permitted cars of daytrippers to continue southwest directly to the Excursion House near the beach. The main tracks delivered passengers to the main terminal or transferred them to the C&A mule cars that operated local service on Atlantic Avenue (Map 5.1, drawn from Appendix C, following page).

In 1857, only one year after regular passenger service was available to Atlantic City, the C&A went bankrupt, financially ruining most original investors [Lane, 1939]. The economic panic of 1857 contributed to its failure. Service continued, however, owing to the assistance of the flourishing C&A Land Company. Atlantic City continued to evolve.

Access to Atlantic City was accomplished by two railroad companies by 1886. The terminal of the first railroad company

Atlantic City - Transportation Corridors and Termini, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopsitt's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.1 Transport Land Use

(C&A/Pennsylvania) was centrally located and connected passengers with their hotels, with the beach or with the inlet by virtue of its extensive intra-urban system on Atlantic Avenue. The second railroad company (P&AC/Reading) benefited from the location of the C&A's beach spur by constructing its terminal just north of the C&A Excursion House (terminal) on Atlantic Avenue. The proximity of the two terminals provided intense competition for the daytrip or working class market.

5.3.2 Internal Mobility

In 1852, the original plat for Atlantic City included a C&A track for steam trains on Atlantic Avenue. In early years steam trains stopped at each hotel [Kobbe, 1898, 72; Wilson, 1953; Rose, 1878]:

The first hotels were built some distance from the ocean. In 1868 a traveller described Atlantic Avenue as the principal street of the city, upon either side of which were the principal hotels, boarding houses, private cottages, stores, churches and market houses. The passenger cars of the railway passed slowly up this broad avenue and stopped opposite each hotel a sufficient time to allow passengers to alight [Wilson, 1953, 527].

By 1886, steam trains still operated in Atlantic City, but local traffic on steam train service was severely curtailed (1881) to only a few designated stations [Fretwell, 1937]. A city ordinance permitted the C&A to operate two tracks on Atlantic Avenue because of tourism growth. Slower, but dependable and economical, mule cars were employed on Atlantic Avenue's second C&A track. Dedicated for local traffic, the mule cars were able to make frequent stops

throughout the resort area. Some of the large hotels, such as the United States Hotel, also operated private mule railways to the beach for their upper middle-class patrons.

Visitors who arrived at the Reading terminal walked to the beach along a "strangers path" [Jackson, 1970; from Stansfield, 1978]. On the boardwalk, tired pedestrians could hire rides on wicker rolling chairs. However, the popular rolling chairs quickly became more an attraction than an important means of transportation.

Internal mobility during Atlantic City's heyday was accomplished by means of train service or by walking. A spur of the C&A delivered daytrip tourists directly to the beach. Additionally, mule trains provided local C&A service along Atlantic Avenue. Private mule trains to the beach were available to upper middle-class patrons who stayed at large hotels. Otherwise, internal mobility was largely pedestrian.

5.4 THE RESORT

5.4.1 Tourist Accommodations

The residential pattern of 1886 complemented the pattern already established by accommodations. The pattern of accommodations was generally diffuse with discernable variations in density. Two dense accommodation nodes occurred south of the passenger rail terminals. The first node surrounded the P&AC and the C&A (beach) terminals, and was bordered by South Florida, Boardwalk, South Michigan and

Atlantic Avenues as well as the block north of Atlantic between North Florida and North Georgia Avenues. This node was characterized by numerous modest guest houses, boarding houses and small hotels, each with little green space, few amenities except for the provision of meals, and normally rising to a height of only two or three stories. As well, most tourist hotels and boarding houses north of Atlantic Avenue had similar characteristics. These boarding houses and small hotels provided lodging for Philadelphia's lower middle-class.

The second dense accommodation area was located two blocks directly south of the main C&A passenger terminal, located on *North* South Carolina Avenue at Arctic. This second node consisted of a long block bordered by South Tennessee, Boardwalk, *South* South Carolina and Pacific Avenues. These small hotels were referred to as cottages [Gopsill, 1886; Sanborn, 1886]. However, they were broadly consistent with lodging in the first node [Funnell, 1983, 34]. The second node was located within the area of large three- and four-storey, amenity-rich hotels such as the Sea Side House (figure 5.3), the Brighton and the United States Hotel.

The upper middle-class, by contrast, found lodging south of Atlantic Avenue in sprawling hotels, surrounded by green space and landscaping. Alternatively, if they owned second homes, they might have moved their households for the summer to a corridor of stylish cottages that lined both sides of South Kentucky Avenue from the Boardwalk to Pacific Avenue

[Heston, 1887, map insert]. While wives, children and household staffs sojourned in Atlantic City for the summer season, the husband typically commuted daily to Philadelphia. Railroads promoted this arrangement with 'twenty-trip' discounted tickets [Funnell, 1983, 28].

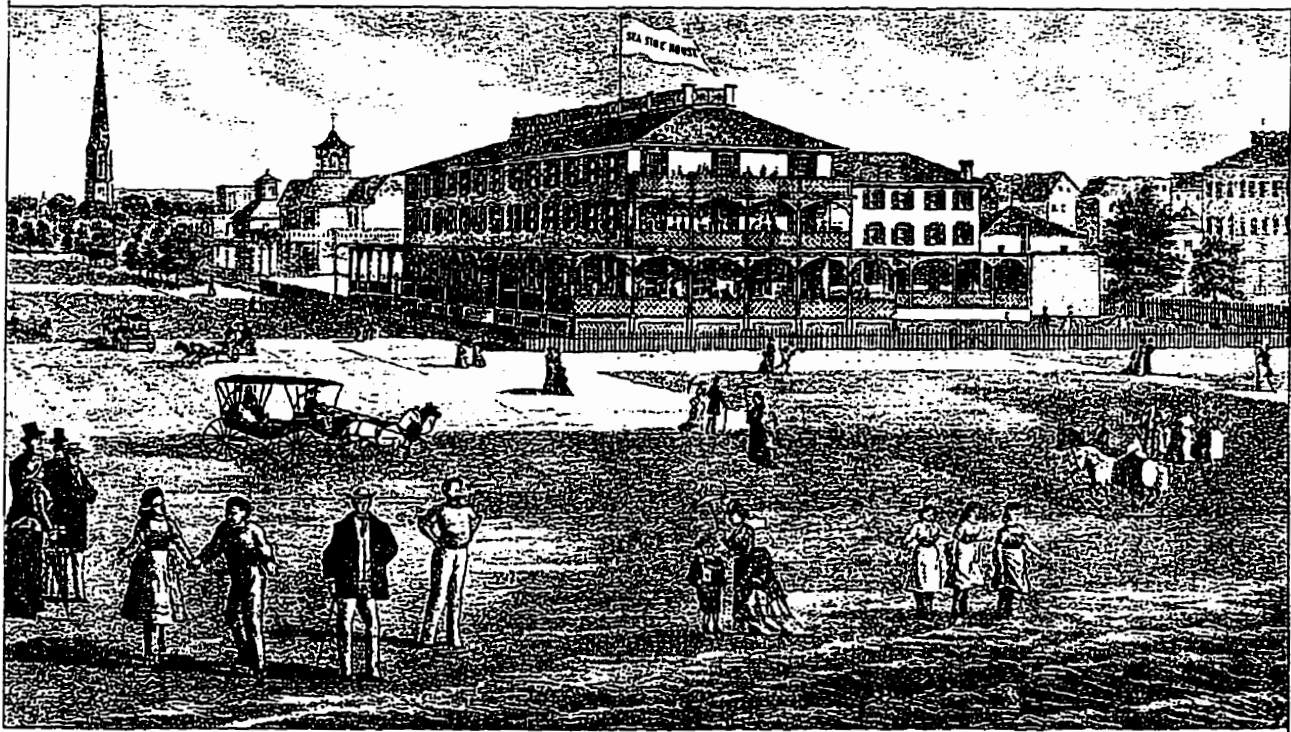


Figure 5.3 Sea Side House. Source: Rose, 1878

Early in Atlantic City's history, hotels were built relatively close to Atlantic Avenue. However, by 1886, there was a tendency for hotels to be built southward from Atlantic Avenue toward the ocean. For example, the 1886 Sanborn map of

Atlantic City bears a notation stating that the Central Hotel (on Atlantic Avenue, between Tennessee and South Carolina Avenues) would move one block south so that the site could be occupied by retail businesses. Moreover, it is known that a section of the United States Hotel adjoining Atlantic Avenue was torn down before 1886 (Map 5.2 from Appendix C following page).

Although tourist accommodations were diffused throughout the resort community, a pattern was discernable. Small, modest two- and three-storey hotels occupied a dense node south of the C&A and P&AC terminals. Throughout the remainder of the southern half of the resort community, hotels were frequently larger, taller, more expensive, landscaped and abundantly supplied with amenities, such as elegant furnishings, ballrooms, croquet, archery, dining and spacious verandas where guests could socialize.

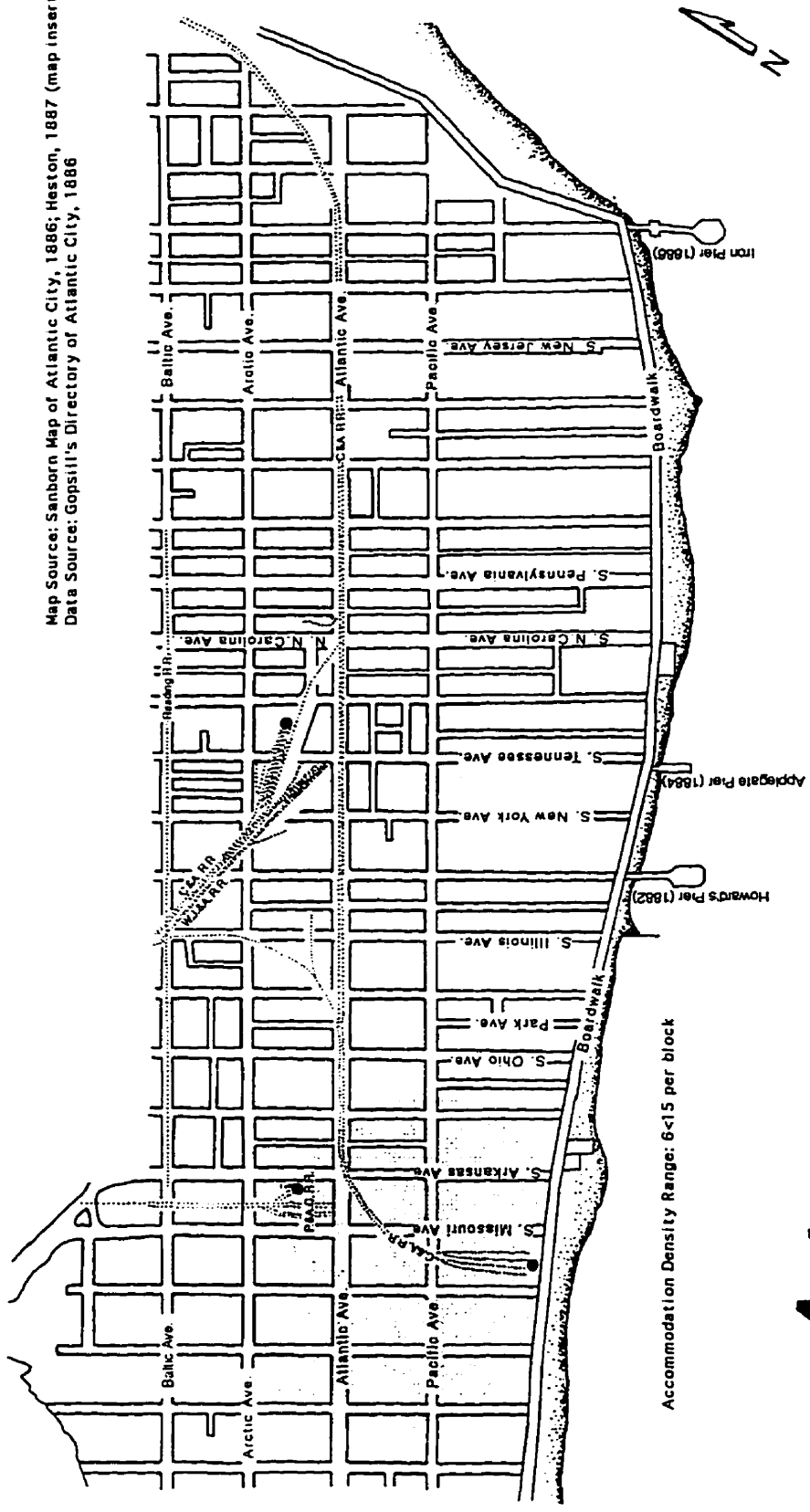
5.4.2 Food and Beverage Services

More than half of Atlantic City's food and beverage stands, beer gardens and restaurants were located along the boardwalk. Bars and a very few restaurants were located on Atlantic Avenue and near the railroad stations.

Dissimilar patterns of food and beverage consumption existed for daytrippers and overnight tourists. Daytrip tourists arrived at the Seaside Excursion House on the beach. For this reason, the sprawling, busy node at the Excursion

Atlantic City - Accommodations, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
Data Source: Gopsill's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



Accommodation Density Range: 6<15 per block

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.2 Accommodation Land Use

House offered varied opportunities for food and beverage consumption, amusements, rental of bathing apparel and gifts. As well, numerous bars were adjacent to the Excursion House, near the ocean. Alternatively, Sunday tourists could find many such opportunities on the boardwalk.

By contrast, lower middle-class visitors who could afford lodging usually took meals in their hotels or boarding houses. They might also have purchased oysters, confections or ice-cream on the boardwalk or dined in one of the many boardwalk restaurants [Gopsill's, 1886]. Beer gardens and bars conveniently lined Atlantic Avenue. Thus, the pattern for the second type of visitor reflected the accommodation nodes, the boardwalk, and Atlantic Avenue (appendix C).

Regular meal service was offered in hotels and boarding houses. The areas adjacent to railway terminals, the boardwalk, hotel dining rooms and Atlantic Avenue were, thus, the principal locations dedicated to food and beverage consumption in 1886.

5.4.3 Tourist Amusements

Many social activities for the middle-class and upper middle-class took place in large hotels and on Atlantic Avenue. However, entertainment opportunities for the working class focused on the boardwalk.

The original boardwalk, constructed in 1870, was a seasonal structure only eight feet wide, which allowed the

pleasure of beach promenades while eliminating the discomfort of walking in soft sand. By 1886, the boardwalk was a permanent, twenty-foot wide amusement-shopping promenade that was electrically lighted. The focus of the boardwalk quickly shifted from scenery to recreation.

Atlantic City's boardwalk is an excellent example of the RBD described by Stansfield and Rickert [1970]. Of the twelve retail categories evaluated by Stansfield and Rickert [1970], three categories characterized the RBD: food and beverage services, gift-novelty-variety purchases and commercial amusements/theaters. These signature RBD categories also characterized the majority of Atlantic City boardwalk businesses in 1886.

Some types of boardwalk amusement required active participation (skating, bowling, shooting galleries and museums), while others were passive. For example, only passive participation was necessary for mechanical amusements such as the carrousel and the epicycloidal diversion (figure 5.4). Mechanical amusements, such as the ferris wheel, became increasingly important at mass tourism resorts. It is ironic that the popularity of mechanical amusements gained momentum at seaside resorts, where the original attraction was nature.

5.4.4 Public Space

The the areas of public space enjoyed by tourists in Atlantic City were the beach, the boardwalk, Atlantic Avenue after dark

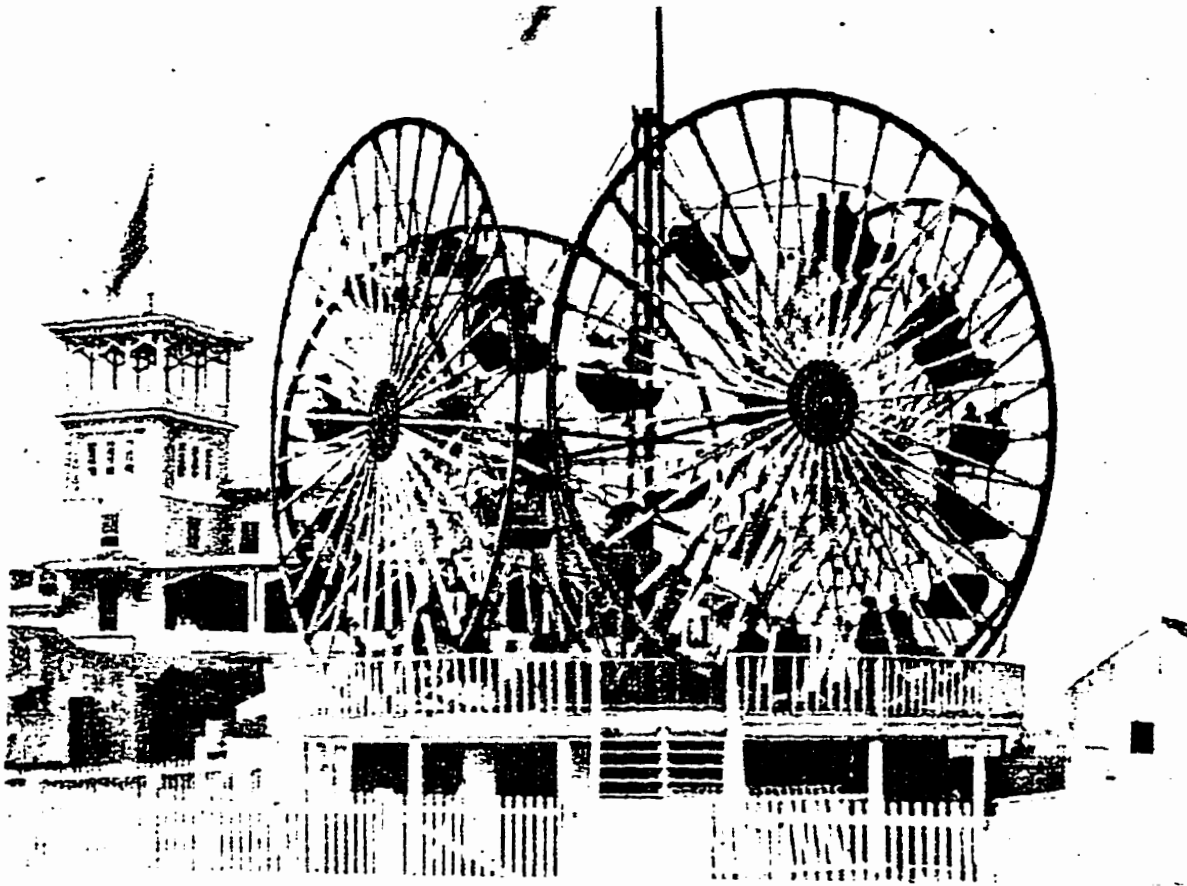


Figure 5.4 The Epicycloidal Diversion. Source: Courtesy of the Atlantic County Historical Society

and church row. While the sight of elegant carriages characterised Cape Island's beach during heyday, donkey rides were more typical on Atlantic City's beach in 1886 [Funnell, 1983, xiv]. Family groups and friends enjoyed the invigorating effect of water and the beach. However, tourists felt somewhat unsafe in the ocean [Funnell, 1983, 133; Jeans, 1990]. Four types of safety measures were instituted for bathers by individual and government initiative. The U.S. Life Saving

Station, based at Atlantic City's lighthouse (between South Rhode Island and South Vermont Avenues), was prepared to rescue sea bathers [Gopsill, 1886]. Additionally, the city maintained a life-saving service which was "incorporated into the police department, and under the control of the Chief of Police" [Gopsill, 1886, 210]. These lifeguards patrolled the surf by boat to rescue bathers inexperienced in, or frightened by, the surf [Funnell, 1975]. Volunteer life-guards who were Atlantic City residents, organized themselves to staff the beach between New York and Missouri Avenues [Gopsill, 1886, 210]. Also, a rigging of 'life-lines' was installed in the surf near excursion houses and large hotels so that bathers could walk in the surf without trepidation [Funnell, 1975].

The novelty of electric lighting attracted pedestrians to Atlantic Avenue after dark [Heston, 1887]. Both the boardwalk and Atlantic Avenue were very active in the evenings. This was unusual because the CBD was located on Atlantic Avenue. In the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, CBDs were quiet and dark at night [Carter, 1983]. This was due to the combination of functions that existed in the CBD: offices, specialty shopping, administrative offices and banking. People who worked or patronized the CBD left at the end of the business day. Thus, in the early days of its evolution, the CBD was vacant at night [Daniel and Hopkinson, 1979]. In 1886, this was not true in Atlantic City. The *New York Herald* [1886; from Funnell, 1983] noted that Atlantic

Avenue was "more crowded at night than is Broadway", and this was due to the curiosity of electrically lighted streets. Thus, in 1886, there existed at least two RBDs, the one on the boardwalk, as well as the electrically lighted main street, Atlantic Avenue after dark.

Churches offered another important opportunity for social gathering [Dorwart, 1992], although socializing was not the main purpose of church attendance. The tone of socializing differed markedly from the boisterous nature of an RBD. Most of the churches lined Pacific Avenue, eastward from South Kentucky Avenue. The remainder were dispersed throughout the resort. The location of the 'church row' corresponds to the area of large hotels whose patrons could afford a sojourn that was significantly longer than one day. The author has no evidence that overnight patrons were more likely than day-trippers to attend church services. However, this does seem logical, especially in light of the important time constraints that dominated the lives of daytrippers.

Team sports requiring generous amounts of green space could be observed in the northeast quadrant of Atlantic City. *Gopsill's Atlantic City Directory of 1886* lists a baseball field (at North New Jersey) and a quoit grounds (at North Massachusetts) on Baltic Avenue, where space was available. These fields were probably used by local residents. They are on the periphery of the residential areas and farthest from the area occupied by tourists.

Two patterns emerge from tourist public space venues in Atlantic City. Four corridors-- the beach, the boardwalk, Atlantic Avenue after dark and the church corridor-- all generated crowds of tourists. The secondary pattern of public space in Atlantic City was the double node of playing fields on northeast Baltic Avenue, although this did not have a tourism function.

5.4.5 Commercial Functions

Perusal of *Gopsill's Directory of 1886* revealed that 70 percent of Atlantic City's retail businesses occurred on Atlantic Avenue. The remaining 30 percent were on the boardwalk or were distributed throughout the city. Thus Atlantic Avenue was Atlantic City's 'main street.'

5.4.6 Administration/Public Services

Two-thirds of the public services and administration buildings (such as the city hall, fire department and post office, for example) formed a cluster east of the main C&A terminal in 1886. The remainder of administrative and public service venues bordered the Atlantic Avenue corridor. Administrative services and public service offices have no direct bearing on tourism, but they are important to this morphological land use research. Administrative and public services helped to maintain and to direct the infrastructure of the urban tourist city. Additionally, it is of interest to see where these

services are located in relation to services that are directly connected to tourism and what patterns they take in relation to transportation technology.

The administrative concentration began at the intersection of Tennessee and Atlantic Avenues, continued northeast to Pennsylvania Avenue, west to Arctic and south to Tennessee. This dense node was Atlantic City's CBD in 1886. Perusal of the city directories of 1896, 1935 and 1955 support the CBD's continuous location from 1886 to the time of Stansfield's [1970, 1971] field work in 1963 and 1964. It is significant that a nineteenth century pattern has continued long after the apparent rationale for its location disappeared [Wyckoff, 1988].

By contrast, the less dense administrative corridor on Atlantic Avenue began at the C&A terminal and continued west to the Reading terminal (between Missouri and Arkansas Avenues), serving parts of the city that were remote from the main CBD. Thus, a major administrative node and a very minor administrative corridor existed in Atlantic City during heyday. They both extended from the main terminal of the C&A.

5.4.7 Architectural Style

There was a generalized ambivalence toward technological change, and this included change in architectural engineering. The skill of individuals, past (classical) forms and history were all respected. An architectural eclecticism is

unmistakable in Atlantic City of 1886. Although Atlantic City was a Victorian resort [Funnell, 1975], architecture during this part of the Victorian era commingled Victorian Gothic, Second Empire, Colonial Revival and other styles.

Besides the general taste for eclecticism during the late nineteenth century, much of Atlantic City's construction in 1886 was considered "garish", a kind of "Victorian Disneyland for adults" [Funnell, 1975]. This conclusion by Funnell [1975] is made from contemporary statements by Mark Twain in *The Gilded Age* and from social historians such as Alfred Heston. It refers not only to the abandonment of white (painted) exteriors in favour of multi-hued ones but also to the wish of entrepreneurs to overwhelm, entertain and excite wonder in the minds of low-wage tourists from Philadelphia.

A few examples of buildings existing in 1886 can be found in *Gopsill's Directory of 1886* and in the *Historical Atlas of New Jersey* [Rose, 1878]. Schaufler's Hotel, pictured in *Gopsill's Directory*, was a lively establishment adjacent to the C&A tracks, with outdoor dining and musical entertainment. Paired front-gabled, four-storey buildings with gabled dormers were joined by a three-storey wing that seem to be inspired by a revival of Georgian style (figure 5.5).

Similarly, the main structure of Haddon House was east-facing with later wings added to the side and back (figure 5.6). The hipped roof with balustrade crown, dentil moulding on the cornice and regularly spaced windows were also

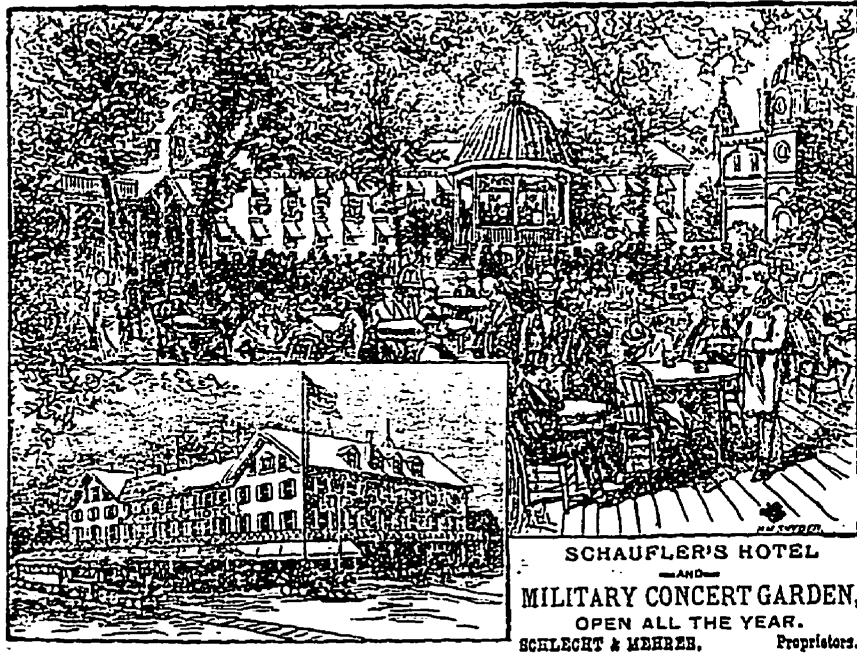


Figure 5.5 Schauffer's Hotel. Source: Gopsill's Atlantic City Directory, 1886



Figure 5.6 Haddon House. Source: Rose, 1878

reminiscent of Georgian architecture of an earlier period. An arcaded veranda surrounded the entire first storey perimeter and supported second- and third-storey verandas that fronted the ocean. Rifkind [1980] suggests that these recurring Colonial Revival styles might have been influenced by the centennial celebration of American independence (1776-1876).

In the left background of the Haddon House drawing one can discern a Second Empire style tower. In the right side background, there is a High Victorian Gothic church tower. Thus, there existed a plethora of styles in 1886. This view is supported by a glance at Albrecht's Hotel and Summer Garden [Gopsill's Directory, 10](Figure 5.7).

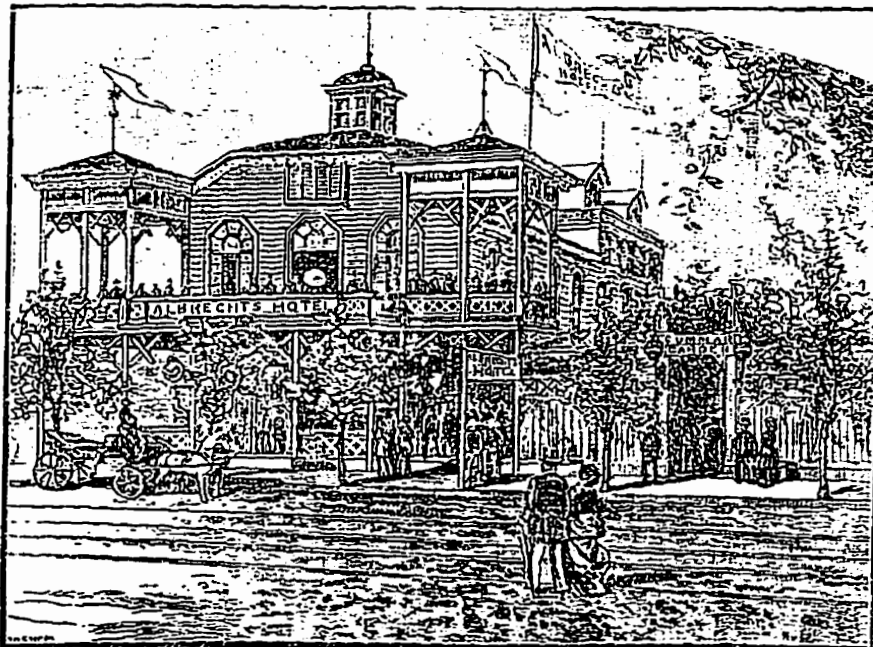


Figure 5.7 Albrecht's Hotel and Summer Garden.
Source: Gopsill's Atlantic City Directory, 1886, 10

Not only was there rebellion against technology, there was great admiration for it. Tourists could experience a command of technology, and of nature for that matter [Funnell, 1975]. During the late Victorian era, technology and new ideas were stretching the limits of the collective American imagination. One suspects that a general awareness of this process might have been at once exhilarating and alarming. For example, a train ride at 60 miles per hour transported a person three times faster than was possible on foot or on horseback. The intellectual integration of new experiences, such as the previously unimagined speed of a steam-powered train, might have been even more important than the physical experience. Atlantic City was an icon of new and amazing ideas reflected in its architecture:

Atlantic City is an eighth wonder of the world. It is overwhelming in its crudeness--barbaric, hideous and magnificent. There is something colossal about its vulgarity [The New Baedeker, 1909, 51; cited in Funnell, 1975, 23].

5.5 TOURISTS

5.5.1 Motivation

Atlantic City's tourists sought to escape from the uncomfortable climate of urban industrialized Philadelphia. Of special interest to young, single visitors was the potential for romantic encounters and recreational opportunities of the boardwalk, as suggested in Heston's Guidebook:

Applegate's Double-Deck Pier is a great resort for boardwalk promenaders in summer-time. Thousands resort to it to enjoy the delightful ocean breezes and find relief from the

heat which sometimes becomes uncomfortable in the built-up portions of the city. Above the upper deck and near the centre of the pier the owner has erected what he calls the Lovers' Pavilion, where spoozy couples are wont to resort to escape the gaze of the madding crowd. It has been estimated that as many as one hundred wedding engagements are consummated in the pavilion every summer season [Heston, 1887, 54] (figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8 Romantic Couple on the Beach in Atlantic City
Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 1860

Railroad advertising created the illusion that Atlantic City was provided opportunities for social class mixing. Atlantic City was optimistically planned for upper middle-class visitors [Stansfield and Richardson, 1979]. In fact, after the Civil War, the tone had changed to one that was really compatible with the working class [Funnell, 1975]. However, the illusion of a thoroughly democratic, classless

urban resort was one that promoters, such as the owners of Applegate Pier, wished to maintain:

Four spacious decks high in the air,
The old, the young, the millionaire,
The worthy poor as well,
Seek health and rest, all find the same,
Shielded from sun as well as rain,
A paradise to dwell [*Atlantic City Daily Union*,
July 5, 1890, 1; from Funnell, 1975, 54].

5.5.2 Patronage, Geographical Source, Length of Stay

The relatively sudden migration of industry and industrial workers from rural to urban locations after the Civil War was important to tourism. Cities provided tourism entrepreneurs with a centralized market. The intolerable summer heat of inland, industrial Philadelphia prompted large numbers of its population to escape to the cool New Jersey coast following the appearance of inexpensive transportation. By 1886, Atlantic City's reputation had grown nationwide. However, by far the greatest source of tourists was still Philadelphia. Atlantic City was called a suburb [Kobbe, 1889] and a satellite of Philadelphia [Funnell, 1975].

After the Philadelphia and Reading Company took control of the P&AC in 1883 [Lane 1939, 401], "new crowds" appeared. Atlantic City witnessed another boom. Working class crowds determined the tone of the resort on weekends, because weekend visitor expenditures made Atlantic City businesses profitable by their volume [Funnell, 1975]. Philadelphian daytrippers, required to work six days out of seven, could not afford a

week-long holiday. However, railroads recognized that the size of the market could more than compensate for their lack of disposable income. Accordingly, the railroads adjusted their fares, offering promotional rates of fifty cents for the round trip fare.

Ironically, by their large numbers the working class subsidized service for the Philadelphia middle classes [Funnell, 1983, 36]. While the working class could afford only an occasional Sunday, the middle-class visit was typically longer. Funnell [1975] calculated the probable affordability of a lower middle-class visit to be a week [Funnell, 1983, 33]. Upper middle-class, by contrast, might have stayed for a month or for the entire season.

5.6 CAPITAL

5.6.1 Large Investors

The source of Atlantic City's capital reflects East Coast industrialization coupled with the taste for bold American speculation that flourished in the wake of the North American western migration and of the California 'Gold Rush Days'. The concept of seaside recreation opportunities for the Philadelphia working-class appealed to Philadelphia capitalists:

In truth, the critical moment in Atlantic City's creation came on a day in 1852 when Richard B. Osborne--a civil engineer from Philadelphia and a man of very practical instincts--led a group of timid local capitalists to the shore of forlorn Absecon Island on the Jersey coast. He wanted them to get the whiff of dollars in the breezes that skirled about

the untrodden sands....(Osborne) had been in on the ground floor of the building of Chicago, the city of nineteenth-century America, and had acquired the arts of town-booming in the West...He also whetted their appetite with a vision of the railroad's "rich reward to its enterprising promoters" [Funnell, 1975, 3; phrase within quotation marks from *Atlantic City and County*, 1899; cited in Funnell, 1975, 3].

Two men directly responsible for Atlantic City's genesis were Jonathan Pitney and Richard Osborne. Dr. Jonathan Pitney, resident physician of Absecon (mainland), New Jersey, long envisaged a resort on Absecon Island for his clientele. Initially unsuccessful in securing New Jersey state authorization for a Philadelphia-to-Absecon railroad, Pitney engaged the help of Richard B. Osborne, a civil engineer from Philadelphia.

Osborne established credibility with Philadelphia investors as a result of his personal involvement in building the thriving mid-western port city of Chicago [Funnell, 1975]. Authorization for the railroad right-of-way, a charter for the Camden and Atlantic Railway, and for the Camden and Atlantic Land Company were eventually established under Osborne's leadership as a developer.

Investors of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad (C&A) purchased all available land on Absecon Island, both individually and through their legal agent, the Camden and Atlantic Land Company. Whereas original parcels were purchased at \$17 per acre in 1854 [Andrew, no date, Atlantic City Free Public Library, Heston Collection], land was selling for \$800-\$1000 a front-foot in 1900 [Funnell, 1983, 5; Stansfield,

1978, 1983]. The C&A was directly responsible not only for initial land sales, but also for the eventual dramatic rise in real estate values [Stansfield, 1983].

Samuel Richards, an original C&A board member, withdrew from that enterprise in 1875 to create the Philadelphia & Atlantic City Railway (P&AC) by 1877. The P&AC became the first serious rival of the C&A. By 1883, it had come under ownership of the Reading Railroad.

Great Britain also invested heavily in American railroad stock companies in 1871 [Lane, 1939; Soane, 1993, 10]. Perhaps British capital helped to sustain the growth of Atlantic City. Further investigation might reveal an interesting link between British and American coastal resorts relating to railroads and the working classes.

