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Designing the seaside: architecture, society and nature

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Chapter Five

The Seaside as Another Place

Western seaside resorts have always sought to provide out of the ordinary experiences and, particularly from the early nineteenth century, architecture was used to intimate other exotic and pleasurable places and times. Visiting the seaside came to mean not only journeying to the edge of the land – in itself a unique experience - but also encountering a fantasy architecture designed to transport users to alternative worlds. Although no single architectural style for seaside leisure and pleasure buildings dominated – there was a continual jostling of alternative ideas and visions – seaside Orientalism, a protean style, and related exotic design motifs including the palm became an important architectural theme. Many iconic resort buildings and classic seaside design details were the result.

The Exotic and the Oriental

The formative building in the invention of seaside Orientalism was Brighton's Royal Pavilion, designed by John Nash for the Prince Regent (later George IV). In origin a farmhouse on the edge of the town and with views of the sea, in 1787 the earlier structure was remade into a Palladian 'Marine Pavilion' designed by Henry Holland. In the enlarged royal seaside estate huge royal stables and a 'riding house' were built in the early 1800s to the designs of William Porden. Although monumental and functional structures, the exteriors were 'after the eastern style of architecture'.¹

In 1815 Nash was employed to transform the Pavilion itself. With the agreement of the Prince, the strategy was to clothe the older and plain structure in a fantasy of Oriental dress.²

Charles Wright, the author of a 1818 guidebook to Brighton, described the works being undertaken and how the previous year 'the most splendid additions to the Pavilion were undertaken, and these are two wings to the north and south, covered with pagoda towers, terminating in a conical point, with stone pedestals ... The architecture of these towers excite the attention of the observer.'³ The fawning Wright went on to say how in another year or two, with the 'ornamental designs' completed, he would be able to give 'an authentic description, which will display the splendor that cultivated taste and refined art can produce, suitable to the grandeur of an edifice promising to be an ornament to the architecture, and a specimen of the superiority of the arts and manufacture of Great Britain.'⁴

According to Nash, it was the Prince who decided on the 'Hindoo style' of the Pavilion's exterior 'in the expectation that the turban domes and lofty pinnacles might from their glittering and picturesque effect, attract and fix the attention of the Spectator'.⁵ There was no attempt at exact replication of Indian buildings or design detail, with Nash being more concerned with mood and appearance. Indeed, the exterior combined different architectural motifs including a dash of Gothic. The exterior architectural elements included minarets (for effect not practical use), onion domes, tent-roofs, verandahs and perforated stone screens – the latter based on Indian jali, designed to provide shade and ventilation. The illusion extended to the stucco of the walls being painted to imitate blocks of stone.

The interior adopted another Oriental theme: fantastical Chinese inspired decoration including huge dragons was combined with opulent Eastern and Western furnishings. New technologies and building materials were also important, Nash drawing on the most modern of early nineteenth century British construction methods and materials. Inside, the bamboo staircases were a cast iron imitation, while one of the large domes was supported by 'one of the earliest instances in domestic building of a cast-iron frame construction'.⁶

By 1821 the Pavilion, as critical site for Brighton and, indeed, when the king was in residence, British society, had been transformed into an extraordinary and spectacular fantasy. Just two years later of the resort's Chain Pier opened and this structure, too, looked to the East

for its design inspiration although in this case it assumed an Egyptian style. It was not for another four decades, however, as the seaside market broadened and demanded new leisure buildings, that seaside Orientalism began to take hold and subsequently spread around the coast and be exported overseas.

Seaside leisure buildings lacked any dominant architectural or stylistic convention, in part because the form and nature of leisure besides the sea was itself fast evolving and developing. Unlike say banks and town halls, such buildings had no architectural or stylistic 'symbolism of function'.⁷ The quest for a distinctive architecture to set seaside leisure buildings apart from other buildings, and to set resorts apart from other towns, was never completely fulfilled – resort architecture continued to use a rich amalgam of styles and ideas - but 'a wildly syncretic Orientalism'⁸ became a defining characteristic of many Western seashores.

