ESF Exploratory Workshop on

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN MASS CULTURE: EUROPEAN LEISURE IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE 1660-1870

Gegynog Hall (Wales, UK), 16-19 September 2010

Convened by:

Peter Borsay and Jan Hein Furnée

SCIENTIFIC REPORT

1. Executive Summary

Main Goals

The scientific objective of the exploratory workshop was to establish a new agenda for the study of urban leisure between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries. Though specific aspects of leisure during this period have been the subject of intensive investigation, others remain seriously under-researched, and there has been only a limited attempt to explore the topic as a whole, particularly in its Europe-wide dimension. To address these problems and facilitate a new agenda the convenors asked those attending the workshop to focus on four key issues:

1. First, participants were asked to examine the long-term perspective and interrogate traditional chronologies, and particularly those which separate the early modern from the modern, the pre-industrial from the industrial. Two further matters that would be important to our discussion of chronology were the extent to which different parts of Europe innovated at different speeds, and the validity of the hypothesis that there was a growing tendency towards convergence during the Enlightenment that in the nineteenth century was reversed by the rise of national models of leisure designed to assert separate geographical identities.

2. Second, examining the sort of points raised above has been severely hampered by the way in which the study of leisure has very largely – with a few notable exceptions – been imprisoned within national contexts. With this in mind participants were asked, as far as possible, to attempt a comparative approach.

3. Third, in understanding the ways in which different parts of Europe responded and contributed to the changing cultural landscape of leisure the processes of transnational exchange and cultural transmission are of central concern. In particular, participants were asked to address the role of cities, modes and methods of communication and cultural leaders and entrepreneurs in facilitating transmission.

4. Fourth, work on the history of leisure to date has been highly fragmented, in large measure due to the existence of disciplinary boundaries, with the study of leisure practices spreading across the scholarly spectrum, embracing not only history, but areas such as literature, theatre, musicology, art and architecture. A central aim of the workshop was to bring together scholars of differing types to work to an explicitly interdisciplinary agenda.

Main results

In their specific contributions those attending the workshop made a serious attempt to investigate the four areas identified by the convenors and significant progress was made. The overall conclusion was that each was an area that deserved more attention and could

provide a framework for further international research. This was reflected in the themes suggested at the end of the workshop for future collaboration.

Many papers took a long-term perspective, which identified phases rather than a single moment of change, and several concluded that received chronologies needed to be re-examined. One notable outcome was that the adoption of new leisure forms and practices seemed to vary a good deal between countries and zones of Europe, and that whereas ideas could spread rapidly, in some cases, in others there could be a considerable time lag, particularly early on in the period.

Such conclusions depend upon a comparative approach, and though a number of the papers focused on one particular country, the majority took a wider-ranging perspective, examining two or more nations, identifying both the similarities and differences between them, and isolating the factors, such as rates of urbanization, the role of the state and religious attitudes, that contributed to these differences.

One firm conclusion of the workshop was the importance in the spread of leisure ideas (and any trend towards convergence) of vectors of change, such as cultural entrepreneurs and tourists, and the need for more research in this area.

With historians, musicologists, literary scholars and art historians contributing to the discussion it also became clear that no one approach can of itself sufficiently capture the diversity of the leisure experience, and that there is a need in any future research to retain a broad-based interdisciplinary mode of investigation. Many of the contributors, for example, mixed literary texts, visual sources and material culture in a way that required the skills and insights of more than one discipline.

General view of the atmosphere

Twenty scholars, from nine different countries (ten if the rapporteur, who played an active and valuable part in the discussion, is included) across Europe, agreed to participate in the workshop. Unfortunately four of the original participants were unable, for a variety of personal and medical reasons, to attend. Two of these sent full papers, which the organizers read or summarized at the appropriate point in the programme, and on which there was a substantial discussion, with comments relayed back to the authors.

The workshop took place over four days between Thursday 16 September and Sunday 19 September 2010 at the University of Wales conference centre, Gregynog Hall, in Powys. This is a nineteenth-century country house left to the University of Wales in 1960 by the sisters Gwendoline and Margaret Davies, who had bought the house in 1920 and proceeded to turn it into a major cultural and conference centre in Wales. Located in a highly rural area, its isolation – there is only a very limited mobile phone signal – and the difficulties in accessing it are compensated for by the attractive physical arrangements of the house and gardens, which are highly conducive to intensive collaborative work, without distractions. All the participants were residential, some accommodated in the house, others in a courtyard annexe, and a further group in a cottage on the estate.

The workshop was structured to allow considerable time for formal and informal discussion. Sessions were designed to allow at least 20 minutes of discussion for every 40 minutes of formal delivery, and chairpersons were exhorted to enforce this. In practice little compulsion was required since contributors soon understood the importance of keeping to time and leaving plenty of space for colleagues to comment.

The final afternoon of the workshop was given offer to general discussion. Two of the participants were asked to reflect on the proceedings; the format, timetable and publication arrangements for the volume based on the papers delivered to the workshop were considered; and a substantial period of time was spent discussing future plans.

All sessions took place in the Joicey Room, a large airy room equipped with facilities to project power point presentations, in which tables were arranged in a sigle oblong formation to encourage participation. There were regular coffee and tea breaks to allow for more informal discussion, and the comfortable spaces of the public rooms of the house and the extensive gardens provided further opportunity for the participants to explore particular issues with each other. Common eating arrangements at breakfast, lunch and dinner also encouraged discussion, and all the evening meals were taken in a special room separate from the other party using the house at this time.

On the late afternoon and evening of the Friday the group went on a coach to nearby Shrewsbury to explore, under the guidance of one of the organizers of the workshop, the leisure landscape of the town, which in the eighteenth century emerged as a major regional centre of polite living and pastimes. The evening ended with a conference dinner in the Lion Hotel, the leading inn in Shrewsbury in the Georgian era, and a visit to the impressively ornate late eighteenth-century assembly room above the dining room.

The location and organization of the workshop was geared to encourage a collaborative and serious spirit of enquiry. All the participants responded to this challenge, so that the overriding atmosphere was one of friendly but intensive discussion, with a commitment to address common themes, listen to each other and forge a new agenda for the subject.

2. Scientific content of the event

The workshop opened with a brief welcome from the organizers, after which the ESF rapporteur Csaba Pleh gave a presentation on the ESF. The organizers then introduced the topic of the conference, explaining the rationale for the subject chosen, and outlining the four main themes which participants had been asked to address: the long term perspective, the comparative dimension, cultural transmission and interdisciplinary approaches.

