

The Image and Tourism Industry of Madeira (1850-1914)

Benedita Câmara

The analysis of the creation of the image and tourist industry of Madeira is of importance under a number of headings¹. We are endeavouring in this paper to analyse the birth of this activity in this island and define the characteristics which it displayed. The noticeable point of tourism in the nineties was not its importance in the island's economy but rather the capacity of adaptation which showed itself in the building up of an image and the offer of services².

During the course of the last century, the image of Madeira was identified with its climate. Its visitors looked forward to enjoying its mild winter. Direct antecedents to this motivation are to be found in the registered tendency of European medicine of the 17th century to prescribe treatments with mineral waters and seawater. This fact contributed to transforming spa treatments into a fashion. The vogue of this phenomenon only reached England the following century.

The British had the quality of branding their Spa centres which distinguished them from their continental competitors. The British spirit showed itself in a special manner – somewhat jovial – in facing illness. The Spas at Bath, Tunbridge Wells and Epsom stood out among their great number – with their distinctive size and characteristics – through their quality of service and selection of clients. These Spas also began to be known as from a certain time for reasons connected with social pleasures and amusement. There appeared in parallel, during the 18th century, a medical opinion which defended the therapeutical virtues of sea bathing, which resulted in the emergence of a number of sea side resorts which very shortly became competitors to the Spas – Brighton for example at the end of the 18th century became a rival to Bath because it began to attract royalty. The sea side resorts began to copy the Spa model making people available to organise their clients' free time and set out walks, meeting rooms, libraries, dancing rooms and concerts. At the end of the XIXth century, Blackpool (a middle class creation) went further in an endeavour to finish with the rather dull image associated with these resorts. The sea bathing vogue tended to take over from the Spas. In France, the evolution was similar and the taking of waters (such as Aix-les-Bains which took a leading role) finally gave in to giving up in favour of the sea side resorts which began to come into evidence as from the second quarter of the last century, Dieppe and Biarritz being the leaders³.

The presence of the English in the Madeira economy and the frequency of the maritime connections between Madeira and the United Kingdom justified their protagonism as organisers and promoters of the climatic advantages of the island. During the 19th century, doctors advised a change of air for lung diseases and especially tuberculosis. In 1811, William Gourlay is surprised with the absence of a study on the climate of this island, when it had become a refuge for British patients who tried to escape from the cold winter and were unable to travel to the south of Europe as this had become a theatre of war⁴.

During the first half of the 19th century, Madeira became known through letters and guidebooks which were aimed at patients. The main part of these texts were written without any commercial intent, although here and there deliberate intents on publicity existed as for example happened with a text edited in the forties in which the interests of an English shipping company were made quite clear⁵. In these guidebooks and maps were included memories of happy times spent on the island marked by the calm and peacefulness of a land where time appeared to have stopped with the wish to transmit to the potential visitor to the island a collection of information⁶. The criteria used in the selection of this information left the author's understanding of working out situations and trying to familiarise the reader with the island's environment so that nothing was left out. Up to the eighties, one of the more important references was that connected with a list of doctors which were available

to attend to foreign visitors, some of whom were of other nationalities or from Madeira but with an overseas degree⁷. Over and above this, recommendations on lodging, domestic staff, and the availability or not of certain items were considered as important information at a time when *travel agencies* did not exist.

This type of visitor (patients) usually stayed for long periods. The so-called high season in Madeira ran between the months of October and May. The number of so-called seasonal inhabitants grew within very low parameters. The production and offer of services accompanied this growth and levels of improvement were registered. Accommodation was one of the aspects which showed a clear evolution. With regard to this it was noted, in 1819, that English patients were lodged in “various lodging houses”, run by “very respected English people”. These were “in their greater part”, “people who had fallen on hard times in their commercial ventures” and “as there were no local bankruptcy laws” they had “no other way of obtaining a living”⁸. After over thirty years had elapsed it could be seen that the number of visitors and the number of lodging houses had increased and this was “one of the greatest recommendations of Funchal”⁸. The outstanding feature of the fifties was the fact that there were a greater number of Portuguese in this line of business. The *boarding houses* were half the price of the English ones and were preferred by the Germans who joined the visitors from Lisbon or Rio.

As an alternative to this type of accommodation, visitors had recourse to renting houses and *quintas* which belonged to locals and foreigners. In 1819 it was noted that this was at a lower price than in London, as there were no taxes on the rental value. In 1844 furnished houses could be rented for between 60 to 200 pounds per season. After fifteen years it was advertised that houses for rent to visitors were in abundance and the rents were stated in accordance to the size of the house and the altitude at which they were. “A small house with two living rooms, two or three bedrooms possibly furnished costs 40 to 60 pounds; the larger houses with six to twelve rooms cost 60 to 150 pounds and some reached 250 pounds.” The increased variety of house prices allowed the stay of visitors; of different means⁹.