Thus, there were several types of investor for Atlantic City. First, important regional investors from New Jersey and Philadelphia provided capital for the railroads, for resort land and for hospitality centres such as large hotels and excursions houses. Second, there was possible financial support from Great Britain. It is known that bank loans for railroad development and heavy investments in railroad stocks existed. However, specific financial support for Atlantic City cannot be verified at this time. Third, as will be seen later, the state government of New Jersey played an important role in investment opportunities in Atlantic City.

5.6.2 Small Investors and Human Resources

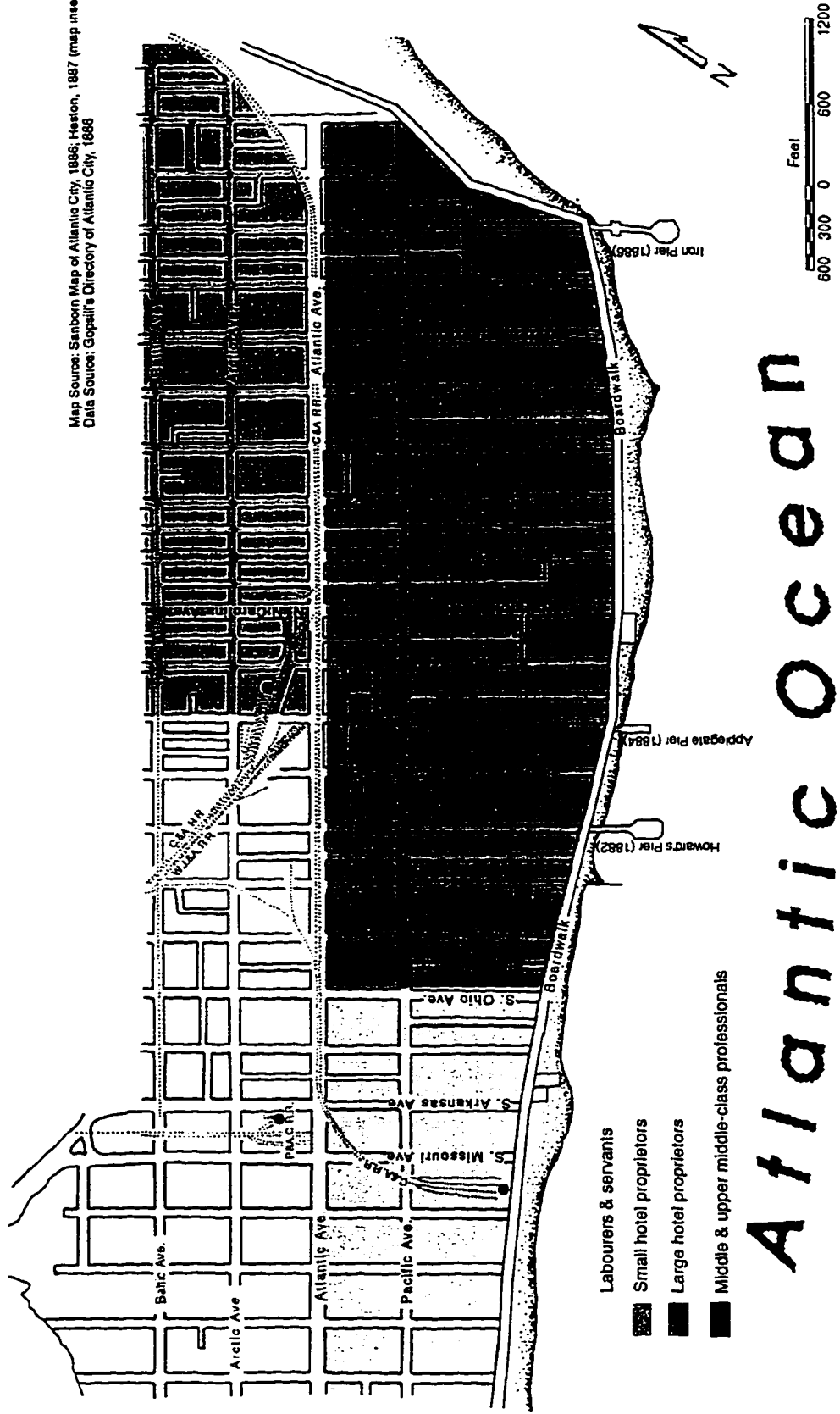
In 1854, all residents who staffed and supported tourism enterprises were new to the developing Absecon Beach. However, by 1886, Atlantic City had become hometown to the aging population of early residents, as well as to the second generation of entrepreneurs.

Gopsill's [1886] city directory indicates the addresses of residents and work address, when it differs from the place of residence. Also noted in parentheses is the home address of Philadelphians who either have businesses in Atlantic City or own summer cottages there. Careful analysis of Gopsill's directory yielded interesting information regarding the relationships between work and residence locations in Atlantic City. Most residences (57%) were located on the landward side of Atlantic Avenue. The corridor of Atlantic Avenue accommodated 20% of the permanent population while all of the blocks south of Atlantic Avenue housed barely 18% and the boardwalk had 4%. However, residential density on Atlantic Avenue surpassed all other areas of Atlantic City by a multiple of five (map 5.8, drawn from Appendix C, following page).

Resident entries in *Gopsill's Directory* sometimes indicated place of employment. A review of this information revealed that more than half of the Atlantic Avenue residents lived and worked at the same address. No other area of the resort contained as many dwelling-workplace spaces. Residents

Atlantic City - Small Investors & Human Resources, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopall's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



MAP 5.8 Permanent Resident Land Use

who did not live at their workplace address nevertheless lived close by. Many lived within a block of the workplace, and the majority lived within four blocks.

Philadelphia residents who worked and lived in Atlantic City during summer months comprised 6% of the total population in 1886. A survey of *Gopsill's Directory, 1886*, revealed that the majority of Philadelphia business owners were located west of South Tennessee Avenue between Atlantic Avenue and the ocean (i.e., western Atlantic Avenue, the 'small hotel' node and the western end of the boardwalk).

Wealthy Philadelphia cottagers (i.e., Philadelphians who owned or leased residential property in Atlantic City) were equally divided north and south of Atlantic Avenue. Cottages were located in the upwardly aspiring northeast residential area and in the large hotel zone. There were no cottagers in the northwest area.

The northern half of Atlantic City contained nearly uniform residential density. However, if a line were drawn on North South Carolina Avenue, the newly formed northwest quadrant would house servants, labourers, waiters, wheelwrights, drivers, porters and other low-wage workers.

Low-wage workers also lived in the northeast area. However, the northeast was less homogeneous from a socio-economic perspective. A semi-professional residential area, the northeast area included self-employed individuals such as engineers, engravers, grocers, oystermen, printers,

upholsterers, roofers and real estate agents.

Women entrepreneurs owned and managed small hotels and boarding houses, restaurants, and retail stores. At the lower end of the economic scale, they worked as cooks and dressmakers. Since information regarding women entrepreneurs in Gopsill's city directory was not abundant, additional research will be needed to document their role in the resort.

Most residences in Atlantic City extended from Atlantic Avenue landward. On Atlantic Avenue, self-employed (professional and skilled) residents often lived at their work location. More servants lived in the northwest area than anywhere else. No cottagers or summer residents from Philadelphia lived there. Cottagers bought property closer to the ocean than to Atlantic Avenue. Some cottagers also lived in the semi-professional residential area of the northeast. Many residential entries in *Gopsill's Directory* did not indicate place of employment, but a casual survey suggests that most residents lived within four blocks of employment location. Further, the location of permanent resident dwelling occurred in the northern half of the resort, conforming with Barrett's [1958] classic pattern (described in chapter two).

5.6.3 Role of Government

The New Jersey state government fostered the transportation monopoly called the Joint Companies, which was formed by John Stevens and his sons. A conglomerate of several transportation

systems, the Stevens' Joint Companies included among its assets a powerful railroad lobby representing the Camden and Amboy Railroad. The influence of the Stevens family was "so powerful that throughout the middle of the nineteenth century it dominated the political life of New Jersey, which became known as "the state of the Camden and Amboy" [Lane, 1939, 323]. The catchment area of the Camden and Amboy Railroad included the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New York, as well as New Jersey. Eventually, the Camden and Amboy became the West Jersey Railroad and, by 1883, the giant Pennsylvania Railroad [Lane, 1939].

While the role of the Joint Companies in New Jersey transportation decisions was not legislated, it was, nevertheless, widely accepted as fact. The C&A charter application was initially approved only because the Joint Companies dismissed the venture as harmless [Hall, 1900; cited in Lane, 1939]. When Atlantic City proved clearly successful [Cook and Coxey, 1980], the Joint Companies corrected their underestimation of the resort's potential by introducing service of the West Jersey & Atlantic Railroad (WJ&A) in 1880 [Cook and Coxey, 1980, 13].

There is evidence that local city government played a role in railroad politics even before the Joint Companies arrived in Atlantic City. When an intense struggle ensued between the C&A and the newly formed P&AC (1877), the local government, predictably, supported the C&A. Despite opposition

from the C&A and a supportive Atlantic City government, the P&AC prevailed until 1883, when it succumbed to a takeover by the giant independent Reading Railroad.

Thus, Atlantic City had two competing railroad companies by 1886. The Pennsylvania (controlling the C&A) was supported by the New Jersey state government. The giant Reading Railroad, by contrast, was independent.

5.7 Conclusions

An icon of early mass tourism, Atlantic City was reached by an inexpensive and rapid means of access, the railroad. Dependent upon one major transportation technology and one industry, Atlantic City left itself vulnerable to social and technological change.

One important focal point of activity was the boardwalk, whose social tone was lower middle-class and working class [Funnell, 1975]. Construction on both sides of the boardwalk and extensive roofed-over sections imply that sea views and appreciation of nature were less important to boardwalk patrons than the social scene--people watching, potential romances and opportunities for social commingling. Clearly the boardwalk was a different 'place' than the adjacent beach.

The bathing experience in Atlantic City was boisterous. In 1886, bathers amused themselves by striking poses for photographs, riding donkeys and playing in the surf. Fashionable electric lighting on Atlantic Avenue proved

to be a tourist attraction on summer evenings. In theory the CBD area of a resort town should have been quiet after dark [Stansfield, 1971]. However, Atlantic Avenue--main street of commerce and administration--drew crowds at night. This was due to the power of novelty and to curiosity about the technology of electricity.

Rail termini and their excursion houses formed the nuclei for clusterings of boardinghouses, small hotels and administrative services. Additionally, the railroad, by original design, connected tourists directly to the boardwalk and to the beach. Such strategy and expedience were absent at elite resorts in earlier times.

Unlike resorts that evolve to tourism from other economic bases, Atlantic City's land use was planned. To some extent, even the morphology of land uses was imposed. It was known by the developers (i.e. the Camden and Atlantic Railway and Land Company) that administrative services would cluster near the main rail terminal. Planned rail spurs virtually pointed the way to the large hotels, on one hand, and to the beach, on the other. The second railroad created a dominant low-class tourist market and clusters of small hotels. The railroad industry built the boardwalk and developed the mix of businesses that would appeal to the working class. Thus, in contrast to Cape Island, whose land uses were relatively undifferentiated, land use in Atlantic City was distinct, because it was planned to be that way. As an illustration of

Atlantic City's heyday, the following model depicts land use morphology in 1886 (figure 5.9).

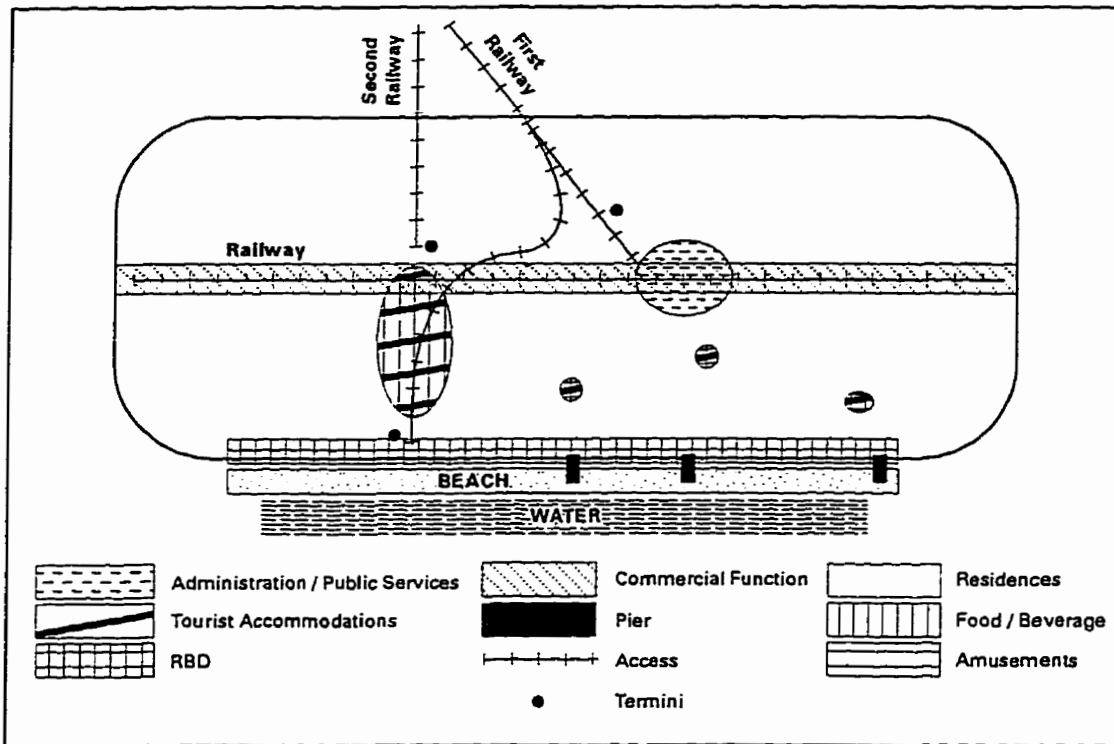


Figure 5.9 Schematic Diagram of Atlantic City's Heyday in the Automobile Era

CHAPTER 6. MYRTLE BEACH CASE STUDY, 1975

6.1 Context

Myrtle Beach is situated on the northern coast of South Carolina in the heart of a sixty mile-long crescent beach playground known as the Grand Strand. Seven satellite resort towns and attractions extend north and south from Myrtle Beach on the Grand Strand. Although the resort towns employ separate city governments, they are unified as a tourism community under the Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council. For this reason, activities and attractions of the entire Grand Strand are publicized by the Myrtle Beach Area Chamber of Commerce as *Myrtle Beach*. This marketing and planning strategy reflects the touristic dominance of Myrtle Beach and its central location to other places on the Grand Strand corridor.

The Grand Strand is a confined area. Locally, it has been called the Independent Republic, as Franklin Burroughs has noted:

...The county had picked up the nickname of "the Independent Republic" somewhere along the line, but its independence seems to have been a good deal like the chastity that so many of us endured all through high school--a virtue not much tested by opportunity [Burroughs, 1992, 9].

Two small natural ocean ports defined its northern and southern borders in 1975: Little River at the North Carolina border, and Georgetown, historic port for indigo, rice, turpentine and timber at the southern end of the Grand Strand.

At the present time, the Grand Strand's northern border extends into North Carolina. The Atlantic Ocean, with its recreational potential, establishes the eastern border. The Intracoastal Waterway separates the Grand Strand from the remainder of South Carolina and functions as a transportation route for recreational boating. It merges with a section of the Waccamaw River south of Myrtle Beach.

Myrtle Beach is not a barrier island. Landward erosion caused most of the barrier islands of the Grand Strand to merge with the mainland long ago. West of the Intracoastal Waterway, the landscape is characterized by a dense network of tidal creeks, inlets, rivers, bays and thickets that make road and bridge construction a complex and expensive enterprise:

"Impenetrable bays" and the swamps of the Waccamaw River, which runs roughly parallel to the coast and about ten miles inland, formed a ... line of defense. In the deep geological past, the coastal strip had been a barrier island and the Waccamaw had been the sound that sundered it from the mainland; in the nineteenth century, although no longer an island, the coast remained effectively insulated from the rest of the country [Burroughs, 1992, 6].

Interstate 95 currently provides a fast north-south automobile corridor beyond the marshland. However, surface access to the Grand Strand through marshes and small towns has always been relatively slow. From late summer through October, high winds of occasional hurricane strength are not exceptional on the coast of South Carolina [Bedford, 1989]. In part because of this, Myrtle Beach land was considered worthless in the nineteenth century:

Prior to the 1800s the (Myrtle Beach) area that we now

know as the ocean front of the Grand Strand was considered a wasteland, uninhabited and worthless. It was said by an appraiser as late as 1911 that it was considered good land, except for the beach [Cooke et al., 1988, 1].

Local efforts at farming failed before 1900. Had farming been successful, however, marketing was not feasible. Overland routes were blocked by marshland, and access to the ports at Little River and Georgetown was too slow to be useful for the shipping of produce.

Although the intermittently violent weather and the marshy landscape rendered agriculture impractical in Myrtle Beach, the constant Gulf Stream influence produced a climate that permitted outdoor recreation during much of the year. Mild climate and opportunities for water recreation sustained Myrtle Beach's steady regional growth from 1900 until 1954, when it was struck by Hurricane Hazel. Subsequent well-publicized efforts at rebuilding drew widespread attention. Even during the mid-1970s' fuel crisis and recession, North Americans found ways to preserve the family vacation. The economic advantage of a domestic vacation, the option of inexpensive campgrounds accommodations and of a shortened visit boosted Myrtle Beach's appeal during the 1970s. Myrtle Beach's popularity grew as opportunities for recreation were added. The Grand Strand, led by Myrtle Beach, continues to pursue tourism development successfully in the 1990s. Myrtle Beach's heyday in 1975 is suggested by a tourism-related chronology (Appendix A) and is further supported in the following section.

6.2 Determination of Heyday

Identification of the beginning of consolidation in Myrtle Beach was elusive. Data on tourist arrivals has been gathered for only twenty years [Ashby Ward, 1993, Myrtle Beach Area Chamber of Commerce, personal communication] and did not offer sufficient information for a growth pattern. Neither did population census function well to support Myrtle Beach's growth. The installation of the Myrtle Beach Air Force Base skewed population data as artificially high between 1942 and 1993, when it closed. Thus, tourist arrivals and the population census were discounted as data sources for tourism growth.

Myrtle Beach's heyday was supported by cumulative tourist expenditures and the derived rate-of-growth of tourist expenditures (figures 6.1 and 6.2). A special edition of Myrtle Beach's local newspaper, the *Sun-News* [Fretwell, 1985], provided longitudinal data from the Travel Data Center in Washington, D.C. These data represented the growth in tourism expenditures in Myrtle Beach from 1962 to 1984. A query to the Travel Data Center in Washington, D.C. provided 1990 data, updating information from 1984.

Quantitative results confirm that the heyday of Myrtle Beach occurred during the mid-1970s. Tourist spending in Myrtle Beach increased 255% between 1970-1975 alone-- in the midst of a serious national recession and a dramatic increase

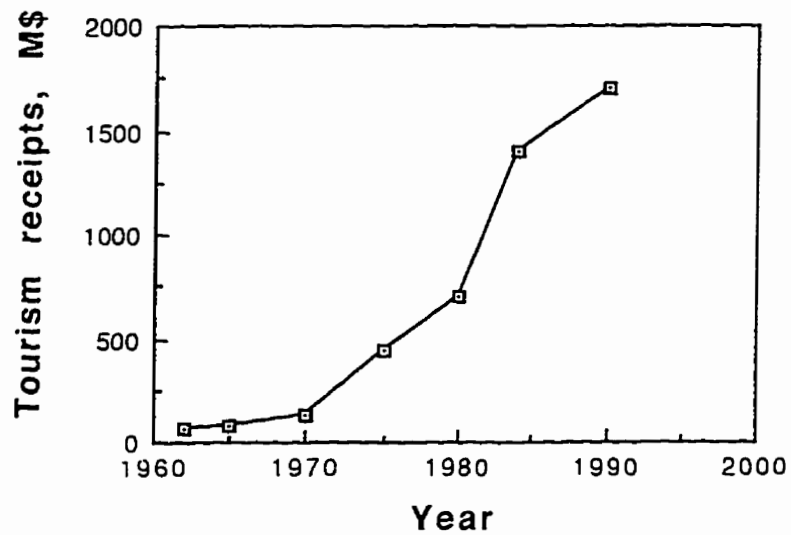


Figure 6.1 Cumulative Growth of Tourism Receipts in Myrtle Beach

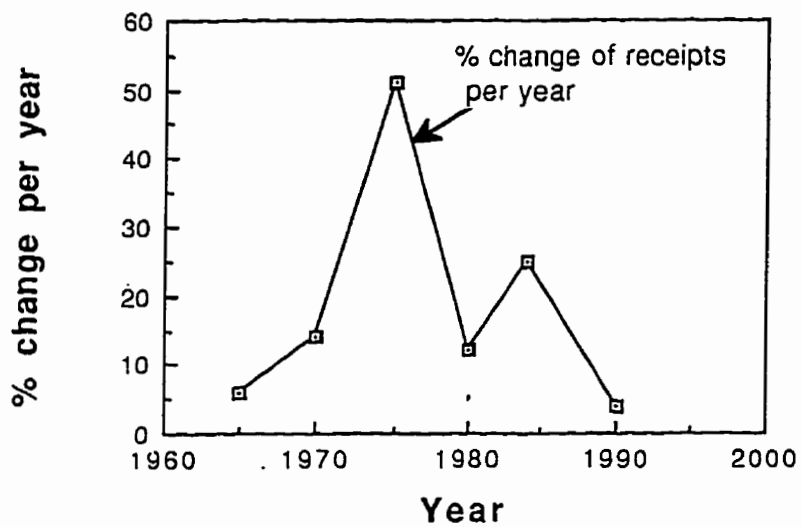


Figure 6.2 Rate of Growth of Tourism Receipts in Myrtle Beach

in gasoline prices. Subsequent spending has increased at a slower rate. At no other time has tourism's rate of growth approached the increase experienced between 1970 and 1975.

6.3 TRANSPORTATION

6.3.1 Transportation Corridors and Termini

Myrtle Beach is an artifact of the automobile. The principal means of access and of internal mobility has been the car. The Kings Highway (U.S. Route 17), main street of Myrtle Beach, is reminiscent of colonial times. It contained the majority of retail and services businesses and public administration offices of Myrtle Beach and connected all of the resort communities and attractions of the Grand Strand. It is not, however, an interstate highway, funded and maintained by federal funds. The burden of maintenance falls on the state of South Carolina. The second major highway intersecting Myrtle Beach (and the Grand Strand), from west to east, is U.S. 501, also funded and maintained by South Carolina.

The Myrtle Beach Jetport, located in the air force base, opened in 1975. However, it was not a significant means of access in the mid-1970s. Thus, highway access (17 and 501) was all important.

Termini for highway vehicles are parking spaces. Every structure that was accessible from a highway or road required parking spaces. The larger the expected number of patrons, the greater was the area requirement for parking. A photograph of

the Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park illustrates this (figure 6.3).

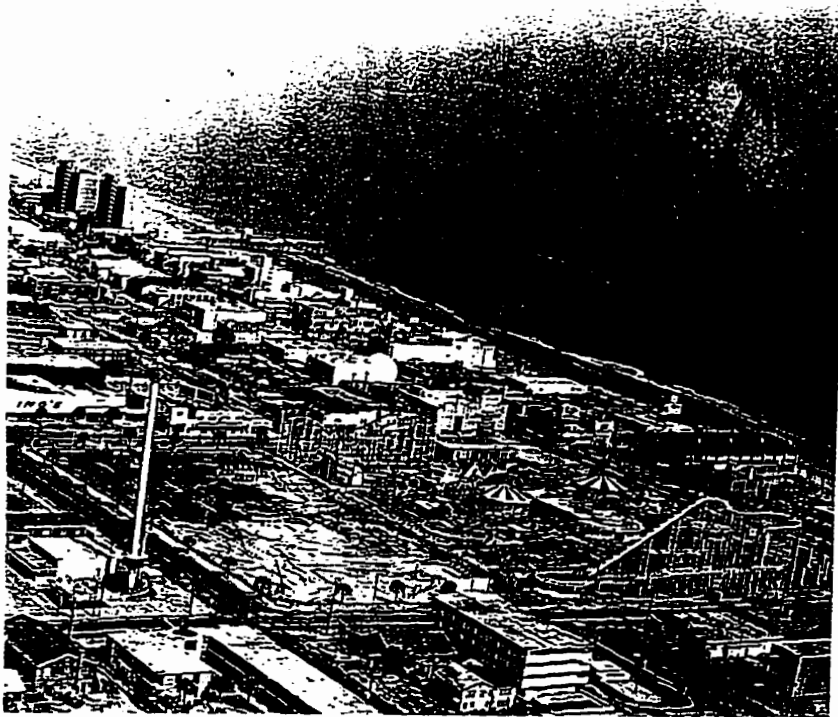


Figure 6.3 Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park. Photograph Courtesy of *The Sun News Library*.

It is evident that parking in 1975 required at least as much space as the entire amusement park area. Space was cleared by razing many early structures by 1975 [LBC&W et al., 1979], several of which were rather graceful and historically significant.

Thus, at major attractions, large areas were reserved for parking. However, since the only means of access was by automobile via highways, parking was required at every place where a stop was possible, that is to say, at every built

structure and at every natural attraction (map 6.2, appendix C).

6.3.2 Internal Mobility

Internal mobility involved the use of automobiles for the most part, although pedestrian mobility occurred within the major entertainment nodes, such as the Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park. Two main corridors within the resort were the King's Highway (main street) and Ocean Boulevard. Because of distances between services and attractions, automobiles were the main means of transportation, within resorts as well as between them. Because of the magnitude of the automobile culture, cars were a "mobile extension of one's home" [Pearce, 1990]. This meant that wherever one traveled by automobile, one could remain 'at home' culturally. There was, thus, less engagement in the exploration of new places than might have occurred if one traveled by stagecoach, by rail [Cohen, 1979] or by canoe, as Franklin Burroughs did in 1985 to retrace the landscape of his youth:

When you travel by river, you discover something about roads. When you drive, the road defines the landscape, which becomes only the soiled and slovenly corridor through which you move, a measurement of the time you have passed and the time that lies ahead of you. But rivers both define and express a landscape, and they do it slowly, organically, and profoundly, the way a history defines and expresses a culture [Burroughs, 1992, 76].

Additionally, because of automotive amenities such as air conditioning, extreme weather conditions and even the southern pace of life could be minimized if tourists wished it.

Pedestrian mobility occurred within the tourist amusement nodes along Ocean Boulevard. However, a great deal of local mobility took place by automobile, both between attractions on the Grand Strand and within Myrtle Beach. Automobile travel afforded visitors potential isolation from host cultures and environmental discomfort.

While visitors could voluntarily minimize climatic and cultural discomfort, the entrepreneurs of the Grand Strand, as providers of hospitality, adapted to the visitors. If Myrtle Beach residents became more tolerant and cosmopolitan as a result of highway connections with tourists, one questions whether the inland population of South Carolina perceived the Grand Strand as less *Southern*.

6.4 THE RESORT

6.4.1 Tourist Accommodations

Visitor accommodations in 1975 consisted mainly of motels and campgrounds. There were few hotels by comparison with motels (1:50). A 1975 photograph shows Myrtle Beach's shoreline (figure 6.4).

A motel corridor, known as "Hotel Row," bordered the beach from 36th Avenue South to 31st Avenue North. The width of the strip varied between one and two blocks. Some motels were mixed in among commercial and administrative functions on the King's Highway.

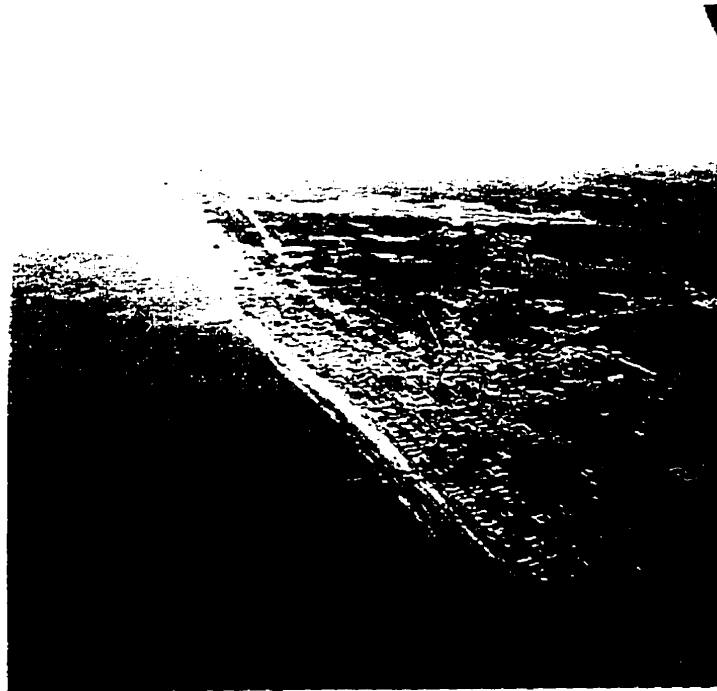


Figure 6.4 Myrtle Beach Shoreline, 1975. © Jack Thompson reproduced by permission.

Thirteen campgrounds lined the Grand Strand as early as 1973 [Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council, 1973]. Several camps offered at least 1,000 sites. A 1965 newspaper article describes Myrtle Beach and the Grand Strand as "the camping capital of the world" [*Sun-News*, '65 *Historical Progress Edition*; Bass, 1968]. A considerable range of amenities and attractions compared favourably with the more expensive motels and motor inns. This accommodation sector peaked during the 1970s and remains extremely strong in 1997.

Thus, an oceanside motel corridor stretched sixty blocks within Myrtle Beach city limits. Actual hotels were few. Some accommodations listed as hotels were actually motor inns.

Campgrounds and small tourist villages continued the corridor northward and southward along the Grand Strand (map 6.3, appendix C).

6.4.2 Food and Beverage Services

Two parallel food-and-beverage corridors were located in Myrtle Beach. Numerous fast food restaurants occupied the King's Highway (U.S. 17) in Myrtle Beach and extended into satellite towns north and south. More expensive restaurants, by contrast, occupied Ocean Boulevard within Myrtle Beach city limits adjacent to the beach. These restaurants offered ocean views, attractive atmosphere, good service and a relaxed pace [AAA TourGuide, 1975-76].

The exception to restaurants on Ocean Avenue was the hamburger and pizza 'joints' near Myrtle Beach Pavilion, such as the famous 'Peaches Corner' and Sloppy Joe's (figures 6.5, 6.6).

Thus, the two food-and-beverage corridors in Myrtle Beach (King's Highway and Ocean Boulevard) exhibited contrasting characteristics. The King's Highway restaurants offered fast food, while Ocean Boulevard establishments offered varied menus, good service and dining rooms with pleasing ambience and ocean views. Apart from the food and beverage corridors, there existed a node of fast food and snacks adjacent to Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park.



Figure 6.5 Peaches Corner, 1994. Source of Photograph: Author



Figure 6.6 Sloppy Joe's. © Jack Thompson, reproduced by permission

6.4.3 Tourist Amusements

By the mid-1970s, Myrtle Beach had developed a variety of entertainment for a widely segmented middle-class market. From 1900 to the 1970s, Myrtle Beach tourists could avail themselves of a selection of attractions on the Grand Strand: fishing, remarkably attractive beaches, state parklands, historic towns and plantations, a renowned sculpture garden, golf, mechanical amusements, outlet shopping, people watching and contemporary music. However, Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park have always been the busiest tourist venues. A three-block node (North 8th-North 11th Avenues) adjacent to the beach on Ocean Boulevard embraced an entertainment hub catering to youth and young adults during the 1970s. Important activities around the amusement nodes included 'cruising' in automobiles, people watching, participating in mechanical rides and games, consuming fast-food snacks and attending live concerts by a local group named 'Alabama', which eventually gained nationwide attention.

By contrast, golf was favoured by the older generation of tourists. Golf was introduced in 1929 amid great publicity when Myrtle Beach hosted the Grand Strand's first golf championship at Pine Lakes Country Club (figure 6.7). However, golf did not really flourish until the 1960s, when it was packaged with motel accommodations. During Myrtle Beach's heyday, the resort boasted 16-20 golf courses (An *Environmental, Historical and Recreational Atlas of The*

Waccamaw Region, 1973) and offered golf as an amenity at area country clubs. Golf courses were dispersed throughout the Grand Strand.



Figure 6.7 Pine Lakes Country Club. Source: Author.

Recreational shopping of three types traced patterns on the Myrtle Beach landscape. First, the classic RBD categories including novelty-and-gift shopping, fast food, arcades and mechanical amusements, lined the three-block strip at the Myrtle Beach Pavilion and Amusement Park (8th Avenue North-11th Avenue North on Ocean Boulevard).

Several secondary amusement park nodes were dispersed

within Myrtle Beach: notably Fun Fair Pavilion and Grand Strand Amusement Park (South Third Avenue and Ocean), and Wacky Golf (South 29th Avenue and Kings Highway). As well, numerous similar examples dotted northern Grand Strand resort towns: Windy Hill Pavilion, Sun Land Amusement Park and Ocean Drive Pavilion--all north of Myrtle Beach.

The second type of amusement corridor included a mixture of tourist shopping, general retail stores, cocktail lounges and accommodations. This corridor extended from South 17th Avenue to North 27th Avenues on the King's Highway ('main street') and satisfied the shopping requirements and social activities of a wide spectrum of tourists.

The third amusement corridor is composed of discount 'outlet' shopping. A corridor for outlet shopping was created by the pottery firm, Waccamaw Clay Products, from Columbia, South Carolina. The pottery store eventually diversified and multiplied, during the 1970s, into a discount shopping mall corridor on U.S. route 501, one of two major access routes to Myrtle Beach.

Thus, tourist amusements included nodes and corridors of the Grand Strand. Mechanical amusement and entertainment RBD nodes were dispersed mostly along Ocean Boulevard (back to the ocean) and less often along the King's Highway within Myrtle Beach. A great deal of tourist souvenir-and-novelty shopping activity occurred on the short Ocean Boulevard RBD, on the King's Highway corridor in the midst of general retail stores,

and also on the outlet mall corridor (Highway 501). Golf and interesting historical-cultural nodes also dotted the King's Highway corridor. Fishing, the original attraction of Myrtle Beach tourism, continued to be enthusiastically pursued. Two piers, dedicated to fishing, were located near Fourteenth Avenue North and at Second Avenue North. Above all, Myrtle Beach sought to capture the middle-class family market. Map 6.5 from Appendix C illustrates Myrtle Beach's amusement land use during heyday.

6.4.4 Public Space

Huntington Beach State Park and Myrtle Beach State Park, south of Myrtle Beach, provided two venues of public space. On these natural landscapes, tourists found opportunities for guided tours, hiking, camping, fishing and a broad range of outdoor activities.

Tourists had been drawn to the beach corridor at Myrtle Beach since the inception of the resort. Water tourism in the mid-1970s included swimming, sunbathing and fishing. The resort provided two fishing piers in the 1970s. Additionally, there were numerous boat launches the length of the Grand Strand. However, there was no yacht marina.

Two types of public space of very different character emerged in Myrtle Beach. Amusement nodes were characterized by social display while the beach corridor, state parkland and fishing piers were characterized by a connectedness with

nature. While the first, directed toward other people, is exemplified by the pedestrian and 'cruising' area surrounding the main pavilion and amusement park. The second was directed toward the connection between the natural landscape and the self. Examples include the beach and fishing piers within Myrtle Beach. Two state parks south of Myrtle Beach provide other examples. They both spanned territory between the main north-south highway, Route 17, and the beach. The sixty-mile beach corridor of the Grand Strand was a cohesive tourism industry that offered activities for many tourist types, for tourists of any age, and specifically for the broad range of people that comprised the American middle class.

6.4.5 Commercial Functions

Retail sales and service businesses were located on two corridors in Myrtle Beach in the mid-70s. The major corridor paralleled the beach, extending from South 17th Avenue to North 27th Avenue on King's Highway [Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map, 1978]. The second corridor occupied the 501 access highway from the intersection of Cedar Street west to the intersection of Seaboard Street. Thus commercial functions followed main thoroughfares, the most important one being the 'main street' corridor on Route 17 (King's Highway).