The workshop was divided into seven substantive sessions. The first session on change and exchange in urban leisure culture started with two broad overviews. Clarisse Coulomb reported on changing patterns of leisure in eighteenth-century France and England. She used as her primary sources the accounts of travellers, who she sees as important agents for the transfer of ideas. A combination of Anglomania (on the part of the French travellers) and Francophilia (on the part of English travellers) ensured the importation and naturalization by French towns of many of the new forms of leisure being pioneered in England. However, despite these tendencies towards convergence, French leisure culture retained much of its distinctiveness, particularly in respect of its continuous round of entertainment (uninterrupted by the English Sunday) and the opportunites it offered women to mix with men. In the discussion on Coulomb's paper Peter Clark asked the questions what was special about the nature of travel in the eighteenth century in comparison to earlier periods, and what impact this had on the scale and character of cultural dissemination ? Another point of discussion was the role of diplomats and merchants in the transfer of leisure culture between countries (e.g. in the dissemination of masonry and masonic lodges). Boudien de Vries stressed that travel literature tends to

highlight differences above similarities and asked what effect this would have on the analysis. Hugh Cunningham raised the question, how these processes of Anglo-French cultural transfer were related to the fact that both countries were in this period regularly at war ?

Ullrich Rosseaux's paper, presented by Jan Hein Furnée, offered a long-term perspective on the development of leisure in Germany, and in particular Dresden, from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. In particular he was able to trace the long-term effects of commmercialization, which from the mid-eighteenth century was having a major impact both on the quantity of entertainments available to the urban middle and upper classes and on their qualitiative character. Although Rosseaux was unable to attend the conference, his paper raised an interesting discussion on the role of climate and religion in explaining diverging national trends in leisure and in particular the timing and development of the winter and summer 'seasons'.

In the second session on urban leisure space, two papers examined the spatial connections between various sites of leisure. Christophe Loir's subject was the promenade, as a form of leisure in its own right, as the location of other forms of leisure, and as the means of connecting places of leisure. He reviewed the international research on the subject under the four themes adopted in the workshop, before undertaking a brief case-study of Brussels. In the discussion Peter Clark reminded the participants that urban space is usually contested and asked how and by whom the social composition of and behaviour of the company on these promenades had been controlled, suggesting that this may have been by differentiating between various weekdays and hours of the day.

Dag Lindström explored the introduction and development of a variety of types of leisure spaces - theatres, restaurants and cafes, parks and promenades - in three Swedish towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The three towns that he focused on (Stockholm, Linköping and Norrköping) experienced similar types of development but the chronologies and structures of change were very different. In contrast to what we might expect, provincial towns not only imported foreign influences via the capital, but also directly from abroad – often by way of foreign entrepreneurs, such as a German restauranteur opening a theatre and Swiss entrepreneurs starting up confectioners' shops. The curious and ambivalent role of the church authorities in Linköping was also explored, on the one hand prohibiting the performance of comedies in 1798, but on the other taking an active part in the building of a new theatre in 1805. In the discussion the crucial role of foreign enrepreneurs in the transfer of leisure culture was highlighted.

The third session focussed on music and theatre. Dorothea Baumann's paper, presented by Peter Borsay, offered a short survey of the history of concert hall building, based on the author's database of more than 1400 rooms, from the sixteenth-century oratorio hall to the monumental concert halls of the nineteenth century. Particular attention was given to the original purpose of the halls, their sizes and acoustics. Although Baumann was unable to attend the conference, the paper prompted a lively discussion, mainly focussing on the agents, motivations and factors involved in the actual processes of cultural transfer and adaptation of the various concert hall models. Carlotta Sorba suggested the important role of Italian architects travelling across Europe, who may have introduced new ideas and models which drew on Italian theory and practice in theatre building. Peter Clark pointed to the importance of urban competition and the role of civic authorities motivated by the wish to emulate rival cities. He also suggested that famous musicians/virtuosi may have played a

role in demanding certain acoustic qualities. Boudien de Vries was interested to what extent not only the architects or magaging directors but also the subscribers - the main public - of for instance the Amsterdam Concertgebouw explicitly argued that their concert hall should look more like the hall in say Vienna, Leipzig or Berlin.

In his paper Koen Buyens analysed the theme of cultural transfer/appropriation in musical and theatrical culture through the lens of Brussels, 1750-1850. In the late eighteenth century Brussels was a minor court city within the Austrian empire in which the governor-general mainly set the musical tone – alternately orientated to the French model of Versailles or to the Austrian one of Vienna. While the Francophiliac elite problematized Dutch language theatre, some Dutch speaking intellectuals promoted Dutch culture as a healthy counterbalance to the Gallomania. In the course of the next decades, when Belgium was annexed into France, subsequently integrated in the Kingdom of The Netherlands and finally achieved independence, the capital's cultural and musical landscape was characterized by a consequent and often somewhat insecure imitation of the French example. A central point in the discussion was the fact that political antagony between – in this case - Austria and France apparently did not hinder Brussels orientation towards the musical culture of Versailles, to the extent that even Mozart and Haydn were quite poorly represented in the repertoire of the city's concerts. Another point of discussion was the role of entrepreneurs like theatre manager A.F. Bultos who established an English-style Vauxhall in 1777.

Starting with a fascinating anecdote on children named after famous melodramatic protagonists, Carlotta Sorba described the origins of French melodrama in eighteenth-century Enlightenment discourse, its development in turn-of-the-century Paris boulevard theatres and its diffusion and appropriation in Italy and England. Supported by literary and pictorial evidence she discussed the issues of theatrical experience, audience composition and audience response, with a special interest in female theatre-goers. While Thomas Holcroft, a radical playwright who during the 1780s was at the centre of a Franco-English network of cultural exchange, actively transferred the genre to England, in the case of Italy the smooth absorbtion of melodramatic forms and plots in the country's opera, promoted by a relative lack of state control, prevented the rise of melodrama as a separate genre. In the discussion Hugh Cunningham widened the debate on the impact of nineteenth-century melodrama by questioning the ways in which it influenced the style and content of contemporary political culture.