The breakthrough in popularizing seaside Orientalism came with Brighton's West Pier of 1866. Drawing on the nearby Royal Pavilion for its inspiration, the pier's designer, Eugenius Birch, made great use of decorative cast iron in a partly copied and partly invented style that at the time was called 'ornamental'. Cast iron lampposts encircled with serpents, Indian style openwork screens (an almost direct imitation of the Pavilion's own screens although in iron rather than stone) minarets, pinnacles and domes were all in a 'vaguely oriental conception'.⁹ Following his West Pier experiment Birch took the Oriental theme further, for example, in the large Hastings Pier pavilion of 1872. Seized by other pier designers, pleasure pier Orientalism in Britain reached its apotheosis with R St George Moore's Marine Palace of 1901 built on Brighton's third pier. From piers, Orientalism was unfolded on to an increasing range of seaside buildings including bandstands, seafront shelters, pavilions, winter gardens, theatres and concert halls.¹⁰

Although the Royal Pavilion provided the inspiration for the flowering of Orientalism at the seaside, the Orientalism in the second half of the nineteenth century and later was an altogether different project. Whereas the Pavilion was architecture for a privileged elite, its subsequent form was 'demotic Orientalism'.¹¹ This was a popular, spectacular, mood-forming and modern architecture for a widening mass of holidaymakers.

Hugely eclectic in the range of architectural elements and ideas and usually remote from the real thing, seaside Orientalism became endlessly adaptable. It migrated to Europe to disguise hotels and villas and journeyed to the United States to dress buildings ranging from attractions in Coney Island's early twentieth century amusement parks to, on the west coast, the 1912 bathhouse at Venice Beach and the Santa Cruz Beach Casino of 1904 – destroyed by a fire within two years and replaced with an equally elaborate confection in 1907.¹² While Orientalism led to the creation of some iconic seaside buildings, elsewhere it became just one of a number of design elements to be used, for example, in a dome, cupola or arch. Oriental architecture could be equally at home for interior design: a classic example was the Indian Lounge in Blackpool's Winter Gardens.

At the nineteenth century British seaside, cast iron was the most important material used in Oriental architecture. Raymond Lister, writing in 1960, likened Brighton seafront's cast iron decoration to 'gigantic cake-icing' and described how it could transport people to another distant or imaginary place. For Lister the 'lacy lattice work' of the King's Road bandstand of 1883 had 'much the same effect that is given by the arches of the Court of Lions in the Alhambra at Granada, or the king's sleeping apartment in the Alcazar at Seville', while the 1890s Madeira Terrace from the sea gave the impression of 'an enormous grotto stretching along the Drive, hewn from the cliff and decorated with fanciful lattice work. It appears cool as it invites us to rest from the sun-drenched parade ... submarine grottoes, salty mermaids and tritons with their horns of shell, and plunging seahorses do not seem far away.'¹³

And yet cast iron decoration was never universally endorsed. John Ruskin, a critical arbiter of mid-nineteenth century taste, bemoaned 'these vulgar and cheap substitutes for real decoration'.¹⁴ By the interwar years of the following century architectural critics often saw seaside cast iron and Orientalism as unfashionable, fussy Victorian mediocrity and a hindrance to the development of modern and progressive seaside places. Writing in the mid-1930s Wesley Dougill criticized the architecture of the established resorts for their 'shoddy buildings steeped in Victorian

mediocrity ... [and] ... designs of bandstands, ornamental railings and seats taken direct from old catalogues' and seaside buildings that were 'mean parodies' of the Brighton Royal Pavilion.¹⁵

There were equally diverse views about seaside Orientalism elsewhere. In the 1920s Frederick Treves was initially captivated but then dismayed by the pier in Nice:

A little pier-the Jetée-Promenade steeps off from the main parade. On it is a casino which provides varied and excellent attractions. The building belongs to the Bank Holiday Period of architecture and is accepted without demur as exactly the type of structure that a joy-dispensing pier should produce. It is, however, rather disturbing to learn that this fragile casino, with its music-hall and its refreshment bars, is a copy of St. Sophia in Constantinople. That mosque is one of the most impressive and most inspiring ecclesiastical edifices in the world, as well as one of the most stupendous. Those who know Constantinople and have been struck by the lordly magnificence of its great religious fane will turn from this dreadful travesty with horror. It is the burlesque that hurts, as would the "Hallelujah Chorus" played on a penny whistle.¹⁶

James Huneker, in contrast, was entranced by Atlantic City's Oriental Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel, constructed out of reinforced concrete:

