

The economic impact of historic vehicle events: the case of the 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

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Introduction

'Historic motor vehicle event tourism' is a process by which individuals and groups travel to take part as participants, competitors or spectators in events focused on heritage motor vehicles. In this context 'historic' and 'heritage' vehicles are defined as those manufactured more than 30 years ago. Such vehicles have usually been retired from the purpose for which they were built and are now being preserved for posterity.

Analysis of the economic and social benefits of the historic vehicle movement on the UK between 2010 and 2011 indicated that historic vehicle enthusiasts spent 855,000 nights away from home in the UK whilst attending historic vehicle events. These enthusiasts spent a further 300,000 nights abroad attending historic vehicle events (Frost *et al.*, 2011: 15). Clearly the historic vehicle movement has significant implications for tourism.

Despite this little academic consideration has been given to the actual impact of historic vehicle events on communities. Such events can be important tourist attractions but appear to exist on the margins of tourism research. In order to understand how historic vehicle events can impact local communities research was initiated to assess and understand the economic impact of the 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run on the City of Brighton and Hove on the south coast of the UK.

The 'Brighton'

The annual London to Brighton Veteran Car Run is thought to be the longest-running motoring event in the world. The Run has been organised by the Royal Automobile Club (RAC) since 1930. The RAC was a logical choice to take over the organisation because of its long association with motoring events. The RAC was founded on 10 August 1897 as the Automobile Club of Great Britain. The Club's support and promotion of the development of motoring events in Great Britain began in 1900 with the 1000 Mile Trial and it soon became the governing body for motor sport in Britain. In 1907 King Edward VII issued the royal command "that the Automobile Club of Great Britain and Ireland should henceforth be known as 'The Royal Automobile Club'. The Royal Automobile Club is now a separate organisation to the RAC breakdown service which devolved from the Royal Automobile Club in 1999. The RAC breakdown service provides the official back-up service for the Run.

The first Run took place on Saturday 14 November 1896 and was organised by the Motor Car Club, and its controversial president Henry (Harry) J. Lawson (1852–1925), to celebrate the passing of the Locomotives on the Highway Act 1896. The Act was seen by some as the "Magna Charta of the motor cars" because it reduced the crippling restrictions then imposed on motor vehicles (Anon., 1896c).

The original Locomotive Act 1861 (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 70) whose official title was: 'An Act for regulating the use of locomotives on turnpike and other roads, and the tolls to be levied on such locomotives and on the waggons and carriages drawn or propelled by the same' came from a time before motor vehicles. The 1861 Act limited the weight of self-propelled vehicles on the highways to 12 tons (12 tonnes), and imposed a speed limit of 10 mph (16 km/h) on open roads and 5 mph (8 km/h) in cities, towns and villages (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 70 [s. 11]). The subsequent Locomotive Act passed in 1865 reduced the speed limit to 4 mph (6 km/h) in the countryside and 2 mph (3 km/h) in towns. It is sometimes referred to as the Red Flag Act because it required a 'locomotive on the highway' to have a crew of three, one of whom was to walk no less than 60 yards (55 metres) in front of the machine holding a red flag or lantern to warn horse riders and horse drawn traffic (28 and 29 Victoria, c. 83 [s. 3]).

The Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act of 1878 (Victoria, c. 77) made the requirement for the red flag optional under local regulation, although it was still necessary for a person to walk 20 yards (18 metres) in front of the vehicle (41 and 42 Victoria, c. 77 [s. 29]). The need for a three man crew remained as did the speed limits. Vehicles were required to stop on the sight of a horse and were forbidden from emitting smoke or steam to prevent horses being alarmed. Moreover, a £10 licence had to be obtained for each county the vehicle passed through. Although these Acts were originally designed for steam vehicles, they were applied with equal vigour to the motor cars that were just beginning to appear on the country's roads in the mid-1890s. It was only a decade prior to the 1896 Act that Carl Benz (1844–1929) had received the world's first patent for an integrated motor car.

A campaign was mounted to change the law, which led to the introduction of the Locomotives on Highways Act 1896 (59 and 60 Victoria, c. 36). The so-called Emancipation Act removed many of the strict rules which had restrained the fledgling motor cars. The Act defined a new category of vehicle, the 'light locomotives', which were vehicles under 3 tons unladen weight. These light locomotives were exempt from the three crew member rule and so did not require a man to walk ahead of the vehicle. They were subject to the higher 14 mph (23 km/h) speed limit although most Local Government Boards had the authority to reduce it to 12 mph (19 km/h). The Act also formalised the 'keep left' rule, required vehicles to have a warning device such as a horn or bell, use lights at night and stop for the police when requested. An excise duty of up to 3 guineas was also applicable (cf. Merkin and Stuart-Smith, 2004: 4).

The Locomotives on Highways Act 1896 passed into law at the stroke of midnight on the night of 13/14 November 1896. Some of the motoring enthusiasts were so eager to taste their new found freedom that no sooner had the clocks chimed midnight that they took their vehicles out for a spin on the streets of the capital. Just over 10 hours later the Motor Car Club's long-awaited tour to Brighton would begin. Although now widely known as the 'The Emancipation Run', the 'First meet of the Motor Car Club' was referred to as the "Motor Car Tour to Brighton" by the organisers (Anon 1896d).