In the fourth session on sports and parks, Peter Clark addressed the problematic subject of eighteenth-century games and sports. Unlike some of the other types of leisure explored in the workshop, such as opera, only in England – which has attracted the most research on the subject - is there evidence of substantial commercialization and modernization of sport (for example in horse racing and cricket). Moreover, there is little sign that the the models and practices developed in England spread rapidly and easily into other parts of Europe. The paper was concerned why this should be the case, and examined a range of variables, suggesting tentatively that the key factors affecting the spread of a more commercialized regime of sport across Europe were patterns of urbanization, the media and censorship, and the presence of competing institutions, especially those associated with the church.

Due to illness, Katy Layton-Jones was unable to attend the meeting and her scheduled paper was cancelled.

On Saturday morning Boudien de Vries opened the fifth session on associations and sociability with a systematic comparision of the main characteristics and development of book clubs, subscription libraries and circulating libraries in England, France, Germany and The Netherlands from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. Although the terminology raised some difficulties, it appeared to be possible to construct a relatively clear chronology of their transnational history. While England clearly acted as the craddle of both reading societies and circulation libraries, De Vries convincingly showed how booksellers and publishers were among the main innovators in transmitting the idea to the continent. In the discussion Jill Steward asked to what extent reading societies and circulating libraries catered for travellers, both by lending books that were taken on travel and by lending books to foreign travellers. In this way it seems these reading institutions also acted as vehicles of cultural dissemination. The issues of commercial censorship and clandestine books also raised some discussion, posing the question whether it is possible to write a transnational history of the library that takes into account these factors?

Jennifer Kelly's paper presented a transnational perspective on Irish associational culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Although there are various indications of French influence (especially with the rise of radicalism in the 1790s), the Irish associational culture was predominantly influenced by developments in England, both in London and in provincial towns. While Ireland copied various associational types from England – from literary and musical societies to dining clubs and sporting associations – transnational contacts were sustained by members of the Irish gentry who combined membership of their local and regional societies with clubs in Dublin and London. In the discussion the role of associations as vectors of cultural transmission was further examined, as well as their role in both urban and regional identity formation.

In the sixth session Pedro Lorente picked up the theme of associations in his paper on experiencing art in the urban public sphere, from a comparative and transnational perspective. After reviewing public art museums and commercial sites of art exhibition (such as urban fairs, auction houses, print shops and commercial museums), Lorente focused on a less studied vehicle of art exhibition, Kunstvereine and other types of art associations. These were run by citizens, who paid an annual fee to a lottery fund, the proceeds of which supported local artists, who supplied association members with paintings with which to build up their own collections. Originating and flourishing in German countries, the model of the Kunstvereine was also introduced in England, France, Italy and Spain, yet without experiencing the same appeal and success. The discussion after the paper centred on two questions. How the members of these societies negotiated between a genuine, romantic interest in art and merely striving for a new type of associational sociability ; and how the Kunstvereine were spatially integrated in the recreational routine of the citizens involved?

In his presentation Cengiz Kirli described the history of coffee houses in Istanbul, from their introduction in the middle of the sixteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century. By that time Istanbul counted over 1700 coffee houses, bringing together adult men from various classes and religions in what in effect constituted their second home. Focusing on the political role of coffee houses, Kirli analysed the popular practice of shadow theatre, taken from the Far East, in which the two main protagionists represented the struggle between the state and the lower classes. Subsequently he described the active state policy to spy on coffeehouse conversations in the 1840s, not so much to suppress political opposition but primarily to capture the public opinion in order to inform state policies. The comparative and transnational dimension was raised in the discussion, where Kirli explained

how Ottoman elites generally prefered the English coffee houses and Parisian cafés above the more popular coffee houses in Istanbul.

In the final session, devoted to seaside resorts and spas, Jill Steward analysed the development of inland spas throughout central and western Europe, from the early modern period well into the nineteenth century. Originally frequented by pilgrims and later by health seekers, many spas turned into urban settlements performing a dual function of providing pleasure and therapy for the social elites. Steward focused on the rise of a highly developed network of spa towns that attracted a national and international flow of tourists by investing huge amounts of (trans)national capital in a cosmopolitan leisure culture of grand hotels, cafes and restaurants, theatres and opera houses. In the discussion the transnational dimension of the spa phenomenon was further elaborated by evaluating the transfer of architectural styles and the way migrant workers such as French chefs, Belgian singers and German theatre directors acted as cultural brokers. At the same time Steward stressed that the transnational character of the spas should not be overestimated: the French spas had a very different, more austere character than the German ones.

In his paper, John Walton took this discussion further by focussing on nineteenth-century seaside resorts that fostered cultural, political and diplomatic exchanges among international elites. Challenging the vision of Rob Shield that nineteenth-century resorts such as Brighton functioned as an 'open field for social innovation', Walton stressed that the number of seaside resorts offering a genuinely international elite leisure culture was actually very restriced, as was the scope they provided for facilitating cultural exchange. Even international resorts tended to draw disproportionately on adjacent nations and regional transnational cultures within Europe, while the access to the meeting places of the international elite was extremely limited. The discussion focused on the tension that existed between the notion of a 'liminal' leisure culture on the beach (e.g. gambling, mixed bathing) and continuing issues of contestation and control.

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3. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field, outcome

In the concluding session Jacques Carré and Hugh Cunningham started the general discussion with two extended reflections on the content and results of the workshop. Like all the participants they felt that the central idea of the exploratory workshop - to bring together a relatively small group of international scholars, working across a wide range of countries, types of leisure and time frames, so as to focus their research on four key questions (periodisation, national comparison, cultural transmission and interdisciplinarity) – had proved very effective. Both Carré and Cunningham concluded that all participants had fully committed themselves to the workshop's research agenda, so that a broad yet cohesive body of new knowledge had been formulated, inspiring discussion that helped to reframe our individual and collective research agendas.

Both their concluding remarks and the following general discussion established a list of specific themes that deserve further elaboration. For a genuine comparative study of European urban leisure culture, more attention should be paid to peripheral countries and regions such as Portugal, Scotland and expecially Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The general assumption that England acted as the craddle of European leisure culture deserves to be tested more systematically by detailed comparative studies, while more attention

should be paid to the way English innovations were adaptations from various continental models and the many flows of influences within the Continent (e.g. Italy-France; Germany-Scandinavia). In order to understand the transnational history of European leisure culture it also seems crucial to focus even more on the main vectors and agents of transmission: media, travel literature, associations, entrepreneurs, political elites, etc. In this respect it is important to pay ample attention to the role of national stereotypes in adapting and appropriating cultural models from abroad (Anglomania versus perfidious Albion) and the interesting paradox of intensive cultural exhange between countries at war (France-England; Austria-France). Jacques Carré pointed out that one of the main hypotheses, that of transnational convergence during the Enlightenment period and national divergence in the age of nationalism, had received relatively little attention. He felt that a counter hypothesis could be formulated in which innovations in transport and media and the pressure to follow the model of world cities like Paris might even have reduced the time gap in the adoption of foreign innovations.