If Coleridge, in Kubla Khan, or Poe, in The Doman of Arnheim, had described such a fantastic structure, we should have understood, for they are men of imagination ... The architecture might be Byzantine. It suggests St Marco's at Venice, St Sophia at Constantinople, or a Hindu Palace, with its crouching dome, its operatic façade, and its two dominating monoliths with blunt tops. Built of concrete, the exterior is a luxurious exfoliation in hues, turquoise and fawn.¹⁷

While Treves would have loathed the comparison to St Sophia at Constantinople, George Orwell would have found the reference to Kubla Khan equally unwelcome. In a 1946 essay imaging a modern-day entrepreneur remaking Kubla Khan's pleasure-dome in Xanadu he

describes how 'Kubla Khan's project would have become something quite different. The caverns, air-conditioned, discreetly lighted and with their original rocky interior buried under layers of tastefully-coloured plastics, would be turned into a series of tea-grottoes in the Moorish, Caucasian or Hawaiian styles.'¹⁸

Oriental seaside architecture could, then, be applauded or reviled. However, what were its consequences on the holidaymaking users of the architecture? Answering the placid question risks being engulfed by the maelstrom of contemporary debate about the nature and role of Orientalism more generally in the West.¹⁹ In Edward Said's influential view the meaning of Orientalism was two-fold: both 'as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient',²⁰ thereby promoting Western imperialism and colonialism, and also as another place distinguished from the West on the basis, for example, of excessive leisure and heightened sexual promise and sensuality. Viewed this way, the Orientalism of seaside architecture presented the illusion of being another place apart from the West, of leisure and sexual promise, but in doing so helped perpetuate a complicated myth of Eastern inferiority or threat.

Others contend it was just not like that. Cannadine, for example, argues that in Britain gradations of class were more important and that empire was often disregarded or taken for granted.²¹ MacKenzie addresses the Orientalism of seaside architecture directly, arguing it was nothing to do with belittling or subjugating the East but a significant new style, 'grand, mysterious, fantastic and opulent all at once',²² removed from any reference to a specific culture, in any case often mixed with or butting on to other architectural styles, and bound up with the development of the important seaside holiday business.

There is no evidence that architects had anything other in mind than to build spectacular, fashionable and competitive leisure buildings for the seaside. For holidaymakers thronging the astonishing piers and pavilions, seaside Orientalism must have helped generate a sense of excitement, confirming that the seaside, with its devotion to pleasure and health, was different from ordinary and everyday inland places. There was also the conjunction of an architecture

suggestive of other places and worlds looking onto, in the case of piers built over, the very seas and oceans that led to foreign lands. However holidaymakers as individuals and members of social groups mediated buildings in Oriental style, the British seaside was also a place where signs of empire and the nation's military might were endlessly on display.²³ The classic use of seafront Oriental bandstands, for example, despite being eminent architectural symbols of leisure and pleasure, was by military bands. Past combats could be remembered in the war memorials located in seaside parks and gardens, and on many coastlines there were architectural reminders of military coastal defenses from past actual or anticipated conflicts. The seaside was island Britain's front to other places and peoples, the promenade and cliff-top conjuring images of what lay over the horizon, and the coastal waters a 'protective barrier' as well as the primary resource for the seaside resort.²⁴ There are also links to be made between the British seaside and ideas of empire and racial superiority. In one well-developed late nineteenth and early twentieth century perspective it was 'the invigorating temperate climate which stimulated enterprise and spawned civilization';²⁵ and it was at the seaside where the climate was at its best, most readily consumed while enjoying the pleasures of the seafront. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, many seaside resorts became the preferred places of retirement for the returning servants of empire.

Whether despised or acclaimed in the past, in Britain the surviving nineteenth century Oriental architecture at the seaside has been increasingly represented as valuable architectural heritage, its eclecticism in sympathy with postmodern hybridity. Seaside Orientalism is not, however, simply a historic architecture of leisure but continues to be reinvented for modern purposes. Although Atlantic City's Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel was demolished in 1979, by 1990 the resort boasted the Trump Taj Mahal Hotel Casino and Resort, one of the largest casinos in the world. Part of the regeneration of a previously declining seaside town, this Taj Mahal is richly themed with Orientalism: '70 colorful minarets adorn the roof-tops' while 'seven two ton elephants of carved stone greet visitors'. Imitating the Atlantic City process, in the early 2000s plans were announced for an Egyptian themed Pharaoh's Palace casino in Blackpool.