The Run was also intended to demonstrate the speed, comfort, and practicability of the new horseless vehicles. But there was no sense of complacency, the official program sent to the participants and published in *'The automotor and horseless vehicle journal'* stated that: "Owners and

drivers should remember that motor cars are on trial in England and that any rashness or carelessness might injure the industry in this country.”

At 10.30 a.m. on that damp Saturday morning in November over 30 vehicles, of two, three and four wheeled design set off from the Hôtel Métropole, on a “triumphal journey” from London to Brighton. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the number of cars that started the Run, but most accounts range between 32 and 39 vehicles. This motley collection of vehicles was powered by petrol, steam and electric because at this stage in the development of the motor car it was unclear which propulsion system would gain precedence.

From the start at Whitehall Place the route would take the pioneers onto Northumberland Avenue along the Embankment to Westminster Bridge, along Lambeth Palace Road, the Albert Embankment, Harleyford Road, Kennington Oval, across Clapham Road, then the first right along the Brixton Road. After Brixton the towns and villages of Streatham, Thornton Heath, Croydon, Purley, Merstham, Reigate, Crawley, Hand Cross, Bolney, Albourne, Pyecombe, Patcham, and Preston Park awaited the motorists. In total the Run would cover about 52 miles (84 km) (Anon., 1896c).

At a time when there were less than a hundred motor vehicles in the country this was a significant display of the cutting edge of transport technology (Montagu, 1990). The participants had brought vehicles from both Europe and America. The attraction of so many of the new horseless carriages on the streets of London drew huge crowds of spectators. An Australian observer cautiously estimated that more than half a million spectators watched the Run in the capital, noting that: “It is very easy to over-estimate crowds, but in South London alone quite independent of the mighty concourse at the Hotel Metropole there must have been fully 500,000 sight seers. At Westminster Bridge it was like a Lord Mayor’s day in Fleet-street.” (Anon., 1896e; 1897)

The crowds were so enormous that the progress of the procession was considerably impeded. In some parts of London mounted police were required to clear a path in front of the cars. It would take over an hour for the cars to travel the four miles (6.4 km) to Brixton. Still, even this glacial pace was an improvement on the previous speed limit of 2 mph (3 km/h) in urban areas. It was only when the Run had passed Brixton that the motorists could begin to put on speed.

It was not only the crowds that caused problems, the weather conditions were highly unfavourable that Saturday. It had rained the previous night and the streets were muddy and slippery. The whole capital was shrouded in a heavy fog, and as the day progressed the weather deteriorated considerably. Once the Run passed Reigate the cars had to contend against a strong head wind, driving rain and occasional showers of sleet, all of which tested the capabilities of the fledgling motor-cars to the limits (Anon., 1896a). Despite the unforgiving weather twenty-two of the pioneers would eventually arrive in Brighton during the course of the day.

The first car to enter Brighton was the Bollée steam car (No. 35) which passed the official timekeepers at 2.30 p.m. just four hours after leaving the Metropole Hotel. A second Bollée (no. 37) arrived at the finish at 2.45 p.m. The two Bollée Cars arrived over an hour before the next car to cross the finish line which was the Panhard Omnibus. A further 10 cars led by Harry Lawson’s vehicle arrived between 4.52 p.m. and 5.41 p.m. According to Lawson another nine vehicles would arrive between 6.00 p.m. and 11.00 p.m. (Anon. 1896d) However, as with much associated with the Run there is much contention over who arrived and when. Considering the length of the route and the

weather conditions it is remarkable, not that so many vehicles retired during the course of the day, but, that so many reached Brighton at all.

In the evening a public dinner took place in the Clarence Rooms at the Metropole Hotel, which was attended by over 200 guests of the Motor Car Club. In his speech Harry Lawson the president of the Motor Car Club would confidently assert that “motors have now passed beyond the range of speculation and doubt.” He predicted, amongst other things, how the age of the car would benefit British industry, transportation, and would affect the growth of the suburbs, and the value of property (Anon., 1896b). Considering how few cars there were in the world at the time, Lawson’s predictions at the Metropole that Saturday night proved remarkably prescient. However, even Lawson could not predict the role that the car would eventually play in tourism, both as a means of transport and as a potential attraction in its own right.

Over the coming years the Motor Car Club organised subsequent Runs. On Monday 29 November 1897 44 cars drove to Sheen House, West London. On Monday 13 November 1899 the Motor Car Club once again organised a run to Brighton but this time with 135 entrants, 95 of whom made it to Brighton Anon (1899: 5). The following day, Tuesday 14 November, the Automobile Club of Great Britain organised a run with over 50 cars on a revisit to Sheen House. In 1900 the Automobile Club organised a Run to Southsea. A rerun was made in 1901 with 174 cars that started in Whitehall Place, London. 1902 witnessed a Run to Oxford with 193 cars. Other organisations such as the Automobile Club of Great Britain would continue the tradition of Runs after the demise of the Motor Car Club.

The beginning of the ‘London to Brighton Veteran Car Run’ as it is known today can be traced to 1927 when 37 vehicles re-enacted the Emancipation Run. This event called the ‘Run to Brighton’ was sponsored by the *Daily Sketch* and the *Sunday Graphic* in an arrangement that continued until 1930 when Britain’s oldest motoring club, the Royal Automobile Club, took over the organisation of the Run. The event has taken place annually since 1927 with the exception of the war years and 1947 when fuel rationing was in force.

