Comparative Approach to International Tourism in the 19th Century: The Case of Macedonia

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to review the travel and tourism in Macedonia in the 19th century, and to compare the highlights of the historical development of the world tourism, by using a comparative approach. The first part of the paper presents the factors affecting the development of the international travel in Western Europe and around the world and also presents the greatest achievements that contributed to popularization of the travel, increase of the number of tourists and tourism establishment. The second part provides information on the situation of international tourism in Macedonia. The foreign travel books are used as a primary source of information. The paper describes the accommodation, hospitality, food and leisure facilities available for travelers, which existed in the 19th century, and with their description, we determine the level of tourism development in Macedonia at this time.

Key words: travel, tourism, Macedonia, 19th century, comparative approach

1. International tourism development around the world in 19th century

The history of tourism develops internationally as an exciting and dynamic field. Concerning the dimension of this global, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, the significance and contribution of the history is very important to the process of understanding the tourism.

Although tourism is a relatively new concept, its roots are much deeper. There is an unbreakable connection between tourism and travel, which gives the meaning to people’s existence. Overcoming the space is as old as human history, because expanding the living area is a primordial and fundamental human need. The existential nature was the reason why journeys were organized at first, but latter they were organized for particular purposes such as: military conquests, trade, sports events - Olympics, entertainments - amphitheatres, health - using baths by the Romans, religious purposes, scientific discoveries, educational and cultural purposes

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- Grand tour\textsuperscript{3} etc., until the first organized tour by Thomas Cook in 1841\textsuperscript{4}. The emergence of tourism is related to the basic needs of travelers, such as overnight stays, food and mediation for travel arrangements.

There are various predictions made by several authors in terms of where and when the word “tourism” was first seen printed, but there are no existing sources earlier than 19th century (Oxford Dictionary in 1800)\textsuperscript{5}. It is a challenge to research the historical development of tourism during this century, because during this period tourism has established itself worldwide.

The basis of the tourism development is the scientific and technological development and the socio-economic relations that continue from the 19th century to present. Therefore, the inventions in public transportation such as the train, steamship and automobile have been of great importance. Also, increasing labor productivity, higher amount of workers’ compensation, shortening working hours, using paid annual leave in practice, increasing the people’s level of cultural intelligence are also important for the emergence of tourist movements.

True change has happened and tourism movement has emerged during the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, when huge number of people began to live in urban areas. During the Industrial Revolution, there have been changes not only in the industry but also in other areas such as: tourism and hospitality, science, government, technology, innovation, traffic, education, administration, politics, military etc.

The Industrial Revolution has also led to the appearance of the first forms of organized mediation for travel, which could be explained by the example of Thomas Cook who in 1841 has done the first organized tour by train\textsuperscript{6}. Cook continued his work during the next years with great success, organizing tours and visits to many countries in Europe and the world, publishing guidebooks for the most of the countries visited by the tourists. He sold 165,000 tickets for the Great Exhibition in London and 400,000 tickets for the Great Exhibition in Paris which is hardly possible nowadays. During this period the first travel agencies in the world were created. In 1950, Henry Wells founded the American Express Company, the first travel agency in the United States, in 1868 in Germany, the first travel agency was founded by Carl Stander etc.

This is a period when the basis of modern tourism was established. Modern accommodation and food facilities were emerging rapidly. The number of trips was increasing as well - the nobles at first and later the merchants, bankers, industrialists etc. The first luxury hotels in the United States were opened in the first half of the 19th century - Branums city hotel in Baltimore (1825) and the famous Tremont hotel in Boston (1829) which is considered as the first “modern” hotel\textsuperscript{7}. During this period inns were changed into hotels and taverns into restaurants\textsuperscript{8}. The technological progress resulted in improved service quality - the international accommodation facilities already have had hot and cold water system, toilets, electricity, heating and elevators (implementation of central heating in the rooms in 1846, elevator in 1859, electricity in 1881 etc.)\textsuperscript{9}.

In this period the first seaside resorts in the United States (Atlantic City)\textsuperscript{10}, the UK and other European countries were founded. The origins of modern tourism in the United States are

\textsuperscript{4} Rae, W.F. (1891). The business of travel: a fifty years record of progress. London
\textsuperscript{5} Tribe, J., ed. (2009). Philosophical issues in tourism. UK, p.44
\textsuperscript{8} Walker, J. (2011). The restaurant: from concept to operation. New Jersey, p.8
associated with the opening of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, the trips to Niagara Falls etc.