The appeal of the exotic as a symbol of the seaside has other manifestations. Venice has been evoked at both the British and North American seaside because of its exotic and romantic connotations, architectural distinctiveness and role as a bridge and meeting point between the East and the West. As van Leeuwen remarks of the United States, although the point applies elsewhere, Venice was 'an obligatory point of reference for all sorts of pleasure colonies from St. Augustine and Miami Beach to Los Angeles and Newport Beach'.²⁶

The American architectural visions of Venice could be audaciously unrestrained. On the shores of southern California, in the first years of the twentieth century, Abbot Kinney developed the remarkable planned resort of Venice of America, drawing its architectural inspiration from its Italian namesake.²⁷ Kinney not only attempted a reproduction of Venice's architecture and canals, but also imported both gondolas and gondoliers from the original Venice.²⁸ The Californian version of Venice, however, was rooted in the boisterous seaside resort: the reproduction of the city jostled with amusement parks and bathhouses, piers and sideshows. In Florida, the Miami suburb of Coral Gables, with its Mediterranean inspired architecture, features the 1924 Venetian Pool designed by the Corporation architect Phineas E Paist with artistic input from Denman Fink and created in a former quarry. Lauded by present-day commentators as the world's most beautiful, the innovative and richly themed pool includes a grotto, waterfalls, fountains, and observation towers; architecturally, though, the feel is more tropical Spanish than Venetian. At the British seaside, in contrast, the muted evocation of Venice included, for example, Great Yarmouth's mile long Venetian Waterways – constructed as an attraction to veil what was seen by the local authority as an unattractive coastal margin of sand dunes - the Venetian Boating Lake forming part of Ramsgate's inter-war Marina Bathing Pool – Venetian by name and little else - and Southport's transitory 'Venetian Nights' illuminated evening attraction, 'of exceptional beauty', on the resort's Marine Lake during the 1930s.²⁹

As to Brighton's Royal Pavilion, once transformed into an Oriental make believe, George IV visited it on just two further occasions. Two decades later neither the building nor its location, in the centre of a rapidly changing resort embracing new visitors and new technologies, enraptured

the inheritor of the marine palace, Queen Victoria. The railway from London had reached the resort in 1841 and on Easter Monday 1844 one of the new excursion trains, pulled by four engines and with over 40 carriages, carried 1,100 people into the town. On 11 February 1846 William Henry Fox Talbot took the first photographs of seaside Brighton – of a seemingly desolate and empty Royal Pavilion.³⁰ Indeed, the new Queen had made her last visit the previous year. Retreating from the invasive crowds brought in ever greater numbers by the railway – in a letter to her aunt she wrote ‘the people are very indiscreet and troublesome here really, which make this place quite a prison’³¹ - and perhaps with a premonition that the invention of photography would threaten her valued privacy still more, she moved to a new seaside home, the secluded Osborne House on the Isle of Wight.

The Pavilion, emptied of its contents and stripped of its fixtures and fittings, came into the ownership of the town in 1850 and, in a step in the transition from a royal leisure residence to a demotic tourist site, was opened to the public the following year. The building was to serve a variety of roles for the town and by 1865, according to one press comment, had ‘alternated through the various gradations of lecture-hall, ball-room, wild-beast show, and all the seedy and ephemeral occupations of an overgrown, ugly, and deserted building, too tawdry for posterity and too costly for use’.³² The most extraordinary yet sympathetic use of the Pavilion and associated buildings and gardens was as a nursing home for wounded Indian soldiers during the First World War.³³

Key nineteenth century commentators openly disliked the Pavilion’s Oriental architecture, in part because of its association with what was viewed as a debauched and dissolute period of the monarchy. The sentiment was duplicated in commercial guidebooks: one 1900 guide described it as ‘architecturally contemptible’, another as ‘a tasteless monstrosity’,³⁴ while by 1913 it was ‘a bizarre pile’.³⁵