In 1927 the Brighton and Hove Motor Cycle and Light Car Club (now the Brighton and Hove Motor Club) assumed the marshalling in Brighton in a role that the club maintains to this day. Around 400 volunteers are now required to marshal the event from Hyde Park to Madeira drive in Brighton.

The first re-enactment of the Run in 1927 was called the ‘Run to Brighton’. The following two years the name changed to the ‘Old Cocks’ Run to Brighton’ after which it became the ‘Commemoration Run of Veteran Cars’. From 1957 to 1999 a huge variety of names were employed often incorporating the names of the commercial sponsors. From 2000 it has been called ‘London to Brighton Veteran Car Run’.

Since 1956, the ‘Brighton’, as the Run is colloquially known in the historic vehicle world, has taken place on the first Sunday in November. It starts at sunrise from Hyde Park, London. To qualify for entry the motor vehicles must have been manufactured prior to January 1, 1905 and be of four-wheel, tri-car or motor tricycle design, although the organisers retain the option to invite a small number of vehicles out of period. The route takes the participants across the Thames and through the London suburbs of Brixton, Lambeth and Streatham on the A23 and through Norbury to Croydon where it joins the A235 to Purley. Here the route re-joins the A23 where it takes the participants

past Redhill, Horley, Gatwick and Crawley after which the Run follows the A273 through Cuckfield and Burgess Hill before finishing at Brighton. The Run covers approximately 54 miles (87 km) although subtle variations in the route because of new road layouts and road works often mean that the distance travelled is slightly different each year.

There are now two official stops along the way one at Crawley (for coffee) and the official finish at Preston Park, Brighton). The vehicles then proceed to Madeira Drive on the seafront where the majority of the spectators gather to see the arrival of the veterans. The very existence of Madeira Drive is itself tied to the origins of motor sport when in 1905 Sir Harry Preston persuaded Brighton's town council to tarmac the track between the Palace Pier and Black Rock in order to hold motor racing events. Four years later this stretch of road would be named Madeira Drive. This road would host numerous motor events most famous of which are the Brighton National Speed Trials which are widely held up to be the oldest running motor races in the country (Gardiner, 2004).

Just as with the Emancipation Run the event is not a race. Participants are restricted to an average speed of 20 mph (32 km/h). Those who finish before 4.30 p.m. are awarded a bronze 'finisher's medal'. The medal has the logo of the Motor Car Club and is based on the medals awarded by the Motor Car Club to the first eight finishers of the original Emancipation Run (Munro, 1964).

Today the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run is one of the longest running and largest meetings of veteran cars in the world. The global prestige of the Run is such that in 2010 the Royal Automobile Club won the Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile's (FIA) Founding Members' Club Heritage Cup for the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run. The Heritage Cup recognises outstanding achievement in the historic vehicle world and was presented to the Royal Automobile Club for its dedicated promotion of the annual London to Brighton Veteran Car Run and its protection of early motoring vehicles.

The 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

The 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run was the 77th Run and took place 114 years after the Emancipation Run. It was also the 73rd event to be held under the stewardship of the Royal Automobile Club and took place 80 years after the first event organised by the Club in 1930. The 570 cars registered to take part included 150 makes of vehicles powered by steam, electric and petrol which ranged in age between 105 and 116 years old. All the allotted slots for the Run were filled six months prior to the event. 25% of all registrations (141 vehicles) for the 2010 event were from overseas. These included cars from as far afield as Australia, China, USA, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, and South Africa in addition to a large contingent from Europe. Out of the 505 starters 433 vehicles reached the finish at Brighton.

Methodology

In order to assess the impact of the 2010 event on the City of Brighton and Hove the Federation of British Historic Vehicle Clubs (FBHVC), commissioned the University of Brighton and the Historic Vehicle Research Institute (HVRI) to undertake an economic impact study of the Run. Three avenues of enquiry were pursued:

- The research instrument used to gather data from spectators was a questionnaire which sought information about their expenditure in Brighton and Hove and their demographic characteristics. The aim was to count only that expenditure that would not have occurred if the Run had not taken place (cf. Della Bitta and Loudon, 1975; Burgan and Mules, 1992; Mules 1996). Spectators were selected at random and questioned during the event (this yielded 595 usable responses).
- A further questionnaire was administered to the participants of the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run to establish their expenditure in the City during the Run (this yielded 138 responses).
- Additionally the organisers provided information regarding their expenditure on the event in the City.

Economic impact assessment is reliant on an accurate estimation of the number of spectators and participants because this is the foundation for all other subsequent calculations (Davies, 2010). Therefore, considerable effort was devoted to ensuring the estimate of spectator numbers had the greatest possible accuracy. However, one of the attractions of the Veteran Car Run is that it is an entirely free-to-view event. With no tickets, and spectators free to move about the route and City, and mix freely with non-spectators quantifying spectator numbers was particularly problematic. A variety of mechanisms were therefore used to estimate the number of spectators, these included video recording of the crowds watching the run (in order to enable counting under controlled conditions), manual counting and estimation of turnover of spectators during the event. These observations revealed that an estimated **20,300** spectators watched the Run in Brighton.