Although all the participants agreed on the importance and the challenge to study European leisure culture from a transnational perspective, there was also a wide awareness of the limitations of this approach. As Jacques Carré pointed out, the transnational approach tends to focus on institutions, innovations and cultural brokers and less on mentalities, traditions and publics. The well established Anglo Saxon tradition of the social history of leisure – in terms of class, gender, age, etc – seems to have been marginalised, even to the point that a transnational history of leisure culture tends to focus mainly on upper and middle class leisure, and hardly at all on working class leisure. The same argument goes for the French orientated cultural approach of *l'histoire des mentalités* (e.g. Alain Corbin). Arguing that the increase of leisure entertainment in the eighteenth century might not have be enough to fill the more routine spaces of daily life, Hugh Cunningham suggested in the best French *mentalités* tradition that a history of leisure should try to take into account the history of boredom. All agreed that the real challenge is to integrate all these – partly conflicting - historiographic traditions in leisure history into a comparative and transnational research agenda. In his conclusion Hugh Cunningham also contended that it was important to connect the history of leisure much more firmly to economic history. There is ample reason to see the growth of the leisure industry not merely as a reflection but as a motor of modern economic growth and regard leisure as one of the main industries of the Industrial Revolution. More particularly, he suggested that the substantial reduction of leisure time during the period of the so-called 'industrious revolution', and the growing divide between working time and leisure time, must have had a significant impact on the organisation and experience of leisure – not only for the working classes but also for the upper and middle classes. Finally, the more recent 'spatial turn' in history may inspire us to investigate much more systematically the spatial connections between various sites of urban leisure culture and to take the contested nature of urban leisure space as a means to re-address questions of class, gender and age.

With respect to our future collaboration, we firstly discussed the obvious next phase of our project: the book that we anticipate to make from this workshop. In the concluding session, the organizers presented a general outline of the book and discussed potential publishers. The book will consist of about fifteen contributions of 7000 words, organized in three of four thematic sections, and a general introduction written by the editors. A timetable was drafted for the delivery of updated abstracts and papers for the proposal and the conference website (October); for the circulation of the book proposal and delivery to the publisher (December); and for the submission of the first and final versions of the book chapters (September 2011

and January 2012). In principle the organizers anticipate sending the complete manuscript to the publisher by March 2012.

With respect to future networking activities and grant applications, it was agreed that the EUROCORES programme appeared too ambitious for our purposes, while it was noted that the Call for the ESF Research Networking Programme, originally scheduled for 1 July, has been postponed and will probably not be launched until 2012. One of the participants, Jennifer Kelly, advised us all to approach the relevant contact person from our national funding bodies to discuss their input into the research agenda of the upcoming Framework 8 Programme.

It was agreed that we should sustain and expand our research network, and its output, through a practical incremental approach. One concrete proposal was to try to co-ordinate about three or four session proposals for future conferences of the European Association for Urban History (Prague 2012, deadline call for sessions 1 March 2011) and the Social Science History Conference (Glasgow 2012). Several themes for these sessions and for future meetings were identified, such as European leisure and the wider world, gender and age, vectors and brokers of cultural transmission, and space and time. Related to this initiative, another idea agreed upon was that all participants would send in four or five names of colleagues whose presence would enrich the network and the project of a transnational history of European leisure culture. It was also agreed that the network should broaden its chronological remit to include the first half of the twentieth century. It was agreed that all opportunities should be taken to develop the network and disseminate the new agenda for leisure history – an early opportunity would be the next gathering of the British Urban History Group, whose annual meeting in Spring 2011 was to be on the topic of leisure - forged at the workshop.

4. Final programme

Thursday 16 September 2010

15.30-18.00	Arrival and registration
19.00-20.00	Reception
20.00	Dinner in Blayney Room

Friday 17 September 2010

09.30-09.40   **Welcome by the convenors**
prof.dr. Peter Borsay (Aberystwyth University. UK)
dr. Jan Hein Furnée (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

09.40-10.00   **Presentation of the European Science Foundation (ESF)**
prof.dr. Csaba Pleh (ESF Standing Committee for the Humanities - SCH)

10.00-10.30   **General introduction on the conference theme**
prof.dr. Peter Borsay & dr. Jan Hein Furnée

10.30-11.30   **Session 1: Urban Leisure Culture: Change and Exchange**
Chair: prof.dr. Peter Clark (University of Helsinki)

10.30-10.50   **The Commercialization of the Urban Entertainment Culture in Germany between the Early Modern Period and the 19th Century**
dr. Ulrich Rosseaux (Technische Universität Dresden, Germany)**

10.50-11.10   **City of Pleasure or Ville de Plaisirs? Urban Leisure Culture Exchanges between England and France through Travel Writing (1700-1800)**
dr. Clarisse Coulomb (Université Mendes France, Grenoble, France)

11.10-11.30   **Discussion**

11.30-11.45   *Coffee / Tea Break*

11.45-12.45   **Session 2: Urban Leisure Space: Connections**
Chair: prof.dr. Jacques Carré (University Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV)

11.45-12.05   **The Study of the Promenade in the Perspective of a History of European Leisure 1660-1870**
prof.dr. Christoph Loir (Université Libre, Brussels, Belgium)

12.05-12.25   **Leisure Culture and Urban Space: Swedish towns in an European Perspective, 18th-19th Centuries**
prof.dr. Dag Lindström (Linnköping University, Sweden)

12.25-12.45   **Discussion**

12.45-14.00   *Lunch*

14.00-15.30   **Session 3: Music and Theatre**
Chair: prof.dr. Hugh Cunningham (University of Kent)

14.00-14.20   **European Concert Halls in a Comparative Perspective, 18th-19th Centuries**
dr. Dorothea Baumann (University of Zürich, Switserland)**

14.20-14.40	**Music in Brussels, 1750-1850: A Tale of Two Cities** prof.dr. Koen Buyens (Vrije Universiteit, Brussels, Belgium)
14.40-15.00	**Melodrama, Audience and Theatrical Experiences in France and Italy 1780-1850** dr. Carlotta Sorba (Universitá di Padova, Italy)
15.00-15.30	**Discussion**
15.30-15.45	Tea / coffee break