Over the following decades into the late twentieth century the exterior and interior of the building were repeatedly repaired, remodeled, restored – between the 1960s and ‘80s, for example, some of the Bath stone minarets were replaced with fiberglass imitations - redecorated

and refurbished. In part because it was in sympathy with contemporary design ideas and styles including a rediscovered fashion for Chinoiserie, from the 1920s the building was positively re-evaluated along with the Regency period. The influential judgment made by Osbert Sitwell and Margaret Barton in 1935 was that there was no other building in England or Europe 'to compare with it in individuality and exotic beauty'.³⁶ By the early twenty-first century, the Royal Pavilion and surrounding gardens had been restored to a close approximation of the original Nash designs. The earlier stables and riding house had long been transformed into the city's cultural and artistic centre, while the Pavilion itself was considered as 'one of the great European royal pleasure palaces evoking images of Empire and the exotic, unmatched in its variety of styles and sheer inventiveness'.³⁷ It was also one of the most important tourist heritage sites in seaside England.

The Royal Pavilion – a product of the rich and powerful building at the seaside, the architectural pretense at being of another place or time, the abundance of art from other parts of the world, the sheer grandeur and opulence of the project, and the ignominy of the transformation into a tourist site and sight - had later seaside parallels. Queen Victoria's coastal retreat of Osborne House was built in the then fashionable Italianate style in the 1840s. In 1852 the Queen described the 'calm deep blue sea, the balmy air, *all* quite Italian'.³⁸ A Durbar Room with luxurious Indian interior decoration was added in the early 1890s as a state-banqueting hall; it was subsequently used to display gifts to the Queen from her Indian subjects.³⁹ Inspired by the royal example, the Indian style was copied at the northern seaside, in the Blackpool Winter Gardens Indian Lounge, and next to the equally splendid Empress Ballroom. Following the death of Victoria, in 1902 Osborne House and the associated estate was presented to the nation and a century later it functioned as one of the island's major tourist attractions.

On another shore – that of California – from 1919 the media magnet William Randolph Hearst set about creating his own vision of an alternative holiday world at San Simeon, this time modeled on an eclectic mix of Mediterranean architecture and furnished with a financially unrestrained and prodigious art collection gathered from around the world.⁴⁰ Hearst died in 1951 and seven years later Hearst Castle opened to the public; transformed into a state historical

monument, in less than four decades 25 million people visited the previously exclusive and private seaside realm.

The Palm

The designers of the Western seaside also used exotic vegetation in the quest to create another place. Tropical vegetation, and particularly the palm, has been woven into the design tapestry of the seaside, although in northern resorts the thread has often been artificial and emblematic rather than real. The palm has been an idea and symbol of the exotic and the pleasurable other.

Brighton's Royal Pavilion used the palm in various ways. Cast iron columns to support roofs and ceilings were decorated as palm trees, the designs sometimes abstract and sometimes uncertain: in one case the trunk appears as bamboo, the fronds as palm. Even the columns supporting the kitchen roof, necessary to make a large open working space, were embroidered with copper palm leaves. The motif is at its strongest on the ceiling of the Banqueting Room, used to entertain important dignitaries, decorated with huge tropical plantain fronds.

While the Pavilion's palms were imitations, from the same time there were also repeated initiatives to use real palms and other exotic plants at the Western seaside. In the earliest British resorts architects and garden designers planned vast cast iron glasshouses to create a suitable artificial environment and alternative world. Early plans were not always successfully implemented. In Brighton, in August 1833, the Anthæum - 'an immense circular conservatory constructed entirely of cast iron and glass, extending over an area of an acre and a half and covered with a dome 160 feet wide and 64 feet high, which was designed to be the largest in the world'⁴¹ - was nearing completion. The artificial pleasure garden included a lake and a hill, tropical and Oriental trees, captive birds, and seating for 800 hundred people. Inadequately designed and

constructed, the building collapsed as the scaffolding was removed, the ruins remaining on the site for two decades.

As technology and design improved, the winter garden and associated structures were to become a standard part of the architecture of nineteenth century resorts, part separate artificial worlds displaying the subjugation of exotic flora – the plant collectors' spoils of empire - and part places of entertainment. One of the best examples surviving into the twenty-first century, albeit in a transformed state, is Eastbourne's Floral Hall of 1874. The Blackpool Tower's roof gardens also evolved from an exotically vegetated environment to wonder at and in which to listen to concerts, through the introduction of Punch and Judy shows, to its development into Jungle Jim's children's adventure playground.