Ruzic associated the development of tourism in Germany with the year of 1873, when the state employees earned paid annual leave. The origins of tourism in Norway date back to 1870, when the Norwegian fjords and valleys were discovered by the European “elite”. We can give similar examples for other European and Mediterranean countries such as: France, Italy, Croatia (under Austro-Hungarian rule), Spain etc. The thermo mineral waters and the construction of baths throughout Europe and worldwide played an important role in the process of popularization of the travel for health improvement. At the beginning of the 19th century, various massage techniques began to develop in Sweden, and in 1880 Sebastian Kneipp started practicing hydrotherapy.

In the 19th century the first guidebooks for tourists appeared. Karl Baedeker is a pioneer in publication of tourist guidebooks. The first guidebook for Germany is released in 1827, and later on for the other European and world countries. These guidebooks contained different information needed to those who travel, such as places to visit and stay, natural and anthropogenic attractions and quality and accurate maps.

2. International tourism in Macedonia in the 19th century

The typical term “tourism” used in Western countries could not be used in Macedonia during the 19th century. The foreign writers of travel books are the primary source of detailed information about accommodations in Macedonia, or at least they give us an idea of the passengers’ stays. They often gave information about overnight stays and accommodations for diplomatic, military, economic or political missions, cruising through Macedonia, almost always with a companion. Companion or companions were needed for several reasons. First, they spoke the local language so they were able to communicate with the locals, they were familiar with the paths of travel, with the dangerous places where they could expect armed gangs, they had experience in determining the cardinal points of the world, in predicting the weather and also they had experience in setting up tents or choosing a good place to stay under open sky. In the 19th century on the territory of Macedonia while under Ottoman rule, there were no modern hotels with the exception of couple in Thessaloniki. The main accommodations in the Republic of Macedonia are in Ohrid, Bitola, Skopje, Prilep (the major urban centers) or along the roadside (along the well-known Vardar Valley, the route of the ancient Via Egnatia, and the high mountain saddles).

During the 19th century the already established system by the Ottomans, was functioning and has developed even more. The inns were the most common form of accommodation at that time. They were also found under the name caravansary because very often caravans were staying there. In addition, facilities like taverns, bezistans (bazaars), hammams (Turkish bath), hospices etc., performed service activity as well. Fairs that were held at several places in Macedonia, at specific time of the year, were also used to gather together a large number of passengers who were in need of accommodation.


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Inns were found in towns, in villages, along roadside, in empty areas. They are important objects of the profane Eastern (Oriental) architecture. They were found under the name caravansary or caravan-station only in the areas and countries that were heavily influenced by the Ottomans. There were widespread in Asia, northern Africa, and the Balkans. In caravanserais the travelers were resting, sleeping, having breakfast, the materials and trade goods were stored there, and the pack animals were also placed in their special auxiliary facilities. Skopje’s most famous inns are: Capan-an, Suli-an and Kursumli-an. The Capan-an was business and hospitality facility built in 15th century, located inside the old town. Inside, travelers and traders could stay in 44 rooms located on the ground floor or on the upper floors. There were two entrances: entering from the south or from the north entrance. In front of it, there was a tap called Capan-tap. Suli-an was also built in 15th century. In the first few centuries many stores that have been opened there, were owned by Jews. In 1689, was badly burned in city fire caused under the command of the Austrian commander Piccolomini, Later was reconstructed and continued to work as a commercial facility. The ground floor was used for storage of goods, and travelers and traders spent the nights in the rooms located on the upper floor. The porch was built on 18 pillars and the rooms were arranged in a row on all four cardinal directions. Toward the inn run two entrances: to the east and to the west side. Kursumli-an was built slightly later (probably during the 16th century) and at the beginning was used as caravan-seraglio. In 1787 became jail and from 1904 to 1914 was inn again. The ground floor was used for storage of goods, and the rooms on the upper floors were resting rooms. Barns were built in the second part of the inn. All these inns were built according to a model, using stone, rows of bricks and layered plaster.