15.45-16.45	**Session 4: Sports and Parks** Chair: dr. Boudien de Vries (University of Amsterdam)
15.45-16.05	**Games and Sports in the 18th Century. Failures of Cultural Transmission** prof.dr. Peter Clark (University of Helsinki, Finland)
16.05-16.25	**Very Tame and Artficial. The Influence of the Continental Model on the Design and Reception of British Public Parks throughout the Nineteenth Century** dr. Katy Layton-Jones (Centre for Urban History, Leicester, UK)*
16.25-16.45	**Discussion**

17.15-23.00	**Field Visit to Shrewsbury**
17.15	Coach to Shrewsbury
18.00	Field Visit: Shrewsbury Spaces and Places of Leisure prof.dr. Peter Borsay
19.30	Conference Dinner at Lion Hotel
22.00	Return to Gregynog Hall

Saturday 18 September 2010

09.30-10.30	**Session 5. Associations and Sociability I** Chair: prof.dr. Peter Borsay (Aberystwyth University. UK)
09.30-09.50	**Reading Associations in Western-Europe, 18-19 Centuries: Converging and Diverging Models** dr. Boudien de Vries (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
09.50-10.10	**Sociability and Belonging: Associational Culture and Leisure Practices in Ireland in an International Perspective, c. 1750- c. 1870** dr. Jennifer Kelly (National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland)
10.10-10.30	**Discussion**
10.30-11.00	Coffee / Tea Break

11.00-12.00	**Session 6. Associations and Sociability II** Chair: dr. Jan Hein Furnée (University of Amsterdam)
11.00-11.20	**Experiencing Art in the Public Sphere: the Rise of Different Models in diverse National Contexts, early 19th Century** dr. Pedro Lorente (Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain)
11.20-11.40	**Ottoman Coffeehouses in Comparative Perspective: Leisure, Sociability and Surveillance** dr. Cengiz Kirli (Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey)

11.40-12.00	**Discussion**

12.00-13.00 **Session 7. Spa's and seaside resorts**
Chair: prof.dr. Dag Lindström(LInnköping/Upsala University)

12.00-12.20	**The Role of Inland Spas and Health Resorts as Agents of Cultural Transmission - Western and Central Europe 1800-1870** **dr. Jill Steward** (University of Northumbria, UK)

12.20-12.40	**Coastal Resorts and Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Europe** **prof.dr. John Walton** (University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain)

12.40-13.00	**Discussion**

13.00-14.30	*Lunch*

14.30-15.30 **Session 8: General conclusions**

14.30-15.30	**Comments and General Discussion** **prof.dr. Jacques Carré** (Paris Sorbonne, France) **prof.dr. Hugh Cunningham** (University of Kent, Canterbury, UK)

15.30-16.00	**The Book** **prof.dr. Peter Borsay & dr. Jan Hein Furnée**

16.00-16.15	*Tea and Coffee Break*

16.15-17.45 **Session 9: Future Collaboration**

16.15-17.00	**Future Collaboration: Networks**
17.00-17.45	**Future Collaboration: Projects**

19.00	*Farewell Dinner*

Sunday 19 September 2010

Breakfast & departure

*Cancelled due to personal/medical circumstances, **idem, yet sent a full paper

5. Final list of participants

Convenor:

1. **Prof.dr. Peter BORSAY**
    Department of History & Welsh History
    Aberystwyth University, UK

Co-Convenor:

2. **Dr. Jan Hein FURNÉE**
    Department of History
    Faculty of Humanities
    University of Amsterdam

ESF Representative:

3. **Prof.dr. Csaba Pleh**
    Department of Cognitive Science,
    Budapest University of Technology and
    Economics

Participants:

4. **Prof.dr. Koen BUYENS**
    Department of Art History and Archeology
    Faculty of Arts and Philosophy
    Free University of Brussels

5. **Prof.dr. Jacques CARRÉ**
    Department of English Studies
    Faculty of Arts
    Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)

6. **Prof.dr. Peter CLARK**
    Department of History
    Faculty of Arts
    University of Helsinki

7. **Dr. Clarisse COULOMB**
    Department of History
    Faculty of Humanities
    University Pierre Mendès France

8. **Prof.dr. Hugh CUNNINGHAM**
    School of History
    Faculty of Humanities
    University of Kent

9. **Dr. Jennifer KELLY**
    Department of History
    National University of Ireland, Maynooth

10. **Dr. Cengiz KIRLI**
    The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish
    History
    Bogaziçi University, Istanbul

11. **Prof.dr. Dag LINDSTRÖM**
    Institute of Social Development and
    Culture

Faculty of Philosophy
Linköping University

12. **Prof.dr. Christophe LOIR**
    Department of History, Arts and
    Archeology
    Faculty of Humanities
    Free University of Brussels

13. **Dr. J. Pedro LORENTE**
    Department of Art History
    Faculty of Humanities
    University of Zaragoza

14. **Dr. Carlotta SORBA**
    Department of History
    University of Padova

15. **Dr. Jill STEWARD**
    Department of Visual Arts
    Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
    University of Northumbria

16. **Dr. Boudien DE VRIES**
    Department of History
    Faculty of Humanities
    University of Amsterdam

17. **Prof.dr. John WALTON**
    Department of Contemporary History
    University of the Basque Country

Participation cancelled:

18. **Dr Katy LAYTON-JONES***
    Centre for Urban History
    University of Leicester

19. **Prof.dr. Colm LENNON***
    Department of History
    National University of Ireland Maynooth

20. **Dr. Dorothea BAUMANN****
    Musikwissenschaftliches Institut
    University of Zürich

21. **Dr. Ulrich ROSSEAUX****
    Department of History
    Technische Universität Dresden

*Cancelled due to personal/medical
circumstances, **idem, yet sent a full paper

6. Statistical information on participants*
*Only those who actually attended the workshop are included. The rapporteur is excluded. We have only partially accurate data on age.