But the emergence of the resorts in the milder southwest of England combined with the importation and cultivation of hardier exotic plants also allowed the palm tree and its cousins to prosper out-of-doors. From the early twentieth century Torquay, in particular, promoted the 'stately palms' and related sub-tropical foliage in its 'popular and picturesque' gardens and promenades.⁴² A 1925 guidebook described how the 250 acres of public gardens in the resort 'abound in rare exotic plants, verdant lawns, and paths that wind in sunny or shadowy mazes among the myrtles and the palms'.⁴³ The palm became a significant element of a notable twentieth century promotional campaign to establish Torquay as 'The Queen of the English Riviera', beguiling 'would-be visitors with an impression of a resort enjoying mild winters and warm summers, characterised by palm-tree-lined promenades and offering both elegance and luxury'.⁴⁴ The image, though, was backed by substantial local authority intervention in the built environment and its use, including the creation of new parks and gardens mostly laden with palm trees and associated vegetation. An abstracted palm motif – in fact of a New Zealand cabbage tree - was subsequently repeatedly used on the area's late-twentieth century guidebook covers and in publicity campaigns, often casting its shadow over some more usual seaside building or experience as if to say Torquay and the neighbouring resorts of Paignton and Brixham was altogether different from the remainder of seaside England.

But even the original Riviera needed to be invented as a place of leisure and then clothed in exotic imported vegetation - including, in 1864, the palm tree *Phoenix canariensis* - that came to be thought of as a natural part of the place and were an essential ingredient in the luxurious and diverse private and public gardens that embroidered the landscape.⁴⁵ And like Torquay, the palm tree came to feature in the place promotion of this part of the French Mediterranean coast, mixed together with images of the sea and sun, architecture, and the ideal holidaymaker.

As the Western seaside reached further afield Western holidaymakers increasingly encountered real palms in their natural environment. The development of Hawaii as a tourist destination in the twentieth century was especially important since 'after Waikiki with its groves of coconut palms any serious beach had to have palm trees'.⁴⁶ Even less hospitable seaside places from Great Yarmouth to Coney Island turned to artificial palm trees in a playful attempt to transform the beach or promenade.

The definitive architectural use of the palm at the seaside, however, is in Dubai. The Jumeirah, Jebel Ali and proposed Deira 'Palms' are the world's largest artificial islands and construction projects, each in the shape of the date palm. The Palms, as 'iconic mega-projects', have more than doubled the coastline of Dubai and are designed as huge seaside leisure complexes, with 'hotels, residential villas, shoreline apartments, marinas, water theme parks, restaurants, shopping malls, sports facilities, health spas and cinemas'.⁴⁷ This ultimate vision in designing the seaside, part of a strategy to turn the emirate into a global tourist destination, is proclaimed as the inspiration of the Crown Prince of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum.⁴⁸

The scale of these projects is immense, with the largest scheme, The Palm, Deira, designed to be over 14 kilometres long from the base of the trunk to the tip of the outer protective breakwater crescent, the arc of the crescent stretching 21 kilometres, and the 41 fronds varying in length from .8 to 3.3 kilometres. Deira will house 8,000 villas in addition to hotels and varied leisure facilities.

And yet in seeming admission that the palm itself is not enough, the designers of The Palms have resorted to a cacophony of other architectural and design themes from around the world. Nature, too, has been engineered and architecture both above and below the sea used to recreate other places. The crescent of the Jumeirah Palm includes three themed hotels: 'Brazilian Tree Houses', 'Okinawan Gardens' and the 'Venetian Village Resort', the latter promising a 'vacation like a tropical trip to Venice'. Perhaps unknowingly, there is also a reference to Blackpool, the quintessential English working class resort, with one section of the Jumeirah trunk containing 750 luxury apartments and 220 boutique shops called 'The Golden Mile', a phrase long used to describe Blackpool's rowdy central seafront packed with entertainment and amusement venues. Just off The Palm, Jumeirah artificial reefs will provide the world's largest synthetic dive park. Some of the reefs will simulate the topography and habitats of dive sites from around the world while one, 'The Lost City', will function as an underwater theme park, with diving attractions ranging through sunken planes and ships, an Egyptian pyramid and Roman ruins.