6.4.6 Administration/Social Services

Most city administration and services occupied a node at the

intersection of two intersecting highways: the King's Highway/Route 17 and U.S. 501. Beginning at North 7th Avenue and King's Highway, the central administrative node advanced west across Main Street and Broadway; continued north, crossing the terminus of railroad tracks; east, to North 13th Avenue; returning south to North 7th Avenue on King's Highway. Thus, the urban administration and services node of Myrtle Beach described a compact space during its heyday.

6.4.7 Architectural Style

During the economic recession of the mid-1970s, many of the middle-class preserved annual holidays. However, extreme price sensitivity generated intense competition among Myrtle Beach entrepreneurs. In view of the highly developed automobile culture in the United States, signs were required to be large enough for easy comprehension from a moving automobile [Venturi et al., 1972]. These factors combined to produce a confusing clutter of signs in Myrtle Beach during the mid-1970s (figure 6.8). The signage, being more important than building presentation, many business structures were 'little boxes', a term coined by Venturi [1972]. Thus, commercial architecture became little more than big, easily readable signs (from moving automobiles) with attached 'little boxes'--termed appropriately 'big sign little box'. More expensive forms of this phenomenon occurred at Las Vegas, Nevada, the gambling mecca. This functional architecture is a marker of

the modern era.

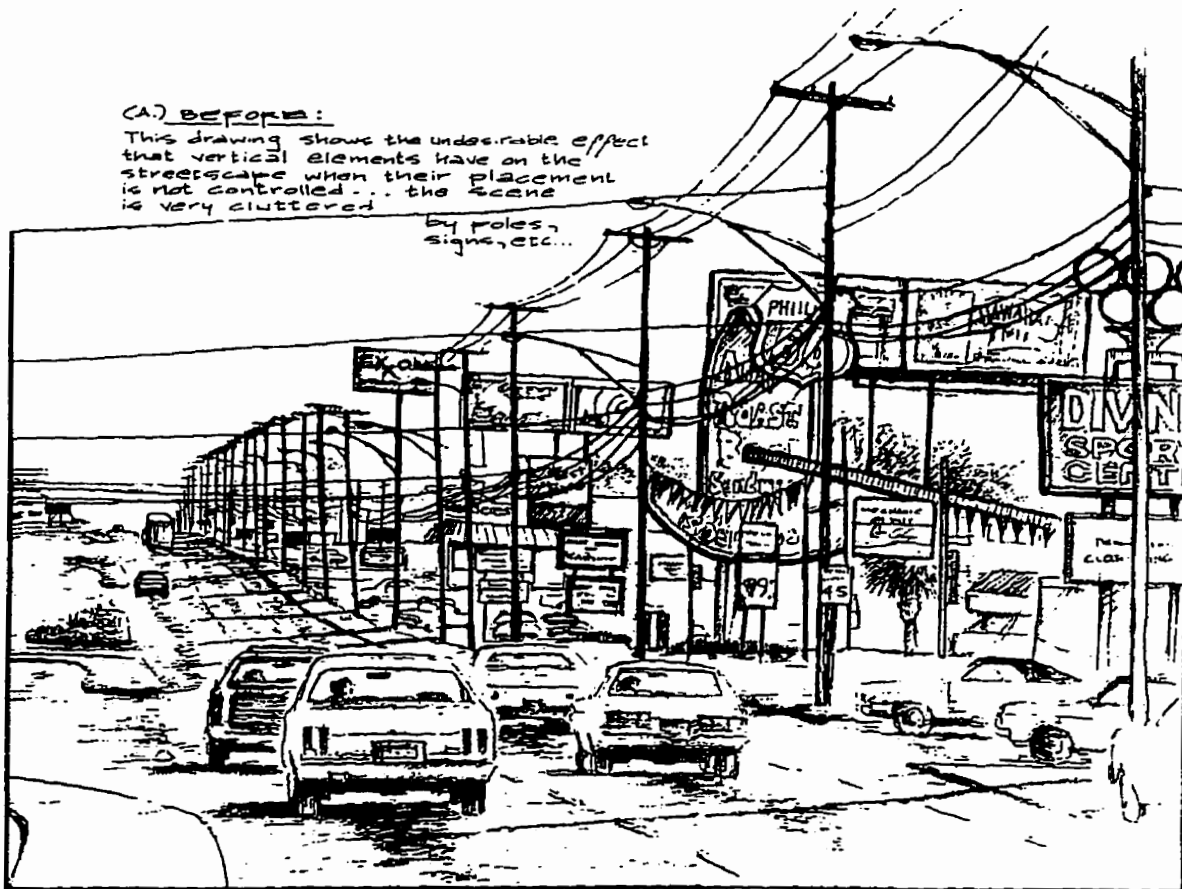


Figure 6.8 Cluttered Signage in Myrtle Beach, 1978.
Source: Courtesy of the City of Myrtle Beach.

Additionally, the 1970s produced a type of block construction that the motel chains found particularly attractive (figure 6.9). Easy to build but impersonal, many of these modern 'tall box' buildings sprang up on Myrtle Beach's landscape, beginning with The Yachtsman in 1971.

6.5 TOURISTS

6.5.1 Motivation

Visitors to Myrtle Beach wanted a change of scenery, relief from their everyday routine without relinquishing comfort. There existed several additional requirements.

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Figure 6.9 Modern Block Architecture in Myrtle Beach in the 1970s. Source: AAA Tourbook 1975-76. © AAA reproduced by permission.

A perusal of the 1976-1976 AAA *TourBook* indicates that visitors wanted a variety of water recreation. Large motor inns adjacent to the beach provided swimming pools for their guests. Often one of the pools was heated and built inside glassed-in rooms so that one could swim comfortably,

independent of the season or of the weather. Thus, among the requirements for a successful holiday, opportunities for indoor swimming was important. Additionally, many of the motor inns and motels offered 'kitchenettes' for self-catering as well as color television.

Myrtle Beach's tourists were a paradox. While they wished to escape from the routine of home, they demanded a home-like environment in their accommodations. The amusement nodes provided technologically sophisticated rides and games that offered fantasy and escape and faced away from the ocean; however, Myrtle Beach was primarily popular because of the beach, the surf and water activities. Another contradiction was discount shopping in the midst of lavish spending.

6.5.2 Patronage, Geographical Source, Length of Stay

Myrtle Beach was a middle-class resort. Most Myrtle Beach tourists were native to South Carolina or to neighboring states, and preferred a travel time of one day or less [LBC&W et al., 1971]. Time-distance for tourists residing at relatively distant locations was shortened by implementation of the interstate highway system that began during the 1960s.

Out-of-state tourists arrived from neighboring states of North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, and Tennessee [LBC&W et al., 1971]. However, increasingly during the 1970s, tourists came from the American midwest, especially Ohio; the northeast, predominantly New York and

Pennsylvania; and from eastern Canada [LBC&W et al., 1971; Myrtle Beach Tourist Profiles, 1987-1988]. The prevalence of holidays that lasted one week or more is surmised from room rates listed in the *AAA TourBook: Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, 1975-1976*.

6.6 CAPITAL AND GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

6.6.1 Large Investors

Original investors for Myrtle Beach date from the 1890s, and resided thirty miles inland from the ocean at Conwayborough (now Conway, the seat of government for Horry County). The Burroughs and Collins Company shipped timber and naval stores to the American northeast and to the Caribbean. The train that carried timber between Myrtle Beach and Conway also accepted passengers wishing an escape from the fierce heat, the humidity and the danger of malaria during summer months. Franklin Burroughs described the train from Conway built by his great grandfather:

It is a small logging engine, runs on a wooden tramway, has only open flatcars--women passengers sit in chairs and carry parasols, to ward off sun, soot, and cinders--and stops to take on firewood every ten miles [Burroughs, 1992, 125].

By 1900, as the timber business waned [Bedford, 1989], the Burroughs and Collins Company sensed the financial potential of a seaside resort at the railway terminus, and the company gradually purchased coastal land throughout the Grand Strand. By 1901, new railroad cars accommodated both freight and passengers. The passengers were delivered to a fledgling

resort, comprising the Seaside Inn, a pavilion and a bath house:

(A road from Conway to a place called Cane Patch on the ocean), no more than a set of wagon tracks through the sand, was superseded, in the first decade of this century, by the railroad, which came into Conway from the west, and then was extended eastward to the coast. Farsighted men, sensing commercial possibilities and knowing they would never be realized in a place called either Cane Patch or Deep Head, re-named this stretch of barren dunes, shrubby thickets, and swashes Myrtle Beach, and a tiny resort village began there--a few board-and-batten houses perched along the dunes [Burroughs, 1992, 95].

Outside investors slowly recognized Myrtle Beach's appeal. In 1911, Simeon Chapin, a New Yorker, joined Burroughs and Collins to form a partnership named Myrtle Beach Farms. Myrtle Beach Farms, designed to grow produce supplies for the timber camps, soon shifted its main focus to real estate sales [Bedford, 1989].

By 1926, Myrtle Beach attracted the attention of investors from the inland town of Greenville, South Carolina. John Woodside and his brother planned Arcady, a series of resort construction projects in Myrtle Beach. While Arcady was described as a place of "peace and contentment in undisturbed natural surroundings" [Arcady, 1929, 5], it was, in fact, a luxurious, carefully planned cottage community for wealthy New Yorkers. This is suggested by the title of the marketing document: *Arcady: a national playground where the leaders of contemporary life may sustain their capacity for work by bringing to its utmost the art of rest and recreation:*

Arcady is far away from anything of a commercial nature. No part of its entire area will be available for purchase--no

lots, no plots and no sections will be offered for sale. It will be owned in its entirety by its membership group (of families) [Arcady, 1929, 17].

The 65,000 acres purchased by the Woodside brothers was financed directly by Myrtle Beach Farms. The Woodsides defaulted in their payments after the stock market crash in 1929. Their land and partially completed projects then reverted to Myrtle Beach Farms. The single remaining vestige of their effort is the gracious Pine Lakes Country Club, formerly the Ocean Forest Country Club. Thus, development of the Grand Strand has remained principally with local investors.

6.6.2 Small Investors and Human Resources

The owners of small businesses and employee-residents lived in areas that were distinct from the recreational attractions of Myrtle Beach. There existed a few pockets of low density residences landward of the tourist area, especially bordering Broadway and its extension, the Old Conway Highway [Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map, 1978]. However, most low-density residential space extended along a coastal corridor, north of Myrtle Beach. This corridor began at 29th Avenue North and ended just past the split of Ocean Boulevard.

High-density housing, by contrast, was dispersed throughout Myrtle Beach in 1978 and probably provided housing for some of Myrtle Beach's employees. By the 1980s, more than half of Myrtle Beach's working force lived inland:

Small farms are dying out (in Horry County); agribusiness has arrived. This had not involved depopulation, however, because the countryside is for the first time being inhabited by large numbers of people who do not farm, but who live there because the towns and beaches are overflowing. Between 1980 and 1986, Horry's permanent population increased by 26 percent... [Burroughs, 1992, 9].

Thus, while a pattern of single-family homes created a corridor at the north end of the resort, high-density housing was dispersed throughout the urban area. Furthermore, it is probable that during the late 1970s, many residents moved to communities landward of Myrtle Beach [LBC&W et al., 1979, 3-4](Appendix C).

6.6.3 Role of Government

The Intracoastal Waterway, completed in 1936, was a federal project that was envisioned by George Washington in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Completion of the waterway was more important as a symbol of Myrtle Beach's division from the rest of South Carolina than as a transportation route for the state's agricultural economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It formed a barrier between the beach area and the mainland, intensifying the differences of economic and political perspectives between the two population groups:

The Waterway divided Horry County between the old and the new. East of the Waterway change would be rapid, eagerly rushing toward urban life. West of the Waterway the old ways lingered. Old families, old politics, old traditions continued, releasing their hold only slowly [Bedford, 1989, 140].

From 1942 to 1993, the U.S. government took up residence

in Myrtle Beach. The Myrtle Beach Air Force Base was built shortly after the United States entered World War II and encompassed 4,000 acres within the incorporated city. The air force base increased the urban population, thereby contributing to the local economy. However a potential influence on tourism was not evident until 1975, when Piedmont Airlines began regularly scheduled service to the Myrtle Beach Jetport, located on the air force base.

What was most conspicuous concerning state and federal governments, however, was the lack of support for highway construction. Although Myrtle Beach state taxes formed a significant percentage of South Carolina's total tax revenues, requests for highway support went largely unacknowledged during heyday.

Until 1954, Myrtle Beach was one of the few seaside resorts of the southern Atlantic coast and drew regional visitors. After 1954, rebuilding resulted in an expanded market that intensified political, economic and social tension between the mainland and the Grand Strand. The subsequent unification of the Grand Strand communities under the Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council indicated a cohesion among Grand Strand communities that was driven by a need for coordination.

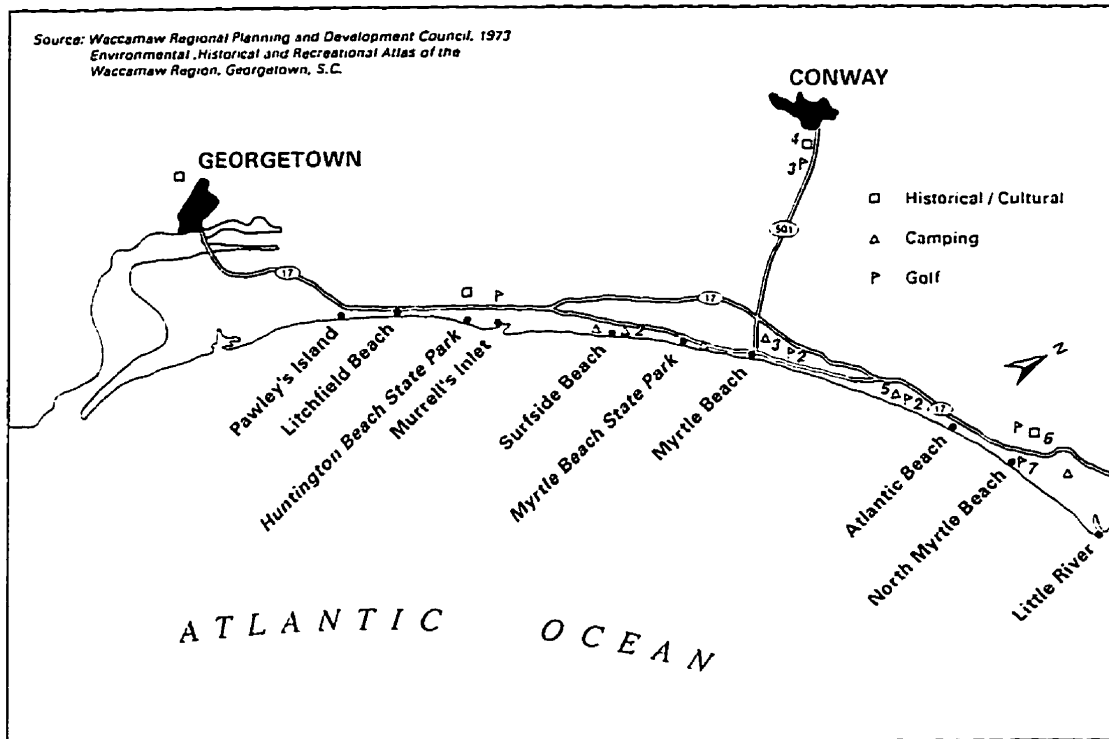
6.7 Conclusions

Myrtle Beach in particular, and the entire Grand Strand in

general, have a linear pattern following the shape and space limitations of the borders of the natural landscape. The linear pattern is reinforced by the important automobile-highway technology that exploded in North American culture after World War II.

The automobile promoted the personal independence of tourists. Automobile tourism might have had a role in creating tension between the Grand Strand and the inland communities of South Carolina. Cultural isolation was originally created by physical isolation of the Grand Strand from the mainland and later increased by occupational and political differences.

Myrtle Beach and the attractions of the Grand Strand were nurtured by its highway corridors and the attractive beach corridor. These parallel corridors generated nodes of hospitality and amusement that were roughly equally distributed along the Grand Strand. These nodes, at the time of Myrtle Beach's heyday, had multiplied and expanded to suggest a southern counterpart of New Jersey's 'leisureopolis,' described by Stansfield [1973]. When unregulated building occurred after Myrtle Beach's heyday during the 1980s, automobiles often created gridlock and growth slowed [wW et al, 1979]. Figure 6.10 offers a schematic diagram of Myrtle Beach's heyday, which is a compilation of the Myrtle Beach land use maps in Appendix C.



The Grand Strand

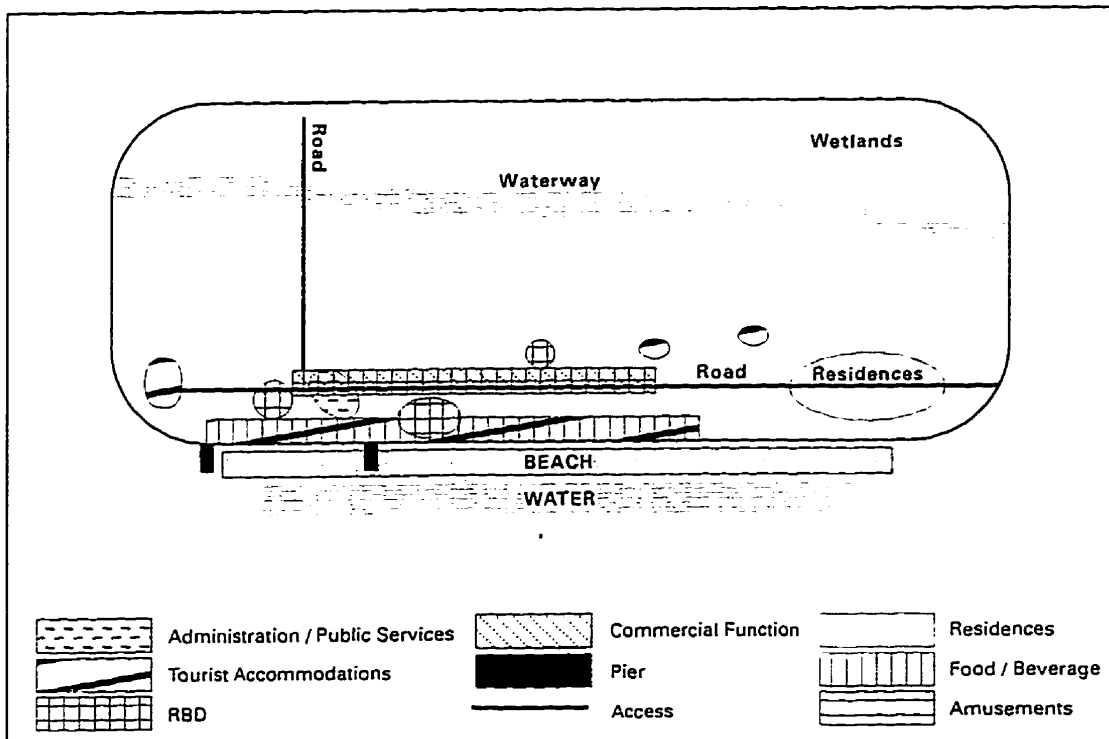


Figure 6.10: Schematic Diagram of Myrtle Beach's Heyday in the Automobile Era

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction: Comparison of Resorts

The resorts studied here exhibited similar natural features. They occurred as coastal resorts within the national boundaries of the eastern United States. They possessed limited topography and were subject to continual erosion. Their landscapes confined them. Access presented significant challenges in all cases because of the marshes that separated them from the mainland. All of the resorts have been studied at the same time in their evolution. Their heydays occurred at the beginning of Butler's [1980] consolidation phase: the time of important financial commitment from outside investors to augment infrastructure, the time of greatest increase in tourism's rate of growth and the height of the resort's popularity among the original patrons.

As "creatures of their time", on the other hand, they exhibited the values, technologies, architecture, fashions and experiences of their historical era. One essential difference among the resorts was transportation technology, which is a part of historical context and which has been examined with respect to resort characteristics as well as to land use morphology within the resorts. Thus, both similarities and differences would normally be expected in any comparisons made among the resorts.

In the following pages, heyday at Cape May, Atlantic City

and Myrtle Beach will be compared in order to examine their similarities and differences (see appendix D, Comparison of Framework Components).

7.2 TRANSPORTATION

7.2.1 Transportation Corridors and Termini

Transportation utilized by tourists progressed from a combination of technologies in 1860 to single technologies in Atlantic City and in Myrtle Beach. Whereas the transportation of railroads or scheduled steamboat routes ended at only a few train termini or piers, automobile parking (termini) was pervasive. In fact, automobile parking became a new land use requiring significant areas, often as much land as the attraction being visited.

7.2.2 Internal Mobility

The relatively compact areas and short distances within Cape Island and Atlantic City resulted in internal mobility that was largely pedestrian. At Myrtle Beach, however, internal mobility demanded the use of automobiles, owing to the great dispersion of activities and services. Moreover, automobiles have contributed to linearity to a greater degree than is suggested by the roads and landscapes on the Grand Strand. The requirement of parking places and parking lots for automobiles has caused activities, services and attractions to be located at greater distances from each other than in pedestrian

cities. The automobile parking requirement intensified the pattern of linearity.

7.3 THE RESORT

7.3.1 Tourist Accommodations

Significant changes relating to the intensity and location of accommodation land use occurred between 1860 and 1975. Hotels of several storeys clustered around points (intersection of roads; train termini) during the heydays of Cape Island and Atlantic City. On the Grand Strand, motels and motor inns fronted the beach in towns, while campground towns sprawled between core areas. Thus, there was a diminishing intensity of accommodation land use with the increased mobility and linear patterns that accompanied automobile travel.

This point is interesting because there were more tourists in 1975 than in 1860. Much more land was appropriated for tourist accommodation on the Grand Strand than on Cape Island. While only hotels and boarding houses were proper accommodations for the wealthy and middle class of Cape Island or Atlantic City, a greater variety of accommodations was sanctioned for Myrtle Beach tourists. Thus, while it is true that a general decrease in land use intensity accompanied a general increase in tourist mobility, many values shifts have occurred over the years to make this so. With the increased awareness of landscape integrity and the ecology of biosystems, there is no guarantee that so much land will be

available for tourism speculation in the future.

Tourist preferences for beachfront accommodation can be considered a matter of taste that is typical of many areas in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, accommodations were not built directly on the beach because both tourists and entrepreneurs alike were aware of hazards [Jeans, 1990]. People associated the sea with shipwrecks, drownings and floods. Violent storms repeatedly destroyed substantial structures such as piers and lighthouses [Methot, 1988; Funnell, 1975].

There are other factors that explained why nineteenth century tourist accommodations were not built directly on the beach. Tourists used their hotels as headquarters from which they ventured out several times each day for excursions and sightseeing. Furthermore, while the small hotels and boarding houses provided dining rooms, they offered far fewer amenities than the large hotels. The space requirement of boarding houses was smaller, and they could be built close together. The boarding house area in the western part of Atlantic City was a dense cluster. They aggregated between the transportation terminal and the water. Large hotels were also positioned between the transportation terminal and the beach, but they required much greater amounts of space and were, therefore, dispersed. Thus, Atlantic City's accommodations were located south of Atlantic Avenue, but not directly on the beach.

Unlike tourists in the walking cities of Cape Island and Atlantic City, the proximity of accommodation location, the beach location and the location of attractions for Grand Strand tourists was not a great concern. Grand Strand tourists could reach any attractions within a short time because of the independence afforded by their personally-owned automobiles. Therefore, in contrast to heyday tourists of Cape Island and Atlantic City who used their hotels as headquarters, Myrtle Beach tourists used their automobiles as headquarters from which they reached meals, amusements, the beach and other opportunities for entertainment. Tourists who did not wish to use their automobiles in this way would not have selected Myrtle Beach as a destination.

One type of accommodation that has not been addressed in detail is the 'second home' or cottage. Information on cottages is not easily attainable but is an important subject for future investigation. Second homes at seaside resorts demands deeper investigation than was possible in the present study.

Thus, over time, the intensity of accommodation land use lessened as the linear pattern increased. A similar result occurred with food and beverage services, the second hospitality function.

7.3.2 Food and Beverage Services

Food and beverage services expanded from hotel dining rooms to

a great variety of dedicated locations. On Cape Island, very few food and beverage establishments existed outside of hotels. During Atlantic City's heyday, dining rooms continued to exist in hotels, but opportunities for food and beverage services expanded to the boardwalk (RBD).

In Myrtle Beach, the expansion of food and beverage services exhibited a diversity of forms as well as location. The resort towns and campground towns along the Grand Strand's highway gave access to hundreds of fast food and chain restaurants of both regional and national origin. Self-catering dominated the campgrounds and was available in rental cottages, condominiums and some motels.

Food and beverage services experienced a partial disassociation from accommodations and aggregated in dedicated locations. First they moved to the RBD in the railroad era and subsequently they expanded to the main access roads in the automobile era.

7.3.3 Tourist Amusements

Like food and beverage services, tourist amusements were tied to the hotel function in the elite setting of Cape Island's heyday. Like the large hotels in Atlantic City, Cape Island's hotel amenities included grassy lawns for archery, quoits and bowling, rotundas for concerts and dramatic productions, large dining rooms that could be converted into ballrooms, and wide verandas where one could entertain friends. The best hotels on

Cape Island and in Atlantic City even provided mule trains that transported patrons to the beach.

The ways in which seaside visitors amused themselves varied greatly. Elite tourists preferred opportunities for formal social interaction, display of wealth or appreciation of natural settings. The working class and the middle class, on the other hand, showed a preference for mechanical amusements, and this continued to grow through the years. The amusements on Atlantic City's boardwalk and Myrtle Beach's pavilion area have been the focal points of the classic RBD when combined with food and beverage services and opportunities for souvenir shopping.

Mechanical amusements are a significant form of entertainment because they illustrate a generalized fascination with technology. Whereas the elite class created technology or funded its creation, by virtue of its privileged status and education, the working class celebrated it. Mechanical amusements were larger than human scale, and therefore admirable, exciting and capable of temporarily erasing the realities of the everyday working world. The original forms of mechanical amusement remain as the carousel, the water slide, the roller coaster and the ferris wheel. The miniaturisation of technological amusements is now available in the form of video games and virtual games at arcades, where players engage in activities that connect them to the vast landscape of personal imagination.

The technology of mechanical amusements in RBDs is still popular. However, the discrete form of the early RBD might have been greatly influenced by the importance of inexpensive public transportation that ended in one terminal point. For example, during Cape Island's heyday, the RBD did not exist as such. Most of the functions of the RBD were incorporated as hotel amenities. It is possible that distinct RBDs simply did not exist in elite resorts. The classic RBD form appeared on Atlantic City's boardwalk. RBDs also appeared at Myrtle Beach --a pedestrian one at the pavilion area and another one for automobiles on Myrtle Beach's Kings Highway. With automobile technology and, its insatiable demand for parking, important changes in the pattern of the RBD have been experienced.

Thus, heyday at Cape Island was marked by the absence of an RBD, while in pedestrian Atlantic City, a good example existed on the boardwalk. Myrtle Beach's heyday was characterized by a classic compact pedestrian RBD as well as a highly dispersed one, reflecting the automobile culture of North America.

7.3.4 Public Space

The most important public space for all case studies was the beach. The trek to the beach resembled a pilgrimage. Depending on the mindset of the visitor, it was either an intrepid approach to a wilderness or a joyous excursion to 'jump the waves'. In any case, the beaches in Atlantic City and Myrtle

Beach were highly different places than the adjacent RBDs where buying and selling occurred.

The refined Cape Island tourist walked the beach to harvest 'diamonds' that were subsequently cut and polished to yield a piece of jewellery. One searched for shells and specimens of sea life that remained on the beach after the tide had gone out. Sea bathing and afternoon carriage rides could be enjoyed either as a participant or as an observer. At Cape Island, the sea provided a backdrop against which other activities took place. However, in the hours between three and five in the afternoon, the beach was used as a place of social display. Social display in Atlantic City occurred mainly on the boardwalk, while pedestrian and automobile 'cruising' activity in Myrtle Beach occurred in the RBD area of the pavilion and amusement park.

In Atlantic City, the relatively few upper middle-class patrons of large hotels were segregated on the beach from the day-trip crowds and boarding-house patrons by virtue of different hotel concentrations and locations. Sunday daytrip tourists were deposited by train on or near the southwest beach. Small hotels and boarding houses clustered in the same area. Large hotels, by contrast, were served by the C&A, whose main terminal and intra-urban service were convenient to their relatively dispersed locations. While the beach activities of large-hotel patrons were consistent with those on sedate Cape Island, the activities of daytrip and boarding-house patrons

were a direct reflection of sheer pleasure and diversions they experienced--donkey rides, posed photographs, acrobatic stunts, dares, games and laughter.

The beach corridor was a different place than the RBD in Atlantic City. Jeans [1990] referred to the beach as a buffer zone between the human landscape and the wilderness of the sea. This idea is confirmed by the partially enclosed boardwalk in Atlantic City, the landward-facing RBD in Myrtle Beach, and the RBD activities that existed within hotels on Cape Island during heyday.

7.3.5 Commercial Functions

Commerce normally takes place on 'main street' or within CBDs. The heydays of the resorts studied here concur with these norms. The buying and selling of services and retail goods blended within Cape Island's hotel cluster in the core area. Most of the retail activity in Atlantic City and Myrtle Beach occurred in discrete linear patterns, corresponding to the C&A horse car service in the first case and to main street automobile traffic in the second. There was nothing remarkable about the commercial functions in these resort towns. The businesses operated primarily for the convenience of local residents and were active during the day. The exception was Atlantic City, whose electrically lighted 'main street' attracted tourists at night and temporarily provided competition for the boardwalk. Otherwise, retail functions

lined 'main streets' or clustered in the city core.

7.3.6 Administration/Social Services

Administrative and social services also followed normal patterns and were near the retail functions. Whereas Cape Island's commercial functions were mostly clustered, its administrative functions were more linear, extending northward along Washington Street. By contrast, the administrative services of Atlantic City and Myrtle Beach were clustered at the intersection of important rail lines or roads.

Administrative functions and functions existed primarily for the permanent residents of the resorts, not for tourists. Both were centrally located, convenient to retailers, residents of the city core and the main transportation access.

7.3.7 Architectural Style

The architectural styles of the three resorts reflect the distinct periods to which they belong and the values that marked those periods. For example, Cape Island's hotel architecture during heyday portrayed classical and Gothic revival styles, consistent with the refined and fashionable clientele that frequented them. Classical revival architecture especially reflected stability and decorum that characterized the early Victorian era.

Atlantic City, which has been called a "Disneyland for adults" [Funnell, 1975], was characterized by eclectic styles

of the high Victorian era. Bold colors and a variety of architecture ranging from classical to exotic contributed to the air of fantasy that delighted Atlantic City's working-class patrons. The lack of consistency of architectural form reflected the many conflicting perceptions of the time, such as admiration for and apprehension toward technology and nature.

Myrtle Beach's heyday occurred amidst an economic recession and steep rises in the cost of fuel and in the lending rate. As a result of these circumstances, domestic vacations and camping became more popular than international holidays. The prominent use of automobile transportation gave rise to architecture which facilitated the identification of businesses from moving automobiles and which was, at the same time, relatively inexpensive to build. The actual structures were little more than boxes, while the attached signage was designed to arrest one's attention and demand further investigation. This 'big sign-little box' style was an effective, if blatant, tactic--a visual shout. As in the case of sound where numerous noises create a cacaphony, too many big signs decrease attention to any given one. Eventually, they become simply confusing if not counterproductive. However, Myrtle Beach's architecture during heyday functioned effectively for automobile tourists.

Architecture of all of the resorts reflected the values and the needs of the tourists it represented. Cape Island's

classical revival and Gothic buildings reflected the refined, fashionable activities of American elite society before the Civil War. Atlantic City offered colorful, exotic architecture designed to generate wonder in the minds of the Philadelphia working class. Finally, Myrtle Beach's architecture was created to catch the attention of tourists in moving automobiles.

7.4 TOURISTS

7.4.1 Motivation

Tourists at all of the resorts were pleasure seekers, although the expressions of pleasureable activities differed. The pastoral environment of pre-Civil War Cape Island may be contrasted by a generalized and growing interest in technology by the working and middle classes. This was revealed in the immediate and increasing popularity of mechanical amusements and, more recently, video game arcades.

The role of nature as a motivating factor is revealed by the popularity of golf at Myrtle Beach. Construction of golf courses enjoyed an explosion in Myrtle Beach during heyday. While the broad grassy landscapes of the golf course suggest a natural landscape, golf courses are, in fact, human landscapes. Clearing, grading, seeding of land is necessary in order to produce a golf course. Natural landscapes are free to enjoy. Golf courses charge entrance fees and, occasionally, expensive membership fees. However the cost of golf can vary

greatly, making it generally accessible to the middle class as well as to the wealthy.

Not only did middle-class adults have opportunities to play golf, a popular miniature version of the game also became available. Miniature golf in mechanized fanciful settings gained great popularity in RBD nodes along the Grand Strand.

Motivation for visits to seaside resorts varied over time from the wish to appreciate natural landscapes, mechanized amusements or 'naturalized' landscapes such as golf. While motivations resulted in different activities, the prevailing driving force was the pursuit of pleasure.

7.4.2 Patronage, Geographical Source, Length of Stay

Although the case studies were located on the American east coast, they demonstrated different patronage, different tourist origins and different lengths of stay. This was partly due to the time-distance from visitor origins.

Cape Island's elite patrons visited for the 'season' and arrived from dispersed origins at a great distance. Their journeys required many connections and significant expense. Not only did Cape Island tourists themselves visit, they brought their families and their household staff. This substantial support required large quantities of luggage for personal items during the social season and was extremely costly.

Atlantic City's patronage profile is nearly the opposite

of Cape Island's. While Atlantic City originally offered tourism for an array of social classes, by the time of heyday it catered to the working class and lower middle class of Philadelphia. Atlantic City's tourist market was concentrated in Philadelphia and dependent upon the railway. Sunday tourists did not even require overnight accommodations. However, their expenditures on the boardwalk, though small on an individual basis, were rendered significant by the cumulative effect of their numbers.

Myrtle Beach's tourists were solidly middle class during heyday. Although heyday occurred during a recession, anyone could afford a holiday in Myrtle Beach. Lengths of visit varied greatly. Myrtle Beach tourists were automobile tourists. Public transportation was not widely used. It would have been pointless for a tourist to visit Myrtle Beach without an automobile. Furthermore, most tourists in Myrtle Beach originated from South Carolina or from a neighboring state [LCB&W Associates et al, 1971], even though the resort was widely recognized by 1975.

The three resorts each catered to a different socio-economic class. Before 1860, working classes had to content themselves with recreation for the most part, not tourism. Only the wealthy could afford to take holidays. Just as the technology of the railroad provided tourism opportunities to the working class in Atlantic City, the automobile permitted the middle class to reach Myrtle Beach in 1975. Likewise, the

origins and lengths of stay differed: elite tourist from distant origins stayed for the summer; the lower classes of a nearby city stayed a day, or a week at most; and motorists from a dispersed but nearby region visited for varied lengths of time.

7.5 CAPITAL

7.5.1 Large Investors

The capital for tourism enterprises, such as hotel and transportation infrastructure, was still partly local at the two resorts in which tourism evolved from other economies: Cape May and Myrtle Beach. However, important outside investment became increasingly important at all of the resorts as heyday approached. This is apparent in Cape Island from the land sales and rate of hotel and cottage construction during the 1850s. In Myrtle Beach, outside investment was evident from the construction of motels and restaurants belonging to large chains. On the other hand, outside investment was dominant at Atlantic City from its inception, because investors were the principal planners of the resort.

7.5.2 Small Investors and Human Resources

Significant increases in the population census on Cape Island and Atlantic City during heyday reflected the in-migration of small business owners. Curiously, the reverse is true in Myrtle Beach, because Myrtle Beach's heyday occurred during an

international economic recession and oil shortage during the mid-1970s. Clustered residences of small investors within the commercial zone on Cape Island's city core contrast with clearly defined locations in Atlantic City. One must agree with Towner [1996], who pointed out that the origins and residence locations of employees in resort towns have not been well studied and require further research.