A) Age structure participants

Age group	Number	Percentage
30-39	4	25%
40-49	3	19%
50-59	3	19%
60-69	6	37%
total	**16**	**100%**

B) Gender repartition participants

Sex	Number	Percentage
female	5	31%
male	11	69%
total	**16**	**100%**

C) Countries of Origin

Country of origin	Number
Belgium	2
Finland	1
France	2
Ireland	1
Italy	1
Netherlands	2
Spain	2
Sweden	1
Turkey	1
United Kingdom	3
Total	**16**

D) Repartition by scientific speciality

Specialization	Number
Early modern history (1500-1800)	4
Modern history (1800-1900)	8
Literature	1
Art history	3
Total	**16**

Appendix

The Origins of Modern Mass Culture: European Leisure Culture in a Comparative Perspective, 1660-1870
European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop, Gregynog
Hall, Newtown, 16-19 September 2010

ABSTRACTS

SESSION 1. URBAN LEISURE CULTURE: CHANGE AND EXCHANGE

The Commercialization of the Urban Entertainment Culture in Germany between the Early Modern Period and the 19th century

dr. Ulrich Rosseaux (Technische Universität Dresden, Germany)

The entertainment culture of early modern German cities in the 16th and 17th century was characterized by corporate organized forms of pleasure. The guilds and other corporations such as, for example, rifle associations or religious brotherhoods created and given the possible latitude in which festivals could be celebrated and the non-working time could be designed. It also existed a small area of commercial entertainment – for example traveling theater troupes, animal acts, acrobats, etc. - which was connected with the urban fairs. The difference between those forms of commercial entertaiment and the entertainment in the context of corporations was the possibility of access: through the entrance to the commercial exhibitions and by membership of a particular social group as condition of participation for the pleasure organized from guilds and other corporations. Since the 18th century a huge quantitative expansion and qualitative differentiation has taken place in the field of the urban commercial entertainment. Both developments led to a basic structural change in the urban entertainment culture. Particularly in the metropolitan centers of the time as for example in capitals like Vienna, Berlin and Dresden but also in trading cities such as Hamburg, Frankfurt and Leipzig the consumption of any forms of commercial entertainment became a constitutive feature of urban lifestyle primarily but not exclusively of the urban middle and upper classes. This process of cultural change was closely linked to the development of new and modern ways how people used their non-working time. Therefore, the commercialization of the urban entertainment culture can be seen as an important part of the fundamental process of cultural change between early modern and modern times.

City of Pleasure or Ville des Plaisirs? Urban leisure culture exchanges between England and France through Travel Writing (1700-1800)

dr. Clarisse Coulomb (Université Mendes France, Grenoble, France)

The cultural transfers between France and England, in the age of Enlightenment, is a classical topic of historical research — French or British. Circulation of ideas, books, political or aesthetic models, and also fashion, is well known. However, very little has been written about the reciprocal influence between the British and the French in the evolution of leisure. Yet, amusements were anglicized in France like wauxhalls, clubs, races or gardens ; on contrary, french music and theatre were popular entertainment for the british elite.
       Beyond a mere comparative approach, the communication will aim to study how, in the long eighteenth century, French and English urban elites mutually exchanged and adapted models of (semi-) public urban leisure culture. The major actors involved in these transfers were travellers who had never been so numerous : as Jeremy Black showed, during the course of the eighteenth century, the stress on educational aspects of the Grand Tour declined and leisure became an important aspect of foreign travel.

The topic of our study is not French-English crossed views on leisure, but triying to discover the concrete reality of these transfers : adoption of news entertainment ? Imitation or adaptation ? What is the effect of such transfers on the urban landscape : Nice, an english town ? Such transfers may prove asymmetrical in intensity (Anglomania seems, in this domain, stronger than francophilia) or time. Women's travel writing will be particulary studied.

SESSION 2: URBAN LEISURE SPACE: CONNECTIONS

The Study of the Promenade in the Perspective of a History of European Leisure 1660-1870

prof.dr. Christoph Loir (Université Libre, Brussels, Belgium)

In this paper I will first present the relevance of the study of the promenade in the context of a history of leisure : promenade as form of leisure, but also promenade as centre of attraction for other leisure's activities and promenade as mode of transport between leisure's places. Then I will lay out the specific questions of the study of the promenade about the long-term perspective, the comparative approach, the transnational exchange and the interdisciplinary. Finally I will propose a case study : the history of the promenade in Brussels in a European perspective from the rise of the promenade in late 17th century to the spread of the promenades in early 19th century.

Leisure Culture and Urban Space: Swedish towns in a European Perspective, 18th-19th Centuries

prof.dr. Dag Lindström (Linnköping University/Uppsala University, Sweden)

This paper considers the development of new leisure practices and their impact on urban space in 18th and 19th centuries Stockholm and Swedish provincial towns. The focus is set on three major examples: 1) the development of public entertainments and the building of theatres, concert halls and other establishments for public entertainment; 2) the introduction of restaurants, cafés, and similar businesses; 3) the building of public parks and other recreation areas. These changes mainly reflect international trends, but it is also important to analyse the actual mechanisms of selection, appropriation and adaption as these activities and establishments were introduced in Swedish towns. It is also important to identify the flows of influence. How significant where the impact of individual entrepreneurs? And how important was the capital? Was the new urban leisure landscape in fact introduced via Stockholm? Or did the provincial towns rather import these practices and cultural models directly from abroad?

SESSION 3: MUSIC AND THEATRE

European Concert Halls in a Comparative Perspective, 18th-19th Centuries

dr. Dorothea Baumann (University of Zürich, Switzerland)

Music in Brussels, 1750-1850: A Tale of Two Cities

prof.dr. Koen Buyens (Vrije Universiteit, Brussels, Belgium)

The music life in Brussels, from 1750 to 1850, fits well in the greater story of the emergence of a musical public sphere in the Western world. What gives the Brussels case some particular interest, is Belgium's situation of being at the crossroad of the Latin and the Germanic cultural orbit. It is reflected in the complexity of the country's political history. From being a part of the Habsburg monarchy, the Southern Netherlands got reduced to a number of French departments upon the annexation of its territory by the French Republic in 1795. After fifteen years of political unity with the Northern Netherlands as a result of the Vienna Congress, Belgium eventually acquired independence in 1830.
The key in understanding music life in Brussels is the relation of the city to Paris. Already the occupation of Brussels by the troops of Louis XV in 1746-1749, known as the 'Lace War', can be considered as decisive in coining adherence to the French language and culture into the utter benchmark of belonging to polite and fashionable society. The experiences during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era substantially accelerated the process of frenchification. As Belgium gained independence in 1830, the country was facing the problem of acquiring a discernible national identity. For lack of an educated middle class of sufficient weight in society, coupled with a pronounced economic orientation of the elites in society, resulted in a cultural and musical landscape that was characterized by a consequent and often somewhat insecure imitation of the French example. When the long process of cultural and political emancipation of the Flemish majority took a start in the 1840s, an institution like the Brussels opera house, that could by some extent be considered as kind of a branch of the Paris *Opéra*, became a major target. However, as the Flemish activists of the first hour found themselves in a cultural wasteland, they were strongly inclined to flee in the always stronger arms of Germany.

