Promoting and advertising tourism resorts in the UK 1914–1918: A re-appraisal

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1. Introduction

Research on the promotion and advertising of resorts has been a central theme in tourism research since the key journals in the field were established in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Archer, 1971; Clarke, 1985; Crompton, 1979; Hunt, 1975; Uzzell, 1984), creating a continued interest in how places promote and advertise their attractiveness in a competitive marketplace for consumers. But a debate within social science has questioned whether tourism needs stability to thrive and develop. Lisle (2016: 7) points to the uncritical way the relationship between tourism, war and peace has been accepted, quoting the argument raised by Pizam and Mansfeld (1996: 1) that "safety, tranquility and peace are a necessary condition for prosperous tourism". Lisle (2016), adopting a global perspective informed by international relations, questioned this assumption by presenting examples of where tourism and war have coexisted. Gordon's (2018) investigation of France during the German occupation in the Second World War, where tourism continued to prosper, reinforces this argument. These broader social science debates accompany an emergent literature on tourism and war from within tourism research (e.g., Butler and Suntikil, 2013). Such studies have begun to challenge thinking about the way tourists, society, the economy and the state respond to such crisis events. In academic terms, the impact of war on destinations has stimulated considerable research interest (e.g., Beirman, 2020; Duan et al., 2022), while practitioners continue to grapple with how to manage destinations through crisis and post-crisis recovery. As Pennington-Gray (2018) observed, this area of destination research needs considerable strengthening to develop a body of knowledge that transcends individual case studies and creates advanced longitudinal perspectives that benefit theoretical and applied perspectives, and aid practice.

One area where both theory and application can be enriched is through more in-depth analysis of how ideological responses by stakeholders may lead to the cessation, adaptation, substitution or continuity of tourism behaviours and activities in the context of destination crisis. Such knowledge can assist in understanding strategies that can be deployed to address destination resilience and business continuity in crisis situations (e.g., place branding and continued advertising, see Ketter, 2022). One such example is World War One (WW1), known as the First World War or the Great War (1914–18), which created global turbulence and impacted on established and growing trends in tourism globally and national and local levels in affected countries, such as the UK.

In studies of tourism, WW1 is often treated as a historical interlude between the Edwardian period and inter-war years. Most studies abruptly stop at 1914 and restart after 1919 (e.g., see Morgan, 2008 as one example), following recovery from the impact of the global influenza pandemic of 1918–19 (Johnson, 2006). The academic analysis of tourism during the WW1 has been largely overlooked, as Walton (2000:14) noted 'There is plenty of work on the formative and maturing years before the First World War, but the flow dries up as the twentieth century proceeds'. Walton (1996: 604) explained the general neglect by historians who 'regard leisure and tourism as frivolous … while historians of leisure towns, resorts and tourism regard wars as irritating distractions from the unfolding of a story with very different priorities', and that neglect remains. The historiography (see Burns, 2005 on historiography) of tourism during the war is almost *de rigeur*, where this interlude approach is characterised by generic, often unsubstantiated, statements. These statements act as a bridge in historical narratives to connect the Edwardian period to the inter-war period, saying little about the intervening years. The void of research is reinforced by generic statements on the perceived absence of secondary data or primary sources, which, on deeper investigation, as this paper will show, is not the case. Hence a re-appraisal is long overdue to challenge existing historiography. This paper does not debate the wider issue of how tourism developed 1914–18. Instead, it demonstrates that at a resort level, tourism did not cease in 1914, recognizing that processes of continuity and change characterised tourism promotion and advertising at the destination level in the UK.

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One explanation of the neglect of tourism in the 1914-18 historiography is the attention given to a 'total war' philosophy (Marwick, 1988), where a progressive tightening of state behavioural controls on travel for pleasure and leisure (e.g., with price increases, publicity campaigns and propaganda measures to try and stop leisure travel) occurred. This anti-tourism philosophy was evident among the civil service (e.g., Board of Trade) and wartime leaders (e.g., Lloyd George), where the political priority was war production and defeat of the enemy. But these arguments overlook the fact that 'the first two decades of the 20th century were very important ones for tourism promotion … The quality of promotional activity also increased reflecting a growing understanding of the nature of advertising and role of design and presentation' (Ward, 1988, p. 8), marking out tourism as a growing consumer activity. Yet Ward's (1988, 1995) analysis makes little comment on the 1914-18 period beyond the benefits derived through displaced tourism at Llandrindod Wells, Wales. Similarly, local and regional histories of resorts remain largely quiet on this subject, aside from the well documented example of Blackpool (e.g., Walton, 1996, 2000).

This timely re-appraisal challenges the historiography of tourism advertising by examining how, why and in what ways destinations (sometimes collaborating with privately-owned but state directed railway companies in wartime) continued or changed their promotion strategies alongside the state propaganda of total war. Consequently, this reassessment aims to deepen understanding of destination resilience at times of crisis. The paper presents implications relevant to current policymakers and researchers on operating in crisis conditions and how greater resort resilience was achieved in a historic case. Destination marketing and promotion in the Edwardian period and wartime Britain utilised many of the management tools and practices we now recognize as commonplace (e.g., collaborative marketing nationally and regionally; use of public relations and political lobbying by businesses and tourism organisations). The paper also challenges the main thesis of Middleton and Lickorish (2005) that the 1920s marked the main period of development of the marketing of UK tourism, building on studies such as Walton (1983, 2000), Ward (1988, 1995) and Heeley (1981). Middleton and Lickorish (2005) argued that destination promotion in the modern-day form dates to the 1920s whereas tourism historians (e.g., Barton, 2005; Walton, 2000) argue that the antecedents of contemporary tourism were established by 1914. Furthermore, Ward (1995) identified the trajectory of destination promotion from the late Victorian period that matured into the form we still see today for many resorts by 1914. Whilst Middleton and Lickorish (2005) were principally concerned with the evolution of a destination management organisation structure and its marketing activities, the antecedents of this national organisation can be traced to the late Victorian and Edwardian work of the Federation of Health Resorts. Their activities created the political and operational framework for coordinated resort organisation and marketing in the UK, a theme we return to later in the paper, and initially highlighted by Ward (1988). In fact, Middleton and Lickorish's (2005) study is largely based on a specialised set of company records for one organisation. In addition, Middleton and Lickorish (2005) did not examine the state's evolving position during the Edwardian period that saw initial reticence towards resort advertising change, paving the way for greater resort advertising and later the state coordination of tourism marketing at a national scale.

Conceptually, the paper examines the marketing process of promotion that is broadly focused on providing information about the resort, or a place, product or experience (e.g., health treatments at spas) to encourage visitation based on the attributes of the locale. Promotion emerged to expand visitor volumes during intense competition between resorts in Victorian and Edwardian years for visitors, as a one-way process to directly target different consumer groups. The paper poses three interconnected research questions: First, *what* type of destination promotion occurred against a background of state calls and measures to seek restraint on tourism? Second, *how* did resorts respond to the impact of war through advertising and promotion? Third, what evidence exists of the *effectiveness* of their efforts?

To address these questions, this paper is structured as follows: first, we provide a review of the limited number of tourism-related studies on the subject area, also drawing upon primary research data for the period prior to the war. At this point we need to draw reader's attention to the lexicon of historical research in terms of primary data. In historical research, archives and source materials which social scientists would term secondary data, are in fact termed primary sources (e.g., the Census, Parliamentary Papers, newspaper articles and eyewitness accounts and diaries) (Danto, 2008). Second, we review the methodology used to reconstruct tourism promotion and advertising 1914-18 and then we examine three contrasting examples of resort experiences in one of the UK's major regions for tourism in the period – the West of England, with a focus on Devon and Somerset. A further unique contribution emerges in examining a neglected feature of resort advertising – the official guidebook, many of which remain in existence today in digital and hard copy formats (e.g., the Blackpool Official Guide – see https://www.visitblackpool.com/plan-your-trip/request-a-brochure/). The guide is an enduring and central promotional tool used by destinations globally. It is surprising to see it largely overlooked in most studies of destination promotion despite its role in communicating directly and easily with visitors in a visual and engaging manner to encourage visitation, especially in resorts and urban areas (see examples of guidebooks in Page, 1995). To assist the reader in understanding the effect of state policy on destination operations 1914–18, Appendix 1 outlines the key milestones. Finally, the implications of the research are examined followed by some conclusions.[1]

2. Literature review: A paucity of studies on destination advertising and promotion

2.1. Tourism advertising pre-1914

Studies covering tourism prior to 1914 (e.g., Ogilvie, 1933) make limited reference to tourism advertising. The literature in this field is disparate and quite limited, spanning marketing, railway history and visual culture (see Ward, 1995), with few subsequent additions. Research of this type has largely focused on railway posters in the inter-war period, particularly after the 1921 Health Resorts and Watering Places Act was passed, which permitted resorts to levy a charge on local rates. Simmons (1984) examined how the UK's 112 railway hotels used advertising to fill their capacity, given the £8 million expended on their development up to 1914. Various studies of railway advertising (e. g., see Thompson, 2011; Jewell, 1914, pp. 213–220) describe the rise of railway promotion departments after 1904, such as Great Western Railway (GWR). The railways initially targeted a rapid growth in the UK's professional classes (Perkin, 1989) and leisured classes and their disposable income for travel and holidays. Musgrove (1914: 35) encapsulated the prominence of Edwardian travel advertising in signposting those planning which holiday destinations to visit: 'all that is needed is to write to the railway company and ask them to send you one of their illustrated guide books' such as GWR's *Holiday Haunts* and London and South Western Railway (LSWR)'s *Hints for Holidays*'.

These guidebooks were promoted on the posters displayed on stations, alongside newspaper advertising and billboards, sometimes developed in collaboration with resorts promoting the official guides that advised the consumer to write to the Town Clerk or Information Bureau in the resort for a free copy. Musgrove (1914: 37–38) reinforced this point: 'In many cases the advertising posters have the casting vote. We see a picture of some seaside or country resort. It is simply lovely'.

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[1] The data is provided as Appendices to summarise the main findings to verify and validate our arguments as they are either lengthy extracts or tables from primary source materials that resulted from the research process. The actual sources are cited in the references.

The most influential in-depth study of individual resort advertising in the UK was produced by Morgan (1991) and Morgan and Pritchard (1999) but their limited discussion of the 1914-18 period reflects the availability and traceability of sources at the time of writing. Other studies such as Brown (1971, 1985) provided rich narratives of individual places, but the most notable is of Blackpool (Walton, 1983; 1996, 2000; Warner, 2021). Blackpool remains the most studied because it was unique in being permitted to charge a local levy on the Council's rates for resort advertising after 1879. Warner (2021) demonstrated that Blackpool continued to advertise after 1914 but suspended the use of its colour guide. Yet this did not stop the destination from seeking to reposition its market away from the predominantly working-class Northern visitor during 1914–18, by advertising to the more affluent middle-class market in London and the South East of England.

Historical studies often overlook the fact that tourism was a major economic activity for resorts by 1914 (Hansard, 1914; Durie, 2017; Walton, 2000). A Parliamentary debate in Hansard in 1916 demonstrated this in relation to the impact of enemy shelling and bombing of East Coast tourist resorts: 'The position of these towns is that they have lost their visitors, upon whom I understand they depend for something like 40 per cent of their income' (Hansard, 1916). This illustrates contemporary concerns with tourism dependency of localities, predating studies such as Bryden (1973). Further evidence from the 1911 Census illustrates the rapid economic development and dependency upon tourism employment in resorts as 'the largest number of lodging house and boarding house keepers in proportion to the population are naturally found in those counties which contain popular seaside and other holiday resorts, and it is among such counties that some of the greatest rates of increase have been recorded' (Census of England and Wales, 1911: 142).

The rapid national growth in tourism and hospitality employment saw workers in the accommodation sector grow by 29.3 %, with female employment rising 58 % 1901–11. This is corroborated at a resort level by Pritchard and Morgan (1999) who found that a quarter to a third of businesses listed in directories in resorts (i.e. Kelly Directories) were tourism-related. With a growing dependence on tourism employment in resorts, it is not surprising to find localities also embracing promotional tools to retain and grow their tourism markets. Morgan and Pritchard (1999) describe this as the rise of municipal advertising. This phenomenon was juxtaposed with the tensions between the power of commercial interests lobbying for tourism (individually and through the growth of trade associations) and local residents seeking to retain the status quo or destination stability. Residents sought to preserve the social tone, often criticizing the working-class hoards as day trippers, as observed by Travis (1993) in the evolution of Devon resorts.