The option to hire put into question the management of the house. In 1834 the local masculine work qualities were extolled and the ladies or families were advised to bring their English staff with them but “not too young”. Fifteen years later the visitor was advised to bring a faithful servant, however they were advised not to bring out many as it would be easier to cause trouble with the Portuguese or make difficulties with regard to the provisioning of the house as they would be complaining of everything that was not English. At the beginning of the decade Helen Taylor was aware that there was a shortage of work for the men of Madeira during the winter¹⁰.

The quality and supply of the commercial shops in Funchal were of particular interest to the visitors who installed themselves in *quintas*. At the end of the second decade of the 19th century it could be seen that many of the retail shop keepers were English. On comparing the cost of living in Madeira with that of London it was seen that essential items were cheaper and that luxury items cheaper by one third¹¹. In the decade of the fifties, people were informed of the needlessness of bringing with them from their home country food and clothing as many of those articles could be purchased in Madeira for a slightly higher or the same price as in England. Nearly all articles could be purchased in Funchal, where there were excellent chemists - one decorated in an English style – woven fabric shops, grocery shops, stationers amongst others. Some of the shops continued to be run by Englishmen while others even though the owners were Portuguese, they not only spoke English but arranged for much of their business supplies to come from England¹².

The literature of letters and guidebooks aimed at patients, as they were mostly written by British citizens, referred to many comparisons between the *modus vivendi* of the patient in Madeira and life in many English spa resorts. In 1834 an endeavour was made to undo the idea that Madeira was “dull” while explaining that “Funchal following the example of all small cities had a restricted and limited society which gave it a certain monotony”. However it mentioned that this “complaint” was applicable “to all the peaceful and mediocre English spas which the patient visited”. With regard to amusements there were on average three or four parties per week in Portuguese and English houses. Mornings could be occupied in public reading rooms (the supply of the libraries of the foreign

businessmen was much praised), in billiards, horse riding and walks, boat trips, picnics, target shooting and tennis. At the end of the decade of the 19th century sketching parties were held. At that time Madeira had the luck of being painted by many British visitors which, following the traditional English watercolours, gave special emphasis to depicting nature¹³.

Nature was shown as the alternative to the absence of amusements of the great centres – theatre, opera, horse racing. Apart from the watercolour artist, the naturalist and the botanist had plenty of material to carry out their experiments. At that time the fauna and flora of Madeira were the object of many studies by professional naturalists and lay scientists. The case of Paul Langerhans was one among others, a German doctor and scientist well known in the field of anatomical pathology, who lived in Madeira between 1875 and 1878 to care for his tuberculosis. He recommended to those who had some scientific education and who had to stay on the island for reasons similar to his, not to give in to inactivity as there were in many areas “sufficient work for many semi-invalid people” which was “a welcome opportunity to give purpose and intention to a life”¹⁴.

The fact that in the comparative publicity of Madeira the English spas were most focused was due to the English nationality of many of the authors of travel books. In 1859 the image of Madeira was analysed in the following manner:

“There exists a well disseminated notion in England that Funchal is a huge hospital, and that no one can move without meeting a patient in an advanced stage. This notion does not correspond to reality, in the first place, 300 visitors (an estimate for that time) correspond to a very small number in a city of 16000 inhabitants; in the second place half of these are relations or friends of the patients; in the third place the remaining one hundred and fifty, or three quarters, walk around in such a lively manner that it is difficult to believe that they are patients. You will see more illness and misery in our streets of Bath, Cheltenham and Torquay than in a whole season in Funchal”¹⁵.

At the beginning of the fifties, Barral, the doctor who accompanied the Empress of Brazil to Madeira, listed a vast list of potential destinations to be visited by tuberculosis patients, to whom and over some years had been advised a “change of climate, locality and housing”. In this list, mention was made of the alternatives put to patients during the winter: “in England, Undercliff, Hastings, Brighton, Torquay, Dawlish, Sidmouth, Exmouth, Salcombe, Penzance, Flushing, Clifton; in France, Montpellier, Marseilles, Hyères, Pau and other localities in Province; in Italy, Niza, Piza, Rome, Naples and finally Lake Como and Venice; in Germany and in Belgium some of the many localities of their mineral waters; in Spain Malaga; in the Mediterranean the islands of Jonias, Malta and Egypt have been recommended and sought after . Several Atlantic Islands have recently been tried with the same purpose; the Canaries” were covered by this as also Madeira¹⁶.