It is ironically satisfying that the palm, for two centuries an architectural symbol of the exotic used to help transform the Western seaside into other places, has been adopted by the Arab world as part of an ambitious strategy to revolutionize the very idea of the seaside as a place of pleasure and to market it to rich Westerners.

Chapter Five The Seaside as Another Place

¹ Charles Wright, *The Brighton Ambulator* (London, 1818), p. 41.

² The architect's own portrayal of the Pavilion is provided by John Nash, *Views of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1826* (published in 1827) and reprinted with a commentary in Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Views of the Royal Pavilion* (London, 1991). The design and building of the Pavilion is described in Clifford Musgrave, *Royal Pavilion. An Episode in the Romantic* (London, 1959); John Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London, 1983); and, Jessica Rutherford, *A Prince's Passion. The Life of the Royal Pavilion* (Brighton, 2003).

³ Wright, *The Brighton Ambulator*, p. 44.

⁴ Wright, *The Brighton Ambulator*, p. 46.

⁵ Musgrave, *Royal Pavilion*, p. 53.

⁶ Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton*, p. 61.

⁷ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), p. 107.

⁸ John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995), p. 71.

⁹ Anthony Dale, 'The Architecture of Amusement' in *Seaside Piers*, Simon H. Adamson (London, 1977), pp. 76-86, p. 80. For a discussion of decorative cast iron see E. Graeme Robertson and Joan Robertson, *Cast Iron Decoration: A World Survey* (London, 1977).

¹⁰ The use of seaside Orientalism and other styles on piers is discussed in Lynn F. Pearson, *The People's Palaces. The Story of the Seaside Pleasure Buildings of 1870-1914* (Buckingham, 1991), pp. 23-8.

¹¹ MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 71.

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- ¹² Thomas A. P. van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), p. 205.
- ¹³ Raymond Lister, *Decorative Cast Ironwork in Great Britain* (London, 1960), pp. 191-2.
- ¹⁴ Quoted in Robertson, *Cast Iron*, p. 18.
- ¹⁵ Wesley Dougill, 'The British Coast and its Holiday Resorts', *Town Planning Review*, xvi/4 (1935), pp. 265-78.
- ¹⁶ Frederick Treves, *The Riviera of the Corniche Road* (London, 1921), pp. 15-16.
- ¹⁷ Quoted in Vicki Gold Levi and Lee Eisenberg, *Atlantic City: 125 Years of Ocean Madness* (New York, 1979), p. 48.
- ¹⁸ George Orwell, 'Pleasure Spots', in *Collected Essays: Volume 4* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 103.
- ¹⁹ The broader Orientalism debate is represented by the analysis of Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978); one response is in David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire* (London, 2001) and varied viewpoints are provided in A. L. Macfie, ed, *Orientalism: A Reader* (Edinburgh, 2000). The architectural issues are examined in Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London, 1979); Raymond Head, *The Indian Style* (Chicago, 1986); MacKenzie, *Orientalism*; and, Mark Crinson, *Empire Building. Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London, 1996).
- ²⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.
- ²¹ Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*.
- ²² MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 94.
- ²³ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation. Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2002).

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- ²⁴ Christiana Payne, 'Seaside Visitors: Idlers, Thinkers and Patriots in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Water, Leisure and Culture. European Historical Perspectives*, ed. Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb (Oxford, 2002), pp. 87-104, p. 92.
- ²⁵ Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850-2000* (London, 1998), p. 60.
- ²⁶ Van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond*, p. 235.
- ²⁷ Jeffrey Stanton, *Venice California: 'Coney Island of the Pacific'* (Los Angeles, CA, 1993).
- ²⁸ Van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond*, p. 237.
- ²⁹ Southport Corporation, *Sunny Southport. Official Guide 1938-39* (Southport, Lancashire, 1938), p. 18.
- ³⁰ Philippe Garner, *A Seaside Album: Photographs and Memory* (London, 2003).
- ³¹ Edmund M. Gilbert, *Brighton. Old Ocean's Bauble* (London, 1954), p. 107.
- ³² *Illustrated Times*, 15 April 1865.
- ³³ Joyce Collins, *Dr Brighton's Indian Patients December 1914 – January 1916* (Brighton, 1997).
- ³⁴ Gilbert, *Brighton Old Ocean's Bauble*, p. 91.
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