2.2. The rise of professional tourism promotion and advertising: creative influences

Although town councils were not formerly permitted to levy a specific rate to promote their locality until 1921, this did not prevent destinations embarking on ambitious advertising programmes as highlighted by Morgan (1991) in the period up to 1914. Many of the historical studies of destinations prior to 1914 are unified by one common feature: prior to 1914, the private sector (e.g., privately-owned railway companies, chambers of commerce, hotels and consortia of commercial interests) had created an appetite for professional tourism advertising. The advertising output focused on posters, guidebooks created by destinations and railway companies, pamphlets and newspaper advertising and other innovative sources (e.g., postcards, lantern lectures, films, collaborative marketing with resorts and the use of colour printing as posters evolved from simple handbills). This emergence of an advertising ethic was explained in 1913 by two senior managers of the GWR who were pioneers of place-based advertising thus: 'formerly advertising was more proclamation – now it may be defined as persuasion. The former methods were useless as a means of

suggesting the benefits to health of travel or to touring new territory … [they] … would not have told them [the traveller] why they should visit Cornwall' (Pole and Milne, 1913, p. 234). The most innovative venture by GWR's Advertising Department was the creation of its *Holiday Haunts Guide* in 1906–1947, originally priced at 1d in 1906. It demonstrated, like the Blackpool Guide, the value of a single source of information for travellers on resorts. *Holiday Haunts* sold around 200,000 copies a year and eventually ended up as 1000-page guides with advertising and trip information on destinations served by the company. Similarly, the company's Edwardian pamphlet – *The Cornish Riviera – The National Holiday Line* - extolled the virtues of the scenic railway journey and destinations it connected from London and the Midlands.

2.3. Guidebooks as place-based promotional tools: the official guide

Shin's (2014) review of the field traced the shift from indifference by railway companies to promotion after 1865 to a highly professionalized and innovative activity by the Edwardian period. Shin rightly concluded that 'the fact that the railway possibly made the most extensive contribution to tourism promotion up to World War II, the lively field of tourism studies still has a poor understanding of how the railways promoted travel' (Shin, 2014, p. 188) that also includes municipal advertising. Town councils saw the effect of railway advertising and adopted many of their promotional tools. The last area of advertising that has attracted almost no research is the commercial guidebook. One of the most critical studies by Grayson (2013) unblocks the previous historical reticence of researchers to embrace this historical source because of concerns about how it commodified travel (e.g., Grenier, 2005), representing the rise of vulgar mass tourism (see Gilbert, 1999). Yet the commercialization of travel knowledge in the Victorian period, with the rise of accessible destination guides such as Baedecker Guides (Bruce, 2010), Black's Guides and the 'red guides' of Ward and Lock, reflect the travelling public's demand for cheap and accessible information sources. Ward and Lock guides were published from the 1880s until the 1950s, containing detailed descriptions of the resort or destination, and with fold-out maps and lists of attractions and accommodation, subsidised by a large number of advertisements. The Ward and Lock Guides grew from 30 in the 1850s, priced at a shilling, to 72 by 1900 covering most UK resorts and tourist destinations, compiled by editors who travelled to the locations and wrote the text. Walton (2005) advocated the use of guides as historical sources, representing tourism activity at a point in time, and like the official guides their evolution remains largely hidden.

Appendix 2 compares the structure of a wartime official guide from Weston-Super-Mare and a Ward and Lock Guide for Ilfracombe to illustrate the focus on advertising, with a strong association with the Victorian ethic of clean and fresh air in visiting 'healthy places', (a feature validated in official guides by statements from medical practitioners as late as the 1950s). These sources of information comprised lavishly illustrated depictions of the place, with accompanying text describing their attributes and positive features to create a desire to visit. The similarity of the official guide and commercial guidebooks show the Edwardian pursuit of knowledge even on holiday, and municipal advertising sought to position itself as the premier information source, branded the 'official' guide as many commercial undertakings (even during wartime) sought to emulate them. The Edwardians insatiable appetite for tourism information, including statistics (Mackenzie, 1981), meant tourism guides and pamphlets were widely read by all social classes. This is because the UK had achieved one of the highest degrees of literacy in Europe by 1911 (Vincent, 1989). The fascination with postcards, as a record of tourism vitiation, for communicating with friends and family (Gillen, 2023) saw 6 billion posted in the UK 1901–1910 with 734.5 million alone in 1904-5 (Macfarlane, 1906). These were purchased from resorts or railway companies (Anon, 1911; Macfarlane, 1906) and some resorts inserted them in railway publications such as *Holiday Haunts*.

One particular problem for researchers of official guides (and wartime posters) is that original copies remain hard to trace as they were freely distributed and not all localities have retained copies, particularly with wartime paper recycling drives after February 1917 (War Cabinet, 1917). Railway company brochures and guides also suffered a similar fate, frequently discarded after use, and so as they were updated and issued annually. Yet the guides' key role in destination advertising emerges in a May 1914 Parliamentary Debate in Hansard on the proposed Health Resorts and Watering Places Bill (that passed its final reading stage, but due to the outbreak of war, was delayed until its eventual passing in 1921). Appendix 3 summarises the main themes that emerge from the debate on the Bill, which comprises 80 pages of text (Hansard, 1914 HC Deb May 01, vol 61 cc2007-812007), offering a unique cross-section of political discourse about tourism resort advertising, seeking parity with a 1910 Act for Ireland. Appendix 3 embodies examples of resort lobbying and support from politicians, including the Government's Board of Trade opposition, arguing it did want to create additional financial burdens on local ratepayers. But with 176 MPs supporting the initial Bill promoted in Parliament it demonstrates the support and recognition of destination promotion.

2.4. The Federation of health resorts as a stimulus to destination promotion

One important development that questions the Middleton and Lickorish (2005) thesis of the 1920s as a key point of development for tourism, was the foundation of a national organisation - the Federation of Health Resorts (Appendix 4) to market destinations collectively, which pre-dates the British Travel Association. Appendix 4 outlines their ambition and focus on destination promotion nationally with 97 member resorts in 1914 and adopting many of the roles now associated with a modern-day destination management organisation. The Federation co-ordinated destination guides, commissioned writers to visit and prepare the text and commission the photographs. The Federation was associated with the process of creating many of the Town Guides for visitors under contract, a contracted-out function that many resorts have continued through to the present day. The Federation also secured government funding for hospitality for visiting travel writers in 1914 from Europe. As Appendices 3 and 4 show, a diversity of advertising activity existed, which was recognized by MPs. But there were also critics of the disfigurement of the rural landscape due to the widespread use of billboards and posters (Readman, 2008). As Appendix 3 indicates, a justification for municipal advertising was the removal of the railways total control of the advertising process, to level the field.

3. Methodology and data sources

Historical research in tourism is informed by distinct historiographies about tourism phenomenon that tend to maintain the established position until challenged or revised. As most tourism research tends to be based on social science methodologies, a distinction needs to be drawn with historical research, where some critics have claimed it may appear to be descriptive commentary (Towner 1989). However, the judicious use of primary sources creates a purposeful narrated review, creating a historical reconstruction and critical interpretation. The difference with social science research, is that historical research may sometimes use a hybrid methodology - *bricolage* (i.e. the use of different methods and approaches to address a research problem simultaneously-see Wyatt and Zaidi, 2022; Sanchez et al., 2024). This is because historical data may not always be sequential or complete due to what survives. Bricolage may be necessary from a pragmatic perspective to reconstruct a particular phenomenon (Denzin, 1994, pp. 15–30), as bricolage enables the researcher to pivot and be resourceful, creative, flexible and focused on the problem in hand.

In this study, a degree of bricolage is adopted as well as a focus on discourse analysis due to the use of historical sources to narrate the way

different organisations and groups, with their own political agendas, promoted destinations. In addition, this process requires triangulation of multiple sources to verify the findings. For example, the use of minutes of council meetings and committees that considered tourism advertising issues for individual localities, which were politically determined, were also reported in newspapers enabling debates to be verified where multiple sources exist. In this study, a considerable degree of accuracy is evident in the empirical content recorded in different sources when triangulated, such as minutes and newspaper reports. Newspapers were at their zenith in the Edwardian period as an information source, with most localities served by daily and weekly provincial and national newspapers and advertisers (Hobbs 2016). Town councils had close working relationships with the press as conduits for disseminating council information on a paid and unpaid news basis. Advances in software have made newspaper archives digitally searchable to a finer level of detail, allowing greater triangulation of evidence. Where digitised versions do not exist, original sources sometimes exist in local archives, for example, the Minehead and West Somerset Advertiser Visitor List, first published in 1882, which in the summer months recorded visitors staying in local accommodation through paid listings. These lists for the period 1914-16 illustrate for one resort in Somerset that patterns of wartime tourism were relatively stable during the key holiday periods in terms of the numbers of visitors in situ; in some months visitor numbers expanded.

The increasing scale of data sources in the late Victorian and Edwardian period reflect the growing bureaucratization of local government which was highly professionalized by 1914. Running in parallel to these trends was a growing rivalry between places (Stobart, 2004) to promote their attractiveness for visitors (Ward, 1988, 1995). Key political figures had a dominant influence on what was recorded and actioned around place-based advertising such as the Town Clerk who managed the council and was the gatekeeper of what was discussed at council meetings, with power to introduce ad hoc items such as advertising. Tourism advertising often resided in the Clerk's office (evidenced by posters advertising official guides), being the conduit or promoter of council advertising activities (e.g., in Torquay the clerk represented the Town externally on the Federation). As Ewen (2003, pp. 1870–1938) recognized, this role as a power broker, facilitator and influencer of activity was affirmed by Smith (2000: 273): 'The office of Town Clerk became one of major importance, sometimes overwhelming the influence of the elected council. Some town clerks became dominant figures in urban society', respected for their legal knowledge (Garrard, 1983). Thus, minutes and council promotional material provide a rich source of data when considered against the context they were created in as a contested area of non-statutory council business, often with detailed text and statistical information on specific themes. This paper selected three contrasting examples of resorts in the county of Devon (Torquay and Ilfracombe) which had been examined by Morgan (1991), and one in nearby Somerset (Weston-Super-Mare) where evidence exists. Other Devon and Somerset destinations did produce official guides (e.g., Exeter and Teignmouth in south Devon during the wartime) but these three resorts represent major components of the South West tourism economy, providing contrasting examples of the approaches, challenges and experiences in municipal destination promotion in wartime.

4. Wartime promotional experiences of Devon and Somerset resorts

The West Country comprises the counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall and Somerset and their coastal resorts emerged in the Victorian period (Travis, 1993). This is demonstrated in Appendix 5, which shows the expansion of population as the resorts developed, eventually emerging as the second largest area for domestic tourism in the UK after London. Appendix 5 shows the impact of the coming of the railways as a stimulus to the development of domestic tourism, and the geographical differentiation of working-class (e.g., Walton, 1981) and middle and

upper-class resorts (Walton 1985). In Devon the growth of resorts is extensively documented by Travis (1993) illustrating how Torquay initially developed as a winter resort due to its climatic and health promoting qualities with longer stays from affluent visitors. In contrast, Ilfracombe and Weston-Super-Mare benefited from the twin stimulus of railway and often overlooked role of steamboats, to connect nearby sources of urban population (e.g., South Wales and Bristol – see Way, 1884, pp. 171–173). Piers were constructed in many West Country resorts to accommodate steamboat traffic (e.g., Ilfracombe, Western Super Mare, Clevedon and Minehead – see Armstrong & Williams, 2005). The Edwardian period also saw innovations in rail travel when, in July 1902, LSWR advertised its new express services (i.e. accelerated services) to the West Country in the *London Illustrated News*, with corridor cars and dining cars, rivaling GWR. The scale and growth of tourism need not be reiterated here as numerous excellent syntheses exist for the region and specific resorts (Walton 1983; Travis, 1993; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Essex and Brayshay, 2018; Kneale, 2018). Interestingly, Hirst (2021) indicated how resorts in Wales responded to the pull of North Devon destinations, as competing coastal destinations sought to appeal to the same markets.

Morgan and Pritchard (1999: 107) summarise the significance of destination advertising by 1914 when the 'pattern of advertising established before the First World War set the scene for resort marketing activities throughout the century. By the outbreak of the war the key elements of resort marketing were present: close partnerships with the private sector (particularly the transport operators serving the resorts), national press and poster advertising, public relations activities, the production of an annual brochure [official guides] and in some resorts the need to attract overseas visitors'. Morgan (1991) noted that Torquay and Ilfracombe created Joint Advertising Committees, with evidence of advertising in Torquay dating to 1862 and 1896 for Ilfracombe, with private-public partnerships in place by 1914.