The spectators

The 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run took place on Sunday 7 November. The day was sunny with few clouds, no rain, a light breeze and temperatures in the low teens centigrade. These fine conditions were conducive to a good spectator turn out in Brighton and Hove. A questionnaire was administered at random to spectators across the entire route through Brighton from the Black Lion Pub in Patcham on the northern outskirts of the city to Madeira Drive on the seafront. 595 usable responses were generated representing 3% of the estimated population (with a 98% confidence level and a 5% margin of error). The survey revealed that 37% (7,600) of the 20,300 spectators who watched the Run in 2010 were residents of Brighton and Hove. The remaining 63% were from outside of the City (12,700) and of these 72% (14,700) had come specifically to see the Run. In total 48% of all spectators were from outside of the City and had come specifically to watch the Run (see Figure 1).

	In Brighton specifically for the Run	In Brighton but not specifically for the Run
Residents	5,000 (24%)	2,600 (13%)
Visitors	9,700 (48%)	3,000 (15%)

Figure 1: Estimated size of different spectator groups at the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

Most of the spectators were day visitors (52%) and residents (34%), the remaining 14% staying overnight in the City. This highlights just how accessible the event is to day visitors. Although the Run

begins at Hyde Park in London at sunrise, and the first vehicles can potentially arrive in Brighton from 10.00 a.m. most vehicles arrive between 11.30 a.m. and 3.00 p.m. (see

Figure 2). The good transport links between Brighton and the capital and the wider south-east region means that many spectators can travel to Brighton and return home on the day of the event.

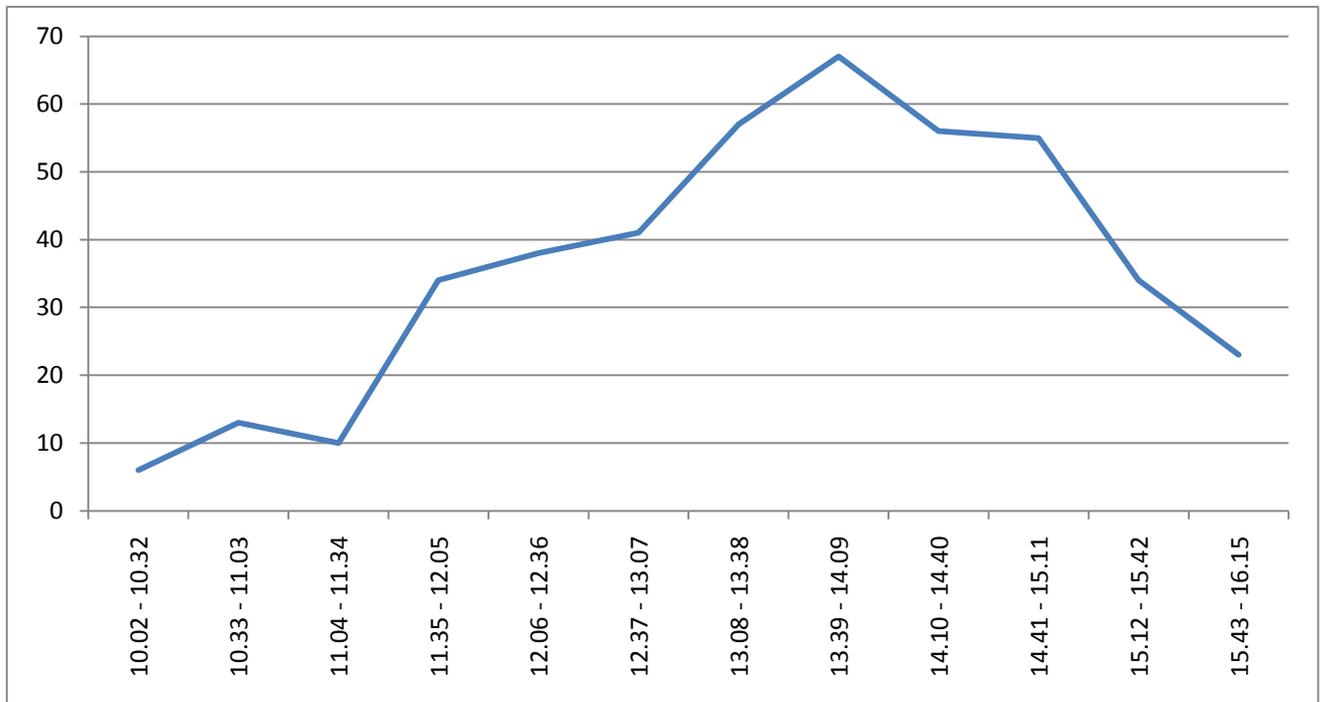


Figure 2: Vehicle finishing times recorded at Preston Park during the 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

As might be expected the Run attracts most spectators from the south east region. Of those spectators who came to Brighton specifically to watch the Run 39% came from East and West Sussex, 13% from London, 9% from Surrey, 7% from Kent and 5% from Essex. This corroborates research undertaken by the Federation of British Historic Vehicle Clubs and the Historic Vehicle research Institute (HVRI) on the activities attended by historic vehicle enthusiasts. In a 2009 survey of the UK historic vehicle movement 68% of respondents indicated the distance from home was an important factor when choosing which events to attend (see Figure 3). Moreover research conducted in 2011 indicated that 40% of events attended were within 50 miles (80 km) of home base (Frost *et al.*, 2011: 15). This is clearly reflected in the visitor origins seen in the 2010 London to Brighton Run.