7.5.3 The Role of Government

Across time, government broadly assumed the responsibility for coastline safety infrastructure. However, political interests linked to a profit motive directed the approval for the construction of road or railroads. This was accomplished by influential groups or individuals. Sometimes this influence was felt by the conspicuous neglect of state and federal road building assistance, as in Myrtle Beach. On Cape Island, it has been noted that regional influence prevented the construction of badly-needed bridges for stagecoach travel, while in Atlantic City construction of coach roads and bridges was prevented by railroad interests until 1870. Thus, the influence in local and state politics surrounding transportation infrastructures remained active between the heydays of Cape Island and Myrtle Beach.

7.6 Conclusions

The resorts were studied at the beginning of their mature

phase, known here as heyday. Different transportation technologies followed from historical context and were represented by steamboat and stagecoach on Cape Island, the railroad in Atlantic City and the automobile in Myrtle Beach.

The similarities and differences relating to aspects of transportation technology, the resort town, tourists, capital and government involvement have been developed for the heyday at three resorts on the American East Coast. The final chapter will address the differences found here in order to draw conclusions regarding the comparison of resort land use of the three case studies.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

Comparison of the resort towns generated a discussion of similarities and differences in chapter 7. Similarities were expected because all three resorts were examined during heyday, a specific time in resort evolution as determined by the rate of growth and other factors. All were coastal resorts on the American east coast with similar topographies.

Differences were expected because the resorts were examined at different periods in history that reflected different societal conditions including different transportation technologies.

The comparison of heyday land uses yielded more differences than similarities. Heyday differences will now be examined in the order established by the framework so that tourism change across time may be identified.

8.2 Transportation

8.2.1 Morphological Responses to Transportation

Transportation corridors and nodes generated amplified reproductions of themselves on the urban resort landscape. For example, the relatively few termini generated at piers, train stations or crossroads resulted in construction that clustered around the termini. This was illustrated by construction that grew around the intersection of the carriage road and the boat road on Cape Island; the administrative and hotel nodes

surrounding train termini in Atlantic City; and the administrative and the amusement nodes near the intersection of important streets in Myrtle Beach. The clustering of building around transportation nodes was also found by urban transportation scholars [Giuliani, 1986; Muller, 1986]. The distinctive feature in resort towns is that the types of land use overwhelmingly represented hospitality, while in most other cities, the land use types are dominated by industry and retail goods and services [Muller, 1986].

The amplification of linear automobile transportation on the Grand Strand corridor (chapter 7) was revealed by a repetition of beach resorts, cultural attractions, state parks and campground towns that are consistent with concepts such as megalopolis [Gottmann, 1964] and 'leisureopolis' [Stansfield, 1974] and the galactic city [Lewis, 1983; Stansfield, 1983; Carter, 1995]. Thus, continuous linear transportation generates a string of nodes whose lateral growth reinforces the linear pattern of roads.

8.2.2 Automobile Parking as a Significant Land Use

The termini for automobiles, parking spaces, have created an important new land use and have permanently reinforced the linear pattern introduced by roads and by the coastal landscape. Automobile parking is a critical factor in resort town planning, because gridlocked automobiles and congested streets detract from the recreation experience. The success of

resort towns depends on positive holiday experiences.

Space requirements dedicated to parking should correspond to the magnitude of the automobile tourist market. In fact, they must exceed it. A space is required wherever a given driver might potentially wish to stop. With this in mind, it is quite possible that parking space requirements could overtake the recreation space requirement. This idea seems ludicrous. However, at the present time it is not unusual for parking garages to occupy a square block, with levels that extend several storeys below and above the ground level. Perhaps resort town communities might consider banning automobile traffic during certain times of day, or in certain places, as has been done in Cape May where a pedestrian district has been created.

In North America, the explosive increase in motorists reflects the population increase and the relative prosperity and cultural assumptions regarding the absolute right to independent mobility. After the general sanction and internalization of the above conditions by society--especially the right to independent mobility--it is very difficult to restrict mobility or to convince tourists to use alternative forms of transportation.

Linearity established by roads is a feature that continues even with the growth of airline travel. Airline travel is mass travel and, as such, essentially creates a node that occurs on the periphery of urban areas. In Europe, public

rail transportation is sometimes available from airports to the city core. In North America, it is more common for tourists to rent automobiles to access urban locations. Thus, the most recent transportation technology--airplanes--has not altered the linear patterns established by the automobile and probably never will.

8.3 Resorts

Before the twentieth century, North American resorts were located in natural areas, such as sea coasts, lakes and mountains, where appreciation of natural settings was an important consideration. Modern resorts have responded to the popular taste for mechanical amusements that flourished during the great expositions of the nineteenth century and appeared in Atlantic City's heyday as the epicycloidal diversion. As a result, resorts have become "divorced" from nature. Examples include Las Vegas, Disneyland and, ironically, cruise ships.

Little is known of elite coastal tourism. Resorts with yacht harbours and gated communities, such as the one at Hilton Head, South Carolina and older resorts that are elegant but remote deserve attention. Resort morphology research should be encouraged for every type of resort and should extend to elite tourism as well as to mass tourism.

Resort planning produced interesting results during Atlantic City's heyday. Land uses were particularly neatly defined. The resort was sectioned into near-quadrants.

Atlantic Avenue bisected the resort into north-south sections--north for permanent residents, south for tourist hospitality and tourist activities. Then the town self-organized itself so that the western part of town accommodated the lower middle class, while the eastern part of town accommodated upper middle-class. The effect in Atlantic City was the segregation of people and activities. While the planned segregation is no longer acceptable or desirable, the land-use pattern of Atlantic City was successful for eighty years. However, a plan that considered adaptability to social and technological change in Atlantic City might have mitigated the disastrous collapse of its tourism industry sustained in the early 1960s. Conversely, the Atlantic City government might have opted to prohibit any bridge building with the exception of railroad bridges.

8.3.1 RBDs

The morphology of the RBD as a discrete land use phenomenon can change according to modifications in local and tourist needs, although its major elements have remained consistent over time. The RBD [Stansfield and Rickert, 1970] is a distinct combination of land uses that first appeared after the introduction of working- and middle-class tourists at resorts during the railroad era. The RBD was absent in Cape May because hotels assimilated RBD functions. RBDs have experienced a location change and a morphological change by

virtue of their duplication on interior roads [Getz, 1994; Maguire, 1995]. In Atlantic City, the RBD occurred as the boardwalk that followed the contour of the beach. Myrtle Beach possessed nodular pedestrian RBDs and linear automobile RBDs. Their function is constant but their form is subject to adaptation.

8.3.2 Beaches

People have always been attracted to water for its calming effect or because it represents harmony or continuity. In the past hundred years, people have overcome their fears of potential hazards from the oceans. They enjoy spending time on beaches at seaside resorts.

However, some activities that occur on beaches have changed during the past hundred years. Beaches have been a traditional venue for display as well as for communing with nature. They are buffer zones between nature and culture [Jeans, 1990] that permit diverse activities. Display activities have been governed by cultural norms and by local regulations. In 1860, carriage rides on Cape Island occurred between three and five in the afternoon. In Atlantic City, social display moved to the boardwalk. In Myrtle Beach, social display was reserved for young adults and teenagers. Its most important form took place as automobile cruising around the main pavilion area. Thus, socially acceptable norms for social display have changed in tone from formality to informality and

have moved from beaches to the RBD.

8.4 Tourists

Before 1850, only wealthy people were tourists. Tourism was unknown to the working class and the middle class, which were still comparatively small in size. During the small amount of leisure time available to them, the majority of North Americans participated in recreational activities that could be enjoyed in the community. Since the arrival of railway technology, tourist opportunities have been made available to almost everyone.

It is important to know which activities and settings appeal to different types of tourists. Examples of neglected themes include the role of cottagers, and the relative visibility and influence of age groups and of socio-economic groups at resorts. More understanding of these themes will assist in identifying the phases of the resort cycle and in augmenting knowledge of resort morphology.

8.5 Large Investors and Government Involvement

In the past, developers and government were occupied with the regulation of communication, transportation, resort infrastructure and coastline safety. For example, British investment in railroads at American seaside resorts has been suggested in chapter 4. It is unknown if, and to what extent,

this investment might have influenced American coastal resorts. If British involvement in American coastal resort development can be verified, it might explain the similarities between British and American coastal resorts during the nineteenth century.

8.5.1 Tourism and Sustainable Development

The present era of capitalism might be entering a phase that accepts the importance of global ecological concerns. The development of ecologically sound, naturally attractive areas for tourism is currently promoted by proponents of sustainable development. There has been a shift from the regulation of infrastructure to the regulation of environmental issues. This role is most obvious in parks. However, the environmental assessment process that precedes new construction also involves tourism developers. Environmental concerns have fostered pleas for sustainable development, in which tourism can play a significant role.

8.5.2 Understanding the Evolution of Resorts as a Requirement for Sustainable Development

Butler [1993] has decried the lack of resort evolution markers that are needed to indicate the progression from one stage to another. Critics of the cycle have suggested that it is not clear exactly what information is required to establish successional stages or whether such data are widely available. This thesis has shown that, while data may be fragmentary, it

is usually possible to find indicators of resort evolution and to establish general stages of development, at least for the heyday. However, there is a need for the refinement of the simple techniques employed here so that the onset and conclusion of all of the evolutionary phases of resorts can be identified. Identification of phases is important because themes cannot be effectively compared across time without the documentation of similar evolutionary phases.

Additionally, a set of guidelines is needed for research that applies Butler's cycle. The integrity of the researcher requires an open, ethical approach that is considerate of those on whom one relies for information. Clear guidelines for research integrity and the establishment of interpersonal trust are needed. Entrepreneurs, historical librarians and others with whom researchers must establish rapport, are sensitive to terms identifying the mature phases of resorts ('stagnant' and 'in decline'). Successful resorts progress to the mature stages. Perhaps consolidation, stagnation and decline could be renamed.

While infrastructure development was the general concern of the nineteenth century, conservation of healthy ecosystems is the present challenge for developers and government. Tourism places should not degrade the environment. Greater understanding of the resort cycle can contribute to sustainable development efforts.

8.6 Small Investors and Human Resources

The origins of resort employees and the locations of their homes were not investigated in this research and have been neglected in tourism research in general [Towner, 1996].

Detailed knowledge about resort employees is important for a complete understanding of the dynamics of resort land uses as well as for the historical geography of tourism in general. Similarly, the shift in dwelling location of resident entrepreneurs after the democratisation of tourism is also important. Discovery of the catalysts and the motivations for the shift will contribute to knowledge of historical context and to understanding land use dynamics.

8.6.1 Residence Locations

Resident entrepreneurs lived intermingled among tourists on Cape Island. By contrast, Atlantic City and Myrtle Beach residents occupied peripheral enclaves. Exact reasons for the differences in residential location are unclear. If the causes are related to the democratisation of resorts, then some of the possible motivations for residence change can be surmised to be: friction resulting from dissimilar values of tourists, on one hand, and resident entrepreneurs, on the other; the introduction of middle class (and working class) tourists at formerly elite resorts; or the desire of entrepreneurs to reside at locations that were separate from their workplaces. Further research on the residence location and morphology of

resort entrepreneurs and labourers is recommended.

8.7 Questions Generated from Contextual Research

The comparison of heyday was discussed in chapter 7. As a result of the comparative process and the conclusions that have been suggested, answers to the questions generated from a review of contextual research can now be addressed.

8.7.1. What kinds of events influence progress in evolution of resorts from one stage to another?

Wars, economic recessions, hurricanes and changes in the availability of basic resources such as fuel did not destroy the evolutionary progress of resort growth. On Cape Island, the disruptive effect of the Civil War caused the resort to cease functioning temporarily. Devastating fires drained the financial resources of entrepreneurs. However, social change was the significant catalyst for change. Social change caused the elite resort to fade and accede to a new group of tourists after 1865. Social change is complex, however, and one could argue that the social change was caused partially by the threat of a Civil War.

In Atlantic City, the decision by Richards to construct a second railroad and to target the lower middle-class market contributed greatly to the eighty-year success of the resort town. However, within Atlantic City's exclusively tourist economy lay the basis of its own eventual collapse; it should have developed a secondary industry and a mechanism for city

planning adaptability. The lack of adaptability of built forms prevented Atlantic City from keeping up with changing tourist tastes. In a discussion of the evolving functional role of nineteenth century cities, Conzen [1987] stated:

Because built forms are in themselves inert, the city's shifting needs led unceasingly to selective alteration of the built environment to keep up with new preferences. Yet while the city's morphology was changing, it was doing more than just passively catching up. The existing layout of landholdings, streets, and building powerfully influenced, and often controlled...the framework within which decisions about accommodating new buildings and land use were taken [Conzen, 1987, 359].

Atlantic City's main problem was generated by the dramatic rise in automobile transportation technology, for which the town's land use patterns were unsuitable. An examination of urban resort morphology reveals why problems arose there.

In Myrtle Beach, the destructive force of a hurricane in 1954 attracted national attention and hastened rebuilding and renewal of the resort sooner than might have otherwise occurred. The influence of media attention caused Myrtle Beach's dramatic rise in popularity between 1954 and the 1980s. Thus, catastrophic events such as fires, wars and floods caused serious immediate damage that tested social and economic foundations of the resorts. Their endurance depended upon their adaptability to important current trends.

8.7.2. What kinds of data should be used to determine the evolution of resorts?

The second question referred to the kinds of data that should

be used to determine or to confirm the evolutionary stages of resorts. The type of data proposed by Butler, tourist arrivals, was difficult to obtain for all case studies in this research. Population census was useful for Atlantic City because Atlantic City possessed only one basic industry--tourism. However, population census alone was not very helpful for Cape Island or for Myrtle Beach.

There is not one unique way to measure urban resort growth, although tourist arrivals is undoubtedly one of the best. When tourist arrival data were unavailable, the growth cycle research conducted by Modis [1992; 1994] proved useful--particularly the example of multiple small growth curves that formed one large curve. That idea was employed to support the rate of growth in Cape Island and Myrtle Beach. Data from *diverse segments* of the tourist industry, spanning at least forty years, yield separate graphs. These individual graphs can be combined onto a single graph indicating the overall evolution of a given resort.

Towner [1996] and Page [1994] mention alternative data sources for confirmation of evolutionary stages of resorts. Especially for historical research, one relies on information found in the population census, records of building permits, property sales and tax rolls, where available.

8.7.3. How does transportation technology influence the morphology of resort town land use?

The third question refers to the influence of transportation

technology on resorts. The evolution of specific resorts, and of tourism in general, depends on a number of interrelated factors. The multiplicity of factors influencing prosperity of resorts has been discussed by Towner [1996] and includes culture, fashion, economic and social trends, class values and transportation technology, among others. The dynamic and diverse nature of influences affecting resorts has been addressed here, as seen in consistent adherence to elements of the framework: transportation technology, accommodations, food and beverage services, tourist amusements, public space, architecture, tourist motivation, origins and length of stay and major capital investment, government involvement, small businesses and human resources. Transportation influences land use morphology in resorts just as it does in other types of cities. The difference in resorts is that the types of land use that are most evidently affected by transportation technology are hospitality land uses as opposed to retail, manufacturing and service land uses.

8.7 Concluding Comments

The formal illustration of land use patterns in this thesis has led to generalisations regarding the influence of transportation technology in resort towns. Formal illustration can generate important information with regard to human groupings and human movement, which are unique in resort towns. The application of the evolutionary concept has

demonstrated that a point in evolutionary time can be identified in real time. A refinement of the application would allow identification of any selected point within the tourism cycle.

In summary, the morphologies of three coastal resorts in the northeast United States have been compared at their heydays as determined by the application of the resort cycle. It has been shown that the resorts exhibit distinctive land-use patterns reflecting the contemporary social and technological contexts, of which transportation is a major component.

APPENDIX A

Evolution of Cape May

Year	Population	Chronology	Butler's Stages
1760s		first evidence of tourism at Cape Island hunting, fishing(1,2)	<u>exploration</u> -few visitors -no facilities -natural landscape
1775-1783 1790		American Revolutionary War	
1801		carriages bring tourists to Cape Island from Camden (4)	
1815		Morning Star sloop weekly schedule from Philadelphia during season (4,5)	<u>involvement</u> -facilities -'season' -demand for access
1820			
1822 1827	20 families(6)	steamboats begin Cape Island-Philadelphia/New Castle routes during season (7,5)	
1832		two hotels offering activities; whaling industry practically gone (8)	<u>development</u> -attraction development -wider market -external financing -changes in physical appearance
1844	50 dwellings(9)		
1849	20 houses(7), cottages(10)	California Gold Rush, intensification of west-migration	
1850		John Little owns Cape Island Landing House; town surveyed; more streets laid (4,10); visitors exceed accommodation capacity first time(10)	-ancillary services
1851		borough of Cape Island incorporated as city; administrative, physical infrastructure; toll road from pier to Cape Island City(10);	

1852-3		4-storey Mt. Vernon Hotel with horse railway to beach; Bank of Cape May established (10,5)	
1854		toll road from county seat caused farmers to build rival 'Shunpike'(5,12)	
1856		Cape May telegraph financed by Philadelphia (5,10)	
1857		<i>Economic Panic</i>	
1850s		Cape May at pinnacle of popularity for wealthy visitors; the 'summer capital'(5,13); land prices double(3); losing population to West;	<u>consolidation</u>
1859		15 hotels; Cape Island Gas Co. lighted streets at night(10)	
1860	1865[3]	'Great Eastern' event; Cape Island news editor presses for railway (12)	
		<i>Abraham Lincoln elected on non-slavery platform</i>	
1861-1865		<i>American Civil War</i>	
		Anthracite replaces wood for steamboat fuel(10)	
1863		rail connection to Cape May via Millville brings a different class visitor[14]	-different class of visitor
1865		rising prices; high taxes due to Civil War; resort in disrepair	
		<i>Civil War ends</i>	
1870	1248(16)	large immigration of former slaves to Cape May	
1877		Cape May-Millville became[14] part of West Jersey Railroad; real estate values leaped (14); popularity of Cape May increased (5)	-visitor rate of increase declines
1878		<i>Fire destroys 30 acres of Cape May City</i>	
		architectural unity from post-fire rebuilding is basis of historic preservation today	
1880	1699		
1890	2136		
1900	2257	Cape May loses prominence to Atlantic City(11)	<u>stagnation</u>
1910	2471		

1916		steamship service ended(15)	
1920	2999		
1930	2637		
1940	2583		
1941-1945		U.S. enters World War II	
1950	3608		
1960	4477		
1970	4392		<u>rejuvenation</u>
1980	4853		
1990	4668		

Sources:

1. Historical Look at Cape May
2. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1766
3. Stevens, 1897
4. Alexander, 1967
5. Hand, 1937
6. Welcome to Cape May, no date, clippings from Stewart Collection, Rowan College, Glassboro, New Jersey
7. Two Hundred and Fifty Years...., 1942
8. Whaling Days, 1975
9. Barber and Howe, 1844
10. Alexander, 1956
11. Stansfield, 1975
12. *Ocean Wave Newspaper*, Volumes 5 and 6, 1860
13. *The Cape May Story*
14. Dorwart, 1992
15. Beitel and Enck, 1988
16. U.S. Population Census, 1870-1990

Evolution of Atlantic City

Year	Population	Chronology	Butler's Stages
1840s		stage or jersey wagon to Absecon Island; Leed's and Ryan's boarding houses (9)	<u>involvement</u> ?
1850		Absecon Island inhabited by lighthouse keeper and a few fishermen; no tourism (1)	
1852		Dr. Pitney secured rail charter for C&A(2)	<u>development</u> -changes in physical appearance
1853		all land on Absecon Island purchased by C&A Land Company (3)	
1854		first train arrives Atlantic City (4); all east-west blocks are same length (5)	
1857		<i>Economic Panic of 1857</i> regularly scheduled passenger trains to Atlantic City (1)	
1860	687		
<i>1861-1865</i>		<i>Civil War</i>	
1863		city ordinance prohibits sand, seaweed and grass removal to avoid recurrences of beach erosion (6)	
1870	1043	first bridge for horse-drawn vehicles (7); first boardwalk along the ocean (2,8)	-man-made imported facilities
1876		<i>The Philadelphia Exposition commemorating 100 years of independence; cultural and technical exhibits</i>	
1877		Richards left the C&A to build second railway(4); terminal built from Philadelphia Exposition building(6); significant erosion of north beaches;expansion of south beaches(5)	

1880	5477		
1883		C&A and P&AC railroads now controlled by Pennsylvania and Reading Lines respectively (4)	-market opened to working class
1886		residents plan Chelsea suburb (2)	<u>consolidation</u> -discontent among permanent residents
1887		Iron Pier (later the Heinz Pickle Pier) opened	
1890	13037	rate of permanent population increase begins to decline	
1900	27838		
1910	46150		
1914		<i>World War I</i>	
1920	50707		
1920s		rise of automobile access to Atlantic City (2)	
1930	66198		
1933		all trains owned by the Pennsylvania and Reading Lines merged in South Jersey (6)	
1940	64094		
1941		<i>World War II</i>	<u>stagnation</u> -economic decline
1950	61657		
1960	59544		
1963		passenger train service ends	
1970	47859		
1980	40199		<u>rejuvenation attempt</u>
1990	37986		

Sources:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Stansfield, 1978 | 6. Butler, 1954 |
| 2. Funnell, 1975 | 7. Stansfield, 1983 |
| 3. Fretwell, 1937 | 8. Davis, 1989 |
| 4. Cook and Coxey, 1980 | 9. Wilson, 1953 |
| 5. Rose, 1878 | |

Evolution of Myrtle Beach

Year	Population	Chronology	Butler's Stages
1890s		regional residents camp, fish, swim in (near) surf (1)	<u>exploration</u>
1900		inland residents use Black Maria (railway) to the beach(1)	-few visitors -no facilities -natural landscape
1901		local developers build Seaside Inn, pavilion and bath house(1)	<u>involvement</u> -facilities -'season'
1912		second bath house at pavilion(site of pres.one); Conway Railway bought by Atlantic Coast Line (1)	-demand for access
1914		<i>World War I</i>	
1920		Seaside Inn annexed 50 rooms (1)	
1922		Myrtle Beach is a small resort, guest houses, pavilion, fishing pier (1)	<u>development</u>
1925	ca. 200		-attraction development
1926		65,000 acres sold to Woodside brothers of Greenville for world class resort (1)	-wider market -external financing -changes in physical appearance
1927-28		Woodside's build Lafayette Manor, Ocean Forest Hotel and Country Club (1)	
1929		first Myrtle Beach golf tournament at Ocean Forest Country Club Stock Market Crash Woodside project folds; development reverts to former conservatism (1)	
1930		Huntingtons establish Brookgreen Gardens (1)	
1936		Intracoastal Waterway completed	
1938		Myrtle Beach is incorporated(12)	
1940	1597 (4)	Ocean Blvd paved (1) boardwalk construction begun (2)	
1941-45		World War II	

1942		Myrtle Beach Air Force Base established	
1949		U.S. 501 opened; current pavilion opened (1)	
1950	3345 (4)	First 'Sun Fun Festival'(1)	
1954		Hurricane Hazel	
1957		Myrtle Beach becomes a city(12)	
1959		Lake Arrowhead, first large oceanfront campground	
1960	7834 (4)	first laundromats(3)	-ancillary services for tourists
1961		Can Am Days established;	
1964		Waccamaw Clay Products formed (1)	
1965		Myrtle Beach is camping capital of world (2)	
1960s		golf boom begins (1)	
1970	9035 (4)	Myrtle Beach Convention Center opens (1)	
1971		Ocean Lakes, last large campground;Yachtsman Hotel, first highrise (1)	
1970s			-tourism economic base of community (6)
1974		Ocean Forest Hotel razed; replaced by condos (1)	
1975		tourism receipts increased 72% over 1970; Piedmont Airlines jet service in Myrtle Beach (13)	
1976		Charlotte Observer features <u>consolidation</u> irritation with tourists(8)	
1977		Waccamaw Pottery and Outlet Park (1)	-visitors' rate of increase declines
1980	18446 (4)		-major chains
1980s		dynamic building (8) tourism doubled (2)	-resident discontent
1985		water in short supply; water,sewer expanded(11)	<u>stagnation</u>
1988		fast food restaurants offer discounts(9)	-social, environ. capacity exceeded
1989		Hurricane Hugo	
1990	24848 (4)	surplus beds available	-surplus beds

1993	Myrtle Beach AFB closes	
1994	New Convention Center (7)	-repeat visitation
1995	Broadway at the Beach, Celebrity Square; Hard Rock Cafe; nightclubs(10)	-heavy artificial attractions

Sources:

1. Cooke, manuscript, n.d.(late 1980s)
2. *Myrtle Beach Sun News*, '65 Historical Progress Edition, 1
3. Lambert Schwarts, Myrtle Beach businessman, August, 1993, personal communication
4. U.S. Department of Census, 1940-1990
5. Ashby Ward, president, Myrtle Beach Area Chamber of Commerce, August, 1993, personal communication
6. LCB&W Consultants-Planning, Research, Management, Inc. and Wilbur Smith and Assoc., *A Comprehensive Plan for the Myrtle Beach Area*, Columbia, SC: 1979
7. Carroll, C., "Myrtle Beach Hails \$23 Million Facility's Debut" in *Travel Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1994, p.58
8. Jetton, S., "Beach Dwellers Like Tourists, But..." in *Charlotte Observer*, June 28, 1976, p.1
9. Jones, Y."There's Plenty of Business for Everyone" in *Myrtle Beach Sun News.*, Apr. 17, 1988, p. B1
10. *Travel Weekly*, "Entertainment Complex to Enhance Myrtle Beach's Nightlife", May 15, 1995, p.44
11. Wilburn, L., "Population growth stretches Horry water and sewer", *Myrtle Beach Sun News*, Progress Edition, February , 1985, Sect. 1, P. 13
12. Myrtle Beach Area Chamber of Commerce, *Myrtle Beach and South Carolina's Grand Strand: A Demographic Profile*, Third Edition, June 1992, p.1
13. Monk, J. "MB Dream Sets Down at Jetport", *The Sun News.* July 10, 1975, p.1

APPENDIX B

Cape May Data

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	year	population	% population change				
3					B-Houses		Lrg Hotels
4				B-Houses	% change	Lrg Hotels	% growth
5	1800			1			
6	1810			1	0.0		
7	1820			2	100.0		
8	1830			6	200.0		
9	1840					3	
10	1850					5	66.7
11	1860	1865				21	320.0
12	1870	1248	-33				
13	1880	1699	36				
14	1890	2136	26				
15	1900	2257	6				
16	1910	2471	9				
17	1920	2999	21				
18	1930	2637	-12				
19	1940	2583	-2				
20	1950	3608	40				
21	1960	4477	24				
22	1970	4392	-2				
23	1980	4853	10				
24	1990	4668	-4				

The Cape May data were based on population census published by the United States government from 1870 to 1990 and the Cape Island City manuscript census of 1860. Boarding house growth from 1800 to 1850 was obtained from Wilson [1953] and Stevens [1897]. Large hotel growth was obtained from Alexander [1956] and Wilson [1953].

Atlantic City Data

	A	B	C
1			
2	date	population	% population change
3	1860	687	
4	1870	1043	52
5	1880	5477	425
6	1890	13055	138
7	1900	27838	113
8	1910	46150	66
9	1920	50707	10
10	1930	66198	31
11	1940	64094	-3
12	1950	61657	-4
13	1960	59544	-3
14	1970	47859	-20
15	1980	40199	-16
16	1990	37986	-6

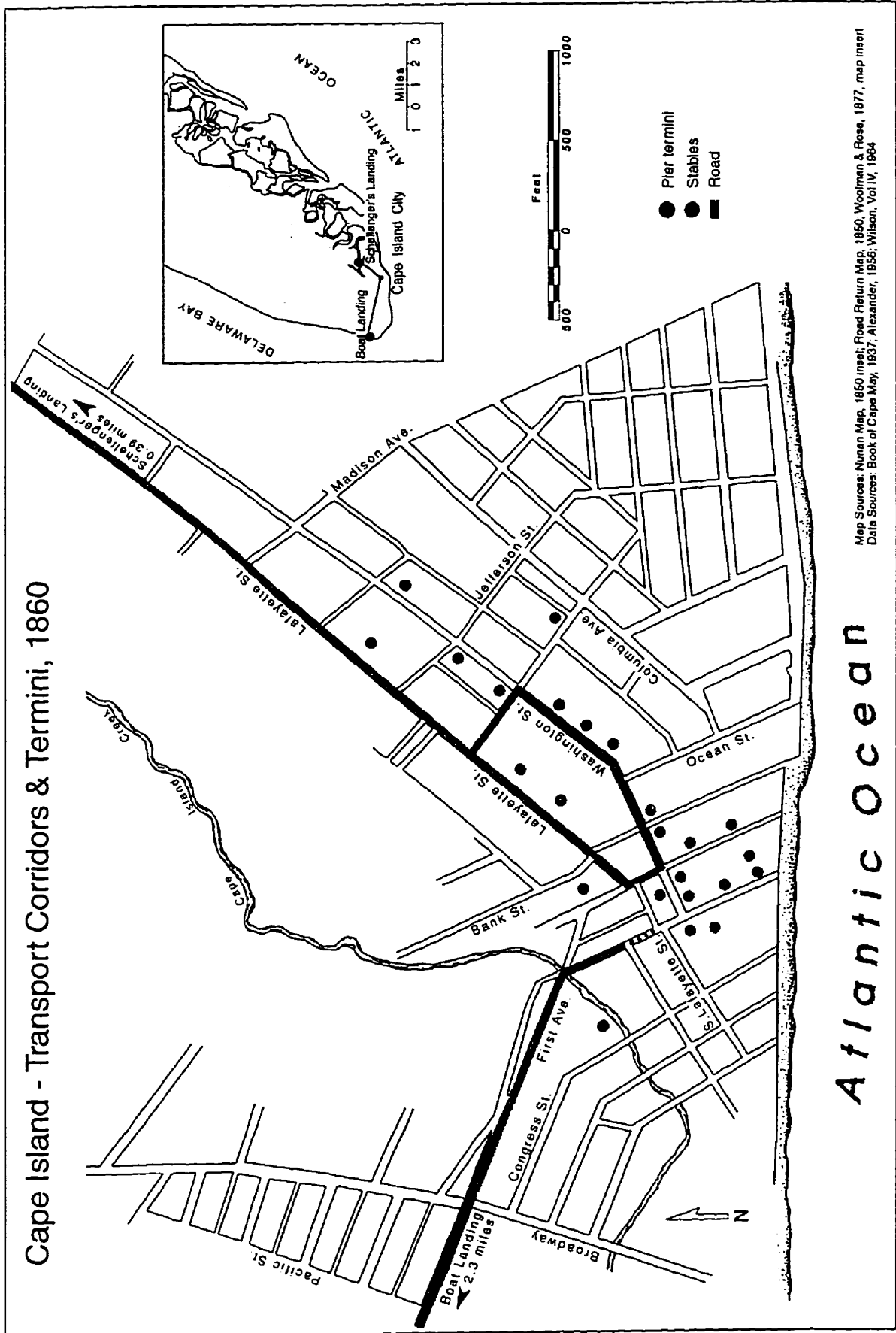
The source of these data is the U.S. Population Census.