4.1. Torquay

Minutes from Torquay Urban District Council Advertising Committee document the development of the official guide, launched in 1913 with 10,785 distributed for the year ending December 1913. A further £11 was spent on a promotional film to promote the resort nationally (as the first cinema in the UK opened in 1896) and there were 4000 cinemas in existence by 1914 (Bakker, 2007) making it an innovative way to reach mass audiences. In 1913, the budget for advertising Torquay was £415 (with contributions from the Chamber of Commerce, £180 from advertising in the guide and £5 from the Caledonian Railway). In comparison, Blackpool's advertising budget for 1914-18 averaged at £4400 per annum (Warner, 2021). In 1914, Council Advertising Committee Minutes (prior to being subsumed into the Baths Committee in 1916) show that Torquay's budget increased to £587, and it printed 13,000 copies of the guide. In 1914, the Council subsumed the private-public sector partnership on advertising, to offer a consistent funding stream. Contested debts owed by the Chamber of Commerce were finally resolved in 1915. After the outbreak of war, the Chamber called for an extra £100 for advertising in November 1914 to address the effect of war on tourism, and despite a split vote at the Council, it was carried by the Chair's vote. This reinforces Morgan and Pritchard's (1999) arguments about the divergent opinions on resident funding of tourism promotion on the rates.

In 1915, the Council budget for advertising reduced to £410 and 5565 Guides were distributed and advertising was then subsumed into the Baths Committee, with discretionary budgets and action delegated to the Town Clerk's office. In 1916, 3021 copies of the guide were circulated, reducing to 1335 in 1917 after the increase in railway fares and state propaganda on reducing pleasure travel at the expenses of the war effort. One typical example of the promotion of the guide was illustrated by a quarter page advertisement in the Manchester Guardian (March 20, 1916) entitled *Torquay: The Gem of Glorious South Devon* that

was widely used in targeting potential visitors from London, the Midlands and Northern England, from where direct train services existed (see also Appendix 7). The Council Minutes and newspaper advertising prior to and during the war highlight the promotion in large centres of demand (i.e. cities) which was demonstrated in 1914 in the locations the destination film was shown (e.g., London suburbs, Manchester, Birmingham and Belgium) and 40,000 Torquay postcards were inserted into the 1913 GWR *Holiday Haunts* guide at a cost of £21-10 shillings and 2000 were included in 1914. Typical national newspaper advertising was placed in the *Daily Mail* and *The Times*. A further 5000 copies of the guide were printed in 1917 for use in 1918 and it was not until 1919 that the full volume of 10,000 copies of the guide was fully resumed.

As Appendix 6 shows, Torquay, was the most ambitious of the resorts in terms of the breath and scope of promotional activity undertaken to taget the visitor population by the various elements of the tourism system in wartime categorised in Fig. 1, The use of advertising and promotion benefitted the resort with its two season model of visitation (winter and summer) (Travis (1993). From Appendix 6, it is evident that the war saw advertising activity continue, albeit in a reduced and focused manner. After 1914, the focus was on three promotional tools: (a) The official guide (b) posters displayed at railway stations advertising the guide, with typical issues of 2000–5000 copies) and (c) newspaper advertising. In May 1915 Council Minutes confirm the Town Clerk was authorized 'at their discretion to organise advertising for the summer' season, and work continued with the Federation, which was lobbying for resort assistance and the improvement of rail services. Advertising later in 1915 included paragraph advertisements in the *Daily Telegraph*, while the Grand Central, Caledonian and London and Yorkshire Railways all agreed to take a number of posters of Torquay to display at their stations. An advertisement was also placed in *The Queens*, a magazine directed at women recognizing their importance in destination selection to influence their inclusion in the consumer's opportunity set for a holiday (Stabler, 1991). The principal advertising focus continued to be London and the Midlands with its targeted use of the guide to travel companies and agents like Thomas Cook alongside those sent to individuals who wrote in to request the guide. What did change was a carte blanche approval of advertising in railway publications as Council approvals were the exception rather than the rule.

A degree of competition with the guide also emerges when looking at the GWR's *Inland Resorts Guide* a 'for sale' publication (with a section on *Devon: The Shire of Sea Kings*, priced 3d) which Torquay declined to support (although Weston-Super-Mare did choose to be included) in early 1916. Torquay supported efforts to promote car-based tourism in early 1916, reflecting the targeting of more affluent visitors. Even so, it did engage in cooperative advertising with GWR from June to December 1916 through joint newspaper advertising at the cost of £150, a sum approved by the Council, along with postcards for distribution in resort accommodation to promote the Torquay baths and spa operated by the Council. In November 1916, railway companies agreed to display Torquay posters at no cost but by December 1916 the Railway Executive Committee mandated the removal of poster advertising on stations (see Appendix 1). This led two railway companies to cease advertising on billboards in the town that provided long-distance services (e.g., Caledonian Railway and London and North Western Railway (LNWR)). As a result of falling demand after January 1, 1917, when railway fares were increased and special fares removed, Torquay closed its London Office in April 1917. Despite state restrictions on paper use from 1917, the guide continued alongside low key text-only advertisements. Nevertheless, individual hotels and boarding houses continued to advertise independently throughout the period. Regional collaboration with the South Devon Advertising Association throughout the war to advertise the region was supported, with an annual membership fee of £50 a year. After 1916, press advertising assumed a greater importance but financial restrictions in November 1917 saw the Clerk spending on newspaper advertising limited to £5-5 shillings for winter promotions and advertising in London Railway Timetables and the pocket London Red Rail
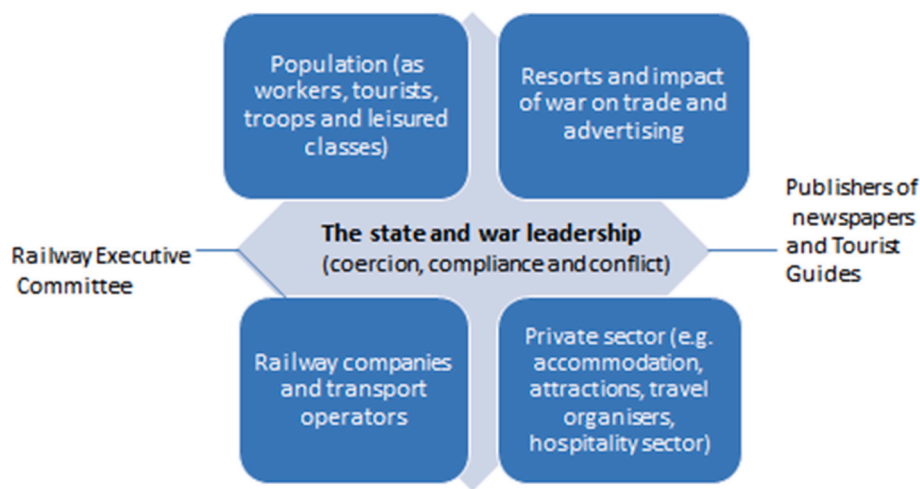
Elements of the wartime tourism system

Fig. 1. Elements of the wartime tourism system.

Guide in 1918. Any loss of tourism revenue was also substituted by some accommodation establishments billeting troops, for which a *per diem* rate was provided, and the influx of troops to wartime convalescence homes and hospitals was established in the town. At the end of the war, 40–50,000 New Zealand troops also passed through Torquay as its discharge depot, located there given proximity to Plymouth (a major military base and port for embarkation), providing trade for tourism and hospitality businesses.

4.2. Ilfracombe

In contrast to Torquay, Ilfracombe emerged as a smaller resort in north Devon compared to Torquay, with a much smaller population size (Appendix 5) but with two transport routes for visitors in the form of steamship and rail. Morgan (1991) and Batten (2013) record the immediate impact on demand after steamers were removed and the progressive scaling back of direct rail services. Ilfracombe created its official guide in 1914 with the Health Resort Association after 11 years advertising in the Association's *Guide to Health Resorts* (which also featured a page on Torquay and Weston-Super-Mare). The 1914 guide had an initial print run of 8000 copies with a major financial contribution by the Council Pier and Harbour Committee (which received landing fees of steamer passengers) and the entertainment complex, Alexander Hall. These advertisements generated a contribution of £5-5 shillings for each individual advertisement. However, with the cessation of steamer traffic, Council minutes show a loss in revenue in mid-1915 and discussions with the Local Government Board for a potential loan due to the collapse of the local tourism economy. This was reflected in the Minutes of March 1915 where the publisher of the guide reported 23 advertisers had not paid for previous advertisements and 23 businesses declined to advertise in the 1915 edition. A report in the North Devon Journal November 25, 1915 (Anon, 1915a) of the local Joint Advertising Committee (comprising local stakeholders) reiterated this and a lack of funds had limited the distribution of the guide. Local fund raising was planned to pay for the advertising costs. The Publisher's (i.e. the Health Resort Association) contract was subsequently extended to 1919 to give continuity and a commitment to continue publishing the guide. In March 1916, the Joint Advertising Committee reiterated the purpose of the guide 'to bring visitors to the town' (Anon, 1916a) and by June 1916, distribution issues had been overcome and up to 3500 Guides were to be distributed including 2000 to tourism agencies and bureaus nationally.

In December 1916, the continued loss of steamer traffic and impact

on council revenue was highlighted (Anon, 1916b). By 1917 (Anon, 1917a) a new edition of the guide had been commissioned by the Joint Advertising Committee with a further 2000 to be circulated to tourist agencies and bureaus and by August 1918, 100 a week were being sent to visitors who requested it. This is likely to have been stimulated by various newspapers advertisements in late 1916/early1917 such as the July 3, 1917 example in the Western Daily Press to attract regional travellers from Bristol and environs to '*Ilfracombe – unrivalled health resort; majestic cliffs*' with details of how to obtain the guide (Anon, 1917b).

In an attempt to substitute for lost tourists in April 1915, a proposal to attract billeted troops was defeated in a Council vote that failed to recognize the dire situation in the tourism economy. The decision was reversed at a Council meeting on July 7, 1915 but, despite political lobbying in November 1915 supported by the Joint Advertising Committee, Ilfracombe was unable to attract any troops for billeting throughout the war (probably because of its relatively inaccessible location to embarkation ports on the south coast). The overall impact of the war on tourism in Ilfracombe was summarised by Anon (1915b) as 'disastrous' compared to 1914. Morgan's (1991) assessment reaffirmed this as 100 people had defaulted on their rates, many of whom were boarding house owners. Losses on other activities, such as the annual band as entertainment for visitors (of £8-1 shilling in 1915) saw financial exigencies lead to a refusal to collaborate with Weston-Super-Mare in advertising the resort in 1915. However, the two main railway companies providing services from London (GWR and LSWR) continued to advertise Ilfracombe throughout 1915 to stimulate demand (e.g., LSWR's *Hints for Holidays* and *Springtime breaks* and GWR's *Ideal Winter Holiday Resorts* brochure) and other publications, although 'commercial exigencies' saw LSWR close its Ilfracombe office in October 1915. By November 1915, 6000 official guides were still available for distribution (implying only 2000 had been requested and distributed in 1914–15) and these were deemed sufficient for 1916 (Anon, 1915c).

In December 1915, Ilfracombe submitted a case to the Local Government Board (after East Coast resorts affected by shelling and bombing received financial assistance) to the Government's *Prevention and Relief of Distress* Fund, but its case was not supported. However, the North Devon Journal (Anon, 1916c) reiterated at a Joint Advertising Committee meeting on March 7, 1916 the value of advertising, reinforced on July 11, 1916 in Council Minutes of the example of the Great Northern Railway *Holiday Manual* 'with a striking view of Ilfracombe whilst descriptive views of a valuable nature were contained in the book

itself. The publicity given to Ilfracombe through the medium of this booklet was of great value' at no cost to the resort. Continuous lobbying by the Town Clerk and Joint Advertising Committee to improve the rail services and direct services continued throughout the war, with some partial successes. Following increased railway fares in early 1917, political lobbying of MPs and government departments intensified. Other railway companies continued to advertise on the town on billboards (e. g., Midland Railway in March 1917). For the 1917 summer season, the Joint Advertising Committee agreed to contribute £2–10 shillings to advertise in a LSWR publication but this was short-lived. Council Minutes show that further impacts, such as LSWR's curtailment of services on May 7, 1918, was 'necessary due to exigencies of the present situation and provision in regard to Ilfracombe compared favorably with that of other places of importance' (after the state required additional railway locomotives for service in Europe). The experience of Ilfracombe demonstrates a stark contrast to both Torquay and Weston-Super-Mare.