Importance	Very (%)	Important (%)	Neutral (%)	Least (%)
Distance from home	21	47	26	6
Single marque	15	32	35	18
Value for money	13	43	33	11
Multi-marque	8	26	51	15

Figure 3: Factors that influenced visits to historic vehicle events (Frost et al., 2009: 4).

International visitors who came specifically to watch the Run comprised 4% of the spectators (800), with those from Australia and Myanmar travelling the furthest.

Spectator expenditure

The average spend of the spectator's *within the city* was quantified. Non-Brighton residents visiting the city specifically to attend the event spent on average £43.90 per person (see Figure 4). As would be expected Brighton residents attending the event spent considerably less averaging £8.90 per person in the city.

Motivation and opportunity to spend are key factors in explaining the large disparity in expenditures between spectators who came to Brighton specifically to watch the Run and those tourists for whom the Run was a secondary activity. The majority of the spectators were day visitors, so their time in the city was limited. These visitors were sufficiently motivated to travel to Brighton for the express purpose of viewing the arrival of the veteran vehicles in Brighton. It is therefore understandable that these spectators would want to spend as much of their limited time in the city watching the Run rather than undertaking other activities in the City.

	In Brighton specifically for the Run	In Brighton but not specifically for the Run
Residents	£8.97	£8.74
Visitors	£43.87	£98.27

Figure 4: Estimated expenditure per person of different spectator groups at the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

If these figures are extrapolated to the total population of spectators at the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run then the 5,000 Brighton residents who came specifically to view the Run would have spent £44,800 in their city. The total expenditure in Brighton by the 9,700 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run visitors from outside the City who came specifically to view the Run was **£425,800** (see Figure 5).

The economic benefits of the Run accruing to the Brighton and Hove include the immediate additional inward expenditure on accommodation, food, entertainment and to a lesser extent travel. The Run organisers do not provide catering for the public, so almost all of the non-participant spectator's food requirements are met by the City, although a small number brought food with them. Some minor event related souvenirs such as programs are provided by the organisers but aside from this all other retail expenditure is in the local community.

	In Brighton specifically for the Run	In Brighton but not specifically for the Run
Residents	£44,800	£22,700

Visitors	£425,800	£294,800
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Figure 5: Total expenditure by different spectator groups at the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run

Motivation according to age group

It is apparent that age was a key variable for understanding the motivations of spectators. Those spectators in older age groups were more likely to have come to Brighton specifically to view the Run while those in younger age groups were more likely to watch the Run as part of a wider range of activities in the city. The under 24 year old age group was more or less equally divided between those who came specifically for the event (52%) and more casual observers (48%). Successive age groups are more likely to be in Brighton and Hove specifically to see the Run. Of those spectators who were over 65 years old 80% were in the city to watch the Run (see Figure 6).

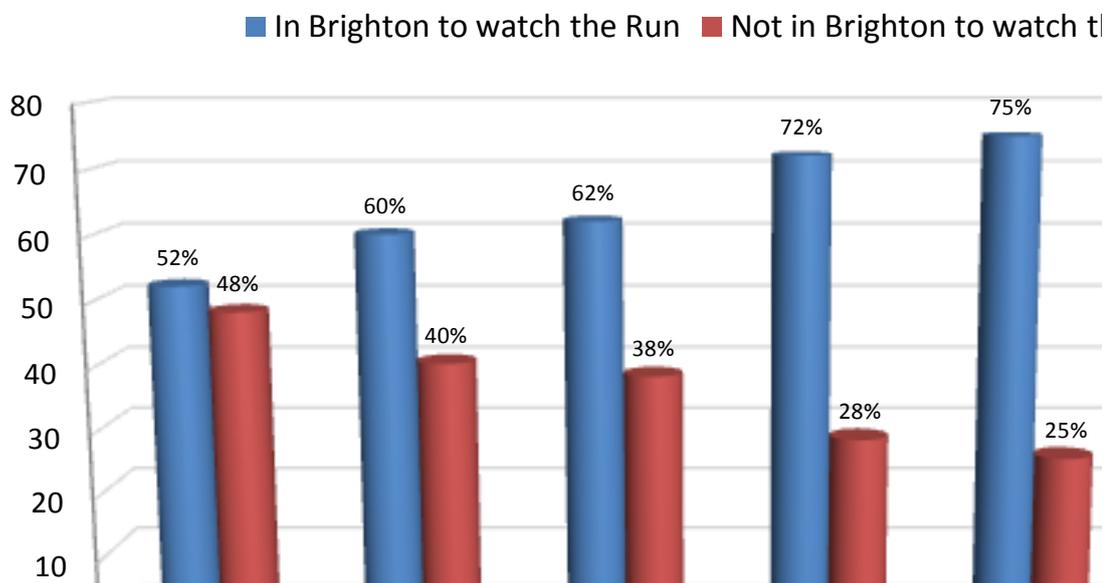


Figure 6: The relationship between age and motivation to watch the London to Brighton Run