Taverns or pubs (bars) were usually described as low buildings with earthen floor, along the roadside, in which wine, brandy with appetizers and traditional dishes were served. The pubs, known from the Byzantine period, continued to exist during the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and in Macedonia. The term “krchmar” (tavern owner) is first mentioned in 1452, in the story of Stajo, son of “krchmar” who lived in the village Audrey, Tetovo vilayet (Tetovo province). However, by the middle of the 19th century inns mostly served wine, and later brandy became the main drink.

Hospices were facilities for overnight stays. They were usually in possession of a wealthy and respected man, administrative or military commander in the Ottoman state. One of the most famous hospices in Skopje was the hospices of Havzi Pasha, complex in the village of Bardovci. They were built in the period between 1830 and 1845 on the “chiflik” (property) of Havzi Pasha. The “selamlik” (the portion of a Turkish house reserved for men), the “haremlık” (the portion of a Turkish house reserved for women and forbidden to men) were located there, and only the final part of the house was used for economy, with stables and watering place. The hospice “Ukjumat” located in Skopje was built in the late 19th century. However, the hospices are buildings in public or private ownership, and unlike inns, attracting and retaining travelers of any kind is not a priority. The hospices were dwelling of a rich Ottoman officer or they were administrative buildings.

Hammams, also known as Turkish baths were used by the Muslims for hygiene, for ritual bathing, but also played an important role in the social relation. As such, they began to spread in Western Europe, so already in the 19th century were opened in Great Britain as well. Apart from hammams, the bezistans (bazaars) attracted huge number of people for potential overnight stays. Bezistan is an enclosed covered area (market) protected from attacks by gangs (oriental market), which sells various handicrafts products, haberdashery etc. The most popular bezists in Macedonia were in Bitola, Thessaloniki and Skopje. The bezistan in Skopje was built in the 15th century, but was destroyed in 1689. In 1899/1900 was restored. The bezistan in Bitola
was built a little later (it is mentioned in the 16th and the 17th century). Had over 50 stores and you could enter in it through 4 large iron gates. It is very interesting that in Bitola there was a separate warehouse, known as “magaza” (warehouse) used for storage of goods by traders who came to the city.

More traders were gathered in one place during the fairs. But, fairs were held at specific time period and only once or twice in a year. They were held even before the Ottoman period, and one of the most important not only in Macedonia, but also in all Rumelia (Balkan) was the Fair of Prilep which was held during the 18th and the 19th centuries. At that time in Prilep were coming traders from all over the Macedonia and beyond: Nis, Sofia, Plovdiv, Korca, Elbasan etc. They had tobacco, wheat, rugs etc. to trade. It’s logical to assume that during the fair the need for staying in the city or in its surroundings was increased. The fairs of Serres, Doiran, Gevgelia, Sv. Nikole (stone of cattle) etc., had a similar situation.

Macedonian authors of 19th century were familiar with the inns and pubs, the resting places and the places to have breakfast. They were locals, which is the reason why maybe exist only a few descriptions of these places. Writing about Prilep, Kuzman Shapkarev noticed that the population in Prilep was engaged in agricultural work and livestock. The grain, grapes, tobacco, hemp, flax, etc. were cultivated. The most important agricultural product was the tobacco and the most important handicraft product-the kettle. The city was abounded with inns and taverns because it was located at a crossroad. There, stopped travelers from Serbia, Bulgaria and Thrace who were going to Albania and beyond.

P.A. Chacharov points out very interesting finding. In 1892, in a report to the newspaper “News” drew attention to the hot spring near the river Bregalnica. The water was curative, it’s coming from a mineral spring, but the villagers didn’t know how to use its medicinal characteristics. One part of it was used for washing and the other, called the spring of Kezhovica was used for bathing, charged by the government. In 1836-38, the Frenchman Ami Bue probably wrote about the same hot spring and during his visit he announced “In Novo Selo, we visited the mineral sulfur spring with water temperature of 54° to 55° C”.