The movement of patients to Madeira increased between 1848 and 1852. The unsettled atmosphere which was lived in Italy between that time and the beginning of the seventies, linked to the increase in communications between Madeira and the northern Europe can, to a certain extent, explain some of the changes registered in those clients during those years that chose Madeira as a tourist destination. The fact that among the celebrities could be counted personalities such as the Empress Dona Amélia of Brazil at the beginning of the fifties and the wife of the Emperor of Austria, Francisco José, in the winter of 1860 to 1861, led Garnier to state around that time that all told over three hundred foreigners visit the island including “royalty, princes, artists, wise men and especially doctors...”¹⁷. In fact many of the visitors that passed through Madeira were not the average frequenters of mediocre British spas, but rather usual clients of Italy, which, in accordance with Barral, had always been sought after due to its mild climate. In this context he defended the climate of Madeira for patients with lung problems because of the higher average temperatures to those of the south of France and Italy. Following this comparison he managed to transform the lack of amusements in Madeira as one of its advantages:

“The galleries, museums, monuments, theatres as also the other attractions of the cities of Italy, have on more than one occasion been accused of the cause of chills, tiredness, irregularities,

relapses and the aggravation of diseases which had been on the mend. (...) The monotony and regularity of a simple life without great emotions, and specially tiredness, is what is most needed for patients affected with chest illnesses”.

This defence had variables:

“We would like better roads, better looked after and calculated walks, some day time amusements (...); we would like a happier country which did not show at every step scenes of misery and degradation; but we are very far from wishing unrest, all be it pleasant and amusing, of some German mineral water resorts.¹⁸”

As from the mid seventies of the 19th century doctors began to support the virtues of dry and hot climates for tuberculosis therapy. This argumentation was the reason for the positions taken in 1887 by Mordey Douglas in favour of Las Palmas in the Canaries to the detriment of Madeira. In this aspect, after nine years, a British consular report with reference to the Canaries recommended the guidebook called “Brown’s Madeira and Canary Islands” and supported the superiority of the Spanish archipelago for possessing excellent roads and have a number of islands which could be visited, all with different climates¹⁹.

A short time afterwards, medical opinion on tuberculosis inclined in another direction. The matter was handled in 1904 by the British consul on this island in the following manner: “There still exist in our days defenders that a gentle climate, uniform and relaxing for these cases, but the tendency is as everyone knows exactly the opposite; and the cold, dry and invigorating air of Engadine discredited Madeira...”²⁰. This signified that the winter resort of Madeira began to have the much greater competition of locals. As from that time a really nervous desire from the economic forces in Madeira was noted to adapt the offer of tourist services to meet the transformations which had occurred to those clients of a winter resort. This was the policy determined in 1894 by the Funchal Chamber of Commerce to request government support to use the “mountain climate for the establishment of health sanatoriums” and to make use of the lower areas to build “sea side sanatoriums”²¹. Following these lines it was defended that the Revenue Department would profit from the establishment of various types of sanatorium on this island²².

The winter tourism vogue on the French Mediterranean coast as from the mid sixties – the expression *Côte d’Azur* occurred in 1877 – was associated with the motivations of those who wished to have a change of air and spend a winter in a mild climate. Exactly at that time, a Portuguese writer Ramalho Ortigão was discussing the approval of medicine and of patients on the therapy of the change of air, which presumed leisure, amusement and social life. This recipe was applicable to all types of illness including neurosis and slight intellectual tiredness²³.

While the evolution of the treatment of tuberculosis created a new map for health travel, society and international economy suffered deep transformations which had repercussions on this island’s future. In fact the free times that had over many centuries been associated with religious calendars, began to become autonomous as secularisation gained ground in the contemporary societies. As this happened a new attitude began to take place in relation to leisure and amusement²⁴. On the other hand the technical evolution observed during the previous century created greater ease in transport and resulted in improved communications which had in effect a substantial increase in the mobility of people.

Besides, the stress of European urbanization also gave its strong contribution so that the increasing number of citizens felt themselves able to change airs every now and then. The social and economic evolution which occurred in the industrialized societies allowed ever increasingly wider bands of the urban middle class the possibility to aspire and realize the pleasure of rest in places faraway from those where they usually lived. Some sociological interpretations called attention to the influence which the cultural romanticist movement had on the tourism phenomena. In fact the rational plans for a modern industrial production generated the desire for an alternative liberty

which hid itself many times under the cap of the idea of change. The search for “something different” was looked upon as a “compensation for unaccomplished utopias”²⁵.