Myrtle Beach Data

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1						
2						
3	date	population	% change	% change per year		
4	1940	1597				
5	1950	3345	109	11		
6	1960	7834	134	13		
7	1970	9035	15	2		
8	1980	18446	104	10		
9	1990	24848	35	3		
10						
11						
12	date	receipts, \$M	% change	% change rec/y	% change pop/y	population
13						
14	1962	62				8074
15	1965	74	19	6	7.5	8434
16	1970	124	68	14	2	9035
17	1975	440	255	51	6	13740
18	1980	700	59	12	10	18446
19	1984	1400	100	25	6	21007
20	1990	1700	21	4	3	24848

The data utilised in this research are located in columns B12-20 and C12-20. Their source is the U.S. Travel Data Center, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX C

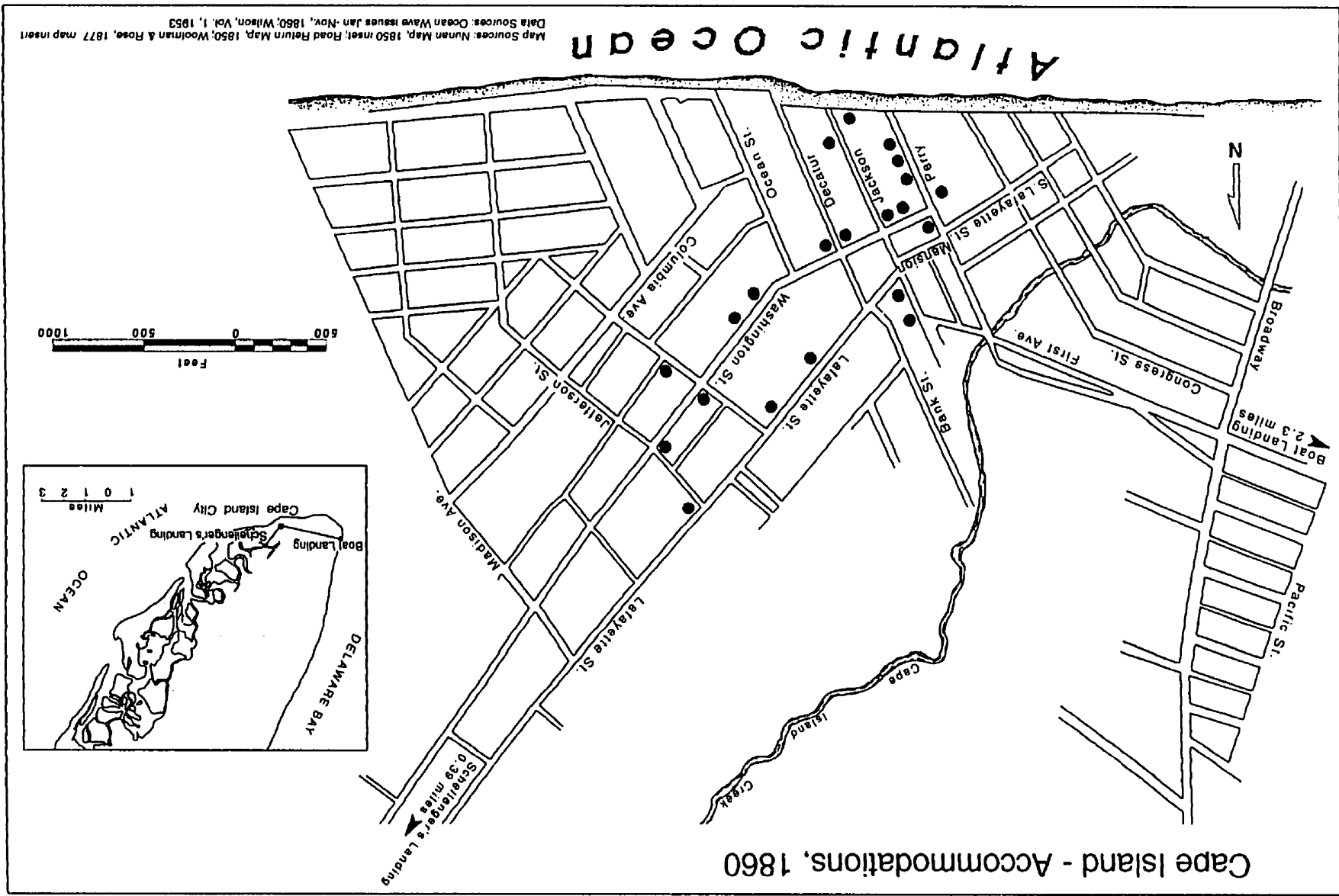


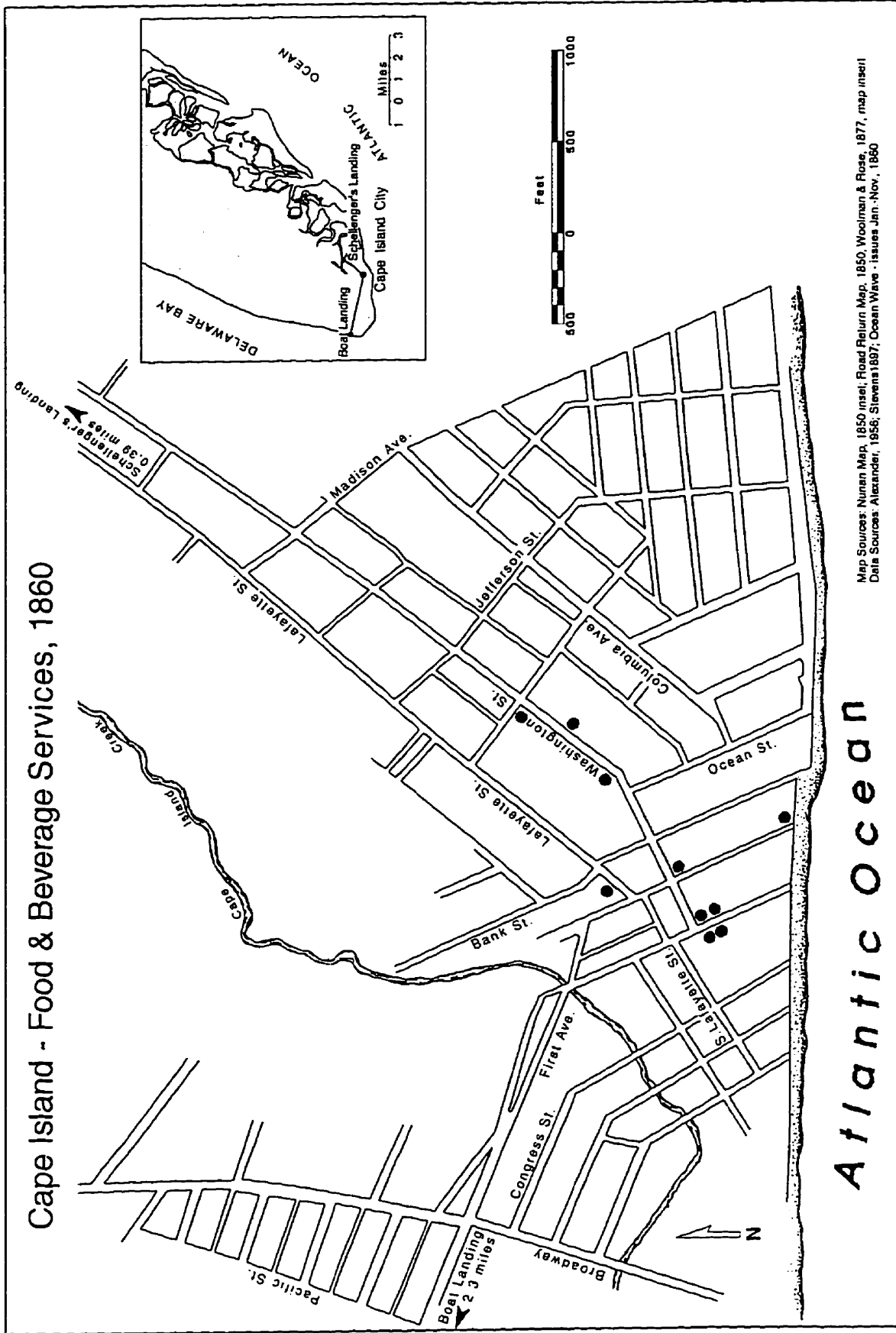
Cape Island - Transport Corridors & Termini, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.1 Transport Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877, map insert
 Data Sources: Book of Cape May, 1937; Alexander, 1956; Wilson, Vol IV, 1984



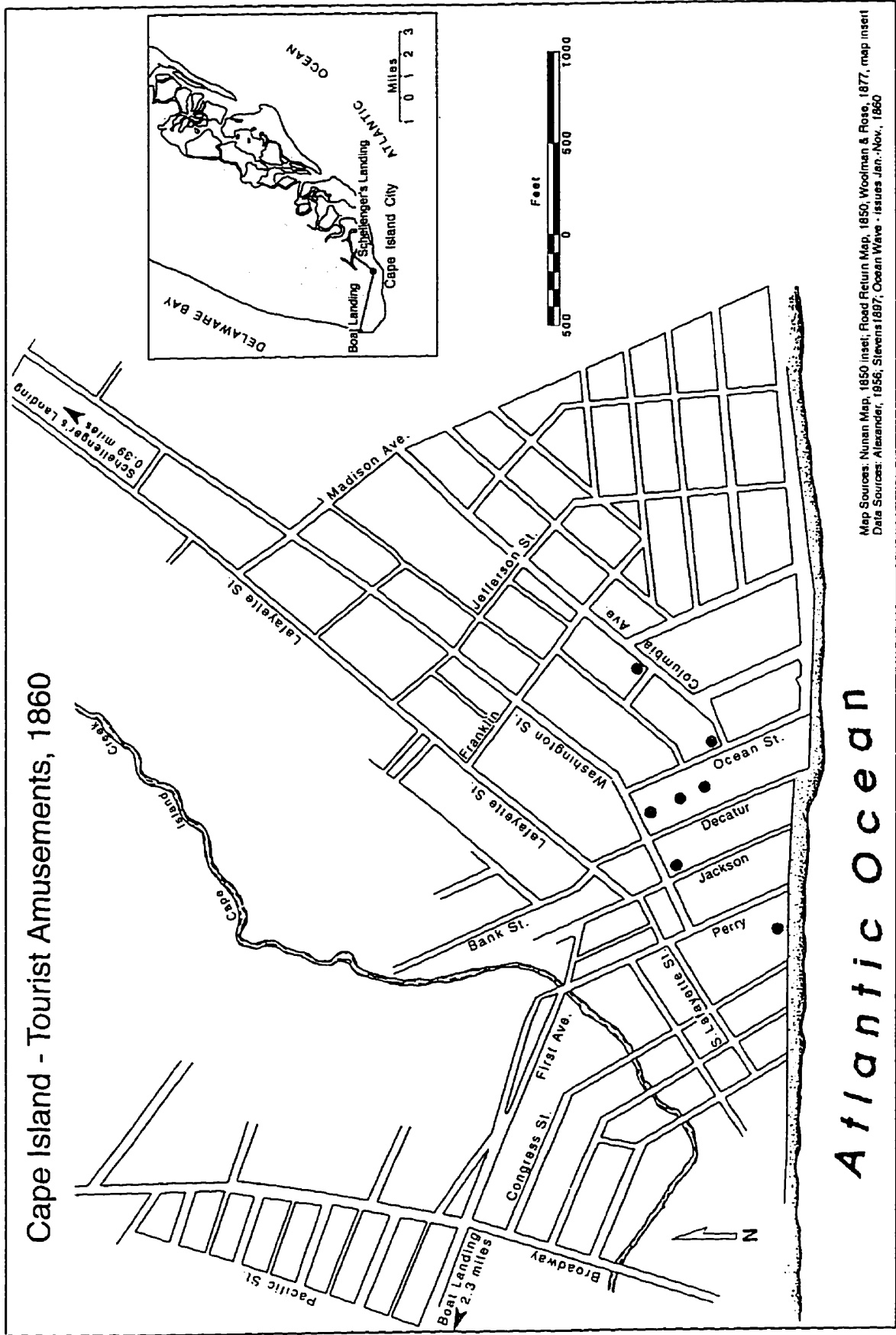


Cape Island - Food & Beverage Services, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

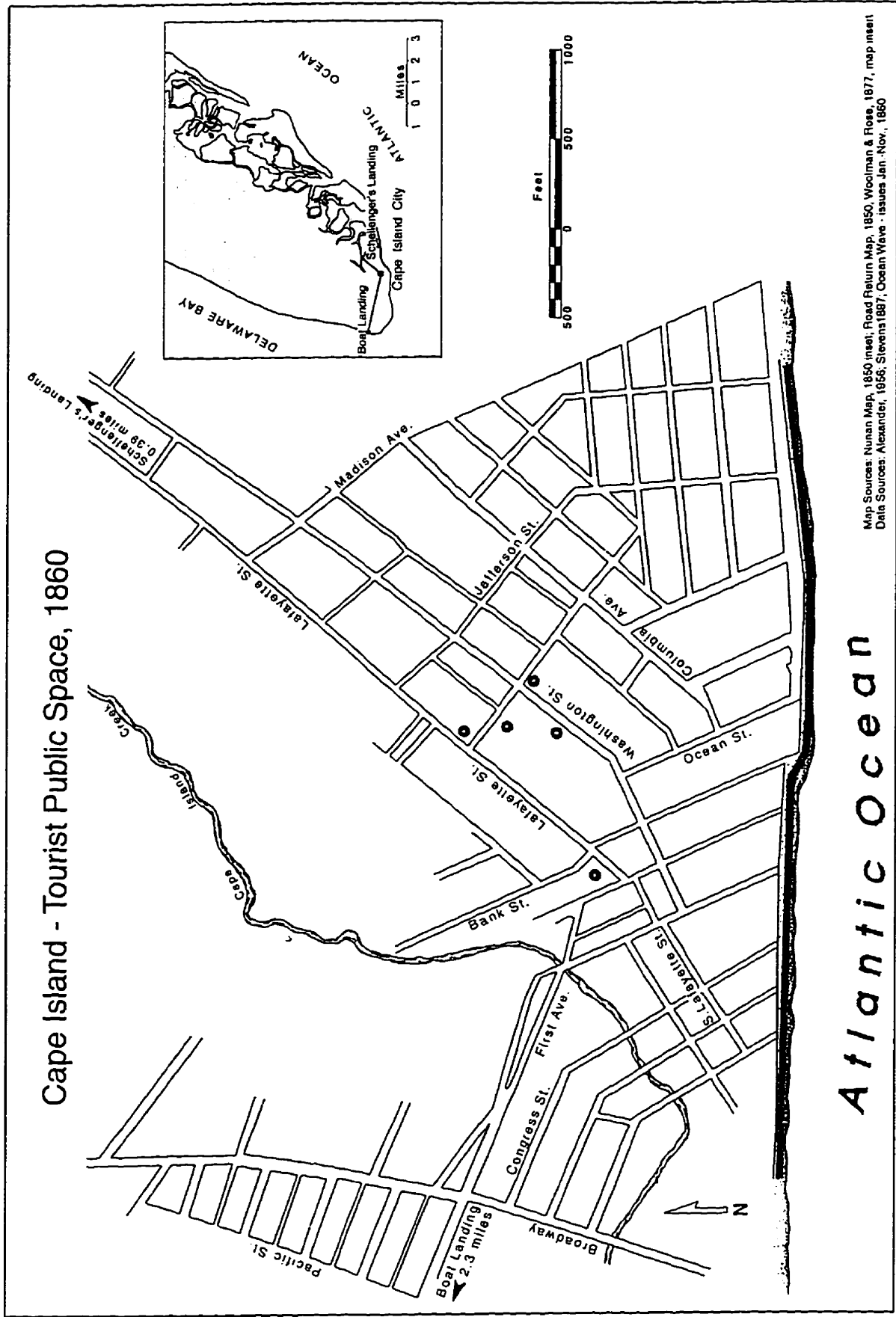
MAP 4.3 Food and Beverage Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850; inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877; map insert
 Data Sources: Alexander, 1958; Stevens 1897; Ocean Wave - issues Jan.-Nov., 1860



Map Sources: Numan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877; map insert
 Data Sources: Alexander, 1856; Stevens 1897; Ocean Wave - issues Jan.-Nov., 1860

MAP 4.4 Tourist Amusement Land Use

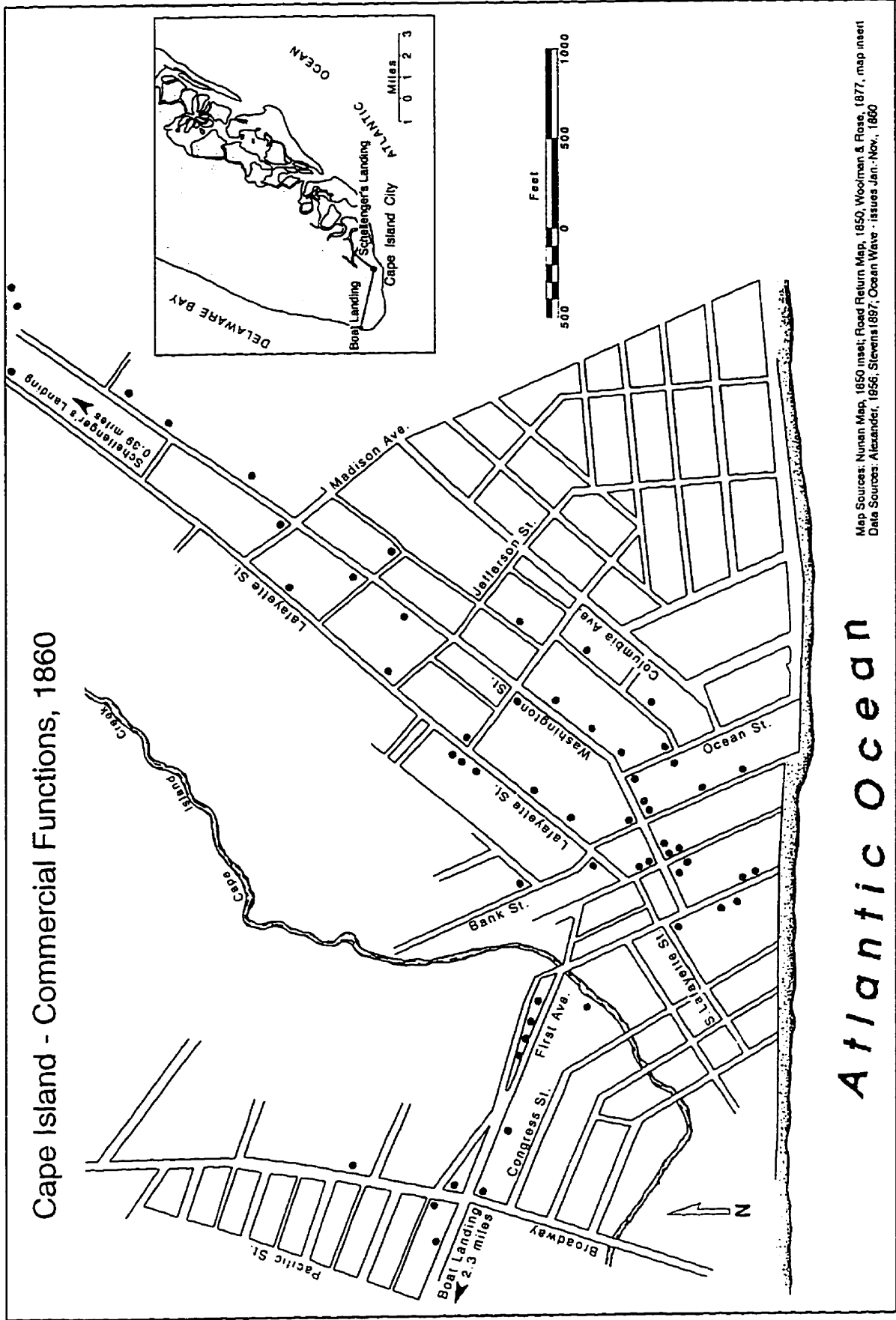


Cape Island - Tourist Public Space, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.5 Tourist Public Space Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877; map inset
 Data Sources: Alexander, 1856; Stevens 1887; Ocean Wave - issues Jan -Nov, 1860



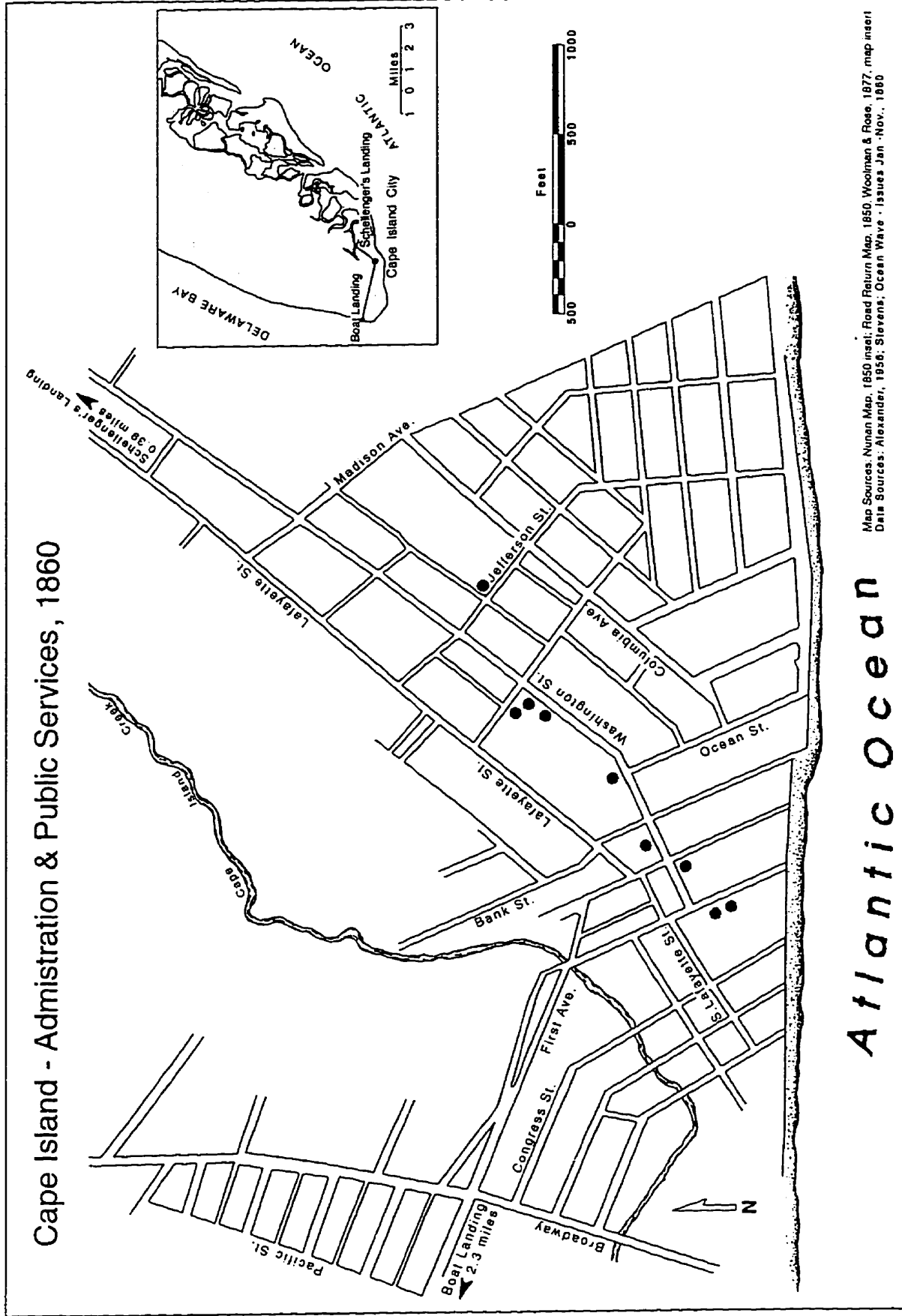
Cape Island - Commercial Functions, 1860

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.6 Commercial Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woodman & Rose, 1877, map inset
 Data Sources: Alexander, 1856; Stevens 1897; Ocean Wave - issues Jan - Nov., 1860

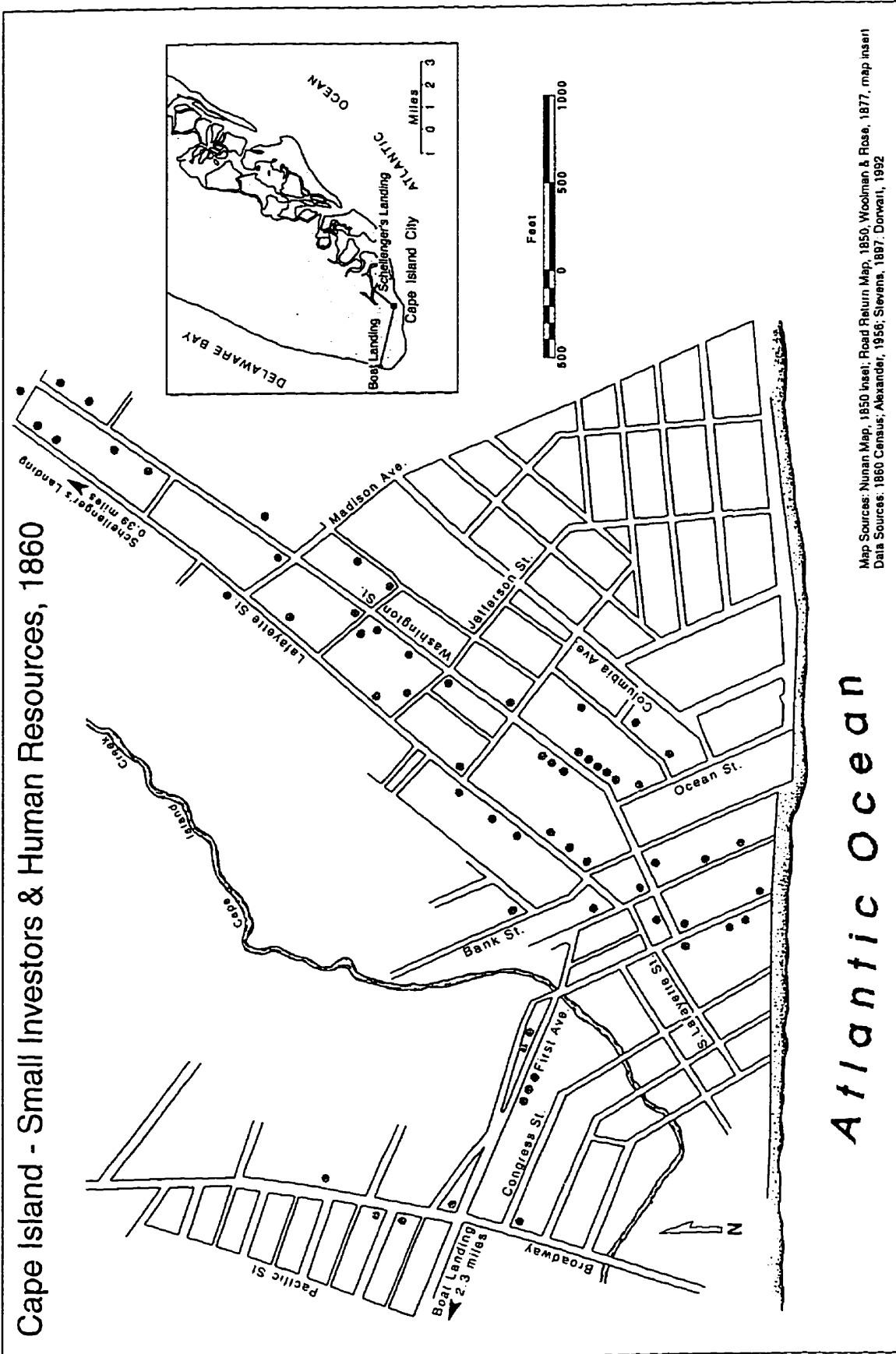
Cape Island - Administration & Public Services, 1860



Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877; map inset
Data Sources: Alexander, 1958; Stevens; Ocean Wave - Issues Jan -Nov., 1850

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.7 Administration / Public Service Land Use



Cape Island - Small Investors & Human Resources, 1860

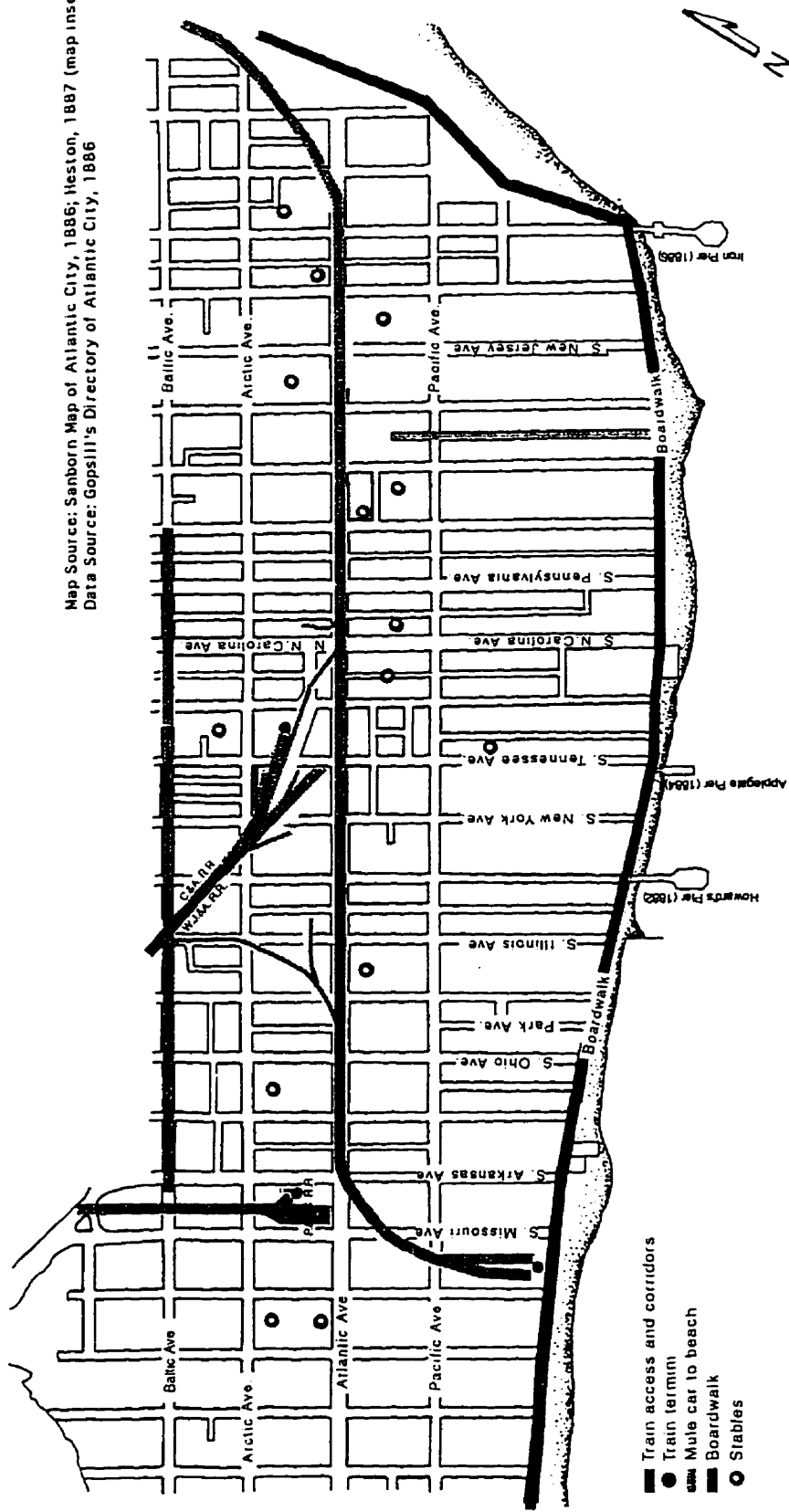
Atlantic Ocean

MAP 4.8 Permanent Resident Land Use

Map Sources: Nunan Map, 1850 inset; Road Return Map, 1850; Woolman & Rose, 1877, map inset
 Data Sources: 1860 Census; Alexander, 1956; Stevens, 1887; Donwart, 1992

Atlantic City - Transportation Corridors and Termini, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopshall's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



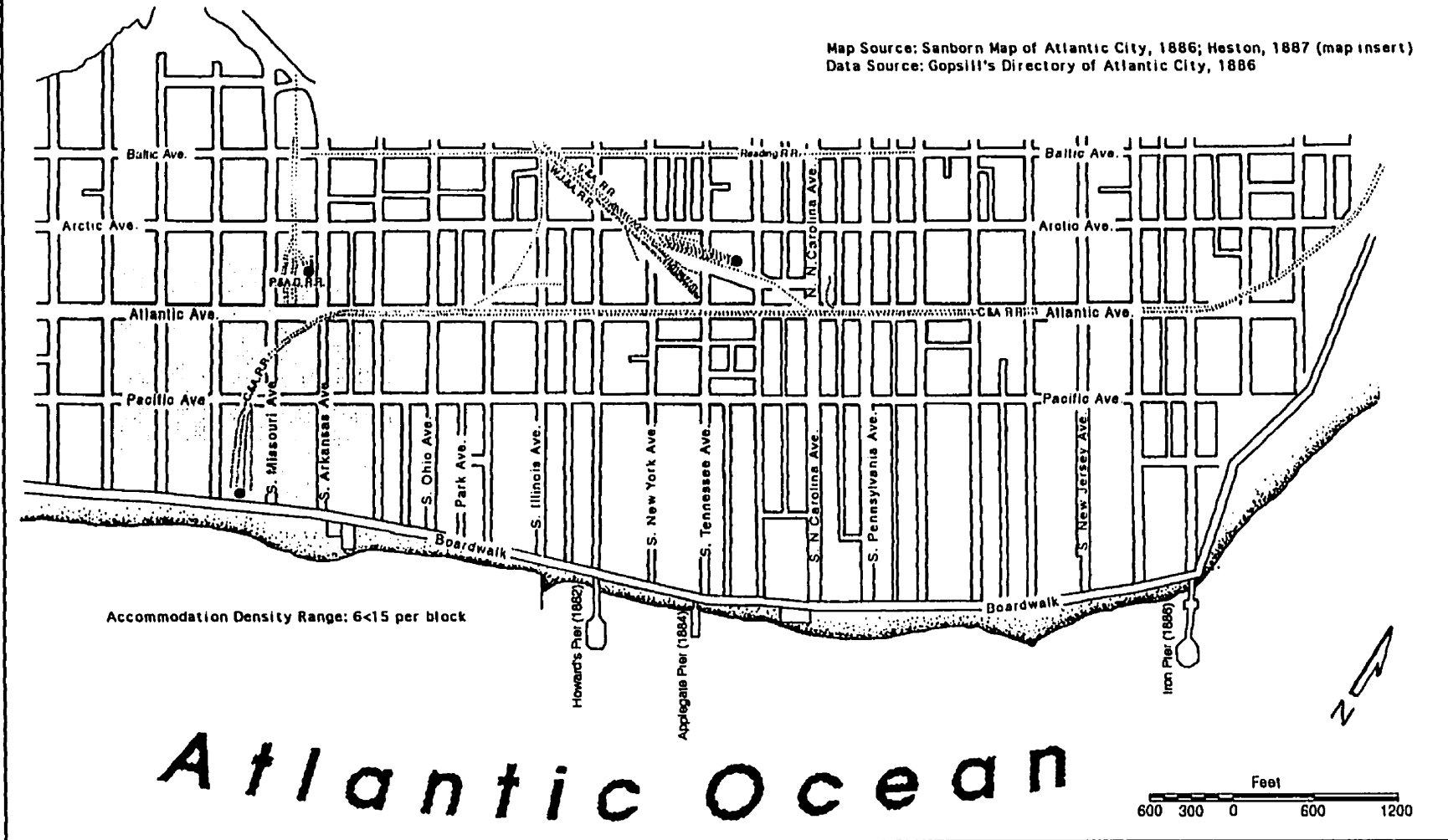
Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.1 Transport Land Use

Atlantic City - Accommodations, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
Data Source: Gopsill's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886

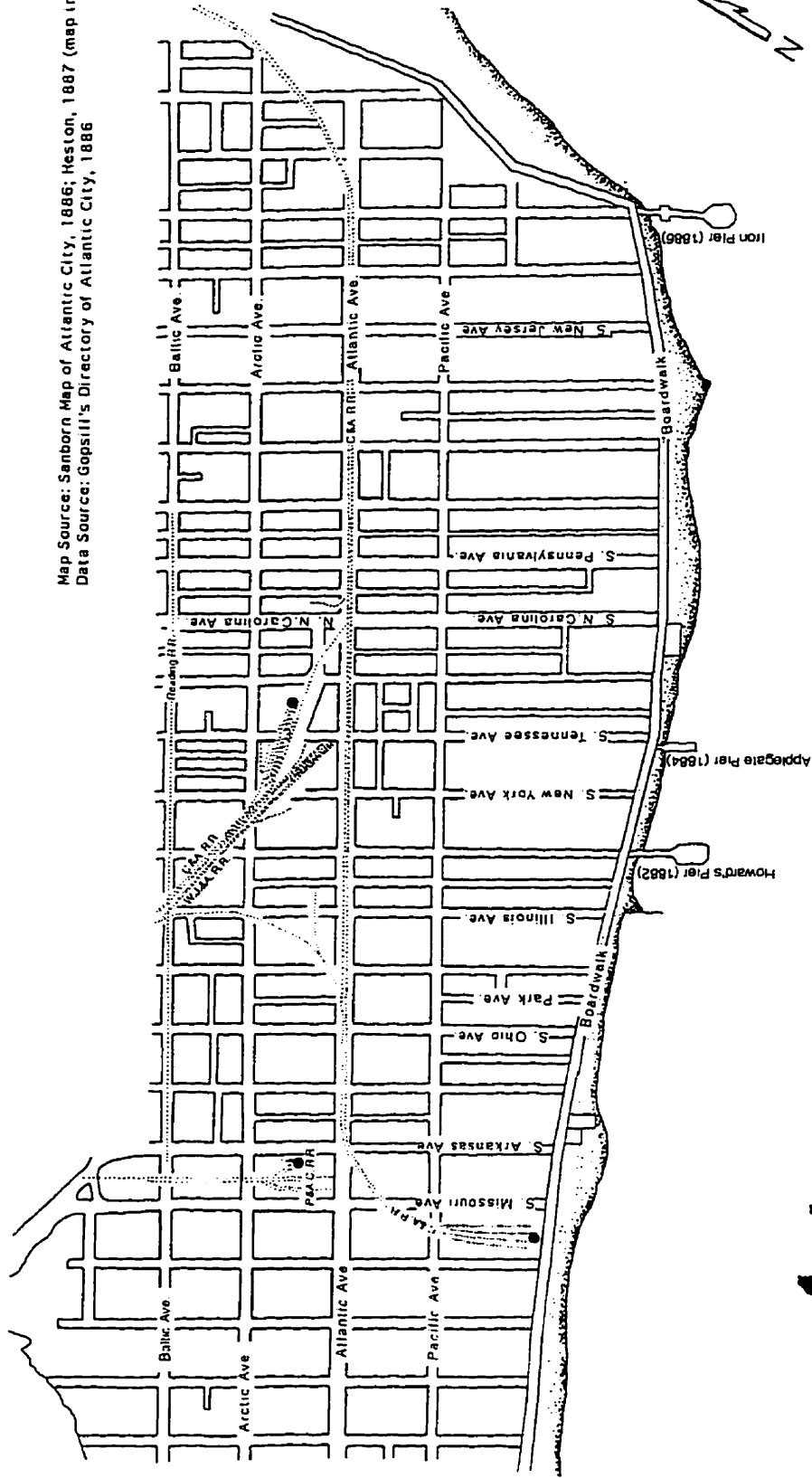
227



MAP 5.2 Accommodation Land Use

Atlantic City - Food and Beverage Services, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
Data Source: Gopsill's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886