The monasteries were also used as stops along the way. Writing about the Monastery of Saint Jovan Bigorski, Jakim Derebanov from Struga noticed that the monastery was the central place for all events in Debar. So “the monastery is a house offering food, drink, warm room, bed, etc. for free”. In another article, the same author judged the villagers from Vranestica, Kicevo, because they drank brandy a lot and they were regular visitors to the taverns. In another letter he pointed out that the passengers were being exposed to danger during their trips. Therefore, the passage Jama between Kicevo and Debar was guarded by the villagers, and consequently

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18 Шяпкаревъ, К. (1872). Описанiе на градъ Прилепъ съ околностъ' му, на молбените и учебныте му заведенiя. Читалище, ноемврий 30, книжка 2 [Sapkarev, K. (1872). Description of Prilep city and surroundings with religious and educational facilities. Reading room, November 30, book 2]

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they were exempted from the Ottoman “džizie” tax. We’ll confirm his words by a passage from a text of Georgi Balaschev from Ohrid. He wrote that between the mountains Nidze and Durla was located a long ravine: “on the right side, a traveler over his shoulder sees the mountain Durla, on the left side Nidze, both overgrown with beeches, oaks and chestnut trees. The road curves through the high forest, the passenger’s heart beats too fast, his blood starts to freeze and he’s shaking in his boots; most robberies and murders take place there”\textsuperscript{23}. That was the reason why companions (guides) were needed, and because of that the communication within the Ottoman state and the number of passengers were reduced compared to the real possibilities.

The foreign writers of travel books are the primary source of information about the location of numerous inns and taverns. We’ll keep the attention to several authors who give interesting information. In one of the general notes about the state of the hotels and apartments in Turkey, including Macedonia, the writer named J. B. Richard wrote: “With the exception of a few big cities where I can find well-maintained hotel, the traveler on his way cannot find something that would even look like a shelter for foreigners; inns and caravansaris are located at various distances along the main roads in order to shelter travelers somehow, even for free; rooms are generally clean, but man cannot get anything to eat there if he doesn’t have food items. It’s the custom to give a small gift to the innkeeper, when leaving. However, there are bars that sell eggs, bread, milk, sherbet, etc”\textsuperscript{24}.

To this general presentation of the housing situation in the Ottoman Empire we would add another, broader one. The Englishman Thomas Alom (1835) devoted a special chapter to “Inside the Turkish coffee shops”\textsuperscript{25}. Alom, writes about the taverns and the coffee shops. Taverns were open-air places “where a group of chefs prepare different types of refreshing drinks...”. The visitor has passed by them, has sat on worn straw mat, and in front of him has been placed table with rough metal ashtray on it. Then a waiter has come caring two bowls of two different types of pancakes. The client did not get any napkin nor knife, fork or spoon. Coffee shops were little better places where the rooms were decorated in a very good way. In some of them were performing musicians playing tambur and mandolin, accompanied by singers. The coffee was served, and hookah or water pipe were devices used in smoking tobacco. The storytellers were used as additional entertainment in the coffee shops. Julia Pardo presents similar data in 1836. She writes about coffee booth “a place where unemployed and exhausted man, voluptuous and businessman stop by to enjoy one hour after the hard trade work”\textsuperscript{26}. They were places to “chit chat and enjoy”. Pardo also notes that entertainers (storytellers) and musicians were performing in some of these coffee booths as well. While in the bigger urban centers of the Ottoman Empire, especially in Constantinople the music was performed by the Greeks or Jews, in Macedonia the music was generally performed by a troupe of guslars (men playing gusle)\textsuperscript{27}. In the late 19th century the bar “Itaat” (going fast) in Bitola located at today’s “Hunter House” was one of the first bars which hired female singers\textsuperscript{28}.

The Frenchman Pukvil, had a bad experience while traveling in Macedonia, in Skopje and Kumanovo. In his travel book of the year 1801 he writes: “From Üsküp (Ottoman Turkish name


\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, pp.74-77

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, pp.123-124


of Skopje) to Kalkandelen (Turkish name of Tetovo) passengers passed ten burdensome leagues (1 league = 4.8km), which together with the previously seven made their day the one of the toughest. On top of everything, they found nothing to eat in the inn where they were situated... Poor traveler who hopes to find something here in Kalkandelen, especially the one forced to stay here, as happens very often!”