Melodrama in post-revolutionary Europe. Genealogy and diffusion of a 'popular' theatrical genre and experience, 1780-1830

dr. Carlotta Sorba (Universitá di Padova, Italy)

Until the 1770s in France, as in England and Italy, the term 'melodrama' usually signified opera. However, by 1810 the French *mélodrame* or the English 'melodrama' referred to a new theatrical genre and experience that significantly differed from the Italian melodrama by creating a new mix of gestures, music and words to speak directly to the heart of men and women. The French *mélodrame*, although closely linked to international developments, originated from the interaction between an 'Enlightened' intellectual debate on theatrical reform, focusing for the first time on the public and spectatorship, and the rise of new leisure practices around the Boulevard du Temple, the new Parisian entertainment quarter that 'exploded' after the liberalization of theatrical activities in 1791. From 1802 onwards, melodramas of popular authors such as Pixérécourt et Ducange were extensively translated in Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Russia, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Achieving an extraordinary success as the most original product of a new theatrical era, melodramas were appropriated in different ways in different national contexts. My contribution will focus on three elements of this phenomenon: 1) the genealogy (national and transnational) of the genre, in its intellectual, institutional, political and socio-economic aspects; 2) the form of the European diffusion and its cultural mediators; and 3) the novelty of the genre in terms of theatrical experiences and 'spectacularity'.

SESSION 4: SPORTS AND PARKS

Games and Sports in the long 18th century: failures of cultural transmission

prof.dr. Peter Clark (University of Helsinki, Finland)

The long 18th century is often regarded as radically different from earlier periods because of the range and depth of cultural and related innovations, the influential role of cities, and the speed of change. Important circuits of information and dissemination- some new, some old, some hybrid- transmitted new cultural ideas and practises across the continent. But there was no level playing field. Not all innovations spread with the same velocity or to the same spatial (and social) extent. Why do some circuits of diffusion short-circuit? What were the circuit-breakers?   In this paper I want to discuss these questions with particular reference to the rise of new-style sports. Despite the 18th century seeing the first wave of Elias's sportification process as traditional games turned into organised competitions, usually involving teams, rules, regulating bodies, prizes and spectators only a limited number of new-style sports (such as horse-racing, cricket, fox-hunting and golf) emerged, principally in England; elsewhere- across the British Isles, the colonies and Europe- dissemination was limited and usually a failure. Why? Discussion is focussed on the relationship to traditional games and to proto-commercialisation in the 16th and 17th centuries with games linked to public drinking houses, as well as looking at structural factors- including the role of urbanisation, the media, state controls, and pre-existing institions.

Very Tame and Artficial. The Influence of the Continental Model on the Design and Reception of British Public Parks throughout the Nineteenth Century

dr. Katy Layton-Jones (Centre for Urban History, Leicester, UK)

> 'I took a walk through Sefton Park which they seem to be making head with. Spite of everything its beauties look very tame, its waters like canals & its rocks & cascades very artificial. As the trees grow, of course, it will improve, but for a Park I think the style of laying it out is small & more like landscape gardening than park scenery'.

In December 1871, the Liverpool resident A.G. Kurtz took a stroll in his local neighbourhood of Sefton Park. An upper middle-class suburb, Sefton Park was typical of the residential developments that sprung up across Britain in the wake of the Improvement Act of 1865. Arranged around substantial public parks, hundreds of grand villas and town houses were marketed to urban elites on the merits of their proximity to an elegantly designed green space. However, as Kurtz's criticisms illustrate, not every observer was impressed by the model of landscape architecture being imported into British cities. This paper will examine the many ways in which Continental aesthetic models were introduced to, and modified in, British public parks, and will assess the extent to which this resulted in the creation of a wholly British style of public green space provision throughout the long nineteenth century. The paper will also attempt to show the extent to which the assimilation of aesthetic models informed social models relating to leisure practices.

SESSION 5. ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIABILITY

Reading Societies in Western-Europe, 18-19 Centuries: Innovation or Imitation

dr. Boudien de Vries (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

In the early 1980's Otto Dann published *Lesegesellschaften und bürgerliche Emancipation. Ein europaïscher Vergleich* [reading societies and bourgeois emancipation. A European comparison]. This volume consisted of fifteen articles, sketching the outlines of the rise of reading societies at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in several European countries: France, Germany, England, Belgium and the Netherlands. This was a tremendous achievement, as this study demonstrated for the first time that 'everywhere' in Europe at more or less the same moment, this new form of sociability with its mix of entertainment and self-education sprang up, with astonishingly similarities in aim and organization in every country. However, in this volume there was little attention for questions of innovation patterns and cultural transfer. Did all these reading societies rose spontaneously at the same time in every country, or did some countries take the lead in this new form of sociability and leisure, inspiring others to do the same? Since the early eighties there has been a lot of scholarship on these societies. They were studied in relationship with the rise of the public sphere, nation building, the rise of the bourgeoisie and participation of the middle classes in leisure culture. Nevertheless, the 'Europaïscher Vergleich', the questions regarding cultural transfer across national boundaries have been neglected. Most studies about reading societies remain within the boundaries of the national state. In this paper I will try to establish how reading societies in the Netherlands around 1800 were influenced by or did influence in their turn those in surrounding countries (England, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland). As source material on this theme is scarce, I will concentrate on differences in founding date, spread and organization in hope to answer questions about imitation and adaptation and the pattern of cultural transfer.