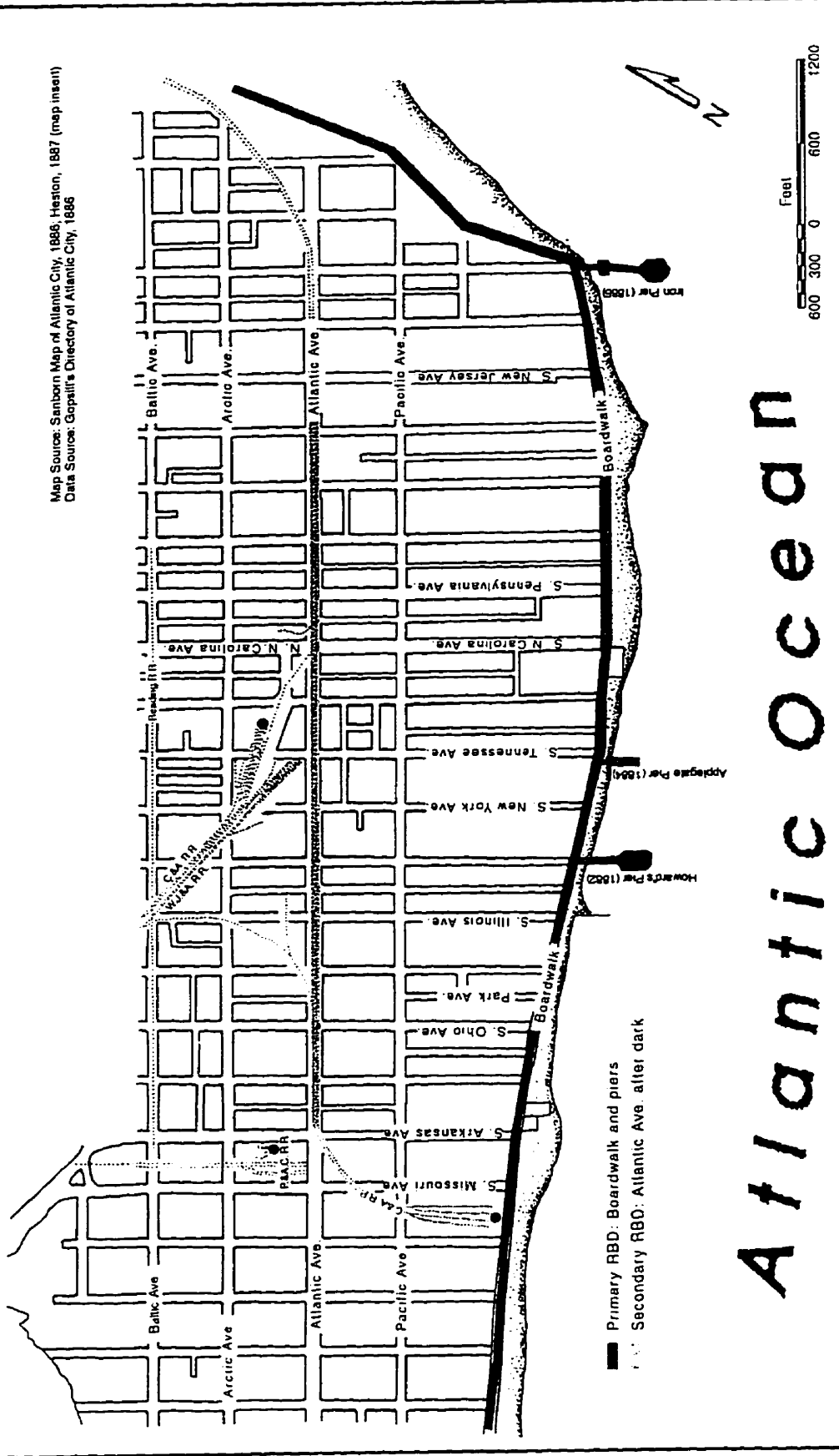


Atlantic Ocean

Map 5.3 Food & Beverage Services Land Use

Atlantic City - Tourist Amusements, 1886

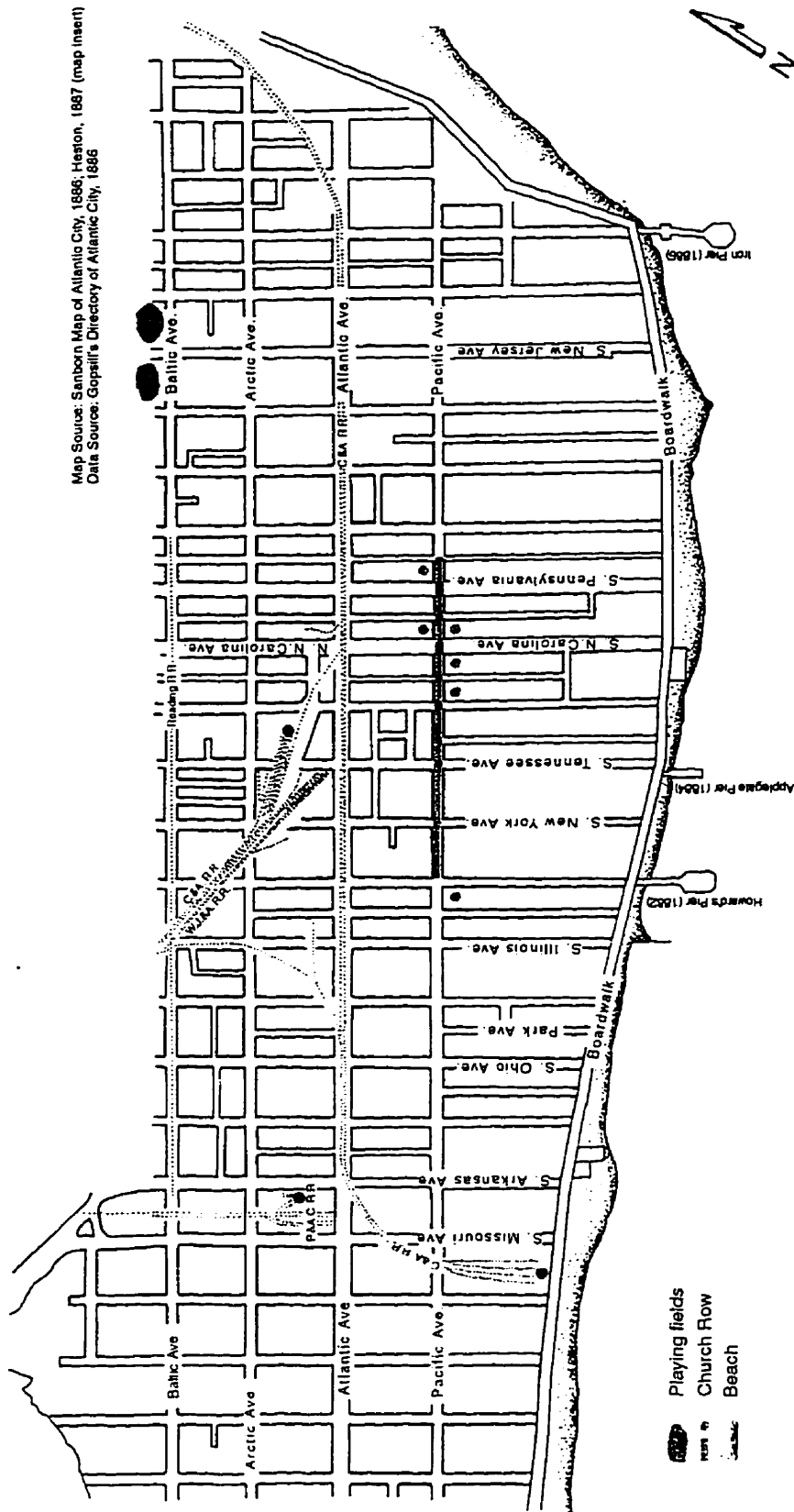
Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886, Heston, 1987 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopallil's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.4 Tourist Amusement Land Use

Atlantic City - Public Space, 1886



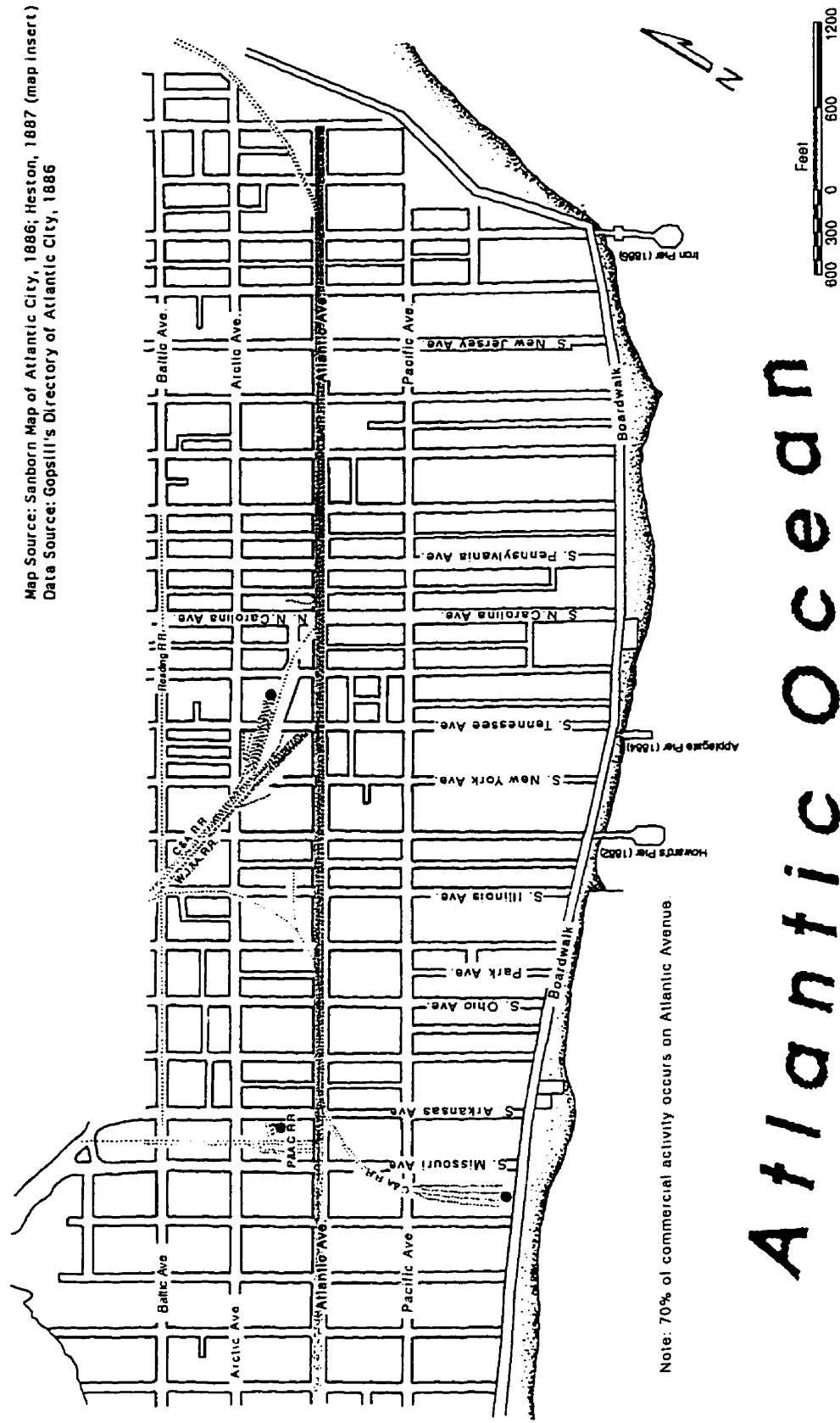
Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopshall's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886

Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.5 Public Space Land Use

Atlantic City - Commercial Functions, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
Data Source: Gopsill's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886

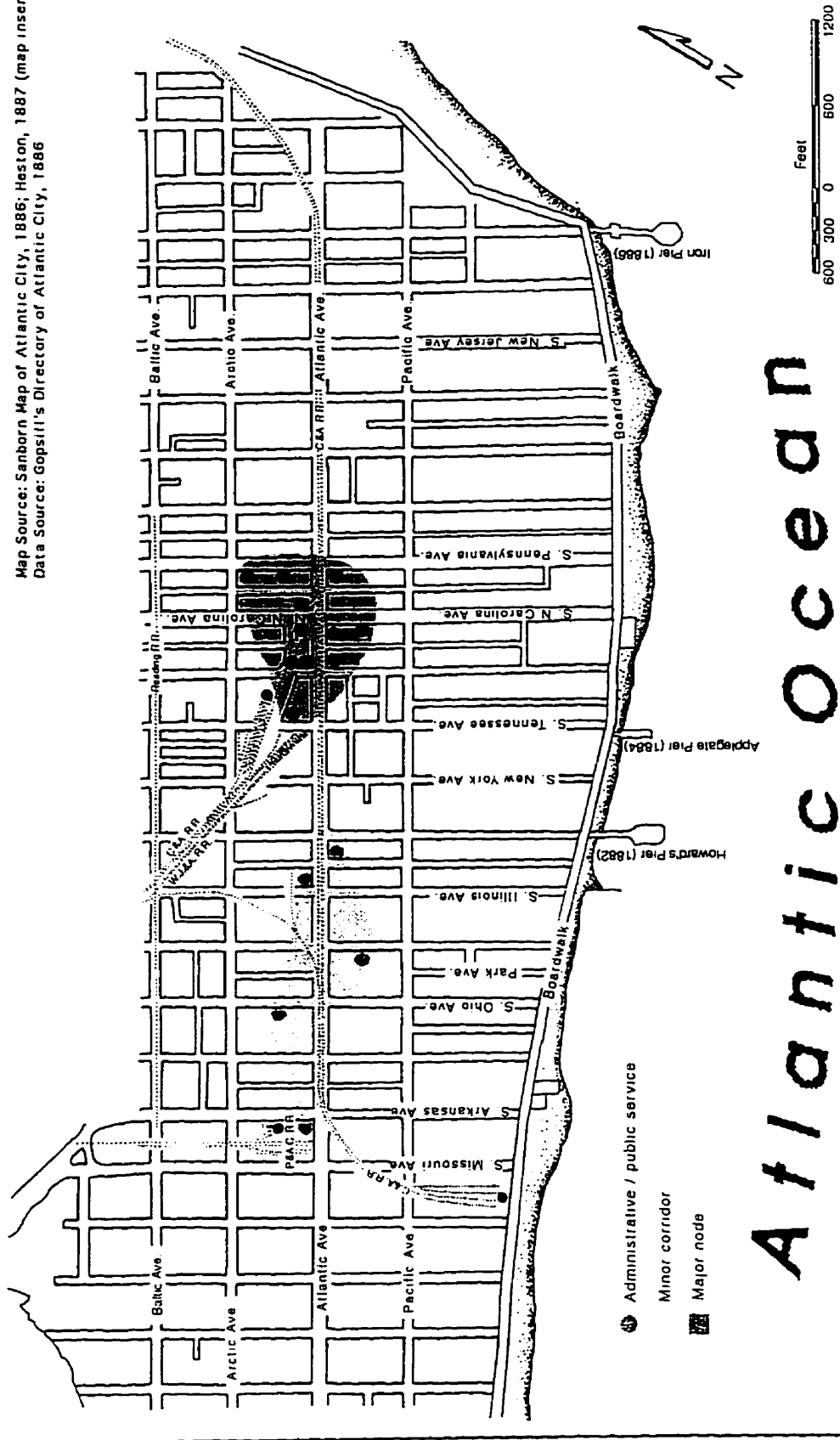


Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.6 Commercial Land Use

Atlantic City - Administration and Public Services, 1886

Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Data Source: Gopsill's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886

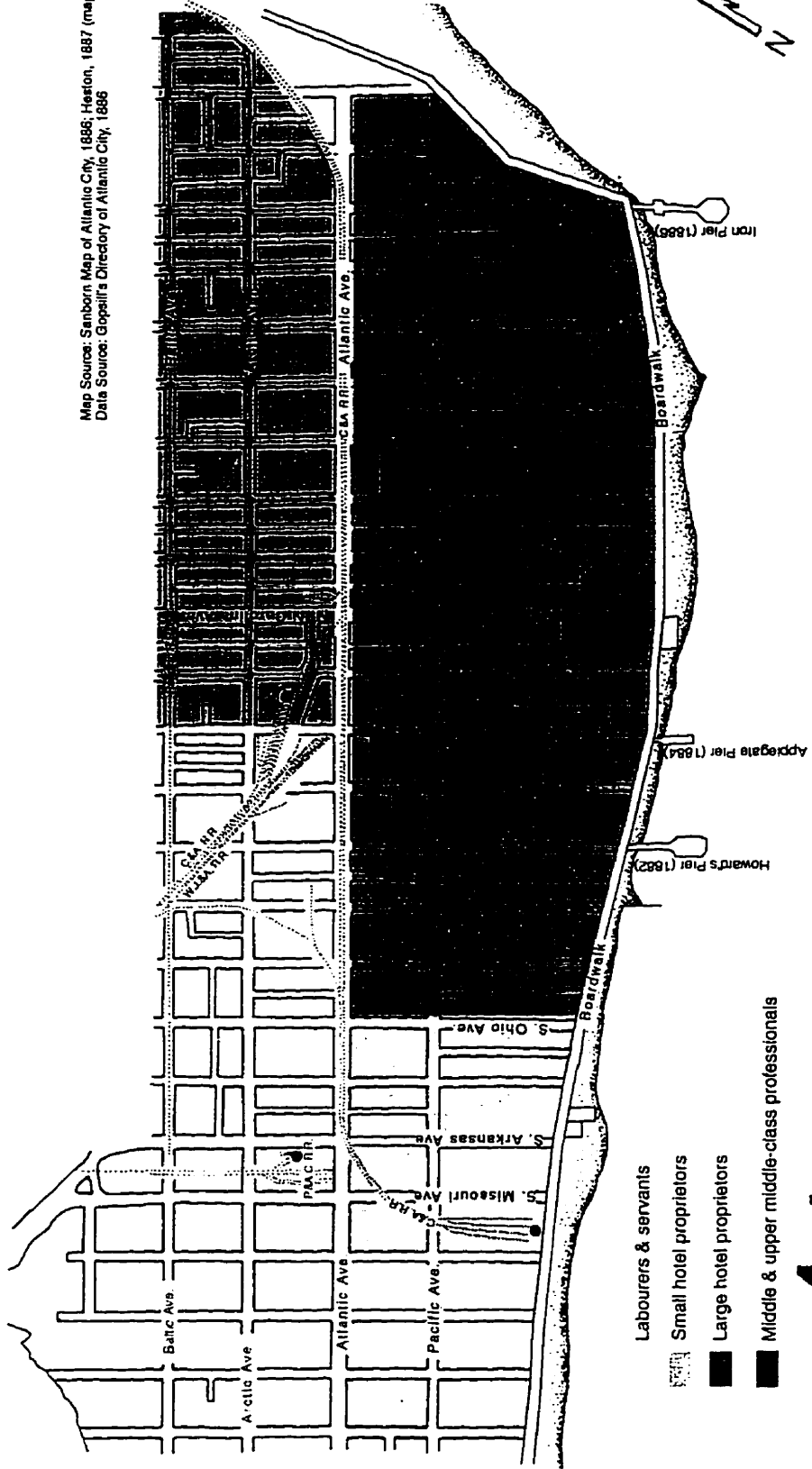


Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.7 Administration / Public Service Land Use

Atlantic City - Small Investors & Human Resources, 1886

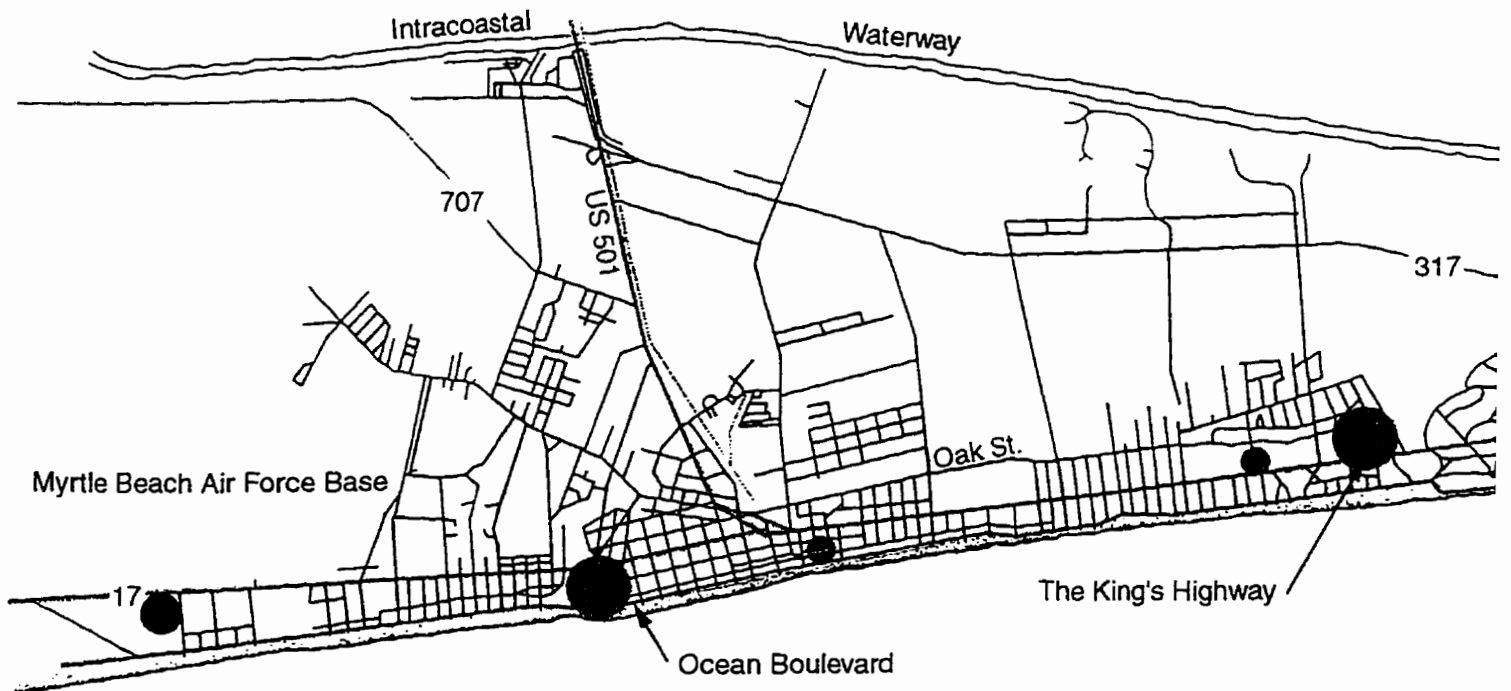
Map Source: Sanborn Map of Atlantic City, 1886; Heston, 1887 (map insert)
 Date Source: Goppsil's Directory of Atlantic City, 1886



Atlantic Ocean

MAP 5.8 Permanent Resident Land Use

Myrtle Beach - Transportation Corridors and Ter

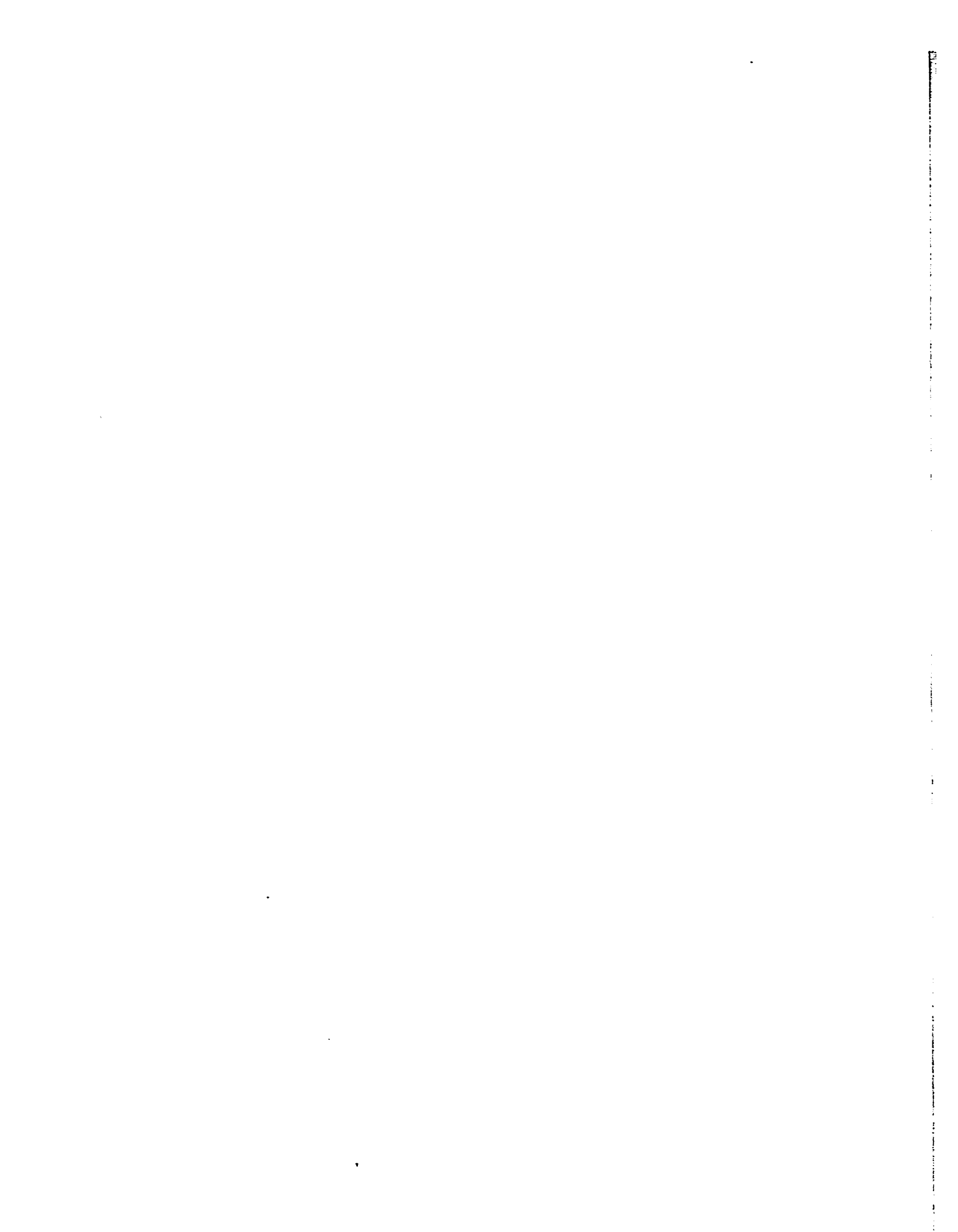


- Transportation corridors - Automobile
- Pedestrian mobility (amusement nodes)
- Potential automobile parking (termini) parallel to all City streets

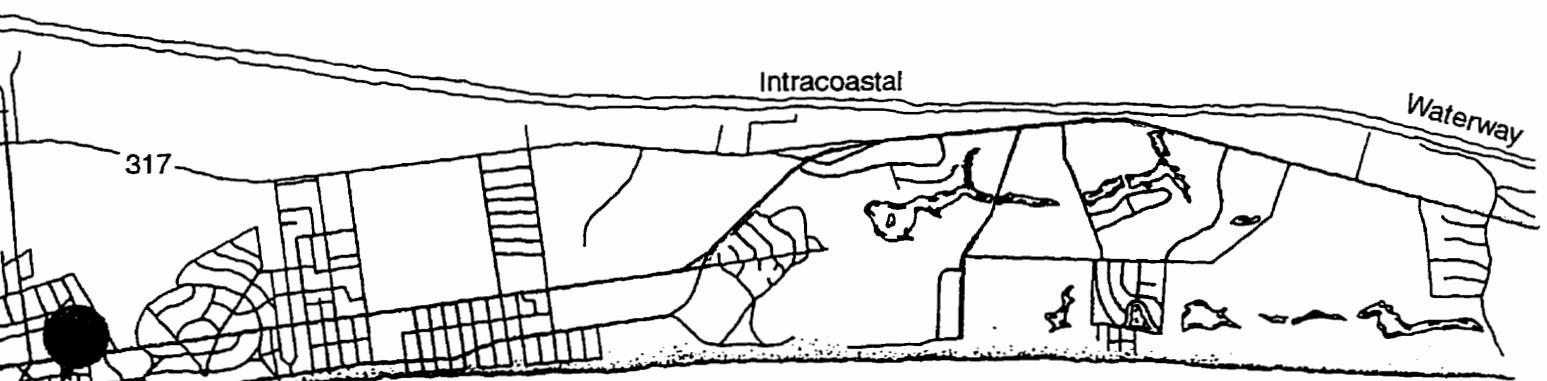
Atlantic

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W
 Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W

Map 6.1 Transport Land Use



and Termini, 1975



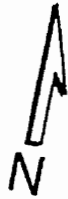
Intracoastal

Waterway

317

Feet

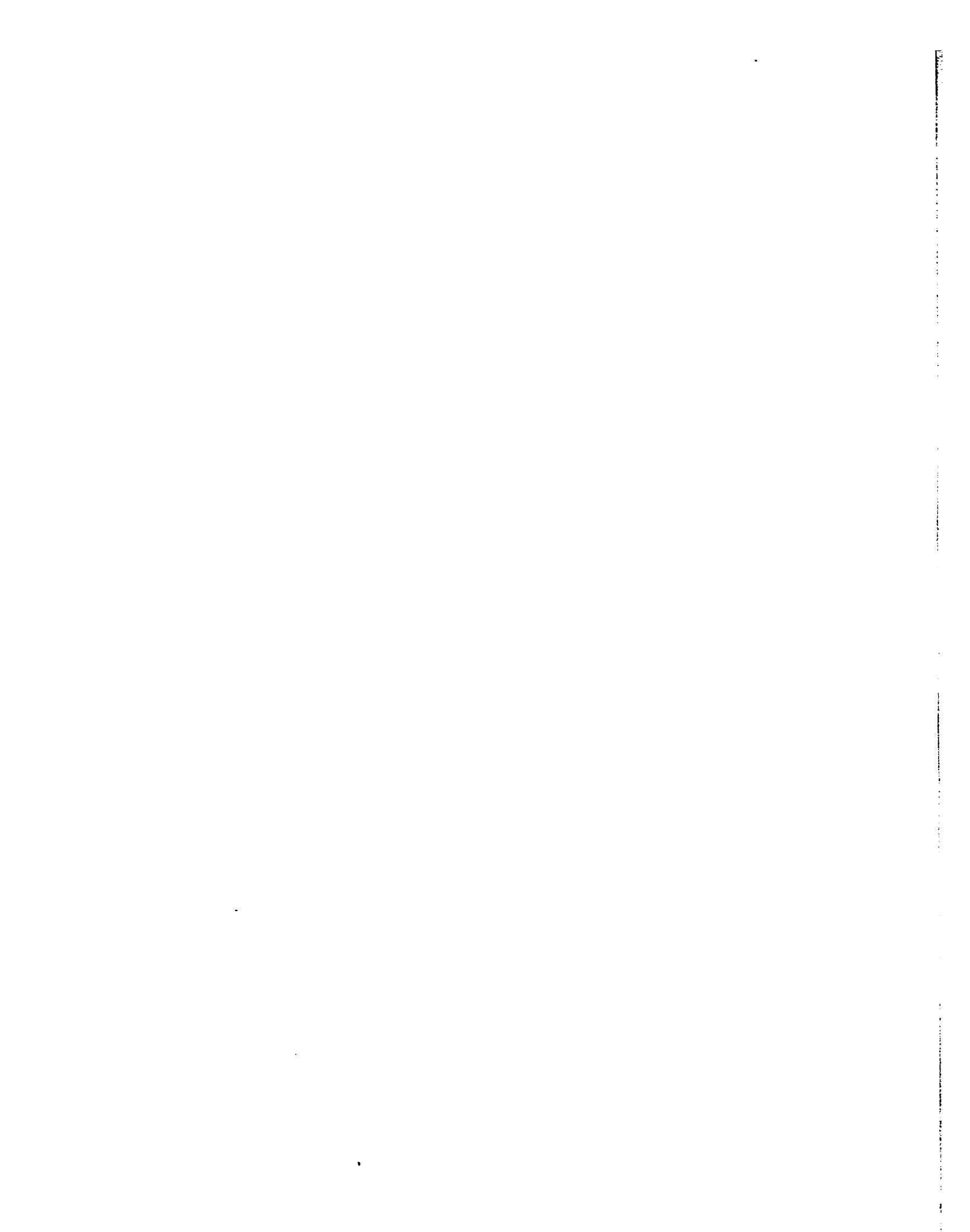
800 0 2400



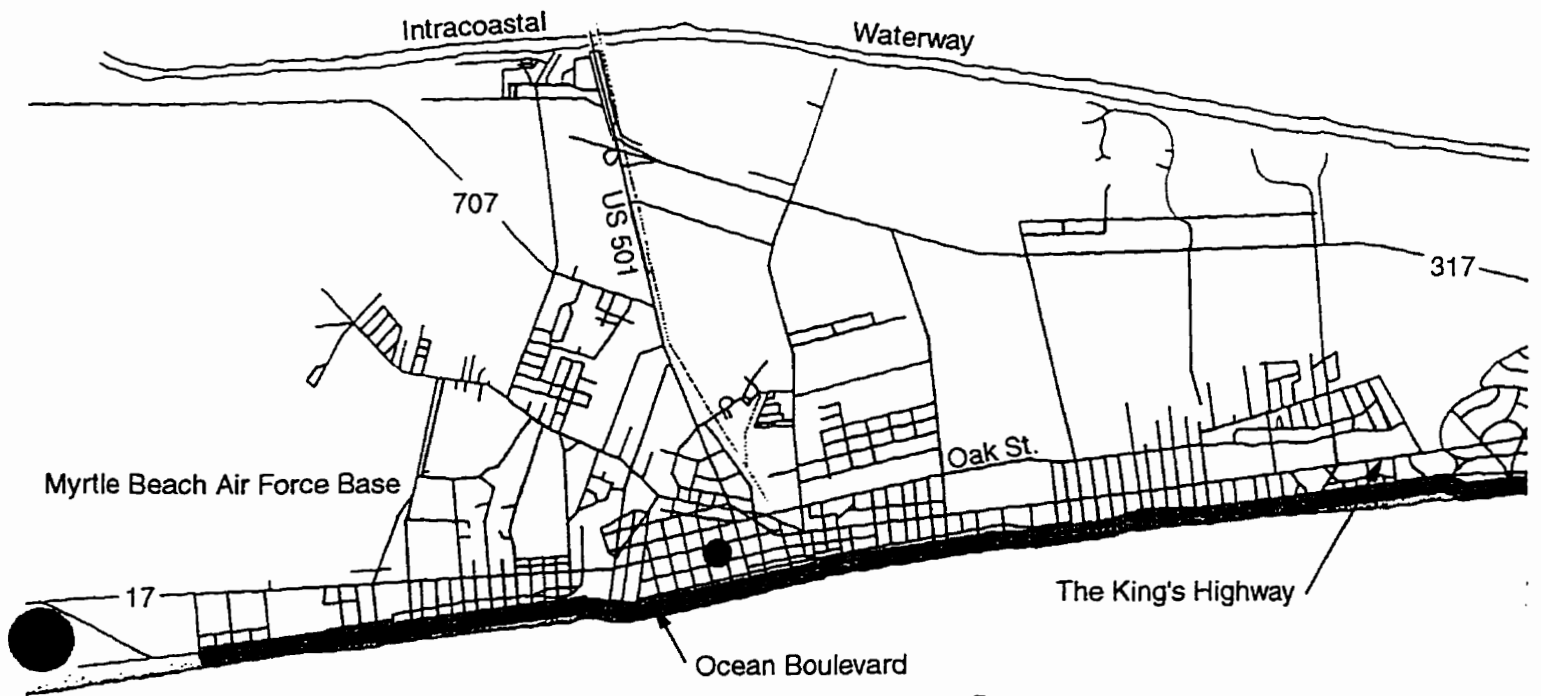
c Ocean

Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978

Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory



Myrtle Beach - Accommodations, 1975

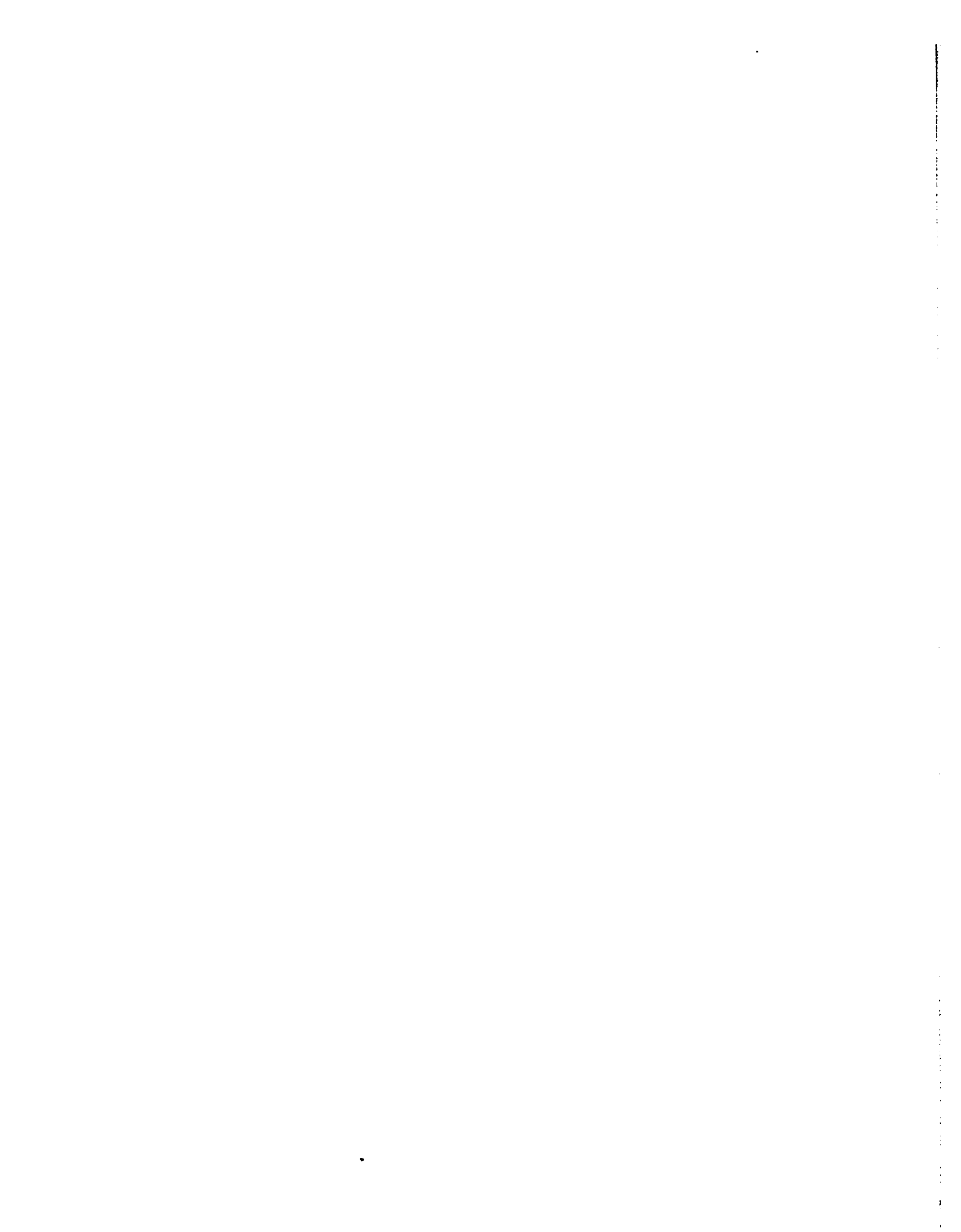


- 60 - Block Motel Corridor along Ocean Boulevard
- Campground nodes throughout the Grand Strand