The same author in another travel book of the year 1817 writes that in Macedonia there were not only ordinary inns and taverns. Pukvil writes about pastry shops (a rare term of this type of hospitality facility)

Many foreigners who traveled around the country had unpleasant experiences with the accommodation facilities in Macedonia. They were used to better accommodation facilities and the ones they found in Macedonia were just the opposite of their experiences by then. Ami Bue in his travel book of the year 1836-38 mentioned that he was also dissatisfied with the accommodation in Kratovo. He wrote: “We were situated in a very dirty house so we decided to camp under the blue sky”

However, Ami Bue found better facilities and hospitality in Stip. Heading towards Prilep and Bitola, he reached the inn Trojak (refers to Troyatsi – village in Prilep). “The Inn Trojak is right on south of the mountain Kozjak from which one ravine extends to the valley of the fast river. Right in this valley are located the sentry box and the inn Trojak, where there is a fountain with very cold water. Our people were ahead of us and we just had to sit down, which is a rare pleasure in Turkey, a place where usually wait until dinner is ready. Later everyone had to find a comfortable place to sleep, because the gallery did not have enough room for all of us. We tried to accommodate in the caves located along the ravine, but they served as stables for sheep, so the flies didn’t give us an opportunity for a pleasant stay. The little forest near the inn seemed more comfortable” Continuing his path Bue arrived to the river “Crna reka” with his friends. There were two taverns in the village Mogila: “In one of them was staying a Christian, and therefore there was served wine as well”, while in the other one some pasha was accommodated. Arriving in Bitola or Monastir as Bue calls it, he noticed that none of the taverns had wide yards, so the rich people had houses in the suburbs.

The Englishman Edmund Spenser offers wealth of information about the Macedonian roads, travel habits, inns and accommodations. He was a military person (captain) and has traveled a lot, probably for military intelligence purposes. During his travels, Macedonia was one of the points found on his map. Spenser’s travel book referring to Macedonia is of the year 1850. He informs that has had fellow passenger named George who “was acting like he was at home, he knew all the people and he was greeted with loud cheers and cries of welcome everywhere”, which again points out the fact that during the 19th century foreign travelers in Macedonia needed a guide who knew the roads. Spenser says that there was nothing to see in Tetovo, and that there were a covered bezistans (bazaars), coffee shops and taverns in Skopje. He wrote that his path was a road paved by the Macedonian kings along the river Treska. Because on the way to Bitola they didn’t eat for a long time, they were tired (rode 8 hours) and there was no hospitality facility, they camped under the open sky. In Bitola, he noticed “well-dressed people on the way to the coffee shops”, which proofs that people paid attention to fashion and that the city of Bitola was in progress. Beside “the progress of Bitola compared
to the last time I visited, the inns show no such signs, and moreover, now every room, nook or corner of the inn were filled with Arnauts, displaced by the innkeepers”. However, a little later, at the end of the 19th and especially at the beginning of the 20th century in Bitola were built several famous hotels such as: “Shark” (later “Bosnia”), “Royal”, “Thessaloniki” etc. Spenser claimed that there were conditions for development of medical tourism using the lakes on Pelister. For one of them, he writes: “people suffering from fever or similar diseases, during the summertime use the lake for recovery”. These kinds of hospital visits were also made at the Monastery of St. Naum. Here, even Muslim dignitaries were coming to improve their health. Many foreign writers of travel books during their stay in Macedonia considered that the kindness of the monks and the conditions were the best in the country. Ottoman authorities in Ohrid organized a fish picnic at the lake, and then luxury party “Alachampetre”, i.e. in a rural way for Spenser. The visitor was very pleased.

We’ll concentrate on one foreign diplomat, who had the opportunity to travel through Macedonia. He is Johannes Hahn from Germany who was traveling from north to south (from Kumanovo to Bitola). He gives wonderful information about the hospitality situation in Skopje. When Han arrived in Skopje, the kaymakam of Skopje accommodated him in a private house of a Vlach, who lived renting out an inn. The inn was located at the entrance to the city. The accommodation was good, consisting of three clean and tidy rooms. The host spoke several languages, something that positively surprised the traveler. He describes the Kursumli-an (Lead-an), as fire-resistant construction, built like a well supplied store and shelters for foreign traders. The building was a massive two-flat quadrangle entered through a door with iron chains. There was a fountain in the middle, and the warehouses were located on the lower floor. Han devoted entire chapter to “Kaplan-an”. The inn was located on south of the field of Skopje, in the Valley of the river Pchinja. This inn was often attacked by robbers probably because it was away from the town. In Skopje, they slept in the stables together with their horses, because of the fear of being robbed, but that was not necessary here. Due to the presence of the robbers, the whole group of Han was very careful during their stay in Kaplan-an. Han mentions the rivers Vardar and Pchinja and the nearby villages Bader and Taor, which proofs that Kaplan-an is actually Katlanovo or Katlanovsky-an.