Much sociological, anthropological and economic analysis excluded the nomenclature “health tourism”. In this sense the word tourism in the technical sense presumes travel and temporary stays of people who wished to do so in their free time. The availability of time and money and own motivation justified this concept. The evolution registered in the passed century created a new phenomenon: the possibility of a moneyed citizen to become *a tourist*. When this word arose, full of newness, the nineteen hundred Larousse defined it as one who travels for pleasure and leisure. During the middle of that century travel agencies arose in the principle European cities. However the arrival of important publications of the *Guide Michelin* (1900) and especially the appearance of tourist operators, such as the *Touring Club de France* (1890) or *Thomas Cook* in England indicated the emergence of mass tourism (this agency founded in 1841 sold its first *package tour* between England and the U.S.A. in 1879) and proved the alterations to be seen in the European societies at the end of the century²⁶.

In the case of Madeira, it was verified that increasing number of travellers imbued by these motivations progressively compensated the decrease in the flow of patients caused by the criticism of the therapeutic virtues of the island. A similar evolution happened in many other places. Certain thermal seaside or mountain resorts, which began to get gather credits in the field of health ended up by adapting themselves to the change of motivations of those who visited them – Davos in Switzerland began to owe its credits to the therapeutic virtues of its climate and ended up by transforming itself in a tourist and winter sports resort²⁷.

Since the beginning of the eighties of the 19th century several indicators began to be visible in Madeira related to the industrialization of the tourism industry. In 1888 a Madeira politician considered as a priority the repair of roads and the construction of shelters near the delightful viewpoints so that the island’s charms could be appreciated²⁸. The context of texts published on Madeira during that time began to gloss over the health aspects and underlined information on walks to the interior of the island. The responsibility of these texts were in part due to the hoteliers of Madeira (many of English nationality) and in part due to international companies producers of guidebooks. In this latter case *Browns Guide* stood out as an apology to the tourism of the islands.

In this respect accommodation also went through important transformations. The number of families who accepted guests was in the process of extinction. The renting of houses and *quintas* was finishing which likewise happened to supplies although the costs of running a house were still less than in England. Hotels expanded and went through “a great revolution in their management system”. The capacity of lodging houses remained at between one and two rooms but that of the hotels was likewise very small²⁹. In 1889 astonishment was caused by William Reid, proprietor of a chain of four hotels (Edinburgh, Santa Clara, Milles-Carmo and German), who was constructing a “large hotel” at Ribeiro Seco, which had 70 rooms excluding those reserved for the staff which often accompanied guests as also their own personnel.

Although at that time there was no estimate as to the hotel capacity in Madeira, in 1895 the tourist movement in the archipelago of the Canaries was calculated at 2000 with a hotel capacity in Las Palmas of 500 beds³⁰. On this matter we have only a few indicators supplied by a population census in relation to the floating population and foreigners within the real population. The disparity between these figures and the estimates predominantly collected from the tourist guides was very big. In 1911, the number of tourists suggested in the guidebooks was six times (6000 annual tourists) that obtained from the census.

On the other hand, analysts characterized very well the evolution of the motivations of those who visited Madeira. In 1904, the British consul in Funchal made clear that

“the class and type of visitor” is different to that of several years ago, as “the number of patients that spend the Winter here represents a small percentage of the invasion of foreigners that seek Madeira in view of the heat and sun, without the worries of health. Comparatively few of this class spend the Winter here; many of them only spend their holidays – they are holiday makers – and

*come for a month or less, with cheap return tickets obtained from many of the steamship companies who call regularly at Funchal*³¹.

In 1911 the duration of a trip between England and Madeira was four days, those times of sailing ships of eight to twelve days were long passed, which enabled “the holiday for change or pleasure” to those who only had one or two weeks available. Since 1890, it was noted that Madeira was increasingly used and appreciated by healthy people, active businessmen in need of “change”³². This statement presupposes regular maritime connections with the places of origin of the tourist. The references in tourist guides give an idea that at the end of the last century and at the beginning of the current one, Funchal presented regular, varied and frequent connections with several English, German, Dutch and Mediterranean cities. If we analyse by large geographical areas, we verify that, between 1900 and 1913, an important growth in the number of the ships from South America and Mediterranean Europe was kept, and all modestly the growth in the number of ships from northern Europe maintained a significant figure.