Spectator composition

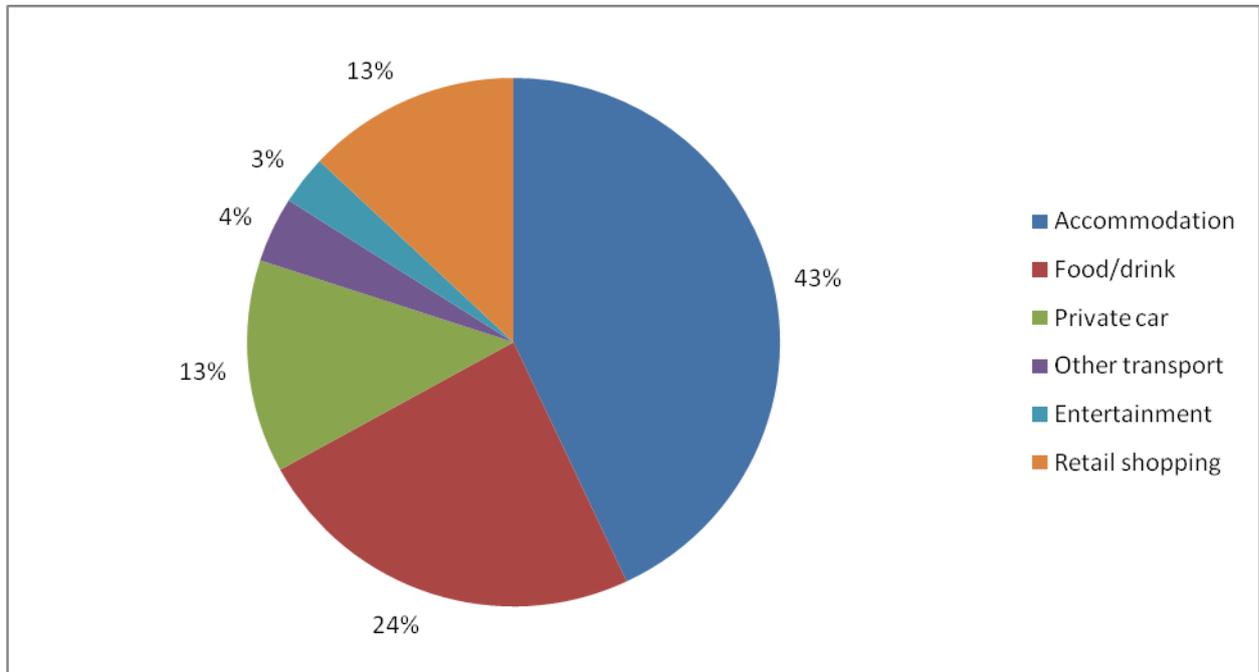
The Run attracted slightly more male (56%) than female (44%) spectators. The average group size of spectators watching the Run was 2.2 people suggesting that most people attended as a couple, predominantly without children. 17% of all spectators were members of a vehicle club.

Spectator loyalty

It is apparent that the Run engenders considerable loyalty among spectators. 65% of the respondents had seen the event previously and a staggering 92% intend to see the event again. Clearly the Run has a huge potential to convert spectators into return visitors to the City. Moreover, 27% stayed longer in Brighton because of the event. This spectator loyalty is often seen at prestigious historic vehicle events (cf. Kaminski *et al.* 2013: 230–1).

The participants

A postal survey was sent to participants of the Run in mid-December 2010. This elicited 138 responses (27%). Aside from the drivers there are often numerous other associated participants such as owners, friends, family and mechanics. Consequently the average party size for participants was 5.2 compared to 2.2 for public spectators. The average spend per person of the participants was £142.00. Four hundred and thirty-four cars completed the 2010 Veteran Car Run giving a total expenditure of £320,500 based on 2,257 participants and their associates (see Figure 7).



Expenditure type	Amount
Accommodation	£137,100
Food/drink	£76,000
Private car expenses	£43,200
Other transport	£13,200
Entertainment	£9,000
Retail shopping	£42,000
TOTAL	£320,500

Figure 7: Participant expenditure in Brighton relating to the Veteran Car Run

The economic impact on the City

The London to Brighton Veteran Car Run results in a number of injections of capital from outside the City (see Figure 8). These are:

- Spectator expenditure:** The expenditure of visitors from outside of the City who came specifically to see the Run was **£425,800**. The expenditure of the 3,000 (15%) spectators (£294,800) who were from outside of the town and did not come specifically to see the Run was excluded from the impact assessment even though they may have been partially motivated to come to the City on that weekend because of the Run. Residents' expenditure totalling £67,500 was also excluded because that money may have been spent in the City anyway.

- *Participant expenditure:* The participant's total expenditure was **£320,500**. Interestingly it was the participants in the Run who made the largest relative contribution to the local economy (38% of Run related expenditure). This group had an average per person spend of £142.00 compared to £43.90 for Run-specific spectators. Of this expenditure 43% was associated with accommodation and 24% with food. The disparity between the expenditure of the participants and spectators was because many participants stayed in the city overnight. This is because there are formal dinners for the participants in the evening after the Run, which provides an incentive to stay. Moreover, the participants come to Brighton with larger groups (5.2 compared to 2.2 for spectators).
- *Organisers' expenditure:* The expenditure of the Royal Automobile Club in the city included the license fee, infrastructure costs, services, catering and other general events costs. The total expenditure incurred by the organisers in Brighton and Hove was **£84,500**.