Sociability and belonging: trans-national perspectives on Irish associational culture, c. 1750 – c. 1870

dr. Jennifer Kelly (National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland)

This paper considers trans-national European leisure patterns through the lens of Irish voluntary associational culture. The epitome of leisure from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, membership of a voluntary organisation such as a club or society bestowed at once on its members a social exclusivity that transcended traditional signifiers of status such as birth and sometimes even wealth. The emergence and growth of a divergent public sphere in Ireland from the mid-eighteenth century reflected intense competition between associations and associational locations for primacy in the social and civic worlds of Irish towns and cities. In the associational arena clubs often recruited from the same membership pool in urban and regional areas and because of this, voluntary organisations aimed to provide the best in terms of premises, club paraphernalia and of course sociability in order to attract the largest number of suitable individuals – hence such things as convivial spaces (public houses, taverns, private premises), recreational pursuits (reading rooms, billiards tables, etc.) and of course sociable environments peopled with like-minded individuals were of the utmost importance to all clubs and societies. In this respect, clubs and their respective memberships form an important component in the study of European leisure pursuits in this period. The paper considers the impact that metropolitan associational practices had on Irish associational culture as the principles of a consolidating civil society radiated from London throughout the provinces. It also considers wider European associational patterns in the Irish context, specifically the importance of local society in the cultivation of a strong associational world. As Paris was not necessarily the best vantage point for considering French society in the eighteenth century, the same can be said for Dublin in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Using a number of Irish regional case studies, the paper addresses how the Irish associational world fits into a broader European leisure perspective, c. 1750 – c. 1870.

SESSION 6. ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIABILITY II

Experiencing Art in the Public Sphere: the Rise of Different Models in diverse National Contexts, early 19th Century

dr. Pedro Lorente (Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain)

This paper will review the development of new instances of intermediation between artists and the public in the first half of the nineteenth century. We cannot understand the rise of new professions like the art critics or the merchants of art, without considering the vogue for art as a public leisure. This not only concerned the affluent families of polite society with means to buy art regularly, but the broad public as well. Entrance to auction houses and shops was free of charge, and everybody was welcome in public exhibitions organized by the State, the official academies or private artists's societies. But the main focus of this paper will be museums and art societies. In both cases we can distinguish different national paradigms. Museum provision was part o cultural politics in France or the Latin nations in general, while private philanthropy was paramount in Britain and other countries. Similarly, while each German-speaking city of some importance had early on its own *Kunstverein* and this was soon emulated by the art unions in Britain or the United States of America, the rise of the *sociétés d'encouragement des arts* or their equivalents took more time, for lack of public support or other cultural reasons.

Ottoman Coffeehouses in Comparative Perspective: Leisure, Sociability and Surveillance

dr. Cengiz Kirli (Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey)

This paper will deal with Ottoman coffeehouses, arguably the most important sites of adult-male sociability since their introduction to the capital city of Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-sixteenth century, with a comparative perspective on European coffeehouses. Throughout their long existence, Ottoman and Europeans coffeehouses fulfilled many similar functions: they were places of leisure and informational spheres where men met, exchanged news, played games, told stories to each other and conversed in the semi-private spirit of a public setting. They served as commercial spheres where merchants struck deals, ship-captains arranged their next load, and brokers looked for potential customers. They were occupational spheres: practitioners of different professions and trade frequented particular coffeehouses where employers found new laborers, and laborers found new employee. They were the nodal points of migration networks where new immigrants found temporary and even sometimes permanent shelter, and established contacts in setting up a new life in urban centers. An exploration of these multiple social functions in a comparative perspective will constitute the first part of my proposed paper.

The second part of my paper will focus on coffeehouses as the spheres of resistance. In the Ottoman case, they were used as headquarters for the janissary (the Ottoman standing army) uprisings, which significantly shaped Ottoman politics from the seventeenth century until the corps were abolished in 1826. Equally importantly, at a more subtle level, they were the centers of subversive political discourse both in the form of rumor and political conversation, and in the form of theatrical performances staged in coffeehouses. Precisely because coffeehouses were the primary space of public sociability and resistance, the state did not remain indifferent to their overwhelming presence in the society. Constantly monitored by the authorities, coffeehouses constituted a major tension zone between the state and the populace. In light of several hundred police reports recorded by spies who eavesdropped coffeehouse conversations in Ottoman Istanbul in the fist half of the 19th century, my paper demonstrates the centrality of coffeehouses in the dense network of information among the populace of Istanbul. The Ottoman police reports will then be compared with their European counterparts both in terms of content and the use of spying activity to monitor the public.

SESSION 7. SPA'S AND SEASIDE RESORTS

The Role of Inland Spas and Health Resorts as Agents of Cultural Transmission - Western and Central Europe 1800-1870

dr. Jill Steward (University of Northumbria, UK)

From medieval times inland many inland water sources across Europe were frequented originally by pilgrims and subsequently, by health seekers, laying the foundations for later travel practices. During the early modern period a number of these evolved into urban settlements performing a dual function of providing pleasure and therapy for the social elites. Of these the most highly developed attracted an international clientele. By the early nineteenth century there existed a complex network of spa towns
and rural health colonies, a number of which had benefited from investment in their facilities and the quality of their recreational amenities. As communications within and between regions gradually improved, the numbers visiting the spas rapidly increased and some of the most popular began
to expand and evolve into modern leisure resorts with an international clientele. Medical and public facilities were updated and new urban-style amenities in the form of modern grand hotels, cafes and restaurants, theatres and opera houses and improvements to the landscaping of their environments which were so important to their ruralised image. The development of the inland spas and watering places (in conjunction with seaside resorts) therefore played a major role in the shaping of the
institutional topography and cultural landscape of leisure in which tourism played an increasingly important role. An issue for comparative study is the extent to which tourist flows within and across regions and national borders from the late eighteenth century to c. 1870 were differentiated by their social profiles, spatial reception and chronology and their part in generating forms of cultural transmission relating to leisure between urban and rural environments.

Coastal Resorts and Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Europe

prof.dr. John Walton (University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain)

Seaside resorts, like spas, played a prominent part in the development of international cultures and spaces of polite, formal, commercial leisure during the nineteenth century. But only a few such places developed into the sort of seasonal gathering grounds for international elites that fostered cultural, political and diplomatic exchanges; and even that elite of coastal resorts that transcended the local, the provincial and the national in their catchment areas catered mainly for these less exalted markets, offering enclaves of cosmopolitan privilege embedded in more locally conventional cultures. Moreover, even international resorts tended to draw disproportionately on adjacent nations and regional transnational cultures within Europe. Those with a wider reach, extending beyond Europe and including figures from the worlds of international business and entertainment as well as crowned heads and aristocrats, were few in number and concentrated in western and southern Europe, especially in France. In locations such as Biarritz, Nice and Deauville, and perhaps also Ostend and San Sebastián (we might also include Venice, as the Lido developed), we can identify a genuinely international elite leisure culture cohering in the later nineteenth century. but this homogenising tendency should perhaps be set against a widening divergence of national and local cultural conventions among other coastal resorts, especially where the working and lower middle classes were in evidence among the visitors. This paper will explore these issues using material from a wide range of European locations.