In 1898 the enthusiasm of the British consul in Funchal made itself clear in relation to the possibilities created at the tourist level by the choice made by the new Italian shipping line having selected Madeira as one of its ports of call. The shipping line in question - ‘A Ligure Brasiliana’ – offered a monthly service connecting Genova to Pará and Manaus, calling at Marseilles, Barcelona, Tanger, Lisbon and Funchal. In his opinion it was “to be expected that a certain number of these patients from the French and Italian Rivieras who felt the temperature changes there very big would also feel tempted by the cheaper direct³³ route to the stable climate of Madeira”³³.

The increase in the number of tourist centres resulted in the tourist guides begin to compare the advantages of Madeira in relation to competitive destinations. The living costs of a visit to this island were frequently the object of comparison and efforts were made to endeavour to diminish the idea that this island was a destination exclusively for “rich people”. The “fashionable English spas, or the favourite resorts of Nice and Menton” were more expensive. In this matter, the cost of living on the Riviera was until the eve of the First World War held as a disadvantage in relation to Madeira, at a time when the latter held itself as a “Winter resort”³⁴. Another point mentioned was the quality of service and the luxurious character of the hotels of Madeira.

On the eve of the war, two guidebooks written in English by local authors were published. The author of one this tourist guide underlined that it was impossible to maintain a guide updated for a long time. The natural beauties and the climate of this island were increasingly appreciated and sought after and new hotels, cafés, restaurants and shops opened. He pointed out that many of the tourist locations which rivalled this island were “pure pleasure resorts, sometimes of a rather artificial nature...”³⁵. Although the message was advertised that the island preserved an *old world charm* offering fresh interests, that authenticity was countered by the lack of amusements and cultural activities. In order to cancel a certain sad and antiquated image of the island, private initiative tried to produce a modern idea demonstrating the excellence of sea bathing in the southerly waters as were those of this island³⁶.

Another question related to the tourist phenomenon was the increase in the passage of tourists through the port of Funchal as from the seventies of the passed century. In order that we may get a clear idea of the economic importance of this movement it is important to bear in mind that a substantial amount of this traffic was made of up of emigrants with a low purchasing power. On the other hand, as from the end of the 19th century, the British mail ships which supplied the English colony in the Cape and in the increase in leisure navigation or cruises made it obvious, especially in the city of Funchal, the special consumer demands of these passengers. In this respect, at the beginning of the 20th century, many national authors, aware of the matter in the port of Lisbon called attention to the economical value of “excursionists” and thought about the best manner of attracting international navigation³⁷.

This was the reason for so many of the reports from the 19th century conferring so much importance on this movement due to its dynamic factor on local commerce: “This constant coming and going of foreigners – who spent on chairs, wicker work, embroidery, the hire of cars and horses – brings

more money to the island than an unalterable number of patients who spend the whole Winter here living the life of patients”³⁸. This observation could have been added in the evolution registered in the form of shopkeepers presenting their products and the concern with regard to the quality made available in the shops. In this matter, in 1901 it was defended that “generally all the shops in Funchal” followed “a certain opulence and luxury especially chemists who are a model of their type, even better than those in Lisbon and in Oporto”³⁹. The modernization of shops benefited the economical activity of Madeira and underwent an evolution in accord with the motivations of the travellers who appeared in Madeira. In those times when tourists installed themselves in *quintas*, many shops tried to supply them the same articles they consumed in their home countries. But the move from the 19th century to the 20th one resulted in an increase in the so-called tourist shops which sold handicrafts and local products. The port of call created opportunities for the hoteliers: use was made of the short number of hours which the tourists stayed in Funchal to visit the outskirts of the city.

In the case of Madeira the climate was initially recommended for therapeutic reasons. That recommendation was the base for the first phase of the publicity made about Madeira. The mechanisms for divulging worked on a closed system and the number of people who travelled with the intention of recuperating in Madeira was greatly reduced. But as from the middle of the 19th century the proper mechanisms for divulging to the patients discussed amusement and health, leaving one with the expectation that a process of transition was taking place. As from the eighties, Madeira began loosing the connotation of a health resort and won that of a holiday island. The climate which even to-day functions as a determining element in many purchases and sales of travels, especially the Mediterranean climate continued to be the centre of publicity for Madeira connotated with the natural scenery and sea temperature. The alterations observed in those people’s motivations who searched for this destination was accompanied with a strong decrease in the average time of stay for each person from the progressive increase in the number of visitors and the evolution of the production of tourist services. The tourist activity in its embryonic stage and the port movement discovered their place in the Madeira economy