4.3. Weston-Super-Mare

Weston-Super-Mare is an interesting example, as it was connected to the same steamer service as Ilfracombe and the same train services as Torquay. The resort started an industry-led advertising committee on June 26, 1899 (the *Weston-Super-Mare District Trade Protection Society*) with the goal of promoting the purchase of a 'sunshine recorder in the Council Offices and occasional advertising in the Times, Daily News, Daily Mail, Standard, Daily Chronicle, Daily Graphic. Birmingham Daily Post, South Wales Daily News, Sheffield Telegraph, Western Daily News and Manchester Courier' (Anon, 1899, p. 1). This demonstrates two principles: first, advertising in major urban source markets where direct railway and steamer services existed in the summer season, building upon the work of railway and steamer company advertising (e.g., Anon, 1914a); second, a broad range of newspaper types were targeted, read by different social classes, from more erudite examples (e.g., the Times) to the mass working class newspapers (e.g., Daily Mail), thereby targeting all classes of visitor. The mass market was illustrated by a GWR handbill dated August 1909 that advertised 'London Paddington to Western-Super-Mare Express non-stop half day trips to the seaside on Wednesdays' (reflecting the desire to fill off-peak capacity leaving at 11.33am; arriving 1430 and returning 1930 and arriving back in London at 22:30) with travel by third class, targeting the price-sensitive traveller for a day out with no luggage allowed. The Promotion Society also sought to 'endeavour to obtain permission from the following railway companies to hang at their principal stations frames of views of Weston viz [sic], Midland Railway, LNWR, LSWR and on Channel Island boats relative to 'winter resorts'' (Anon, 1899). In this instance, the destination was seeking to position itself in the same market as Torquay with its winter and summer resort appeal, although its spatial proximity to Bristol, South Wales and London, meant its visitor mix was more diverse. In 1904, the resort agreed to advertise with the Health Resort Association taking 1000 copies. This replaced its forerunner, a 6d pocket guidebook that was produced as a trial in 1903 (including an album of the town views). This was a refinement of former promotional activity for the resort (e.g., the 1840s publication – *the Westonian* with its monthly arrival list of visitors and advertising for the resort, reflecting the long-stay affluent visitors after the arrival of the railway in 1841). A more targeted information source for visitors in the 1890s was *the Weston-Super-Mare Pictorial* with photographs, advertising and information for visitors.

By 1914, the Weston-Super-Mare Town Advertising Committee had been formed into the Weston-Super-Mare Town Advertising and Entertainment Association Limited, which operated as an arms-length organisation to generate the funding for promotional activities from tourism-related activities like music performances, entertainments and deck-chair hire. In the absence of minutes for the organisation, evidence of its promotional activities exist from its Annual General Meetings, reported in the Western Daily Press. From the press reports, Weston-Super-

Mare spent £523 on advertising in 1913, £648 in 1914 then £215 in 1915, reflecting a drop in advertising income for the Guide after the outbreak of war. In response, in 1915, the Committee adopted a big splash approach to advertising to restore business confidence. It commissioned the local artist A. Leete who had previously designed the, now world famous, Lord Kitchener propaganda recruitment poster in 1915 – *Your Country Needs You*. Leete produced a striking poster to advertise the official guide comprising a young girl on the large expanse of the town's beach, reminiscent of the 'Skegness – it's so bracing' poster advertising the town and beach via its guide and the railway service for visitors (see Appendix 2). This injection of advertising creativity meant advertising spending rose to £578 in 1916 and £500 in 1917.

In 1916, a further 3000 guides were distributed and 2000 in 1917 for the 1918 season. These activities were complemented by the activities of LSWR's advertising of Weston-Super-Mare in it *Hints for Holidays* which was distributed to 50,000 homes in 1915 in the London area. It was an opportunist attempt by the railway to capture the affluent traveller whose overseas travel was curtailed by war. The Annual General Meeting report for 1915 summarised the state of the Advertising Association, that despite a disastrous early season and outbreak of war, proceeds of £3997 were derived from deck chair hire and entertainments in 1914 and £3773 in 1915 (Anon, 1915d). Tourism advertising was used to boost visitation after a slow start to the 1915 season. Indeed, the Advertising Association attributed its buoyant winter market almost entirely to advertising activity it undertook as 'thousands of guides, pamphlets, window bills, and posters have been broadcast' (Anon, 1915d). The Town also secured, via the Advertising Association, the billeting of troops, and events were provided for their entertainment. The Advertising Association continued to produce the guide throughout the duration of the war, with reprints during 1916. A notable feature of the Weston-Super-Mare guide is it appears to be among the most extensive in size of the English and Welsh resort guides (akin to Blackpool's guide in 1914), with a large volume of wartime advertisers reflecting the dynamic advertising association in the town. At the February 1918 Association's Annual General Meeting, it discussed its creative advertising skills as it had promoted the relative safety of the town for visitors and 'immunity from the dangerous perils had resulted in an exceedingly large number of visitors' (Anon, 1918a).

By 1919, the Western Daily Press (Anon, 1919) reported that 'increased poster and newspaper advertising and issuing of a new guide was accompanied for plans for major resort investment to further enhance visitor activity and revenue such as beach huts to hire'. It is evident that despite the suspension of steamer services to the town, unlike Ilfracombe, it did not suffer a downturn in visitation. Evidence from Weston's closest resort – Minehead, located 42 miles to the east, and 36 miles west of Ilfracombe provides evidence of wartime tourism in the local region. The Minehead and West Somerset Advertiser Visitor List on July 4, 1916 argued that 'last season was a good one for all seaside towns and health resorts 'outside of the danger zone' and there are many indications that things will be much the same this year … unfortunately for many East Coast towns visitors will continue to avoid them for the present, and their plight is an unhappy one' (Anon, 1916d). Mid-way through the Somerset holiday season the Advertiser also argued that 'West Somerset as a holiday resort district is "swimming with visitors"' and the result was 'people not pre-booking cannot find accommodation and visitors being displaced to rural districts and surrounding areas' (Anon, 1916e) as verified by the visitor list data for 1914-16 discussed earlier. This is in stark contrast to Ilfracombe and the problems reported in East Coast resorts.

5. Evaluating the effectiveness of wartime resort advertising

Contemporary tourism research would normally seek to evaluate the effectiveness of resort advertising using social science research methods directed at consumer behaviour. But in a historical context, such data is difficult to assemble as resorts had not begun to formally undertake

consumer surveys. Social science research methods were still in their infancy and evolving (e.g., they were being used to measure the extent of social problems such as poverty in the Edwardian years, see Rowntree, 1901). Suitable surrogates are largely confined to subjective assessments, reflecting the biases of commentators, emphasizing specific agendas that need to be recognized in the sources used. Nevertheless, it is possible to derive surrogates that demonstrate the continuity in visitor behaviour in taking holidays that was encouraged in resort (and railway) advertising (e.g., Great Central Railway, 1915). Whilst the examples may not always relate directly to the three resorts in question, the evidence has a wider generalizability at a regional or national level, as the Minehead data illustrates for Somerset. Commentaries from railway company magazines provide insights about the operational issues arising during peak holiday periods. Whilst this may or may not have directly converted guide and poster views to visits, it does show that advertising using guides and posters had an association with visitor volumes on trains to the region.

Historic England (2019) provides the only temporal data for Weston-Super-Mare on visitor volume. On Bank Holidays in 1844, an estimated 23,000 people visited the resort which created a ratio of residents: visitors of almost 1:7.45 that illustrates the scale of an evolving mass tourism market, including day trippers (excursionists). As the town's population and built area expanded, it had greater capacity to absorb this influx. Before 1914, this visitor volume had risen to 38,000 visitors on a peak August Bank Holiday but the impact on the town was reduced to a ratio of 1:1.2. By 1921 this volume had reached 51,000 visitors creating a 1:1.6 ratio on an August Bank Holiday, subsequently rising to 78,000 visitors in 1937. As Walton (1983: 3) implied, this posed conflict for many English seaside resorts with their popularity and wide appeal: 'The Victorian and Edwardian seaside resort was important not only as a repository for investment, consumer spending and social emulation, but also as a crucible of conflict between classes and lifestyles, as wealthy and status conscious visitors and residents competed with plebeian locals and roistering excursions for access to and enjoyment of amenities'.

The Annual General Meeting for Weston-Super-Mare report (Anon, 1915d) highlighted the record influx of visitors despite the outbreak of war. The Great Western Magazine provides detailed operational insights that demonstrate the insatiable appetite for holidays to the West Country during the war that support the case of continuity and potential growth in demand, displaced from South and East Coast resorts. Reports for 1914 and 1915 depict relative normality in West Country tourist traffic (apart from the impact on Ilfracombe) and continued growth even with government attempts to restrict travel after early 1916. In September 1916, GWR observed that 'despite the absence of cheap travelling facilities, the cancellation of Bank Holidays, and the government's appeal for postponement of holidays, the number of passengers on GWR during the fortnight ended 5 August showed no diminution compared with normal years; indeed in some direction there was a noticeable increase' (Anon, 1916f), an observation also reiterated in Anon (1918c). A volume measure of the demand for holiday traffic was demonstrated in Anon (1916f) where eight London Paddington to Penzance *Cornish Riviera Express* departures carried an average of 1400 passengers per departure using 12 coach trains, illustrating the strong holiday demand (and double the capacity of current trains for each departure as a comparison). This volume was underscored by the company running additional summer express services to Devon and Cornwall as well as encouraging people to travel mid-week to avoid soldiers travelling at weekends and 'it is probable that the west of England will be specially favoured' for holidays (Anon, 1916f).

By 1918, government attempts to stymy holiday demand even saw an endorsement by the Board of Trade, which revised its position to - *if* you do take a holiday, *when* to travel: 'we are almost in the midst of the holiday season, and the strain upon the railways during the next few weeks will be very great. Trains will be very crowded, and especially for long-distances … It is not denied that that an annual holiday away from

home is necessary for many. These people could largely help to relieve the public services by travelling for shorter distances, if possible than usual, and to places other than "popular resorts". A further suggestion is one that has been supported by the President of the Board of Trade, i.e. that persons going to and from the seaside should endeavour to arrange their journeys in the middle of the week. Passenger trains are always more crowded at week-ends' (Anon, 1918c, p. 17). Even so, on September 1, 1918, the Railway Executive Committee introduced further demand-management measures to restrict demand for day trips by preventing use of return portions of tickets of over 12 miles in distance on the London-South West of England routes (Anon, 1918d) and other routes focused on London, allowing only four days to complete a return trip. This seemed to have little impact as reflecting on the peak-holiday season in October 1918, Great Western reported that 'Yet as we write passenger travel seems to be as pronounced as ever, and crowded trains during August have borne testimony to the predominance of the travel and holiday spirit' (Anon, 1918e).

These reports on the continued demand for holidays in coastal resorts are evident outside of the West Country as other newspapers and in-house railway magazines record similar volumes of tourists to resorts. For example, the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway in 1916 reported that on an August Bank Holiday Weekend, 1000 trains passed through Blackpool and Fleetwood stations on the west coast with some companies reporting major increases on pre-wartime travel for holidays. In South Wales, the Mumbles coastal area saw the August Bank Holiday deluged by visitors, with part of the Mubles running out of water for a day, experiencing its busiest ever Bank Holiday (The Cambrian Daily Leader, 1916). In 1918, Earnslaw (1990) reported that Easter traffic on the railway network (excluding troop movements) had exceeded 1913 volume by 22 % based on traffic receipts. Similarly, national and regional newspapers continued to publish weather-related 'Health and Sunshine' reports for coastal towns (including Torquay, Ilfracombe and Weston-Super-Mare), especially in the notably mild winter of 1916 when the Telegraph produced 14 reports in February 1916 alone as information for visitors. Other London-based companies such as Great Eastern Railway (GER) not only promoted off-peak holidays and excursions to support resort activity but reported a major increase in revenue from £64 million from passenger traffic in 1913 to £85 million in 1917 despite increased fares. This data represents continued demand for leisure travel (aside from commuting), with Kay (1915) explaining how GER used the image of children playing at the coast in poster advertising to encourage holiday and day trips to East Coast resorts. Many other railway companies continued advertising resort travel options and as late as 1918, the GER company had managed to operate services equivalent to pre-war winter timetables.

6. Implications

This paper significantly advances the prior research on resort advertising summarised by Ward (1995). Fundamentally, the resorts continued to operate, albeit in a reduced form, 1914–18. Resorts focused their efforts on official guides, newspaper advertising and posters, illustrating *what* activity was undertaken compared to pre-1914, and engaged in collaborative marketing with railway companies. The sophistication and extent of advertising and promotional activities in wartime were used to simply say – our resort is *open for business*, and in the West Country, adding caveats about safety from attack in Weston-Super-Mare. From a marketing perspective the 7Ps of marketing are helpful in drawing out the implications of the resort's activities.

- In relation to the destination *product*, each destination sought to maintain established products based on existing accommodation infrastructure, with some resorts (e.g., Weston-Super-Mare and Torquay) adapting by taking troops as guests, while Ilfracombe failed to attract this market.

Table 1
Implications of wartime strategic marketing for current destination marketing practices.