Expenditure in Brighton and Hove	Amount
Spectator spend (non residents who came specifically for the Run)	£425,800
Participant spend	£320,500
Organiser spend	£84,500
Total Spend	£830,800

Figure 8: Expenditure sources used to calculate the impact of the Veteran Car Run

The visitor and organiser expenditure is only part of the impact on the City. These external injections of capital are re-circulated in the Brighton and Hove economy. A multiplier is used to capture these secondary effects of spending on the City's economy. In the case of the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run the **£830,800** expenditure on the event by those specifically visiting the Run and on the Run itself translated to **£1,124,000** worth of benefit for the City through indirect and induced effects. Clearly this impact relates to one small part of the route of the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run, the total economic impact of the entire event will be considerable. Clearly this does not compute the social cost of the Run. These, so called negative externalities may include difficulties with parking, traffic congestion and crowding out of other activities. All of which may result in a social cost for some however, in the case of the Run numerous factors help to mitigate these potential costs.

There are two components to the Veteran Car Run in Brighton. First the vehicles are timed in at Preston Park to the north of the city centre. This is the same park where the original Emancipation Day vehicles gathered before proceeding to the Metropole hotel on the seafront in 1896. The vehicles then proceed along a prescribed route through the City to the public finish at Madeira Drive on Brighton's seafront. Both locations coincidentally help minimise the negative externalities on the town.

Preston Park is Brighton's largest urban park covering 63 acres (250 hectares). The Veteran Car Run activities take only a small fraction of this space on the western side of the park next to the London Road. The event does not therefore detract from the activities of locals wishing to use the park for recreational purposes. Moreover, the park is to the north of the City centre and is not generally visited by tourists. It does not therefore conflict with, or crowd out, tourist activities.

After Preston Park the vehicles proceed to the seafront. The differing capabilities of the vehicles, mechanical issues, and the length of the course ensure that the veterans do not arrive in Brighton in a group but they tend to come into the City individually and in small groups – something that was all too familiar to Harry Lawson on the original Emancipation Run. This however, reduces the traffic congestion caused by having relatively slow moving vehicles on the City's roads.

The second element is the public finish at Madeira Drive. Madeira Drive itself stretches for about 2km along the seafront to the east of Brighton Pier. It is the finishing point for many motoring events and has been the home of the Brighton National Speed Trials since 1905. Madeira Drive is for the most part a cul-de-sac although there is the possibility of vehicular access through Duke's Rise this is usually closed to traffic with the exception of special events such as the Veteran Car Run where restricted access for participants and organisers is permitted. This means that despite its prime location the road is not essential for traffic movement in the City. It can be closed off for events like the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run with minimal disruption to the City, the most noticeable impact being the loss of approximately 350 public parking spaces. Of course the biggest factor that affects the impact of the negative externalities on the City is the short duration of the event. The Run lasts for only a day with most vehicles arriving in the afternoon.

Strategic considerations

Brighton welcomed its first recorded leisure visitors in the 1730s and as such has a highly developed tourist economy (Kaminski, 2010). However, a key event such as the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run which takes place in the November shoulder season does represent an additional boost to the economy. Moreover, because the event takes place in November for historical reasons, it does not conflict with high season events.

The event is organised by the Royal Automobile Club to preserve the tradition of the Emancipation Run and maintain the veteran vehicle heritage. The financial cost of the Run is borne by the Club which ultimately derives from the participant's entry fees. Some of the economic benefit of the Run accrues to the City of Brighton. From the perspective of the City of Brighton and Hove the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run does not require large-scale infrastructure outlay compared with the inward expenditure it generates and it does not require an economic outlay beyond that which is borne by the organisers of the event. The Run is privately funded and requires no major investment at national, regional or local level. The Run's legacy is the event itself, the experience, and the preservation of motoring heritage.

The City of Brighton and Hove has the potential to enhance the economic benefit of the Run. Currently the majority of the spectators are day visitors (52%) and residents (34%), with only 14% staying overnight in the City. Clearly from the perspective of the City converting these day visitors into staying visitors would be advantageous and would greatly improve the overall economic benefit to the City. This could be achieved by making the Run part of a weekend event. A similar technique has been used in London, where the Run is now part of a three day motoring celebration. A veteran car auction on Friday is followed by an international concours, where spectators can see the cars in London's Regent Street on Saturday, before the Run from Hyde Park, London to Brighton's Madeira Drive, on Sunday. The first Saturday concours took place in 2003 and hosted around 50 of the cars

that were due to run in the following day's Run. For the first two years it was held in Waterloo Place near the Royal Automobile Club's clubhouse in Pall Mall. In 2005 it moved to Regent Street where 100 cars took part. An estimated 250,000 spectators viewed the concours in 2010.

However, from the perspective of Brighton easy access to the capital (circa 1 hour by train), and good road links to many parts of the south east, is both beneficial and detrimental. It provides a ready source of visitors but conversely many of those visitors may be less lucrative day visitors. However, 31% of spectators do come from areas outside of the south east and so may wish to stay.