Allusions as to the importance of tourism income for the islands economy increased in the eighties of the 19th century. The fact that Madeira was increasingly sought after by innumerable visitors cannot be disassociated from the tendency of the port services sector becoming more important in the Madeira economy. Over and above the number of tourists, the situation at the level of ships and passengers in transit through the port of Funchal showed an appreciable increase between the end of the 19th century and the First World War. In 1908, Mota Prego noted that the weight of the tourist and port services sectors were significant to the economy of the archipelago. On that date, he made calculations to estimate the value of this income which was integrated in the balance of payments under the section of exports. In his estimates he established at 50000 réis both the cost in supplying each ship or the expense made by each tourist, and at 1500 réis the amount left in Funchal by each transit passenger. Notwithstanding certain reserves, we opted to using retrospectively the presuppositions of Mota Prego with a view to observing the evolution of the acquired importance of the tourist sector and the port activity in the economy of the island. Notwithstanding two faults, this estimate has the merit of supplying us with the access to an all encompassing image (based on a homogenous criteria) on the different aspects – the expense made by each transit passenger, each tourist and each ship – which we were unable to find anywhere else.

Table

Estimate for the evolution of receipts from the tourism sector and from the port services of Funchal (in mil réis, average annual value)

Years	I Exports and receipts from the service sector	II Tourism receipts	III Receipts from passengers	IV Receipts from ships	V Proportion of the receipt columns II, III and IV over I %
1854-6				9983	
1865-7				12350	
1875-7				29917	
1884-7	949218	10000 (a)	30299	33950	782
1906-9	2495663	150000 (b)	190188	70350	1645
1911	1764200 (c)	303400 (c)	205989 (c)	48650(c)	2403 (c)

Sources: Benedita CÂMARA, *A Economia da Madeira, 1850-1914*, Funchal, 1998 (mimeo); *Notas Sobre Portugal*, vol. I, p. 399.

Notes: a) estimate of an average of 200 tourists; b) data between 1906 and 1908 are not available; c) annual value.

Subtitles: II – average number of tourists multiplied by the expenses made by each tourist (50000 réis); III – average number of passengers multiplied by the expenses made by each passenger (1500 réis); IV – average number of ships navies multiplied by the expenses made by each ship (50000); V – Percentage of the value the services receipts (total of columns II, III e IV) over the average value of exports added to the value added to the value of the service receipts.

The grandeur of values which we obtained on the evolution of the percentage of receipts from tourism and of that from the port services against the value of exports (which included the value of those receipts), though they had an approximate significance, allowed one to conclude that in 1911 those receipts were the expression of three and half times superior to the figures verified in the middle of the eighties. On the eve of the First World War, the receipts due to the supplying of ships and tourism and of the expenses made by the transit passengers corresponded to a quarter of the total export value. In comparison, it is presumed that the participation of tourism in the G.D.P. (Gross Domestic Product) in Madeira was reduced.

Conclusion

In economic terms and on a generic level, tourism implies at the same time the search and the production or offer of services. Between these two aspects, the first has an eminently dynamic weight and refers to the motivations of searching in relation to certain localities and the transport facilities – aspects which in our days are in the hands of the tour operators and transporting companies. The production and offer of services contain a more static dimension and contemplate as the more relevant sectors accommodation, restaurants, places of leisure and amusement and shops. In its whole, they show themselves as a service industry, whose significant economic value resides in its capacity to create jobs and the contribution which, as a percentage of exports, gives the balance of payments to the country or region in which it takes place⁴⁰.

The tourist and port development ended up by forming in Madeira an instrument of social politics, because it involved public investments and transport infrastructures, in sewage, and water supply networks to the consumer, public illumination and the gardening and beautifying of the city which ended by benefiting the resident population. Private initiative invested in the production of services and created new work opportunities. The economy of Madeira was predominantly agricultural. The

natural resources of the island although practically fixed supported, between 180 and 1914, a very high population increase (54%). The traditional sectors with special emphasis on wine had the perspective of exporting of their less promising products. The profitable businesses of this island revolved around tourism agencies, the supply of coal to shipping, money exchange shops, hotels, and tourist shops. In the words of the British consul in Funchal, “the apparent prosperity of the island”, in 1904, was “generally due not to money made here but made in any other part and spent here”⁴¹. At the beginning many of these businesses were exclusively the property of foreigners. Although the weight of English citizens remained at a high level especially in the hotels, everything goes to indicate that a progressive opening to citizens of Portuguese nationality was in force. In the first half of the 19th century we saw an image of Madeira having potential in its future tourist vocation. The Mediterranean climate was a common element of motivation of the patient and the tourist. At that time the production and offer of services were diminished but the experience and improvement of commerce were gains to be noted. In the period between 1850 (especially after 1870) and the First World War, the manner in which the port of Funchal knew how to live with competition of other Atlantic ports on specialising itself in supporting passenger ships. In the tourism plan of this island on adapting the tourist offer to the successive demands of demand – exploring the advantages of the benevolence of its climate and the beauties of its countryside-, showed a high level of adaptation to the opportunities as they appeared. In this field it managed to meet with the multiplicity of diversity offered to the tourist (the connection between the Mediterranean resorts and the opening of the Suez canal were just a small example) which operated in parallel with increasing importance of leisure in contemporary society.