Elements of the 7Ps	Tools employed in WW1 destination marketing	Implications for contemporary destination marketing
Product	• *Emphasis on the health and relaxation benefits* of visiting coastal and inland spa resorts • *Focus on established holiday habits and trends* to keep the concept of visiting destinations in the home front mindset • *Expansion of wellbeing appeal to new markets,* including rest and recuperation for wounded soldiers and war workers in the munitions sector	• The health stimulating properties of holidays at resorts have been rediscovered in recent years with the development of health and well-being product components. The combination of hedonistic and eudemonic options for visitors illustrates the need for flexibility, adaptation and innovation to remain competitive and relevant, even in crisis situations • Destinations sometimes overlook their historical antecedents and long-standing associations with visitors as day trippers, weekend and long-stay markets that have evolved over a long timeframe
Place	• *Vivid portrayal of the unique spatial attributes of destinations* in resort guides, for example, hours of sunshine, a mild or bracing climate, and the opportunities for two season visits (winter/summer) • *Aggressive co-promotion of the accessibility of the destination as a place* by the destination and railway companies to build market share. Some railway companies also collaborated with other railway companies to revenue share, offering through tickets and connections. Destinations and railway companies worked together to achieve a simple goal: to communicate positive place and product-based attributes, emphasizing their accessibility and the benefit to the visitor • *Focus on place-based services and benefits.* Guidebooks conveyed a home from home place-based image by outlining services on offer, including the health-giving properties of spending a period of time at a specific location – sometimes even endorsed by a medical practitioner	• Resort advertising is now far more complex than the streamlined way in which official guidebooks promoted the appeal of individual places. Elements of this promotional process remain today such as the use of appealing photographs, travel writer blogs and highly visual advertising • In an era of privatised transport provision, the wartime and privatised railway model shows that businesses will work with destinations in mutually beneficial circumstances. Business relationships may often be long-term and mutually supportive, even in a deep crisis (e.g. Ilfracombe) • Many modern destinations could find a 'back to basics' approach a useful starting point in understanding their relationship with source markets (e.g. the larger cities and war workers/families), especially in crisis planning, to build place-based resilience
Price	• *Price as a tool to deal with fluctuations in demand.* Pricing strategies were widely used, and in extreme cases, employed in an attempt to curb excessive demand • *Price was used extensively as a market differentiator,* prior to the state introducing measures to limit travel, by destination businesses and railway companies, the latter who had three classes of land and sea-based travel. • *Changing consumer demand influenced price based on public perception of safety.* In the case of the bombardment of East Coast resorts in 1916, prices on the West Coast increased substantially by 1917 as a result of increased demand. Conversely, East Coast resorts reduced prices to stimulate demand • *The cultural significance of holidays was recognized by destinations even though the government had a poorer understanding of holidays as part of social life.* The state used price as a tool to manage demand but ring-fenced holiday budgets (e.g. workers savings clubs for holidays) showed the importance of the holiday break to people at this time, even in the most challenging of circumstances	• Modern day yield management systems manipulate supply and demand as a management tool to enhance profit. The use of price in wartime was manipulated with a reverse purpose of yield management, to minimise demand, and thereby profit, from resource use for tourism. • The ways in which wartime tourism saw price (and inflation) and state anti-tourism policy develop provides a basis for destination crisis planning and management. Sudden changes and unpredictable state interventions shape scenario planning models that test business and management ability in reacting to change and building greater destination resilience • The wartime experience demonstrates for modern day destinations that price cannot be used as a simple blunt instrument to effect behaviour change. Even taxing tourism does not significantly reduce demand. Taking holidays is an important part of wellbeing and culture
Promotion	• *Advanced communication tools to target specific visitor audiences and market segments were in evidence* (e.g. films as travelogues, resort guides, collaborative marketing with railway companies and the effective use of colourful posters). These marked the emergence of a modern marketing ethic that was substantially expanded after the war during the 1920s and 1930s when the railway poster reached its zenith as a promotional tool • *The emergence of public relations techniques to address the need for crisis communications.* For example, Scarborough Town Council, issued a pamphlet to promote the town as open for business in 1916. The was in response to negative media coverage stating tourism had collapsed, which it had not	• Modern day destination promotion is now very complex, based on intricate destination ecosystems. In contrast, the wartime experience illustrates how effective a simple range of media (guides, newspaper advertising and travelogues) were in an age of mass communication. This simplicity offers a useful starting point in designing destination promotion, even in a digital age • Even the state adopted some of the promotional tools which the tourism sector has successfully used (e.g. posters) as the basis for its anti-tourism propaganda. Yet even the principles of social marketing discerned in propaganda activity were insufficient to effect a behaviour change that significantly reduced holiday travel
People/Process/ Physical Evidence	• *Trust was a constant theme in the way resort guides were promoted as the 'official' and credible source of information,* only available from the Town Clerk's Office. As an official document it was the source of physical evidence of the destination services • *Trust was reinforced by collaborative marketing with railway companies,* also a trusted brand, the largest of which were the equivalent of modern-day blue-chip companies • *The use of officialdom (i.e. the Town Council and railway company), with their trusted corporate brand reassured tourists of the destination's capacity to meet visitor needs throughout the supply chain* • *Destination promotion and being open for visitors continued throughout the war* as a period of crisis, although some elements, like connecting bus services, luggage collection and delivery were paired back during wartime	• Trust is the hallmark of marketing in building a relationship between the consumer and seller. The current widespread use of destination branding to build trust illustrates the significance of building long-term consumer relationships and trust in tourism throughout the supply chain • The collaboration inherent in destination marketing during wartime and ability of stakeholders to react to change is a theme that modern day destination management organisations have nurtured to remain competitive

- *Price* remained a major issue for all businesses in the period as wartime saw inflationary pressure on railway fares, though these did not dampen demand, even with accommodation providers also being forced to increase prices. For Ilfracombe, some businesses ceased to operate with issues of liquidity as the steamer market ceased and rail services were less frequent (Morgan, 1991).
- *Place* was the single most significant change as diaries of the period suggest (e.g., Brittain, 1933), where the military presence in some resorts transformed the ambience, although other studies noted the lack of young men in resorts after 1914. In other resorts (e.g., Durie, 2017) a largely female visitor population emerged, which the railway companies targeted up to 1917 as a new traveller market.
- *Promotion* continued throughout the war with more ambitious destination marketers creating new associations of place to appeal to visitor's pursuit of safety from German attack, as in the case of Weston-Super-mare. This proposition replaced the former focus on visiting resorts for health reasons that gradually evolved into fun and

entertainment by 1914, arguably as an emotional economy developed (see Alaluf, 2021).

- The *people* dimension certainly changed with a loss of male workers through conscription leading to labour shortages in the hospitality sector. This was compounded by outmigration as munitions work proved more lucrative for the newly emancipated female workforce.
- In terms of *process*, the state sought to dampen demand and prominent marketing messages by banning billboard advertising at railway stations in 1917, but alternative methods of promotion were used.
- For *physical evidence*, the tangible elements of the visitor experience appear to have added new attributes such as safety and escapism from the UK's total war ethos, as West Country resorts were more remote from the home counties and industrial heartlands that suffered Zeppelin attacks and air raids.

Table 1 expands upon the 7Ps to demonstrate the implications of wartime tourism promotion for modern-day destination promotion. The key message from Table 1 is that a wide range of tools were already in use in the embryonic destination marketing practices which destinations deployed during wartime. Whilst the resources directed to resort advertising were important, so was the political complexion of each resort and the lead role of the Town Clerk, especially in Torquay, and a very dynamic advertising committee in Weston-Super-Mare, where operational challenges were navigated with the Town Clerk's support. In stark contrast, the suspension of steamer services impacted Ilfracombe, a relatively small resort with a developed tourism sector much harder, compared to Torquay and Weston-Super-Mare. In spite of ongoing financial difficulties in Ilfracombe, there was no cessation in advertising or lobbying for assistance, and the railway companies continued to support the destination's marketing activities, often gratis. Given the infrastructure and tourism ecosystem that existed in each resort, tourism demand did not cease, but accessibility was more problematic for Ilfracombe. In some cases, demand expanded as a new generation of female workers (the munitionettes), single females and mothers and children were nurtured as new market opportunities. Herein lays the paradox of war and tourism: the state used gentle persuasion, propaganda and blunt instruments such as price increases and restrictions on travel to try and dampen holiday demand. These efforts appear to have had limited effects on holiday-taking behaviour in the long-run, as holidays were firmly embedded in the working and leisured classes culture of Edwardian Britain, which was reinforced with the emancipation of women as workers (Barton, 2005). Yet the experience of the resorts was not spatially uniform, with mixed evidence suggesting that each individual resort will have its own story of how it was impacted by the war. As Appendix 7 shows, official guides continued to be advertised in *The Times* newspaper after the outbreak of war, and even where a resort did not advertise a guide, this was often compensated, as in the case of Torquay and Ilfracombe, by hotel advertising keen to maintain a position among consumers. Indeed, a more in-depth analysis of Appendix 7 suggests that hotel and resort advertising continued 1915-18 across the entire UK (including Ireland). Even destinations affected by air raids (e.g., London and Hunstanton) continued to advertise, with one London Hotel claiming bomb-proof facilities. Numerous resorts promoted safety from war as a marketing ploy to attract visitors from London air raids. Whilst some resorts suffered with accessibility issues such as Ilfracombe, and East Coast resorts were impacted by negative publicity of war activities, this potentially narrowed the choice of destinations at a time when overseas alternatives were largely limited by safety concerns such as U-boat attacks, heightened in May 1915 by the torpedoing of the RMS Lusitania. Yet shipping lines continued to advertise sea-travel in newspapers throughout the war and in late 1917 and 1918, *The Times* newspaper started to carry advertisements for hotels and restaurants open in Paris.

The official guide emerged as a resilient form of advertising promoted through posters, leaflets and newspaper advertisements. It marks a transitional period as the guide evolved into a colour and modernist form in the 1920s and 1930s, as more lavish and art-led municipal advertising was accompanied by railway posters reaching their zenith of artistic fervor, still advertising the official guides. The official guides were part of a multi-layered approach to market segmentation by resorts, complemented by tactical short-term advertising via newspapers. Resorts continued, up to late 1916, to collaborate on railway poster advertising with a joint focus on visitor traffic growth. In addition, private sector businesses continued their advertising efforts, with some public-private partnerships evident in municipal advertising to share the costs of newspaper advertising. Alongside the official guides, railway companies continued to innovate by appealing to a rise in lone female travellers and females travelling with children alongside regional advertising of resorts in areas affected by war attacks to try and portray a degree of normality and appeal to all groups (e.g., Great Eastern Railway, 1915). Official guides were firmly established by the beginning of the war and continued as a place-based advertising tool, the longevity of which demonstrates their centrality in tourist information provision to the present day. Funding of guides, partly through advertising, reflects the awareness and openness of the Edwardian and wartime consumer to targeted promotional activity, evident in the different data sources reviewed in this paper at a national and local level. The guide and associated advertising has remained an enduring approach to creating a relationship with the potential visitor to portray the value they will derive from visiting, a central feature of destination marketing.

6.1. Implications for tourism professionals and destination managers

From a theoretical perspective, it is evident that the Edwardian and wartime destination promoters recognized the importance of place image, and the need to build and maintain a relationship with the consumer. Table 1 summarises the approaches adopted, mapped broadly to the 7'P's showing the adeptness and innovation of adapting to a crisis, but where visitor activity was still possible under difficult circumstances. Destinations recognized the practical steps needed to address the immediacy of an evolving crisis, including the use of public relations. It also demonstrates destination stakeholders and managers ability to recognize the capacity of the destination to absorb former and new forms of tourism demand. The importance of marketing, advertising and communicating with the consumer in a crisis highlighted by the wartime example is recognized in other studies of crises (Taecharungroj and Pattaratanakun, 2023), confirming the importance of prior experience to attract revisitation and destination loyalty (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2021). The experience of WW1 shows what can be achieved in difficult operational circumstances as other destinations have subsequently shown (e.g., Bassols, 2016). Historical analysis was also the immediate starting point for many crisis planners tackling new situations such as Avian influenza (Page et al., 2006) and COVID 19, given the combination of a major war and an influenza pandemic that impacted global tourism through to 1919. Interestingly, lessons learnt from the WW1 experience of attempts by the state to restrict tourism also informed the state responses in the Second World War in the UK (see Sladen, 2002). In the Second World War the state sought to move from simple measures of social control to a 'carrot and stick approach', by rationing petrol for car use for holidays and the use of propaganda to reduce rail travel with its famous *Is your journey really necessary* poster campaign, albeit with limited effect (Sladen, 2002). The 'carrot' reflected the importance of *holiday time* away from work and recreation for well-being. This led to the promotion, at a local scale of, *holidays at home* (see https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/families/holidays-through-history) (i.e. substituting holidays at resorts for locally based outdoor recreation). Locally organised entertainment and amusements were provided in some cases as a substitute to reduce trips to resorts, which theoretical research on recreation and tourism would term the creation of 'intervening opportunities' as part of a continuum of recreational opportunities, Hall and Page 2014). Similar measures were developed in the COVID 19 pandemic in the UK to limit travel and encourage local

recreation with compensation for affected businesses from the loss of tourism revenue. In Spain (Arbulú et al., 2021), different regions accommodated displaced demand with significant regional variations during COVID 19. Historical analysis of crises demonstrates the existence of a series of principles that destinations have continued to develop and deploy since WW1 to maintain a resilient approach for their locale. This requires an understanding of how crises have been managed in the past, the degree of adaptability to the crisis required and what can be learned about what worked well, and what did not, in past situations. The evidence from the analysis of WW1 further suggests that destination managers need to be agile, responsive and prepared to seek consensus on measures to take when a crisis unfolds.