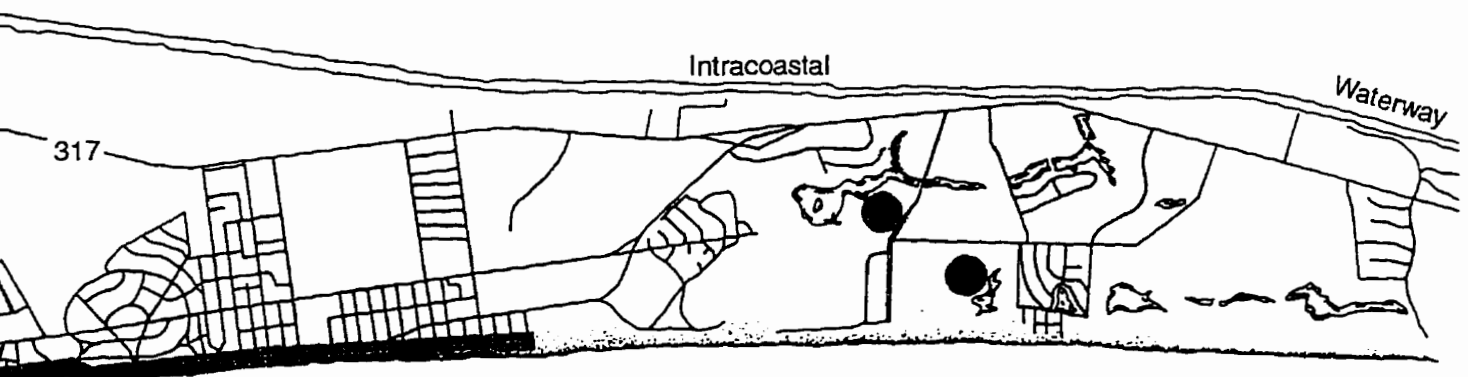
Atlantic

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W C
Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W

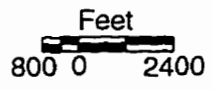
Map 6.2 Accommodation Land Use



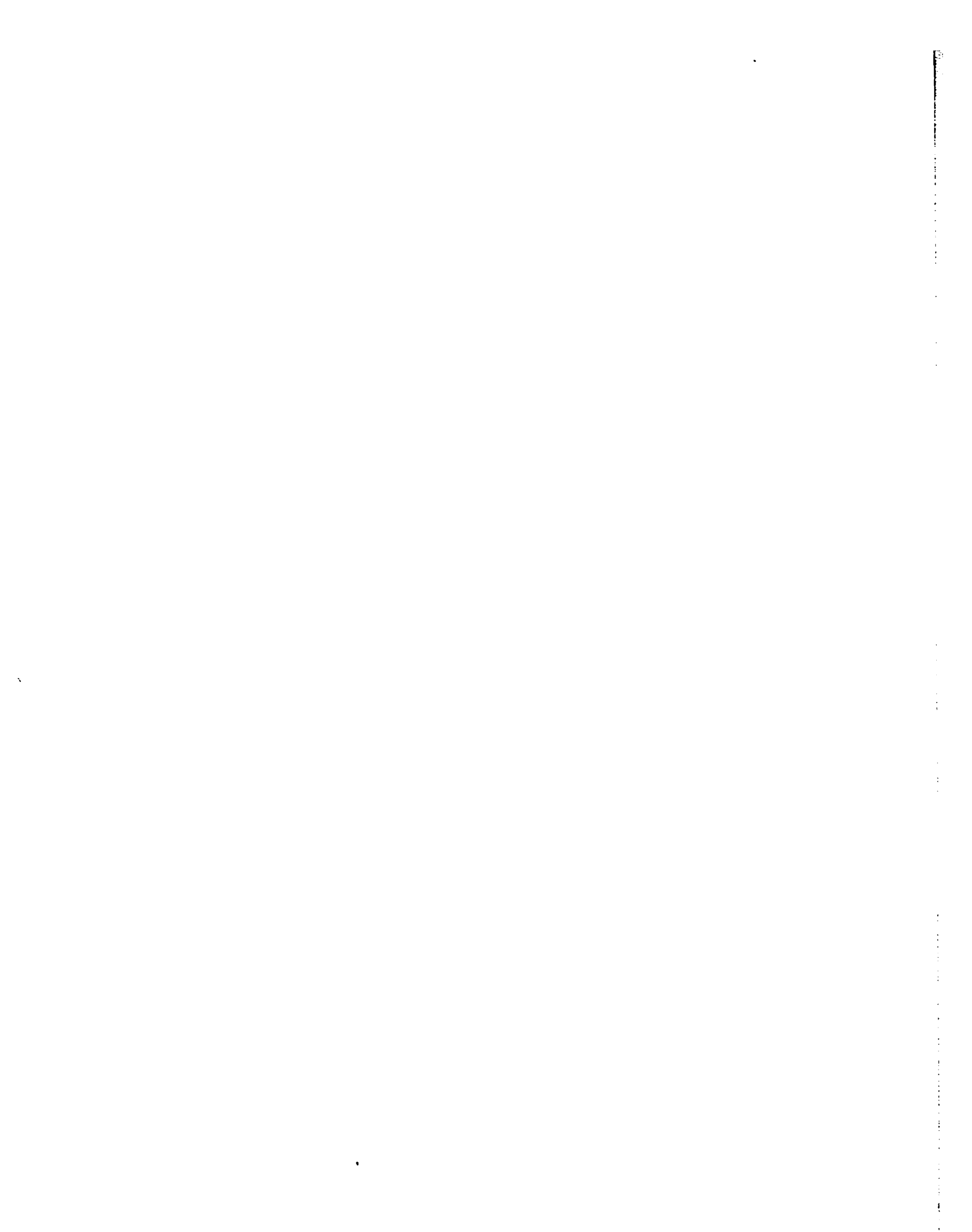
975



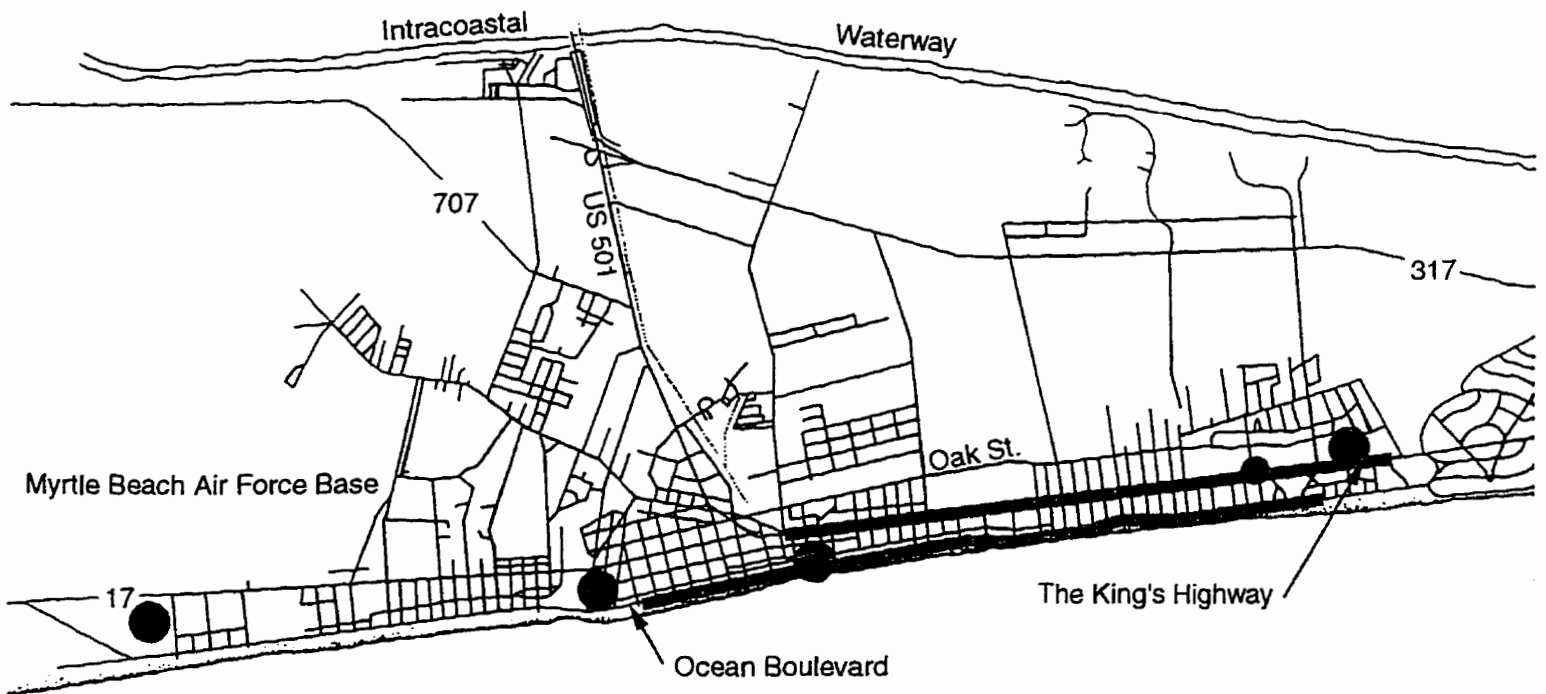
ic Ocean



Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory



Myrtle Beach - Food and Beverage Service

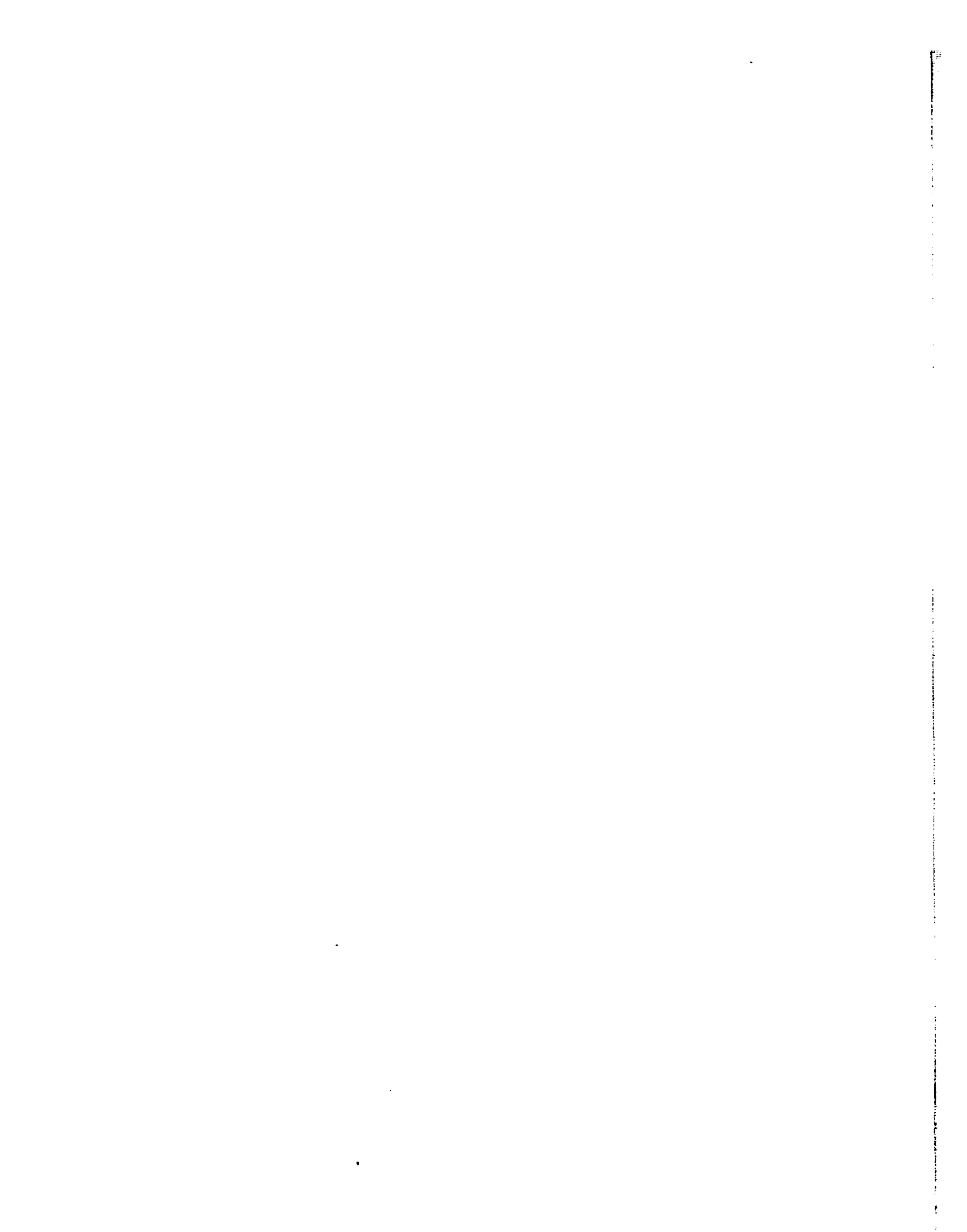


- Corridors
- Nodes

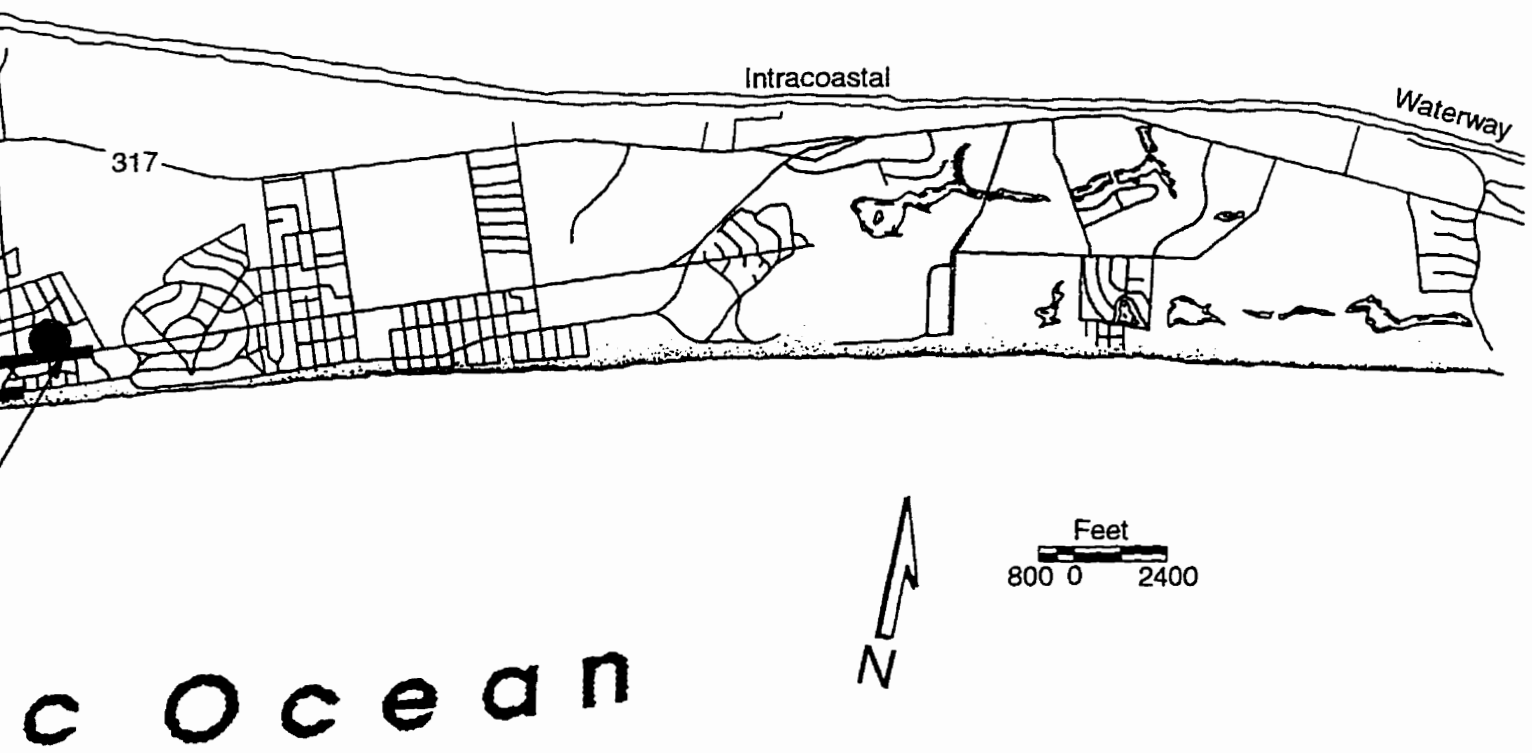
Atlantic O

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Const
Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Const

Map 6.3 Food and Beverage Land Use



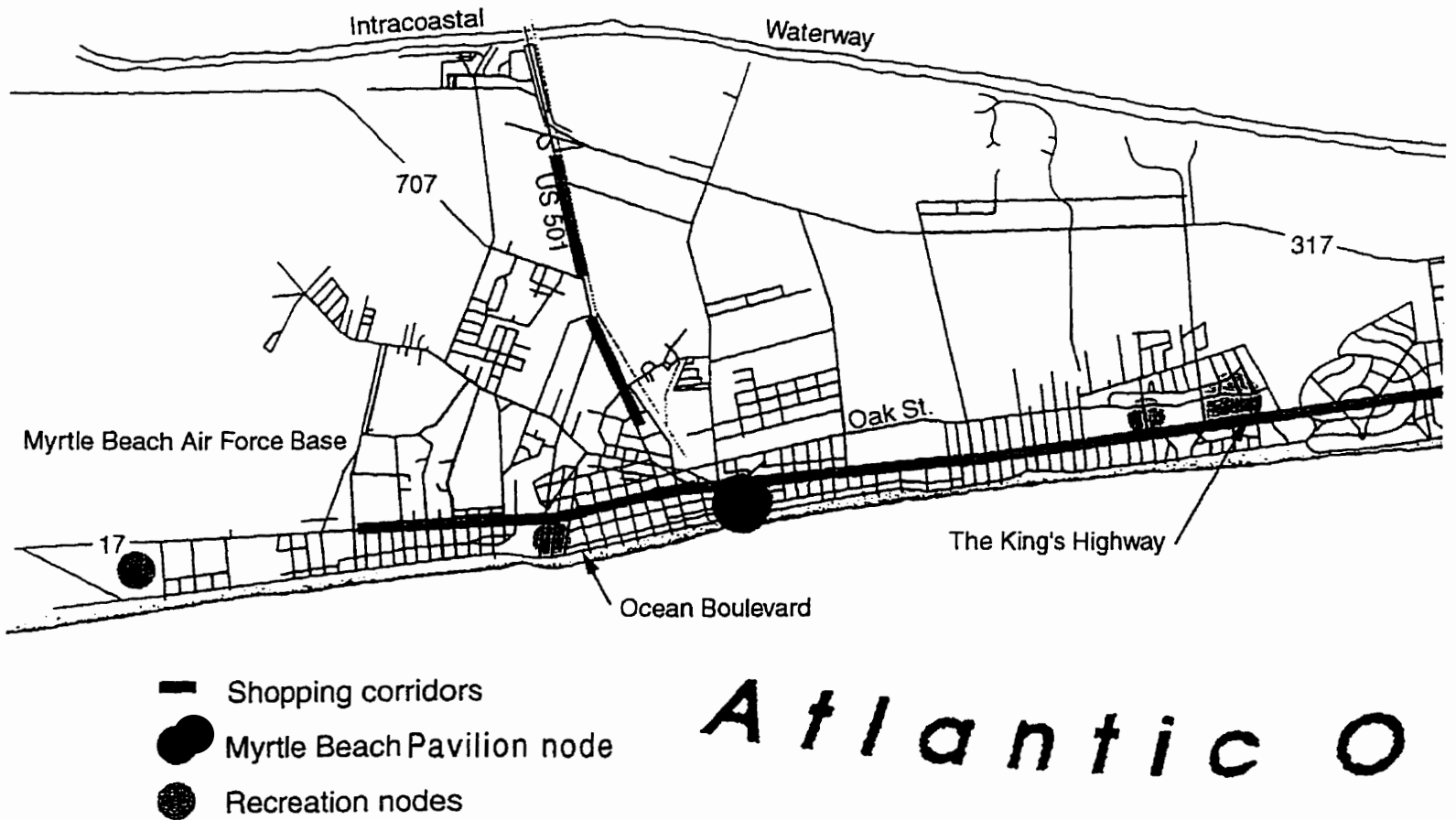
Services, 1975



Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory

Use

Myrtle Beach - Tourist Amusements, 1975

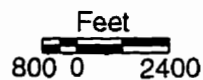
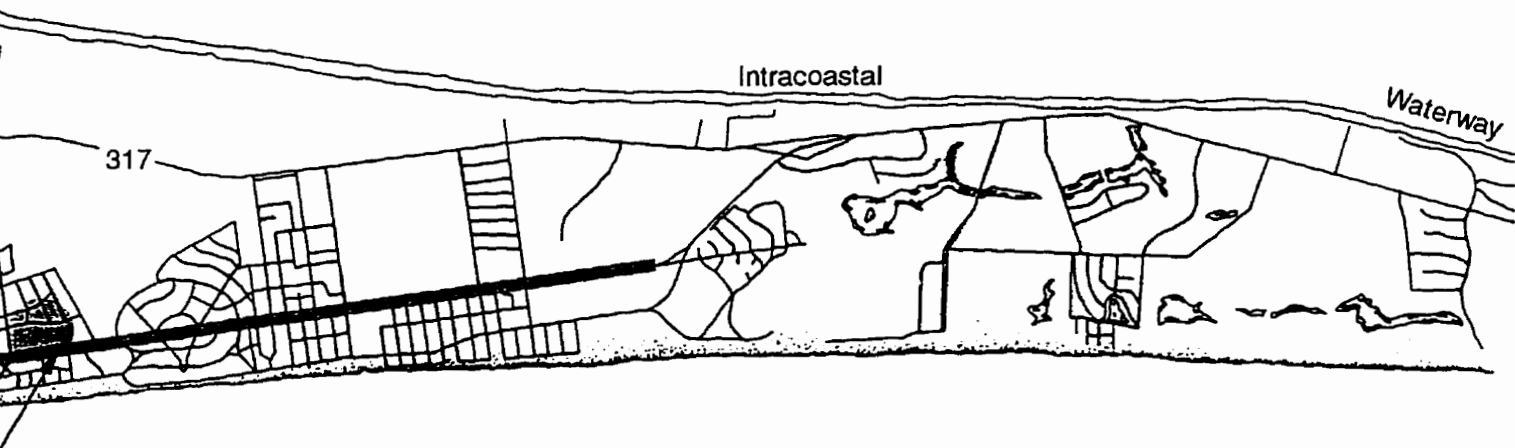


Atlantic O

MAP 6.4 Tourist Amusement Land Use



nts, 1975

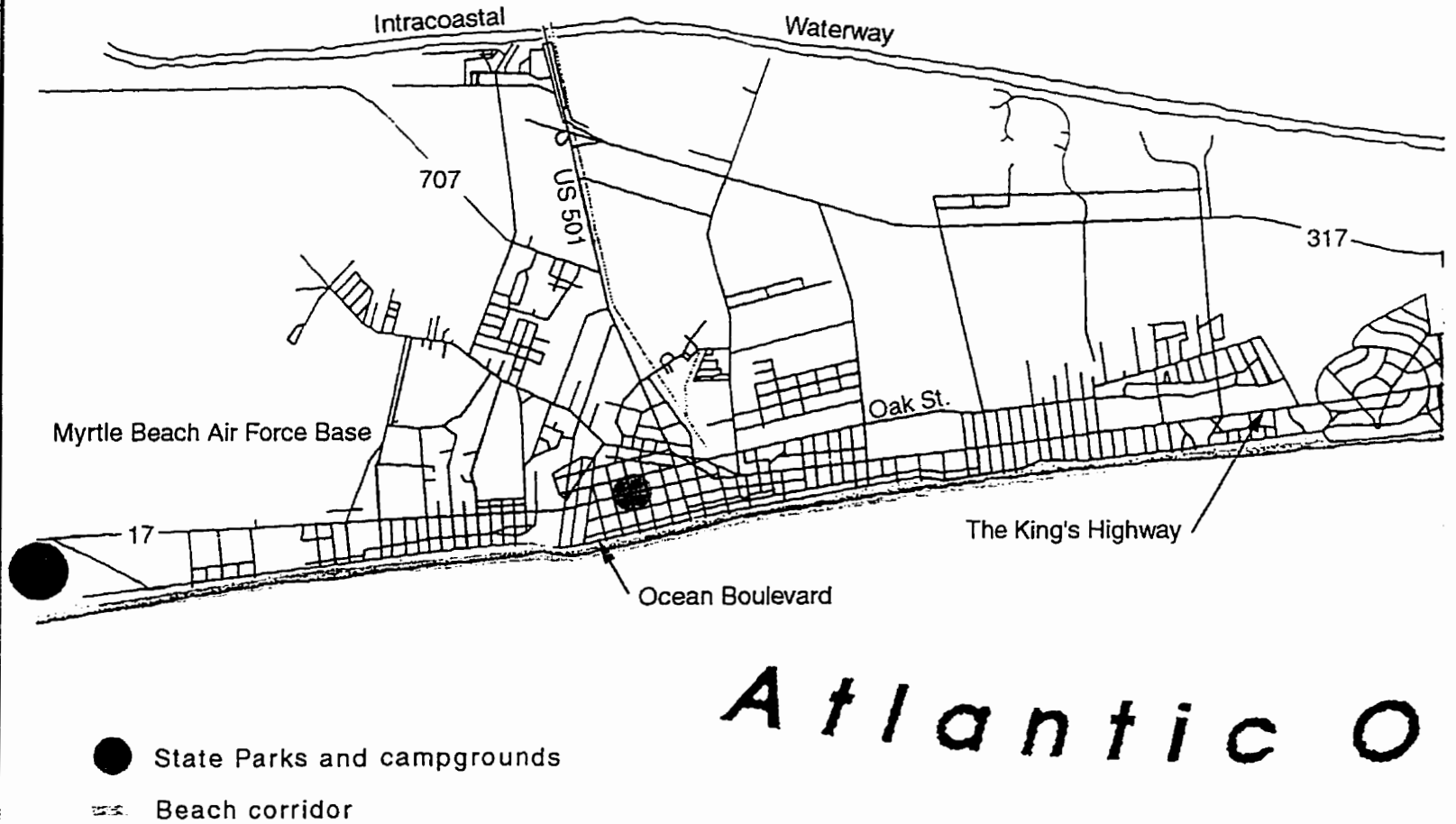


c Ocean

Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory

Use

Myrtle Beach - Public Space, 1975

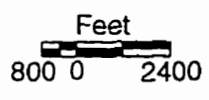
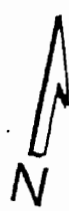
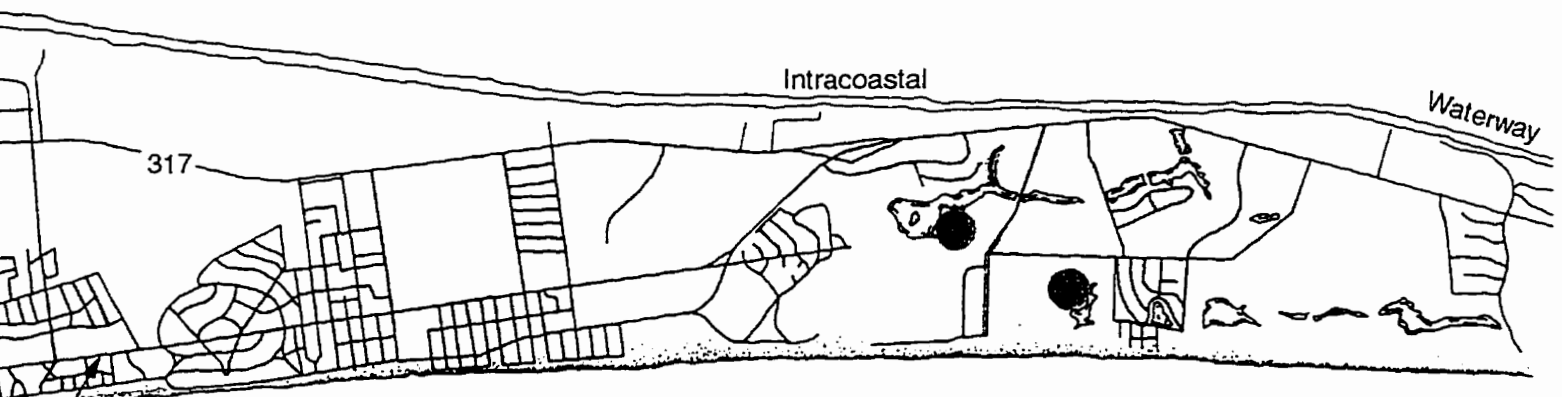


Atlantic O

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Const
Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Conf