¹ We are indebted to Prof. Jaime Reis for his comments on a previous version of this text. Any errors, however, are entirely our responsibility.

² From the sixties of the 20th century, the weight of this sector in the island’s economy has increased, with recent changes in the respective commercial sector. The history of the tourism phenomena of the 20th century will have the advantage in pondering the evolution of the dimension of the companies and its nature, the economical and fiscal policies applied to this sector, the international tourist phenomenon, the answer of Madeira to competition, started by different national and international regions, the transformation of tourism geography, the analysis of tourism flow, the policy of transport and planning.

³ Philippe ARIES e Georges DUBY, *História da Vida Privada. Da Revolução à Grande Guerra*, Lisboa, vol.4., p. 231.

⁴ William GOURLAY, *Observations on the natural History, climate and diseases of Madeira, during a period of eighteen years*, London, 1811, pp.2-6.

⁵ John OSBORNE, *Guide to the Madeiras, Azores, British West Indies, and Northern South-America, compiled from documents specially furnished by agents of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and other authentic sources. With a description of the passage across the Isthmus of Panama*, London, 1843.

⁶ *An Historical Sketch of the Island of Madeira. Containing an Account of the Original Discovery and First Colonization. Present Produce-State of Society and Commerce*, London, 1819, p.47; John OSBORNE, *ob.cit.*, pp.22-3; *Madreira a Brief Letter of Advice to an Invalid, By an Ex-Invalid*, London, 1859, p.5; C.A. Mourão PITA, *Madère. Station Médicale Fixe. Climat des plaines, Climat des Altitudes*, Paris, 1889, p.91.

⁷ *An Historical Sketch, op.cit.*, p.46.

⁸ Reginald FOWLER, *Hither and Thither; or Sketches on both Sides of the Atlantic*, London, 1854, p.4. Se also: Robert WHITE, *Madreira. Its Climate and Scenery, op.cit.*, pp. 111-2.

⁹ *An Historical Sketch, op.cit.*, p.48; John OSBORNE, *Guide to the Madeiras, op.cit.*, p.20; Robert WHITE, *Madreira. Its Climate and Scenery. Containing Medical and General Information fo Invalids and visitors*, London, 1851, pp.188-90; F.A. BARRAL, *Notícia sobre o Clima do Funchal e a sua influência no Tratamento da Tísica Pulmunar*, Lisboa, 1854, p.266; *Madreira, A Brief Letter of advice to An Invalid, by an ex- Invalid*, p.4; Reginal FOWLER, *op. cit.*, pp.10-1.