6.2. Reflections on crisis management principles for tourism during extreme situations such as war and COVID-19

For tourism managers and destination professionals, Appendix 8 outlines the key crisis management principles that emerge from the research in this paper, the lessons learned from adopting a historical perspective and the relevance for destination marketing today. Appendix 8 offers a series of insights about the etiology of WW1 as a crisis and how this mapped to tactical responses in crisis management terms. What is evident from Appendix 8 is that a series of key crisis management behaviours emerge that are widely discussed in the process of crisis management and business continuity research. This includes: *leadership* as a critical facet of formulating a coordinated and focused response, *adaptation* to a fluid situation often without any degree of predictability, *continuity* of activity, creativity in the responses formulated, *collaboration* (including stakeholders forming to achieve self-help) and *resilience* among businesses to weather the storm. Whilst the WW1 era Town Clerk or committees managing promotional activity did not appear to use such management language in published reports, the results demonstrate a sound understanding of how to respond to an unplanned and new phenomenon – *the crisis event* that interrupted tourism activity. However, these principles also have a much wider application when considering current conflicts and crisis events.

In the case of COVID 19, Ketter and Avraham (2021) outlined the crisis and post-crisis phases, where digital marketing strategies continued throughout each phase, using an advertising as society theoretical frame, to reflect the mood and values of society during each phase. For example, in the crisis phase, digital advertising and videos conveyed messages of hope, nostalgia and longing alongside the notion of the brotherhood of man. In the post-crisis phase, messages were structured around *welcome back* and *we are open for business*. This was accompanied by messages about the hygiene regimes in place and other confidence reassuring measures alongside the notion of a restorative visitor experience, using posters as visual reminders of visitor safety measures. These principles were evident in WW1, where holidays for war workers were promoted by destinations to simultaneously say *we are open for business* and *enjoy a well-deserved break*. Similarly, Singh et al. (2022) outlined the post-COVID 19 recovery process using straplines as marketing messages to reassurance visitors about safety. In addition, Mele et al. (2023) highlighted the visual strategies used during COVID 19 through Instagram, which have a degree of similarity with the public relations work undertaken by Scarborough Town Council in 1916. *The Scarborough Mercury* newspaper published photographs of people enjoying their summer beach holidays, in spite of the threat of East Coast attacks, to reassure visitors they were open for business and the destination was safe to visit and have an enjoyable holiday. Mele et al. (2023) cite such actions as part of the image repair discourse, to address negative images caused by criticism and suspicion, which they illustrated in the case of Paris and Milan using Instagram as the digital equivalent. A more in-depth analysis of how Scotland managed the destination marketing process during and post-COVID 19 also illustrates a focus on similar issues (Visit Scotland, 2025) in re-establishing its emotional connection with its visitor market.

In the case of regional wars (e.g., Ukraine), the national tourism organisation has focused on growing its domestic visitation, using a digital campaign in 2024 – *we are here* - embodying many similar principles of recovery, to retain a positive place image stating that the country is still open. This is in spite of international demand being displaced and impacts felt across neighbouring countries (see Chiu, 2025), with some businesses seeking to use their premises in different ways (Tomej et al., 2023). Where concentrated attacks destroy the tourism infrastructure, adaptation for alternative uses, such as troop bases is prevented so tourism is then redistributed to border regions not impacted by war. This is similar to how domestic tourism relocated in Britain between 1914-18, where demand shifted and military use of tourism infrastructure occurred. But in the case of periods of sustained terrorism (e.g., Israel), the destination has nurtured domestic demand, leveraging visiting family and friends global networks and Jewish diaspora. Even so, since October 2023, Israel has seen visitor numbers drop by 90 % (Raouf and Yilmaz, 2025) but the country is still being promoted as open for business to international visitors and its domestic population. However, underlying terrorist threats are far less spatially predictable in terms of regions of conflict and safe zones for tourism (especially with lone wolf terrorists and missile attacks from other countries), making comparisons with WW1 difficult. Posters and banners that were widely used in WW1 were also used during COVID-19 in physical and digital format in China (Hongjie et al., 2020) and other countries, leading to a resurgence in the poster as a physical form (Steven, 2020). But for destinations where political regimes are associated with political repression and instability (e.g., Cambodia), there is only a limited appeal to the international visitor, aside from the avid traveller, as the instability is unpredictable, unknown and the destination is unable to offer safe havens. Consequently, organised escorted tours and off the beaten track independent travel becomes the norm. Nevertheless these examples show that even amidst constant conflict tourism continues to operate, albeit at a reduced rate and with restrictions in time and space, with marketing a key element to communicate with potential visitors. Comparing the evidence of WW1 and COVID-19 illustrates the value of a single simplified form of communication between the destination and the visitor, given the current day complexity of destination ecosystems as Table 1 indicates.

7. Conclusions

This paper challenges current thinking on tourism and wartime Britain, providing a deeper, more nuanced understanding of *what* resorts did throughout the war, and demonstrating how advertising was seen as a tool to address a potential crisis that arose after the outbreak of war and immediate holiday cancellations in 1914 (Anon, 1914b). In terms of the first research question, it is evident that destination promotion continued despite state calls and measures to seek restraint on tourism. The evidence from newspapers and Council Minutes show that political lobbying due to the dependence of localities on their visitor economies meant pre-war processes of promotion were maintained by either the Town Clerk or arm's length organisations, resourced and supported by the Town Clerk. It is not unreasonable to assume that similar activities were undertaken for resorts across the UK. Second, resorts pivoted their advertising and promotion to adjust to the wartime changes in travel, fear and a desire for holidays away from the urban areas and total war in seemingly relaxing climes. Yet even these resorts were not immune from the effects of war with troops in close proximity. Third, the evidence of the railway companies and ad hoc reports from newspaper reports suggest that holidaytaking continued alongside the use of the official guide and other advertising efforts in newspapers to keep their brand awareness live for potential visitors that was reinforced by the railway companies until forced to make cuts to branded trains such the Cornish Riviera and many express services. The evidence from GWR and LSWR reaffirms the pressure that tourism placed on a more streamlined railway system which peaked at holiday periods and weekends despite

government requests to reduce the pressure on the rail network. This also confirmed the cultural importance of holidays even in wartime that has largely been overlooked in the tourism histories of the period within a domestic setting.

However, the weaker element in this analysis is in measuring the *effectiveness* of specific forms of advertising and conversion rates, as well as the footfall influenced by posters and major billboards in cities such as Glasgow where Torquay displayed holiday posters. Tourism represents a paradox during a period of total war: if tourism is about enjoyment, leisure, recuperation and relaxation, this was the antithesis of a state focus and determination to beat the enemy as propaganda, government speeches and regulations demonstrate. Tourism remained an uncomfortable phenomenon when so many soldiers were sacrificing their lives in such large volumes; it also distracted the population from the propaganda messages of total war. This paradox is demonstrated by the North East Railway sticker included in its wartime holiday guides after 1915, simultaneously supporting the state view on holidays and yet also promoting them rather than just amending Railway Guides as other companies did (see Appendix 9). The tension evident in , between the state interest and calls by labour organisations and trade unions, arguing that holidays were an important safety valve for a working population under greater pressure, demonstrates the tourism paradox, a feature that resurfaced in World War Two (Sladen, 2002) and in the COVID-19 pandemic with recreation and then domestic tourism.

For the most affluent classes, holidays in WW1 simply shifted from overseas to domestic settings as the guides for the wartime period were targeted at the more affluent, longer stay visitor (i.e. some resorts encouraged longer stay and permanent moves away from the effects of the war). The Great Central Railway (1915) *Health and Holiday Resorts Guide* strapline embodied this marketing opportunity: '*Why go to the Continent and other places abroad for entrancing scenery and blue skies? Have you seen your own country?*' Coastal resorts continued to represent an escape from the monotony of industrial and production-based activities for workers and safe places for women travelling alone or with children as posters and guidebook images highlighted. Weston-Super-Mare emphasized the safety from attack to great effect in their municipal advertising and as Appendix 7 shows, they consistently and prominently advertised their locale. The official guide as an information source offered a complete package of advertised local services (e.g., food supply, restaurants, laundry services, attractions and trips, programmes of entertainment and adequate information to plan the journey and holiday) fulfilling a demand for pre-travel planning advice, information about in-resort activities and the resort ambience and health-giving properties of its location.

It is evident from the experiences of the three resorts examined in this paper that demand for official guides continued throughout the war, even if these were particularly peaked in the spring and autumn for winter and summer holidays. Resorts advertised nationally (e.g., in *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* and in regional newspapers) and supplied travel organizers with regular copies of the guide to promote the resort to their clients. The evidence presented in this paper indicates that from a marketing perspective, tourism and holidaytaking did not cease 1914-18 and nor did the advertising activities of municipal organisations. Research extending this to other areas of the UK and Europe would be valuable, as newspaper advertising of holiday destinations continued unabated through this period. Further research that examines personal experiences from diaries and the expanding range of digital archives on social and economic life in this period will yield insights into the resort experience in wartime. In theoretical terms, the paper contributes to a much needed shift in the historiography of tourism and war. The paper also has a synergy with research conducted in the wake of COVID-19 by Mitev and Irimiás (2021) using the concept of travel craving for holidays (i.e. when people are deprived of the freedom to choose from an unrestricted range of options changes). In WW1, that motivation to take a holiday remained a craving that continued to be fuelled by advertising by resorts. In the industrial towns in Northern England lengthy debates occurred in the war on continued cultural practices such as wakes weeks and holidays that were a source of conflict between the state and workers and their unions. The travel craving remained, as holidaymakers and railway companies adapted (i.e. with reduced availability of resorts and crowded rail services). In some cases, resorts also saw an unexpected influx of temporary visitors with the billeting of troops and treatment of wounded soldiers arriving on ambulance trains direct from the war zone. The study also illustrates how current destination promotion still relies upon many promotional techniques that date from the Edwardian and wartime period, as the purpose remains similar of influencing people to visit resorts, even at times of national crisis which offers important lessons for policymakers on destination resilience in achieving business continuity. Further research will hopefully demonstrate whether the three examples examined in this study are representative of the wider national situation in broad terms, taking account of local conditions and nuances in the destination experiences of tourism.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Stephen J. Page: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Joanne Connell:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Conceptualization.

Ethical approval and informed consent statements

The research was conducted to a high ethical standard but no participants were involved.

Data availability statement

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Appendix 1. Summary of operational challenges for West Country destinations 1914–18: The state, the war effort and decisions impacting tourism demand and supply

September 1914: Outbreak of war in August and cancellations of holiday bookings at destination; workforce taking up arms and leaving; Railway Executive Committee (which took over the running of the railways) temporarily removes cheap excursion fares; some resort and urban destination tourism infrastructure requisitioned for military uses (e.g. as offices and as military hospitals/convalescence use); requisitioning of steamers used for

passenger traffic to resorts (e.g. Ilfracombe – all Wales-Ilfracombe cross Bristol Channel traffic banned by the Admiralty and steamers put to military use until 1919).

1915: growth of munitions work and higher wages impacts on resort labour further, particularly with loss of female labour; shortage of rolling stock and staff to reinstate cheap excursion fares despite lobbying by Federation; financial pressures being felt in many areas of Local Government, especially Ilfracombe with the loss of tourism revenue from steamers and fees to use the pier.

1916: progressive withdrawal of dining and restaurant car services on long-distance trains (Great Eastern Railway was the last to scale back such services in July 1918 despite one-third of rolling stock sent overseas for the war effort).

Easter 1916: military propaganda in the lead up to the Battle of the Somme, criticizing leisure travel being prioritised over military needs on railways.

May 1916,:Minister for Munitions, Lloyd George appeal to Munitions workers to forgo Whitsun holidays after the loss of production during Easter 1916.

July 1916: Field Marshall Haig asks population to forgo holidays for war effort in the 'Big Push' poster campaign.

July 1916: Government Relays Committee report on phasing munitions workers holidays cannot reach agreement on approach.

August 1916: Bank Holiday was abolished for the war effort (but reinstated in 1917).

September 1916 day trips and leisure travel by charabanc (early motor coaches) were banned impacting excursions from resorts and the day trip market.