One issue that is sometimes levelled at large events is the crowding out effect, where one event monopolises resources such that it supplants rather than supplements the tourist economy. This effect is especially prevalent in already popular tourist destinations where accommodation and restaurants in the host city may already be at or near capacity (Brännäs and Nordström, 2006; Carlsen, 2004: 257). However, the Veteran Car Run does not cause such an effect. This is because the main focus of activity is limited to Madeira Drive on the seafront, and a small section of Preston Park, both are close to the city centre but sufficiently removed so as not to cause issues with congestion. Moreover, there are moderately few overnight stayers so the City's accommodation is not inundated, especially as it takes place in the shoulder season. The social cost to the city is limited to some increased congestion caused by slow moving vehicles and some parking issues.

Intangible benefits

Simply using the financial expenditure associated with the Run to provide an estimate of the economic value on the City of Brighton and Hove will underestimate the event's overall impact and benefit because it does not capture the brand value of the event to the City. The event is known globally. Consequently participants are willing to travel vast distances with their cars to take part. Moreover, some spectators are willing to travel internationally to see the spectacle. While the route from London to Brighton has long been the venue for races, runs and other competitions few have captured the public imagination as the Veteran Car Run (Harper 1906).

Perhaps more significantly, the London to Brighton formula has become the foundation for a plethora of other motoring events. There are now 'London to Brighton' runs for Land Rovers, Minis, Citroën 2CVs, MGs, Jaguars, Triumph TRs, Smart Cars, Volkswagen vans and campers, Pioneer motorcycles, vintage motorcycles and vintage commercial vehicles. Just as with the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run many of these motoring events also finish at Madeira Drive on the seafront.

The links do not stop there. There are other London to Brighton vehicle events including Steam Heavy Haulage, cycling events such as the annual London to Brighton cycle ride for the British Heart Foundation, The Moonriders night cycling event, Capital to Coast challenge, running events such as the ultramarathon (1951–2005) which is now a trail run and walking events such as the St. Dunstan's London to Brighton 100K Challenge. There have even been attempts to create Brighton to London events based on the same route such as the 'Brighton to London Future Car Challenge' (2010–2012). The cumulative benefit of all these events and the publicity they generate for the city is huge and can in part be attributed to the decision of Harry Lawson to take the Emancipation Day Run to Brighton in 1896.

Interestingly, the event has spawned other 'London to Brighton' runs and events globally. The appeal of the event is such that in 2005 the SotaMINIs Car Club created the 'New London to New Brighton' Mini rally in Minnesota, in the USA. The car club could take advantage of the fact that Minnesota is the only US state that has both a New London and a New Brighton. In an extraordinary quirk of fate the distance between the two towns is 110 miles (177 km); about twice the distance from London to Brighton in the UK.

The bigger picture

The London to Brighton study gives an indication of the economic impact of a prestigious historic vehicle event on a city. How this relates to the wider consumption of historic vehicle events in the UK is only just beginning to emerge. Research conducted by the Heritage Vehicle Research Institute (HVRI) indicated that the historic vehicle movement was worth £4.3 billion to the UK economy in 2010–11. Part of that figure is made up of historic vehicle tourist activities. Segmentation analyses revealed that there are three principal groups of consumers of heritage motoring events; heritage vehicle owners, enthusiasts who do not own heritage vehicles and the general public. This research established that non-owner enthusiasts spent an average of £920 per annum on their hobby. These costs include the costs of attending events (fuel, meals, accommodation, etc) and buying historic vehicle media, etc.

The types of historic vehicle event attended by respondents were predominantly non-competitive, but a significant minority participate in competitive motor sport. Owners use historic vehicles when attending events on 86% of occasions. They are active participants at 67% of the events they attend. It is also apparent from this research and the London to Brighton study that large numbers of the general public attend historic vehicle events (Frost *et al.*, 2011: 18). Across the UK there are thousands of these events each year ranging from similarly high profile events such as the Revival Meeting at Goodwood (Kaminski *et al.*, 2013b), the Beaulieu International Auto Jumble (Kaminski *et al.*, 2013a) or the Classic Motor Show at the National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham, to Runs, meetings (Kaminski, *et al.*, 2013d), and local historic vehicle shows that can be no larger than a village fête. In contrast to the free-to-view London to Brighton Veteran Car Run the cost for attending some of the larger historic vehicle events can often be in excess of £20 even before travel is considered (Kaminski *et al.*, 2013c).

Conclusions

In 1896 the Emancipation Run attracted competitors from Europe and America to take part and brought over half a million spectators onto the streets of London to watch the spectacle. Reports of the Run were included in newspapers across the former British Empire and beyond. More than a century later enthusiasm for the Run has not wavered. The London to Brighton Veteran Car Run is part of a global celebration of early motoring that brings together an international community of enthusiasts for one weekend every November. A veteran car auction on Friday is followed by an international concours, where the spectators can see the cars in London's Regent Street on Saturday, before the Sunday Run from Hyde Park, London to Madeira Drive, Brighton. The 2010 London to Brighton Veteran Car Run contributed **£1,124,000** worth of income to the City of Brighton and Hove through indirect and induced effects. All this is funded by the participants of the Run and the Royal Automobile Club, but the overall impact of the event is far more significant than any

pounds and pence analysis. The Run is a highly visible, positive element of the overall brand and image of Brighton. Moreover, the history of the Run has been a catalyst for numerous other vehicle runs choosing Brighton as a finishing point. This is the legacy of the London to Brighton Veteran Car Run; it has generated a huge benefit to the City of Brighton and Hove and will continue to do so for years to come.

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