- ¹⁰ Helen TAYLOR, *Madeira: Its Scenery, and how to see it (With letters of a year's residence, and lists of the trees, flowers, ferns, and seaweeds)*, London, 1882, p.4, p.30, p.193 and p.229.
- ¹¹ *An Historical Sketch*, *op.cit.*, p.58 e p. 48; John DRIVER, *Letter from Madeira in 1834, with an Appendix Illustrative of the History of the Island, climate, Wines and other information up to the year 1838*, London, 1838, p.V.
- ¹² Robert WHITE, *op.cit.*, p.118; *Madeira, a Brief Letter*, *op.cit.*, p.5 and p.7.
- ¹³ *A Letter to an Invalid about to visit Madeira*, London, 1834, pp.10-1.
- ¹⁴ Björn M. HAUSEN, "Paul Langerhans and the Islands" in *Islenha*, nº7, Jul-Dez., 1990, p.29.
- ¹⁵ Madeira. *A Brief Letter*, *op.cit.*, p.8.
- ¹⁶ F. A. BARRAL, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.
- ¹⁷ P. GARNIER, *Itinéraire de Paris à Madère*, Publication de L'Union Médicale, Octobre, 1859, p.11.
- ¹⁸ F. BARRAL, *op.cit.*, pp.262-3.
- ¹⁹ Théodore WILLIAMS, *Étude sur les Effets des Climats Chauds dans le Traitement de la Consommation Pulmonaire basée sur L'analyse de deux cent cinquante et une observations*, Paris, 1875, pp.30-1; Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance. Spain. *Report for the year 1895 on Trade of Canary Islands*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, nº1828, 1896.
- ²⁰ Diplomatic and Consular Reports. *Report on the year 1905 on the Trade and Commerce of Madeira*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, nº3475, 1906.
- ²¹ *Propostas apresentadas pela Comissão Nomeada em Assembleia da Associação Comercial do Funchal a 14 de Novembro de 1894 para Estudar as Causas do Desvio da Navegação do Nosso Porto e Afastamento de Forasteiros*, Funchal, 1895, pp.12-3 (Proposals presented by the Commercial Association of Funchal with the purpose to study the causes of escape of ships from port and withdraw from foreigners).
- ²² José Copertino de FARIA, *Guia e Plano do Funchal (Guide and Plan of Funchal)*, Funchal, 1910, p.50. See also: Diário da Câmara dos Deputados, sessão nº16, de 19 de Janeiro de 1907, pp.191-8.
- ²³ Ramalho ORTIGÃO, *Banhos das Caldas e Águas Minerais*, Porto, 1875; *Idem*, *As Praias de Portugal, guia do Banhista e do Viajante*, Porto, 1876, pages 17-9. See also: Philippe ARIES and Georges DUBY, *História da Vida Privada ...*, vol. IV, p.232.
- ²⁴ A. ROBINSON, *A Geography of Tourism*, London, 1976, pp.4-27.
- ²⁵ A. Andreas BODENSTEDT, "Has Agrotourism a chance against mass tourism? **Reletheoretical ?** implications in New routes for Leisure" in *Actas do Congresso Mundial do Lazer/World Leisure Congress*, Lisboa, 1994, pp.171-2.
- ²⁶ Philippe ARIES e Georges DUBY, *op.cit.*, pp. 228-9. The travel agencies included in the branch of commerce of retail travels used to sell more expensively the stock kept by the tour operators.
- ²⁷ A. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-27.
- ²⁸ A. C. HERÉDIA, *Observações sobre a situação Económica ...*(Notes on the economic situation), p. 40.
- ²⁹ Helen TAYLOR, *Madeira : Its scenery*, *op.cit.*, p. IX, p.16, p. 233 and p. 235.
- ³⁰ Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance. Spain. *Report for the year 1895 on Trade of Canary Islands*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual series n. 1828, 1896.
- ³¹ *Idem*, Report for the year 1904 on Trade of Madeira, *Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series*, 1905, nº 3475.
- ³² Robert WHITE, *Madeira. Its Climate*, *op.cit.*, pp. 101-2; William and Alfred REID, *A Guide Book*, *op.cit.*, First Issue, p. 30; *idem*, Third Issue, [1911]; J. M. RENDELL, *Concise Handbook of the Island of Madeira*, London, 1890, p. 9.
- ³³ Diplomatic and Consular Reports, *Report for the year 1904 on Trade of Madeira*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, nº 2333, London, 1899, p.2.
- ³⁴ *The Island of Madeira. Extract from «The licensed Victualler's Gazette» ...*, pp.3-4; Koebel, *Madeira: Old and New*, London, 1909, p.139 and p. 189.
- ³⁵ A.F. JARDIM, Madeira. *The Pearl of the Atlantic*, Lisbon, 1914.

³⁶ Diplomatic and Consular reports. *Report on the Trade and Commerce of Madeira for the year 1909*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, 1910, n° 4466. See also: William and Alfred REID, *A Guide Book*, *op.cit.*, pp.12-14, third issue, p. 3, p. 11 and p. 13; *Idem*, fifth issue, p.7.

³⁷ A. J. BIDDLE, *Land of the wine being an account of the Madeira Island at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and from a new point of view*, vol.I, Philadelphia and San Francisco, 1901, pp.138-9; Adriano TRIGO e Aníbal TRIGO, *Guide and Plan of Funchal*, Funchal, 1910, pp.57-61.

³⁸ Diplomatic and Consular Reports. *Report for the Year 1904 on Trade of Madeira*, Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, 1905, n° 3475.

³⁹ José COPERTINO DE FARIA, *op.cit.*, p.182.

⁴⁰ A. ROBINSON, *op.cit.*, pp.4-27.

⁴¹ Diplomatic and Consular Report. *Report for the year 1909 on Trade of Madeira*. Parliamentary Papers, Annual Series, n° 4466, 1910.