Federation successfully lobbies for the billeting of troops in the resorts to offset perceived drops in demand for tourism but Government rate deemed too low.

January 1917: REC increases rail fares by 50 % to try and dampen demand for leisure travel; January 1917 further cuts to railway services to West Country and Cornish Rivera service suspended in favour of more stopping services.

Poster campaign directed at munitions workers – Stay at Your Work and to not take holidays in 1917.

1917: ongoing labour shortages (e.g. recruit performers for entertainments in resorts such as Ilfracombe; Food rationing and shortages impacting entire population.

December 1917: ban on railways advertising travel on posters at stations and in carriages by Railway Executive Committee; London Underground and London omnibuses estimated that it would lead to a loss of £100,000 in advertising revenue but the REC guarantees the net receipts of the main railway companies outside of London.

February 1918: Great Western Railways report the 'crowded condition of long-distance trains and of the journeys which are still being undertaken from and to London termini and the large provincial towns … private travellers should be induced to realise that abandoned or postponed journeys actually and substantially assist the state' (Anon 1918).

May 1918:further curtailment of railway services to Ilfracombe by LSWR due 'to exigencies of the present situation' and Ilfracombe considered to be well served by railway company.

Mid-1918: Government Bill on Luxury Duty being prepared to further impact cost of tourism and hospitality.

August 1918: strikes in some resorts over wage rates with discontent about high wages paid to munitions workers and disruption during the August Bank Holiday including Weston-Super-Mare.

August 1918: for the forthcoming August bank Holiday, GWR commented that 'the strain upon the trains in the next few weeks will be very great. Trains will be crowded, especially for long-distances, travel will not be attended to with the comforts of former days. It is not denied that an annual holiday away from home is necessary to many. These people could largely help to relieve the public services by travelling to places other than the "popular resorts". A further suggestion, that is supported from the President of the Board of Trade, i.e. that persons going to and from the seaside should endeavour to arrange their journeys in the middle of the week. Passenger trains are more crowded at week-ends' (Anon, 1918b, p. 117).

September 1918:government restrictions on paper use and need for recycling and shortage of supply in October 1918.

September 1918:REC introduces restrictions so that no only single journeys can be made and require an overnight stay so day returns are issued, thereby removing day trips to resorts; GWR reports that 'traffic is no longer canvassed [advertising withdrawn]; excursions and cheap fares have been abolished and passenger train services greatly reduced. Yet passenger travel … is as pronounced as ever, and crowded trains during August have borne testimony to the predominance of the travel and holiday spirit. That the crowds have been moved, in spite of the reduced train service … is a tribute to the railways … and adaptability of the travelling public' (Anon, 1918c, p. 154).

Source: Newspaper sources; Urban District Council Minutes 1914–18; Hansard; Anon (1917) Railways and the ban on posters, Railway Gazette 26 (12), p341; Anon (1916) Soldiers lives of holidays?', Daily Telegraph May 29, 1916, p9; Anon (1918a) Wartime railway travelling, Great Western Magazine, 29,2, p17; Anon (1918b) Holiday travel, Great Western Magazine, 30, 8, p117; Anon (1918c) Railways and the war, Great Western Magazine, 30, 9, p154.

Appendix 2. The structure of the Official Guide for Weston-Super-Mare (1916) and a wartime example of a Ward and Lock Guide (1916–17)

Feature of Official Guide for Weston-Super-Mare	Narrative of characteristics	Ward and Lock Guide for Ilfracombe 1916-17
Plain White Cover with angled title 'Weston-Super-Mare'	21 cm × 13 cm size (moleskin large) black and white 84 pp. in extent including covers	Red cloth typifying the common name of the 'Red Guides' comprising 11 pages of text, multiple maps and photographs and priced at 1 shilling and 6d (2.5p) aimed at the travelling public
17 pages of advertising between front cover and title page	10 prominent and prestigious hotels featured in initial pages as a full or half page advertisements with photograph of property describing facilities; 1 chemist featured and estate agent offering services for long-lets and able to source boarding house stays; 5 boarding houses with photographs and services listed as half page advertisements and 2 private hotels; 1 victualler also selling healthy local mineral water; 1 property offering long-stay apartments to rent and gentleman's outfitter	23 advertisements at the outset (generic consumer advertisements not related to tourism) to subsidise the production of the Guide as quarter, half or full page; post resort information, 67 further pages of advertisements for hotels and accommodation across the UK, and all entries with detailed indexes

(*continued*)

Feature of Official Guide for Weston-Super-Mare	Narrative of characteristics	Ward and Lock Guide for Ilfracombe 1916-17
Colour image of painting of the town before cover page	Designed to portray the resort at its finest using an art	All black and white images and text
Title page	Published by Town Council by the Weston-Super-Mare Advertising and Entertainments Association Ltd and available free of charge from Town Clerk's Office	A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Ilfracombe, Barnstaple, Bideford, Woolacombe and North-West Devon. Upwards of 60 illustrations. Ward and Lock LimitedLondon
Contents page Go West Winsome Weston The Town Parades Bays and Tides Weston for pleasure Weston for Health Scholastic Centre Worlebury Camp The Holmes Brean Down Cheddar Cathedral City of Wells Glastonbury General Information and Places of Amusement Public Buildings and Places of Worship Recreations Literary and Musical Societies Interesting Places in District Inset – Map of Town	The contents pages provide a detailed review aimed at a longer – stay in winter or summer with the 'Go West' to position it as 'the premier Health and Pleasure resort', accessible to visitors from London, the Midlands or North with through trains illustrating the prominence and volume of visitors it catered for even during wartime. The text is interspersed with photographs of the resort and text that is designed to positively encourage a wide range of uses from visitors on shorter stays to attracting people to move there. It also promotes accommodation to suits all budgets as well as its properties for recuperation for health reasons (especially for the 'many invalids who visit appreciate the service of pony bath chairs'. It is promoted as an all-year round resort, with a prominent social scene and a safe water supply and regular inspection of the water and sanitation services. The various sections describe the attractions and services in considerable detail	Contents comprise a general introduction to the scope of the book which sets out the descriptive nature of the material, the chief holiday centres, rail road and steamer routes, climate, sport, golf and motoring, a literary notes and hotel tariffs. Prior to the text for the Introduction, there is a full listing of all Ward and Locke Guides for the Uk and continental guides priced at half a crown (12.5p), a list of hotel, boarding establishments, school and business directory (21 illustrated advertisements including a selection of South Devon hotels in Torquay).
Map of routes to access Weston-Super-Mare (road, rail and sea)		Map of each destination and attractions are described in each section.

Appendix 3. Themes in tourism advertising in the UK 1913–14: The Parliamentary Debate

Theme	Points raised on the theme in the debate	Implications for the study
1. International and domestic marketing of the UK	The MP for Bath (Lord Thynne, representing a major destination which built its reputation on its mineral springs), argued that there was an important precedent of national tourism advertising citing Switzerland where public bodies were engaged in public advertising with its dependence upon tourism. Within a UK context, Thynne argued *'Take the case of the Great Western Railway, which is a very remarkable case. They have by advertisement of what they themselves have called the "Cornish Riviera" beguiled a very large number of the more guileless of my fellow countrymen into believing that they will find among the fishing villages on the Cornish coast perennial sun, sumptuous casinos, with their attendant pleasures, turquoise blue seas, luxurious cooking and other delights … and they have been so successful that they are able to run a train de luxe, the Cornish Rivera express, down to the coast daily. I offer that as a striking example of the value and use of advertisement. I do not think it is possible to find, if I wanted to find, a stronger instance than the instance of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, who annually induce a very large number of those highly cultured people who live on the slopes of Hampstead and Brixton Rise to go, at considerable inconvenience and considerable expense, to Amiens, Rouen, and Chartres'.*	Examples of innovation in advertising and the competitive edge they offered for destinations. Thynne was calling for parity with other countries' destination marketing efforts, but equally embodying the political philosophy of much Victorian and Edwardian legislation on leisure, arguing for a permissive levy of 1d on the rates for localities to make their own decisions,
2. State opposition to levelling the field – Board of Trade	The President of the Board of Trade (Herbert Samuel) and MP for Cleveland, highlighted the continued refusal to grant the same powers as Blackpool received, citing the easing of the rules for some destinations as *'The position then is that Parliament has refused to grant the power to levy a rate for advertising, except to Blackpool and, perhaps, one or two other places; while, comparatively recently, powers have been given in the case of three or four authorities to spend on advertising the profit derived by the sale of programmes and the letting of chairs at their concerts'.*	
3. Collaborative marketing efforts by resorts seeking parity with Blackpool	The MP for Barnstaple, Sir Godfrey Baring, pointed to the immense benefit Blackpool derived. Evidence cited in the debate about the collaborative marketing efforts being undertaken through the Federation of Health Resorts (managed by the Health Resort Association), set up in 1913, (with 76 members by 1914) was a well-coordinated and influential trade body which is documented in the meetings of advertising committees, Council meetings, in the press and in the staff magazines of the numerous railway companies.	The Federation comprised representatives from Towns with one representative per hundred thousand pounds of ratable value of town or place with no more than three representatives per place. This represented the embryonic national model of shared marketing objectives promoted by private and public sector bodies and the nature of the tourism ecosystems that had developed in many resorts by 1914.

(*continued*)

Theme	Points raised on the theme in the debate	Implications for the study
3 Illustrations of the Federation of Health Resorts marketing efforts	F. Hinds, MP for West Carmarthenshire, outlined the regional marketing partnerships formed as 'We have now got six or seven advertising boards in this country federated together for the purpose of advertising resorts in various districts, including South Wales, North Devon, and Cumberland' [and South Devon and North Wales]. Corroborating evidence from the Irish Tourist Organisation Society extolled the virtues of such promotional organisations in achieving coordinated activities and identifying the mutual benefits of destination promotion thus: 'in this matter of attracting visitors, the various interests are identical whether they are the interests of the railway company, of the resort, of the hotel proprietor, the boarding house-keeper, the local trader – indeed of the community as a whole', citing the combined activities of the North Wales Advertising Board 'advertising for 20 principalities' (Galway Pilot and Connaught Advertiser, July 10, 1915) as a model of tourism promotion.	The Federation comprised representatives from Towns with one representative per hundred thousand pounds of ratable value of town or place with no more than three representatives per place The contribution was proportional to the rateable value and Torquay, paid £21 per annum, in 1914. Their activities continued throughout the war where they represented a region and advertised an Official Guide or pamphlet (e.g. North Wales advertised extensively in the press illustrated by the Health and Pleasure of North Wales advertisement in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* (May 10, 1915).
4. The powerful effect of railway advertising on destination development	Sir F. Banbury MP for the City of London demonstrated the powerful role of railway advertising evident using the example of Skegness and its railway advertisement ("Skegness is so bracing!" commissioned in 1906 at a cost of 10 guineas (by the Great Northern Railway Company). The rapid growth in the visitor market was attributed to that advertising tool. But as Banbury observed, this principally benefitted the railway company who were at liberty to select and choose the destinations they wanted to promote.	This example highlighted the importance of advertising per se, but also the need for destinations to have control over their own promotional destiny. This was a position also supported by the Association of Municipal Corporations (which represented every urban district in the UK), who were also lobbying for the 1914 Bill.
5. Local destination advertising	The rationale, as Sir Norval Helme, MP for Lancaster, elegantly summarised was to stimulate tourism demand: '*There is a demand that will be stimulated legitimately by the expenditure of this money*'. In the case of the Isle of Wight, the extent of promotional activity was summarised by its MP Mr Douglas Hall where two advertising associations had launched a poster advertising the Official Guide as a *'new poster had been greatly appreciated, and so many copies had been asked for by the different railway companies and tourist agencies that nearly one-half of the 5000 copies which were ordered at the beginning of last season had already been distributed. The stock of English guide books had been exhausted and the committee were engaged in supervising the issue of a fresh edition for the coming season. During the year about 1500 copies of the guide book were sent out in response to applications. That shows what one small association, with an income of only about £100 per year, can do for the good of the town'.*	This example demonstrates the significance of how small sums of money can achieve major marketing objectives using the Official Guide

Appendix 4. Aims and objectives of the Federation of Health Resorts, managed by G. May of the Health Resort Association, with 97 destinations as members in 1914

- To promote legislation enhancing the status of resources including powers to raise funds from the rates for advertising.
- To want to take schemes for giving wider publicity to British resorts at home and in foreign countries
- To work and promote movement for the reorganisation of holidays, so as to extend the season over a longer time of the year
- To provide increased facilities for touring in the British Isles and in particular to improve such facilities from foreign countries
- To promote the interest of British results at international art exhibitions and to promote the promotion of exhibitions designed to further the claims of British results.
- To organise press campaigns in Britain and foreign newspapers on the interchange visits with foreign countries
- To assist in preserving places of historic interest
- To organise schemes of cooperative advertising
- To conduct a press bureau advertising and tourist agency
- To establish a bureau of information with officers suitable centres
- Enter into arrangements with tourist firms and other combinations of to develop the interest of British resorts in all parts of the world
- To organise and improve hotel, et cetera arrangements and to make their attractions more widely known.