MAP 6.5 Tourist Public Space Land Use

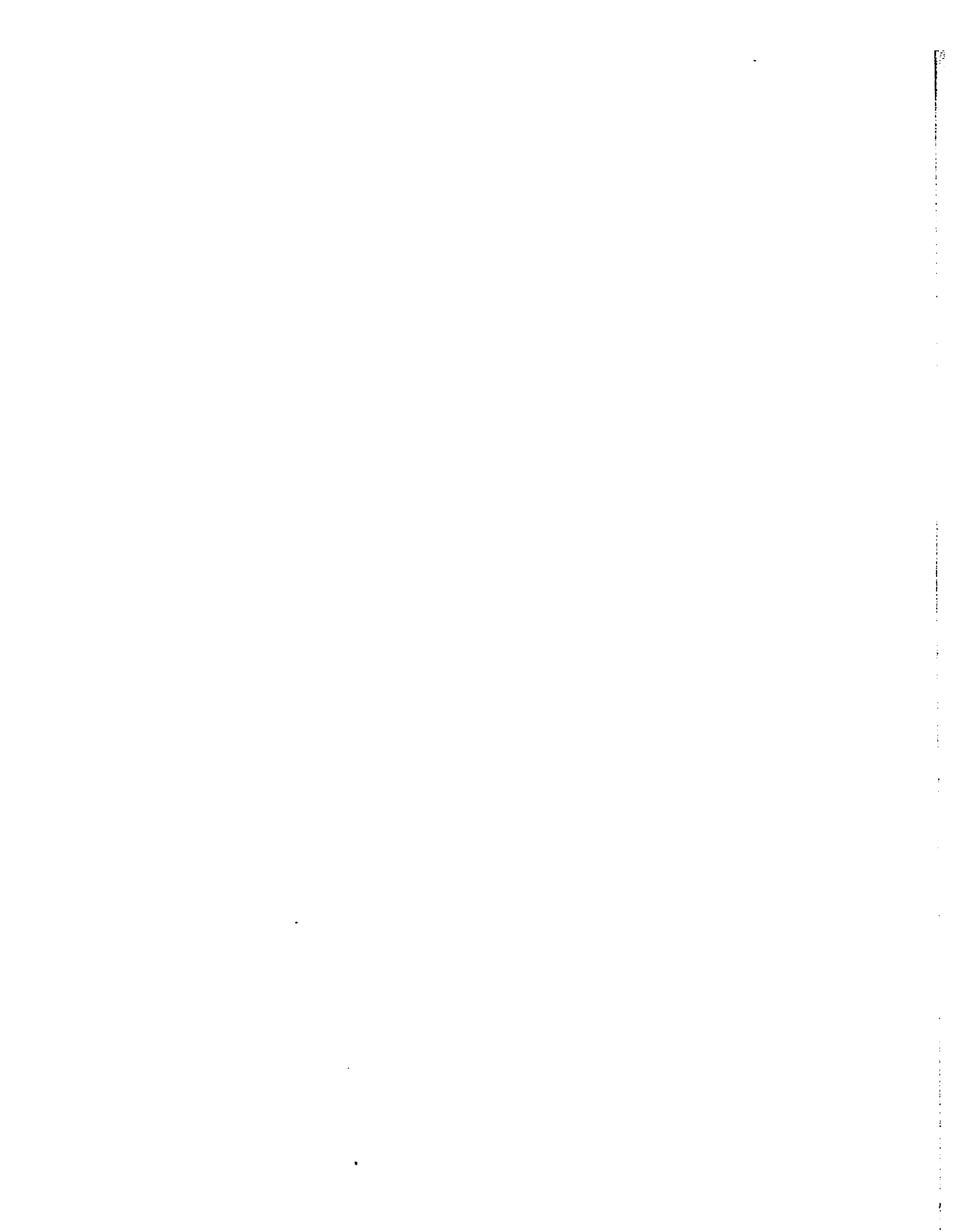
ace, 1975



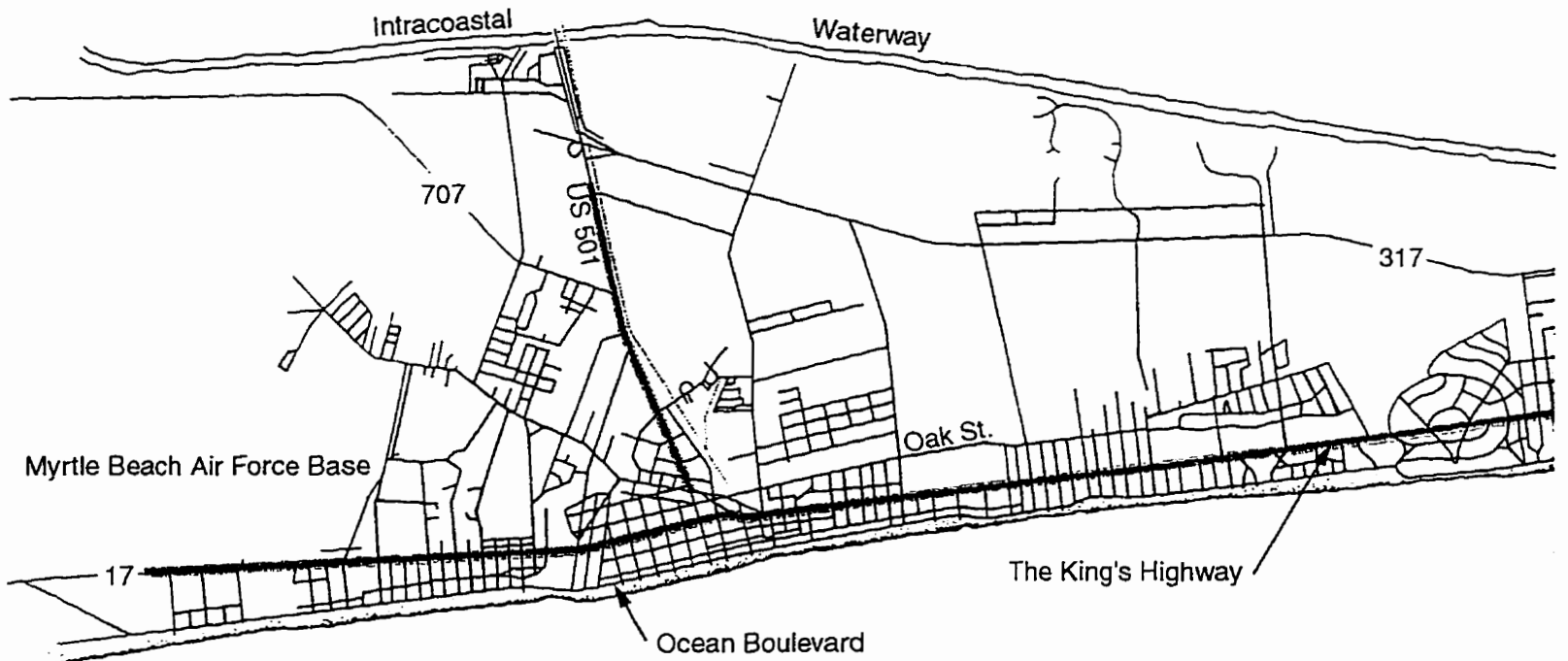
Atlantic Ocean

nd Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
nd Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory

nd Use



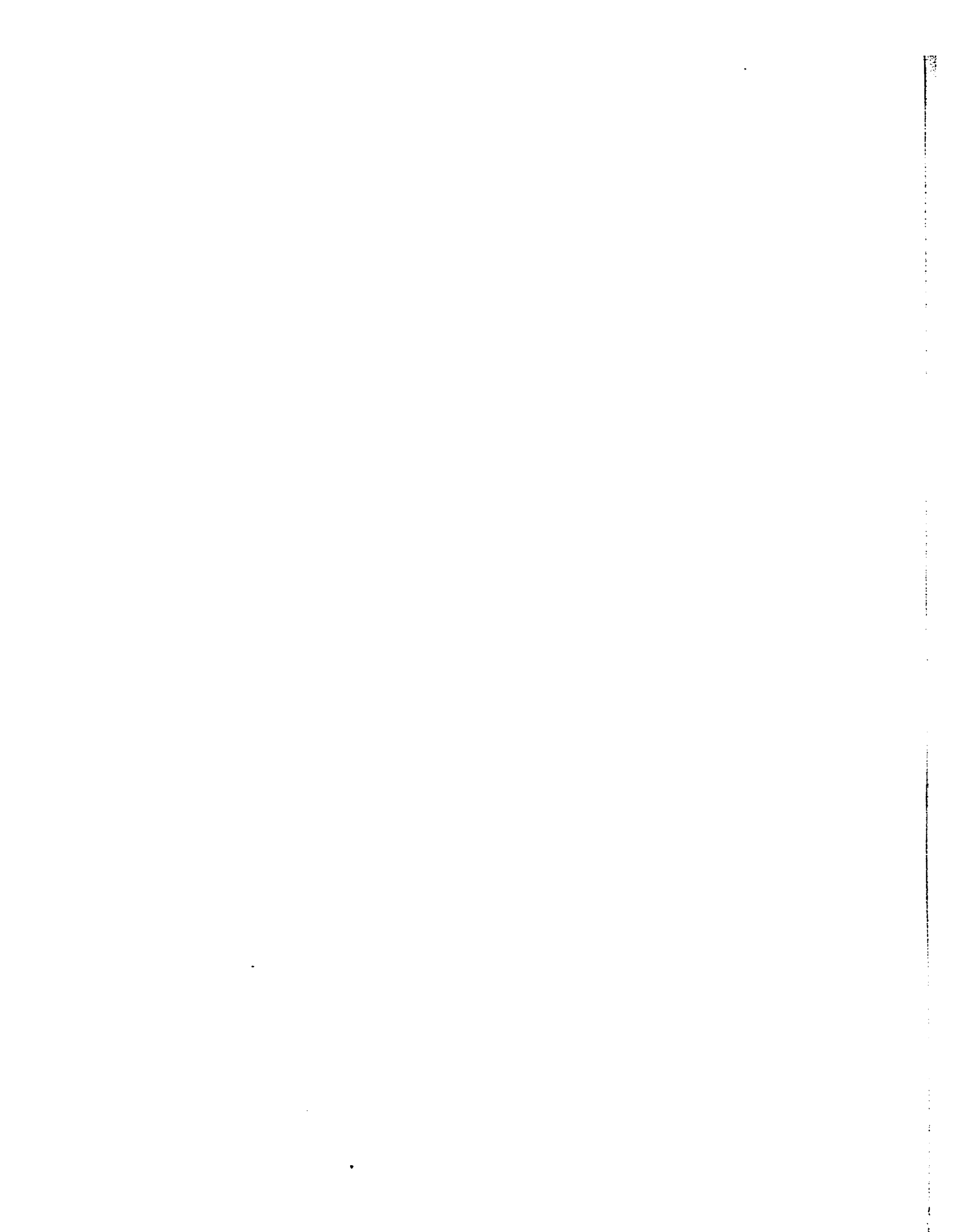
Myrtle Beach - Commercial Functions, 1975



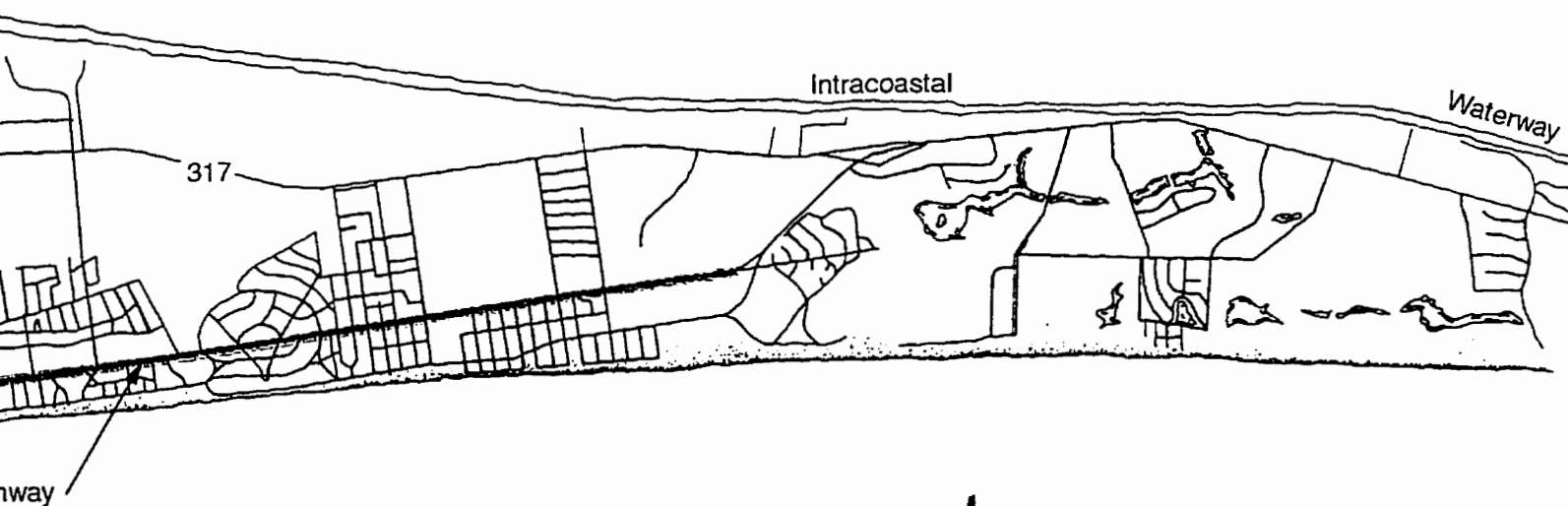
Atlantic Ocean

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Consult
Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Consult

MAP 6.6 Commercial Land Use



ctions, 1975

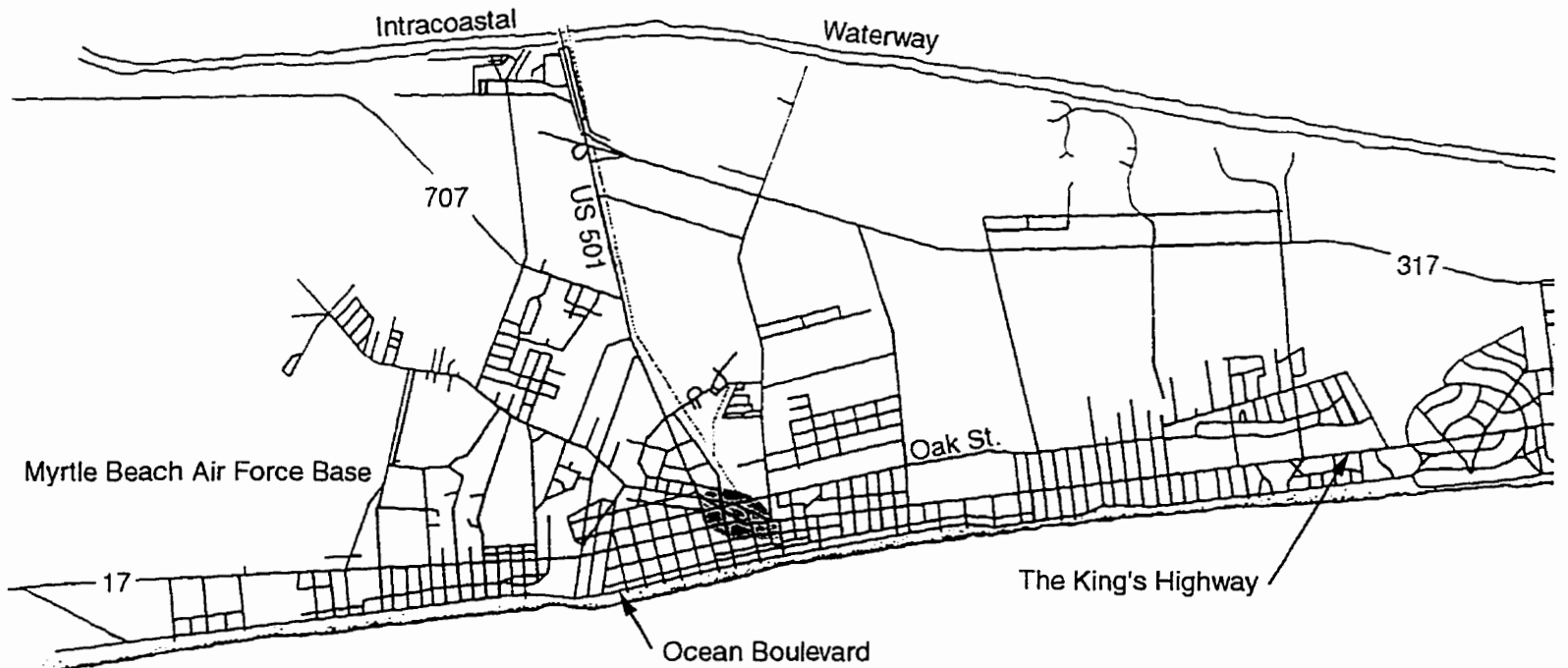


ic Ocean

Land Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
g Land Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory



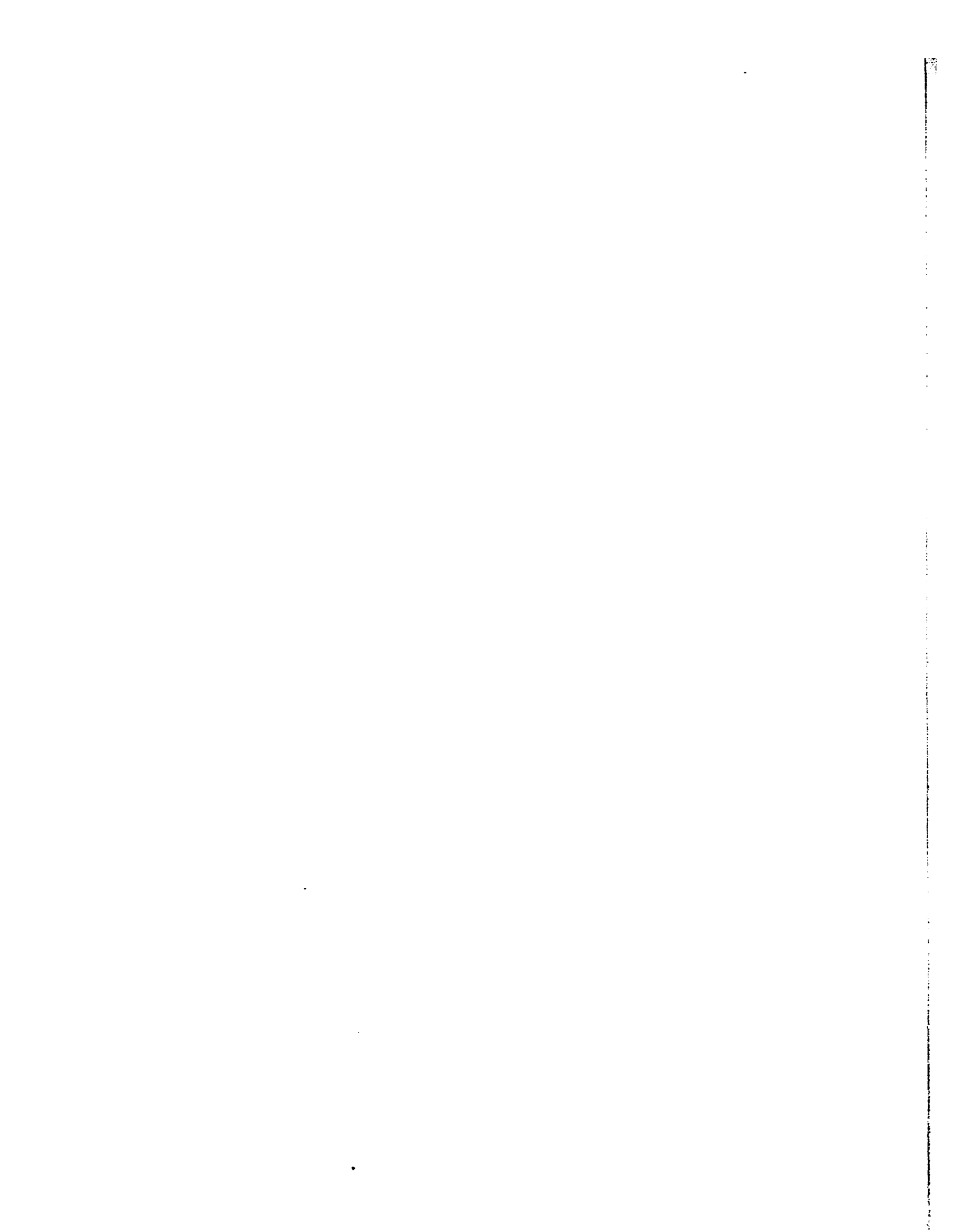
Myrtle Beach - Administration and Public



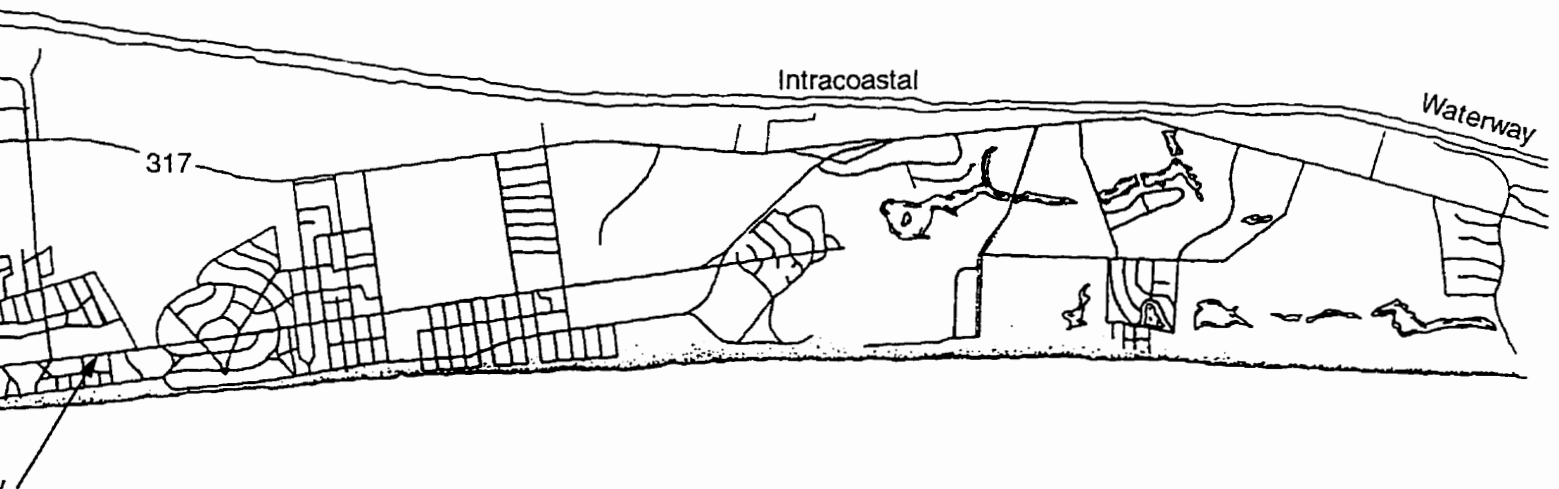
Atlantic O

Map Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Consu
Data Sources: Myrtle Beach Existing Land Use Map - LBC&W Cons

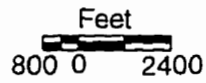
MAP 6.7 Administration / Public Service I



and Public Services, 1975

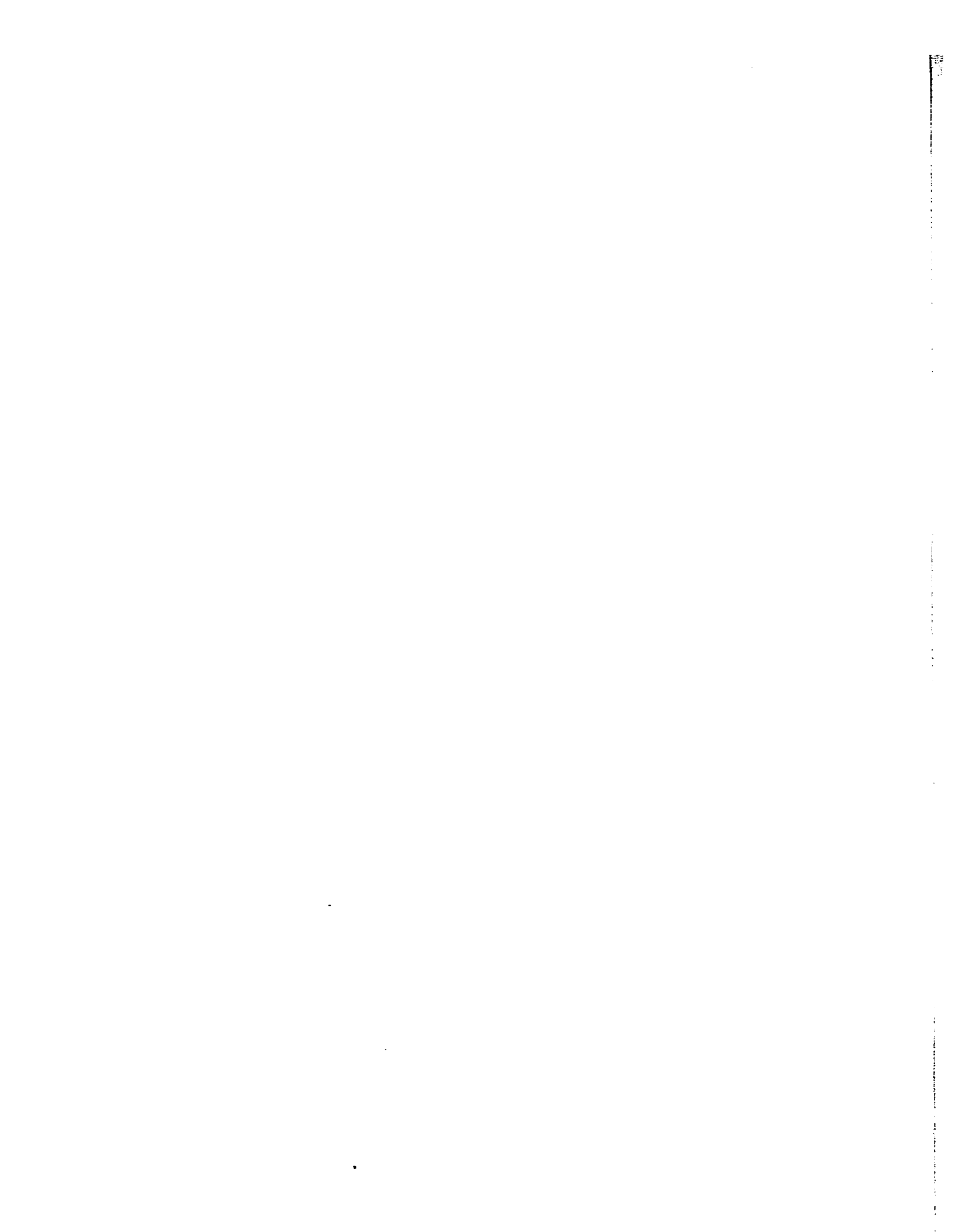


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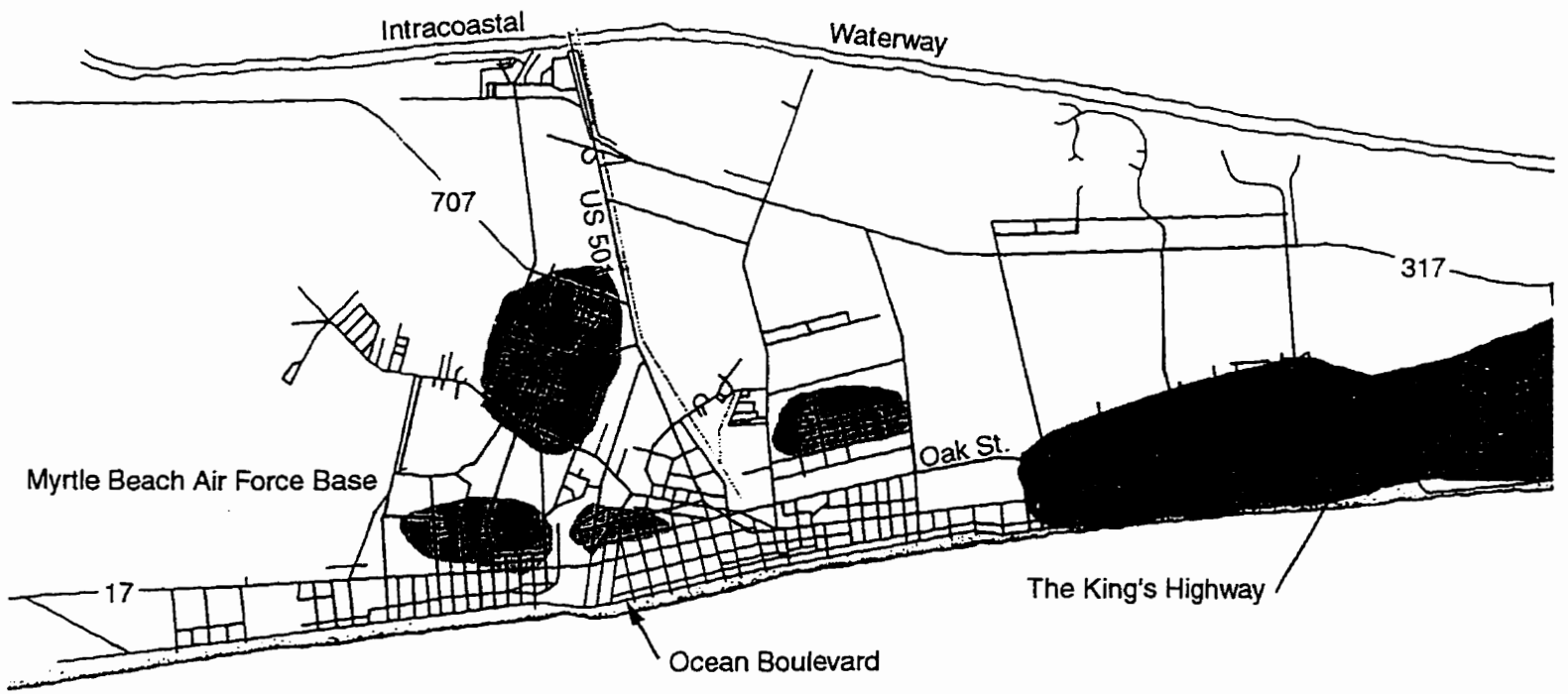


and Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978
and Use Map - LBC&W Consultants and Wilbur Smith & Associates for the City of Myrtle Beach, April, 1978; 1975 Myrtle Beach City Directory

Service Land Use



Myrtle Beach - Small Investors & Human Res



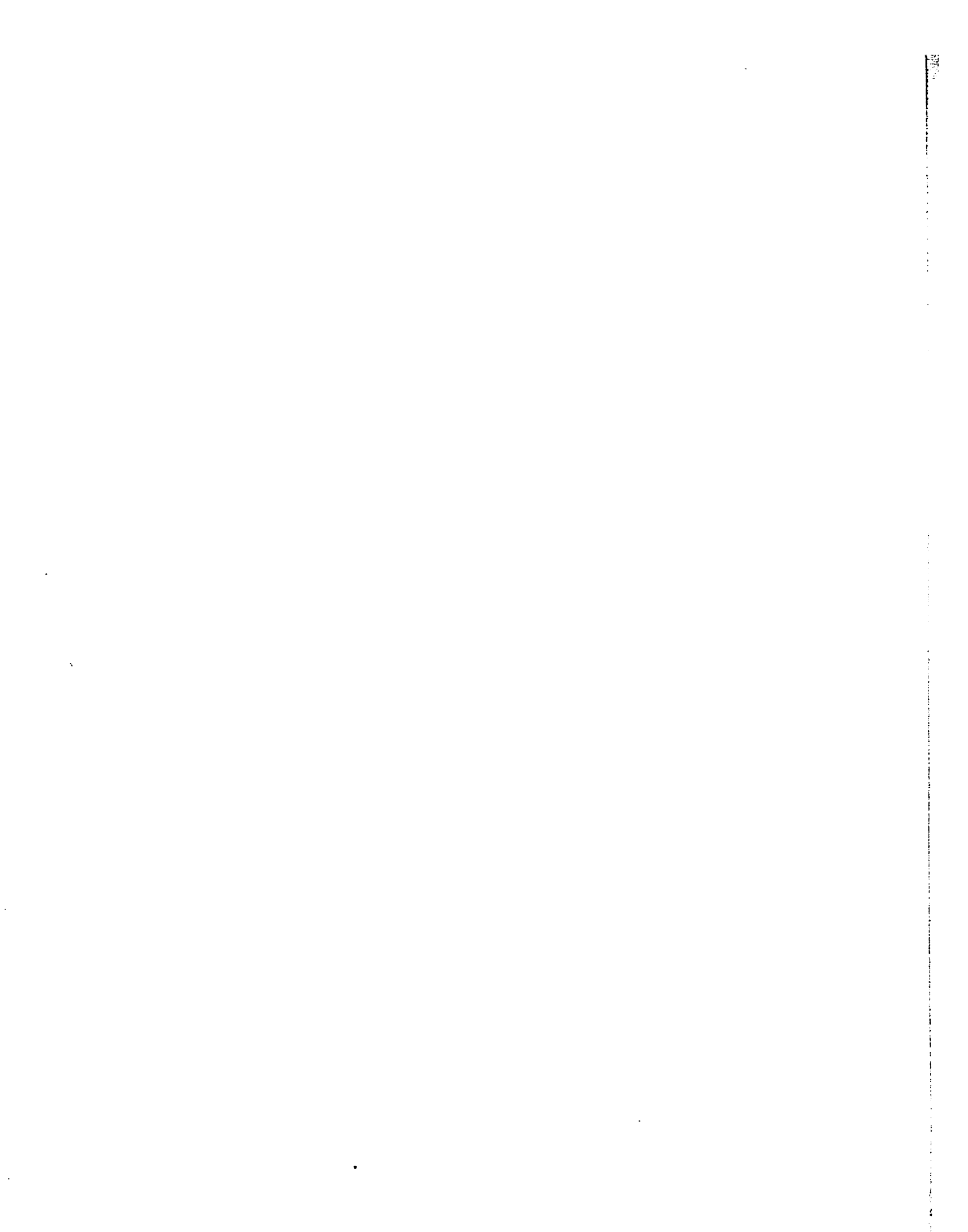
Middle & Upper-middle class housing

■ Major nodes

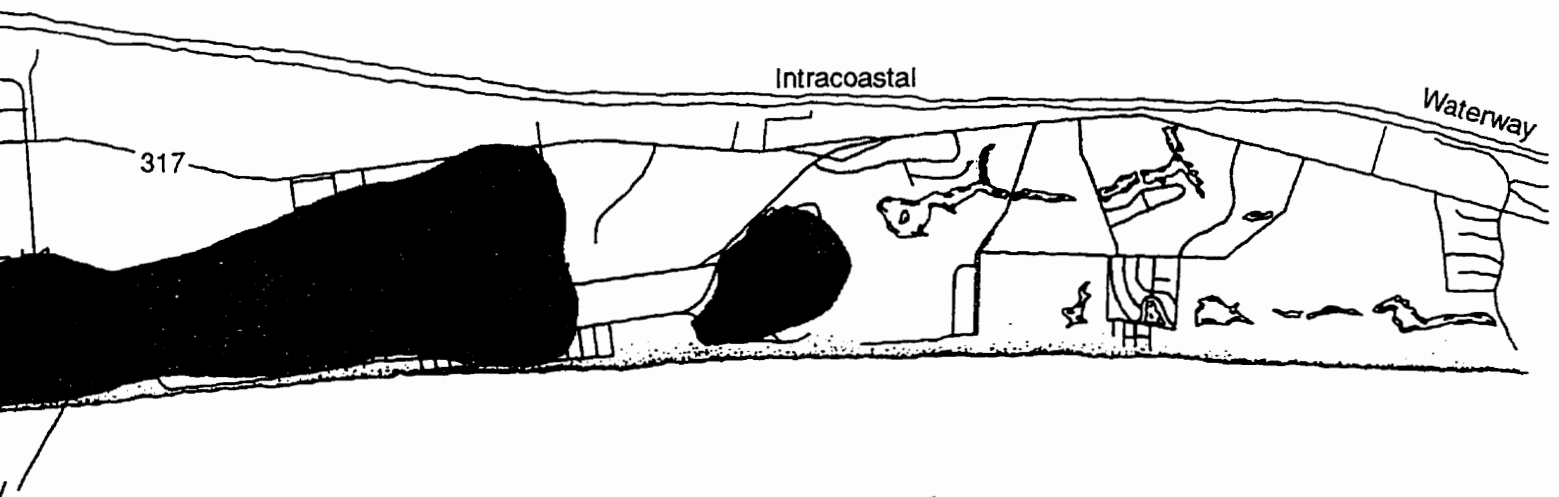
■ Minor / dispersed nodes

Atlantic O

MAP 6.8 Permanent Resident Land Use



uman Resources, 1975



ic Ocean



Feet
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nd Use



APPENDIX D

Comparison of Framework Components

	Landscape Features/ Natural Resources	Transportation Access	Internal Mobility
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	Island: Landward erosion, relative isolation Economy: Tourism, agriculture	Combination of technologies ending in steamboat at bayside pier and carriage ride to city core (point)	Pedestrian
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	Island: Landward erosion Economy: Tourism	Railroad (line) to city core termini (point)	Pedestrian, horse car and carriage
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	Unbroken 60-mile crescent beach: confined area Economy: Tourism, government air base, industry	Automobile/road (line); unlimited termini (parking spaces)	Limited pedestrian mobility; mostly automobile

Comparison of Framework Components

	Accommodations	Food/Beverage Services	Tourist Amusements
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	City core, entrance corridor, and 'main street'	Few establishments outside hotels	Mostly hosted in hotels
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	Small hotels: nodes near rail termini Large hotels: dispersed south of Atlantic Avenue	Hotels, boardwalk	Boardwalk RBD, 'main st' at night
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	Ocean Blvd. corridor facing the ocean	Self-catering in motels, campgrounds; motel restaurants; fast food in amusement nodes, 'main st.'; a few discrete restaurants	Series of amusement nodes in towns along the Grand Strand

Comparison of Framework Components

	Tourist Public Space	Commercial Functions	Administration/ Social Services
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	Beach	City core	'Main street'
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	Beach, 'main st.'	'Main street'	Node at railway terminal
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	Beach, state parks, perhaps golf courses	'Main street'	Node at intersection of two access highways

Comparison of Framework Components

	Architectural Style/ Values	Motivation
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	<p>Classical and Gothic Revival</p> <p>Stability, refinement</p>	<p>Pleasure, health, escape, socializing</p>
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	<p>Eclectic, wish for variety</p> <p>Ambivalence toward nature and technology</p>	<p>Pleasure, escape, potential for romance and social mobility</p>
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	<p>'Big Sign-Little Box' at retail establishments; Modern 'tall box' motels</p> <p>Automobile culture</p>	<p>Comfortable escape; preference for mechanical amusements and games</p>

Comparison of Framework Components

	Patronage	Geographical Source	Length of Stay
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	Elite	Distant, dispersed	Season
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	Lower middle-class, working class	Consolidated, near	One week; Sunday only
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	Middle classes	Dispersed; near in terms of time-, cost-distance	One week or more

Comparison of Framework Components

	Large Investors	Small Investors	Human Resources
CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach	Private money: local, regional individuals	Pilots, farmers: perimeter Retail owners: city core	Servants: north 'main st' Labourers: First St. corridor, dispersed
ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad	Non-local corporate money; British loans, stocks (?)	Business owners: northern half	Labourers, servants: northwest quadrant
MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile	Regional and local families; corporations	Business owners: northern corridor	Labourers: dispersed

Comparison of Framework Components

Role of Government	
<p>CAPE ISLAND Heyday 1860 Boat/Coach</p>	<p>Coastline safety, road approval</p>
<p>ATLANTIC CITY Heyday 1886 Railroad</p>	<p>Involvement in railway promotion; coastline safety</p>
<p>MYRTLE BEACH Heyday 1975 Automobile</p>	<p>Lack of government financial support for highways</p>

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