The same inn is mentioned by Muir Makenzi and Adelina Irbi from England who in 1863 traveled together in Macedonia. They paid enough attention to the inns and the guesthouses. Once they wrote: “As for the guesthouses or inns or taverns as called here, we found them quite different in different parts of Turkey, with the exception of some key details that were same everywhere. Everywhere, there is no other furniture except the rugs (carpets) - that should be immediately taken out; the floor should be cleaned, and if possible, a few hours before arriving should be washed. Here or there you will find glass windows or paper-covered windows, otherwise everywhere only wooden shutters. Almost everywhere there is furnace like some kind of basket, or open fireplace (chimney) which is better option”. The two ladies from England described the housing situation in every place they stayed, pointing to the low culture of their hosts and their illiteracy, the bad behavior of the robbery gangs and the Ottoman policemen, as well as the poor condition of the roads. Once, even their luggage was lost on the road. Some inns they visited had no separate rooms, but at least had somewhere to shelter on a hot or rainy days. Mackenzie and Irby described some of these inns as “bad” and “dirty”. They were kindly and generously welcomed in Bitola. On the way from Prilep to Veles, at the foot

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34 Ibid, pp.25-31
36 Ibid, p.567

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of the mountain Babuna, they noticed the inn Vazir-an, where they wanted to spend the night. Here, they were rewarded for their troubles: “Vazir-an lies right at the foot of the ravine and it is the best inn we have seen in Turkey; has one upper floor, safe stairs and more guestrooms; and the most important, there were glass windows in the most beautiful room”\(^{37}\). Still, their opinion is as subjective as the opinion of their predecessors-travelers who have been here. They found the recommended inn Babuna-an, considered the best in Turkey, “perfectly destroyed so that made us feel happy to find a shelter in a hollow tree during our short vacation”\(^{38}\).

The housing situation in Macedonia in the 19th century was different from the situation in the Western developed countries. Bitola, Skopje and Ohrid offered a lot of accommodation opportunities with high quality. Also, Prilep, Veles, the roadside inns in Trojaci, near Babuna, Kaplan-an etc. offered quite good accommodation opportunities as well. Edmund Spenser wrote that if there was no way for “safe and simple communication, because otherwise the country will remain undisclosed, that would be useless for the progress of a country, regardless of its industrial and natural potential”\(^{39}\). He certainly refers to the overgrown roads where the travelers were being exposed to danger of landslide and floods, and mostly of robberies and murders committed by numerous armed gangs. Also, the opinions of Mackenzie and Irby from England, passing through Macedonia, from Prilep to Veles, complete this picture: “Sorry, but it’s not worth it to mention where the good inns are located in Turkey, because if other passengers do not pass the same path right after you, probably they wouldn’t notice the good inn on the place where you’ve seen it, and the opposite, where you’ve noticed a bad almost ruined inn, after two years other passengers would probably find a new inn”\(^{40}\).

Previously expressed point of views of Spenser, Mackenzie and Irby say enough about the opportunities to develop some kind of tourism in Macedonia. Initially, the lack of roads caused certain regions of the country to be left aside the modern civilization. The lack of a road network reduced the communication between the residents of nearby towns and villages, and also the communication with the foreign merchants, potential guests in Macedonian inns. To this image of bad roads we’ll add the image of the many armed gangs who’ve attacked travelers and caravans. After all, the accommodations that existed at one point, mostly have been ruined, unprotected from outside influences, offering bad service and rude behavior. In fact, as in almost all other countries under Ottoman rule, the conditions and the service of staying overnight in small towns, rural areas and roadside inns were very low.

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\(^{39}\) Ibid, p.22
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