Source: Torquay Urban District Council Advertising Sub-Committee Minutes, 1914, page 4282.

Appendix 5. Population growth in Ilfracombe, Torquay and Weston-Super-Mare 1841–1921

	1841	1901	1911	1921
Ilfracombe	3679	8557	8.935	11,772
Torquay	1982	33,652	38,711	30,431
Weston-Super-Mare	3103	19,048	23,235	31,643

Appendix 6. Promotional activities of selected west country resorts prior to and during World War 1

	Torquay		Ilfracombe		Weston Super Mare	
Promotional Techniques used	Pre 1914	1914–18	Pre 1914	1914–18	Pre 1914	1914–18
Officlal Guide – distributed to visitors	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Officlal Guide – distributed to tourism bureaus and travel agencies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Promotion organisation in destination	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Promotion activity absorbed into Town Clerk's portfolio of work for funding				✓		
Promotion Bureau in London	✓	Closed April 30, 1917				
Posters: by destination	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Posters: in collaboration with railway company	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Advertising in railway company publications	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Newspaper advertising	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Billboards	✓	✓				
Advertising on national rail services in carriages	✓					
Advertising on London Underground trains	✓					
Public Relations (Talks to organisations nationally)	✓	✓				
Use of signage hung to promote place image	✓					
Promotional film of destination	✓	✓				
Collaboration with Federation	✓	✓				
Public relations Buy-in to Federation programme of overseas visiting journalists to west country	✓	✓				
Photography in advertising bureau/hotels	✓	✓				
Postcards inserted in GWR Holiday Haunts Guide	✓	✓				
Posters produced to display in Thomas Cook Travel Bureaus	✓					
Political lobbying by advertising committee of Town Council, MPs and Board of Trade in conjunction with the Federation		✓		✓		
Attending trade fairs			✓		✓	✓
Commission of artwork to promote image of resort on posters						✓
Advertising by A G Campbell steamer services from Bristol and South Wales			✓		✓	
Resort climatic conditions listed in prominent newspapers (e.g. Manchester Guardian and Telegraph) for English and Welsh health resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓		

Sources: Minutes of Exeter, Ilfracombe, Torquay and Weston-Super-Mare Councils 1913–19; newspaper articles for 1900–1919 for reports on advertising committee meetings and actual advertisements placed; Weston-super-Mare Borough Council advertising committee minutes 1899–1936; National Railway Museum Poster Collection; GWR Archive; National Archives; South West Heritage Trust archives (Exeter, Barnstaple and Taunton); personal correspondence with archivists.

Appendix 7. The Times Newspaper advertisements for Easter holidays in 1915–1918

	December 11, 1915	March 16, 1916 and 25 March 1916	8 April 1916 and 15 April 1916	June 5, 1916	July 24, 1916	1 September 1917 [1] and October 27, 1917	March 11, 1918	25 March 1918
Main advertisement and strapline	Royal Leamington Spa – *In the heart of England*	Bath – *The beautiful West Country spa- safe and restful*	Bath – *A holiday of health this easter*	Bath – *Health, recreation, scenery, antiquities*	Bath – *Old world charm, modern science, cheerful entertainment* Malvern – *The queen of inland resorts*	No main advertisement for 1 September; only Weston-Super-Mare's Official Guide - *Central and easily accessible* Column refers to 27 October advertisements *For two thousand years (Bath)* Bournemouth – *The evergreen valley by the sea* Royal Leamington Spa – *Ideal health resort* Regional advertisement for South Coast resorts – *Come South (see below)*	Bath – *The spa for the springtime* (recuperation, rest and recreation) with	Bath – *The spa for a restful holiday*
Official Guide advertised and	Royal Leamington Spa	Bath Bournemouth and Boscombe	Bath Brighton Droitwich -	Bath Brighton – *For the holidays*	Bath Malvern Weston-Super-	Bath Bournemouth Royal Leamington	Bath: *For 2000 years* Cheltenham -	Droitwich – *For easter: Natural brine*

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	December 11, 1915	March 16, 1916 and 25 March 1916	8 April 1916 and 15 April 1916	June 5, 1916	July 24, 1916	1 September 1917 [1] and October 27, 1917	March 11, 1918	25 March 1918
the strapline used	Great Western Railway – *Cornish Riviera Guide* Droitwich	Brighton Droitwich – *Natural Brine Baths* Minehead - *For the holidays* Salcombe - Isle of White	Natural brine baths Royal Leamington Spa – *The ideal health resort in the middle of England* Malvern- *The queen of inland resorts* Southsea – *On the Silvery Solent* Minehead Bude Isle of White Salcombe - *Sunny Salcombe*	Buxton – The mountain spa Minehead – *For the holidays* Salcombe – *Sunny Salcombe* Southsea – *On the Silvery Solent* Worcestershire – Brine Baths Hotel (with Official Guide details) Weston-Super-Mare – *The haven of safety for holidays or residence*	Mare – *The haven of safety for holidays or residence* Brighton - *For the holidays* Droitwich – *Natural brine baths* Buxton- *The beautiful mountain spa* Cheltenham Spa Ilkley – *The heather spa* Southsea – *On the silvery Solent* Salcombe – *Sunny Salcombe* Glorious South Devon – *For a restful restorative holiday* (South Devon Advertising Association promoting 11 locations including Torquay) Glorious Isle of Man – *For health, safety and comfort* Torquay – *The delightfully unique Devon health resort* Minehead – *Queen of the Exmoor country*	Spa Southsea – *On the silvery Solent* Salcombe – *Sunny South Devon* Worcestershire – Brine Baths Hotel (with Official Guide details) Weston-Super-Mare – *Autumn holidays beyond the danger zone* Cheltenham Spa – *The health resort of the Midlands* Regional advertisement for South Coast resorts featuring: Brighton Eastbourne Hastings and St Leonards, Hove. Littlehampton, Royal Tunbridge Wells, Southsea, Sunny Worthing, Bexhill and Cooden Beach and Bognor	*The health resort of the Midlands* Droitwich – *Natural brine baths* Hastings and St Leonards – *The South Coast Winter Resort* Weston- Super-Mare – *Restful and recuperative beyond the danger zone*	*baths* Weston-Super-Mare – *Restful and recuperative beyond the danger zone*

[1] For Easter 1917, the Times newspaper chose to run a series of articles, that supported the Board of Trade request to refrain from unnecessary travel for holidays (e.g. March 31, 1917,' No unnecessary travel' and April 5, 1917, 'Holiday at home') but in its overview of holiday travel and Easter 1917 (April 9, 1917, War-time holiday'), it still reported the exodus of Londoners to the south coast, crowded trains from mainline stations as troops on leave and London residents overcrowded the main stations. However, that support was short-lived as further full-page advertisements for holidays continued later in 1917. Where Torquay and Ilfracombe do not advertise their Official Guides. A range of hotels in each resort do advertise the destination.

Appendix 8. Crisis management principles from wartime experiences and implications for destination management

Principles observed in examples	Stage in the crisis management cycle	Implications for modern day destination management
Leadership by Town Clerk and/or Advertising Committee	Initial unfolding of the crisis event in August 1914 with initial predictions of a short-run war that could be over in months. Initial holiday booking cancellations were a relatively new phenomenon for resorts after a period of continued growth since the Victorian period	Taking ownership and control of the crisis event in a proactive manner and not making simplistic assumptions about the length and duration without understanding similar crises and their etiology
Lobbying by key stakeholders of government to seek guidance and assistance in circumstances that the resorts have not previously experienced	Highlighting unexpected and unplanned nature of the crisis to the Board of Trade and to individual politicians via the Federation. In the case of east coast resorts this led to a limited destination compensation scheme but illustrated the unfamiliar territory that resorts and the government were entering	Highlights importance of creating business continuity and crisis management plan that activates stakeholder action and significance of trade bodies as single voice speaking for stakeholders
Leadership to create a resource base for promotion in a streamlined and often delegated manner to respond in a more agile manner	Understanding the depth of the crisis and adapting to the new normal of wartime once the initial period of hysteria had died down. This illustrated a need for agility and adaptability which signalled a reduction in bureaucracy (e. g. presenting every decision to a monthly committee meeting). By giving the Town Clerk delegated authority it enabled the leveraging resources from other Council sources. This was evident in Torquay and other locales (such as Exeter City Council which took over control of the local advertising committee after 1914 to maintain	Recognizing that whilst many crises may be short lived (i. e. less than a year in duration) when they enter an extended timeframe this may need recognizing a new normal. This was evident in the Covid pandemic/Through creativity in seeking revenue for to promotional activities, it illustrates the importance of a leader who is able to work across boundaries and with diverse stakeholders

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Principles observed in examples	Stage in the crisis management cycle	Implications for modern day destination management
	continuity in marketing activities). In some cases committees were combined to access funding streams	
Stakeholders collaborate to create additional funding to undertake promotional tasks, when businesses find subscribing to the Official Guide challenging, to maintain promotional activities	Mid-way through the crisis and with marketing resources more scarce, creativity and alternative ways of funding core tasks are sought to maintain the communication with consumers	Building on the Victorian principles of Smiles (1859) and self-help, the lesson for destinations is to draw upon the internal resources of stakeholders to engage in self-help rather than rely on external bodies to address crisis situations. This may be embedded in destination crisis plans to help build greater destination resilience
Streamlining activities to identify and invest in those promotional tools that give the best Return on Investment (e.g. the Official Guide and newspaper advertising)	Mid-way through the crisis ensuring that core promotional messages do not cease to maintain a degree of continuity in attracting visitors to state 'we are open for business'	Not to cease core activities even though it may be difficult to justify such spending when other pressures are being exerted on budgets. The core message that the destination is still operating is key for creating consumer confidence
Starting to plan for recovery post-crisis by maintaining and then expanding promotional activities once the vital signs of recovery are in sight (e.g. expanding the print run of the Official Guide back to pre-war levels)	The later recovery stages when visitor activity is showing signs of growth and the impact of the crisis seems to be waning is an important signal for the business community and consumers	As with the existing destination recovery literature, maintaining and planning during a crisis for post-crisis recovery is critical to avoid lost time in the recovery stage
Seeking to understand how the destination will fare post-crisis and what types of infrastructure and investment will be needed to refresh the locale and create new interest	The latter stages of the crisis and post-recovery planning and feasibility analysis to understand how new visitor tastes will have been shaped by the effects of war and conflict (e.g. greater democratisation of access to tourism and the expansion of mass markets)	For many destinations this is often framed as part of the resort lifecycle. Reinvestment to give the product lifecycle an extended life after a period of crisis is not uncommon. It highlights the need for thinking about the post-crisis future. Key scenario planning tasks may involve horizon scanning and identifying the type of experiences and products to promote. A major consideration is whether the current offer is going to be competitive and aligned to new trends and tastes

Appendix 9. Examples of Railway Company amendments to tourism promotion during the First World War

Extract from North East Railway Printed Brown and Cream Sticker inserted in Tourist Guidebooks during the First World War (e.g. 1915 Guidebook: Teesdale: The Rokeby Country, issued free)

A holiday in the ordinary sense of the term is something that everyone must regard for the present as being not only impossible, but distasteful. When many of our fellow-subjects, both of Great Britain and the Dominions beyond the Seas, and the Empire of India, also the land sea forces of our noble Allies, are facing danger and death in the World War, no one has the desire to seek the usual pleasures and enjoyments of summer-time. Nevertheless, those who are helping in other ways to carry on the civil life of the nation must find the same need as during normal times for some little rest and change from everyday surroundings. The children, too, must not be denied their period of holiday at the sea-side, on the moors or in the dales, for the child-life of the nation is one of the most precious assets. This booklet, containing no reference to the War, is therefore offered for the perusal of those interested in learning of the nature of the many coast and inland resorts in North East England as they may be found in times of peace. If the diversions at the larger watering places [resorts] are not of their customary character it is, of course, because of the respect which must be paid to national feeling, and by no means implies that a week or two, or longer, spent their this summer will not well repay the visit.

On the reverse of the label was a Special railway Notice stating that 'Withdrawal of excursion fares and cheap fare facilities'.

Furness Railway (1916) Illustrated Guide to the Lakeland

Maps and advertisements for steamer services contain a red ink printed statement – suspended until further notice (especially where steamers had been requisitioned for war service).

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (1915) Railway Holiday Manual

Notices printed over steamer services and trips stating 'suspended until further notice'.

Data availability

The data is in the appendices

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