

Towards a Theory of Surfing Expansion: The Beginnings of Surfing in Spain as a Case Study

Hacia una teoría de la expansión del surf: Los comienzos del surf en España como estudio de caso

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Abstract

Surfing is today a popular sport which has been studied from many disciplines. Surfing expanded from the U.S. to the rest of the world. With respect to the history of (sport) surfing, there were at least two fundamental topics which need to be explored and developed: I) Explore the genesis of surfing in Europe. II) Develop a theoretical framework on the history of surfing expansion since this field has remained almost neglected up until now. This article is the first attempt to develop a theoretical framework of surfing expansion. In doing so, it will be focused on the genesis of surfing in Europe in general, but concretely on Spain as a case study. The first step was to examine the origins of surfing and its expansion before arriving to Spain (Australia, Peru, Britain, France and Portugal). Later on, it was needed to determine who were the pioneers in Spain, and how, when and where they "discovered" surfing, and thus how, when and where they obtained or made their surfboards. After comparing all the information, it has been possible to formulate a theoretical framework and make a classification according to four types or patterns of surfing genesis, based on the various forms of foreign influence: 1) endogenous genesis (no foreign influence); 2) quasi-endogenous (foreign influence through mass-media, yet pioneers made their own surfboards); 3) exogenous (surfing began as a result of direct contact with foreigners); 4) mixed.

Key words: history; surfing; pioneers; foreigners; mass-media; Spain.

Resumen

El surf es en la actualidad un deporte estudiado desde muy diversas disciplinas. El surf se expandió desde EEUU al resto del mundo. Con respecto a la historia del surf (y del deporte) hay al menos dos aspectos fundamentales que necesitan ser explorados y trabajados: I) Explorar la génesis del surf en Europa; II) Iniciar la creación de un marco teórico sobre la expansión del surf, aspecto éste abandonado hasta el momento. Este artículo se trata del primer intento que se propone tal reto. Así, este trabajo se enfoca en la génesis del surf en Europa en general, y concretamente España como estudio de caso. El primer paso fue examinar los orígenes el surf y su expansión antes de llegar a España (Australia, Peru, Gran Brataña, Francia y Portugal). Posteriormente, se determina quiénes fueron los pioneros en España, y cómo, dónde y cuándo "descubrieron" el surf, y por tanto, cómo, dónde y cuándo consiguieron o hicieron sus tablas de surf. Una vez comparada toda la información, ha sido posible formular un marco teórico y realizar una clasificación de acuerdo a cuatro tipos de modelo de génesis, basado en los diferentes grados de influencia extranjera: 1) génesis endógena (sin influencia extranjera); 2) quasi-endógena (influencia extranjera a través de los mass-media, pero los pioneros se hacen sus tablas); 3) exógena (los extranjeros influyen directamente en el inicio del surf); 4) mixta.

Palabras clave: historia; surf; pioneros; extranjeros; mass-media; España.

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Introduction

Surfing is a popular sport which is practised on all the coasts of the world which have S waves. Moreover, surfing, due to its spectacular and symbolic nature, is an activity popularised by the mass-media. It has become a metaphor, particularly used in politics, economics and marketing, in the sense of how and when to catch and ride the long wave of success and happiness.

As far as academic studies are concerned, surfing has been a topic studied in numerous disciplines, as sociology (Irwin, 1973; Ford and Brown, 2012); anthropology (Bolton, 1891; Culin, 1899, Thorne, 1976; Rutsky, 1999; Nendel, 2009)¹; tourism and economy (Buckley, 2002; Dionisio, Leal & Moutinho); geography (Waitt, 2008) ; philosophy (Kreeft, 2008); theory of religion (Taylor, 2007); or cultural studies (Booth 1999; Evers, 2004; Henderson, 2001; Moser, 2008; Moore, 2010; Olive, McCuaig and Phillips, 2015).

With respect to the studies of history of sport and social history of sport, which are the main fields of this article, academic studies on surfing history have mostly been focused on the origins and development of surfing in Polynesia and U.S. (Finney & Houston, 1996; Warshaw, 2010; Clark 2011; Walker, 2011), or Australia (Osmond, 2011; Jarrat, 2012). However, the history of surfing in Europe has remained mostly unexplored from the academic point of view. There are some interesting sources, but non-academic, about the origins of surfing in France (Gardinier, 2004), the United Kingdom (Mansfield, 2009), Portugal (Rocha, 2008), or about some concrete region of Spain (Gonfaus, 2006; Echegaray & Troitiño, 2007; Pellón, 2009; Carrasco & García, 2011; Busto & Galeiras, 2012). For now, the only academic studies about history (in depth) of surfing in Europe are related to Spain (Esparza 2011, 2013), but still we need to go further and tie up many loose ends.

Surfing is a millenarian activity which emerged in Polynesia. It is one of the oldest sports in the world². Although the first western surfing references date back to the Eighteenth century, the expansion of its activity around the world began at the dawn of the Twentieth century. However, for now there is a lack of theory that can explain the expansion of surfing, a field that has remained neglected up until now. In this sense, this article is the first attempt to develop this issue (at least partially). First, it will explore, observe, examine, and later on, after comparing all the information, I will formulate a theoretical framework (inductive approach).

What steps need to be taken in order to fulfil the goals? Firstly, in order to provide a historical context for the beginnings of surfing in Spain, it is necessary to study and reconstruct the essential elements of the origins of surfing in Europe. Secondly, there was a need to study and determine who were the pioneers in Spain, and when, where and how they started surfing. It was crucial in this sense to know to what extent the foreign influence was significant for the pioneers. It was thereby necessary to first find the pioneers in order to conduct interviews with them. The interviews were conducted in the period between June 2008, and April 2015 (2008-2015). Some of them in depth and semi-structured, others by phone or video conference, and other interviews by electronic mail (primary sources). The aim of these interviews was to compile information focused only on how, when and where they “discovered” surfing, and how, when and where they obtained their surfboards, and to

¹ Surfing as an acuatic religion, in Nendel (2009). Further information about religion, spirituality and sport, in: Jirásek (2015).

² Further information about the Mediterranean area and the origins of the “first mass spectator sport in history”, see: Mañas (2013).

whom they inspired. When it was not possible to find certain pioneers to conduct interview, additional sources (secondary) have consisted of compiling additional interviews with witnesses, or even interviews published in specialised magazines or websites.

Moreover, in this article we will find and observe subsequent contacts with foreigners which were relevant for the consolidation of surfing in Spain. Moreover, one relevant step was to examine and compare all the information, to determine similarities and differences in the level of foreign influence among all the pioneers centres, in order to corroborate in an inductive manner whether there is a common pattern or patterns to explain the foreign influence on the genesis of surfing in Spain.

Surfing origins and expansion

The origin of surfing

The origin of surfing is rooted in ancient Polynesia after a *longue-durée* process amongst the natives and a long-term relationship to the sea and the waves. It is believed that surfing, at least in its prone style, existed (at least) from the first millennium. The first reference to “stand-up” surfing dates back five hundred years, in a Hawaiian legend, which was recorded in the 19th century, since the ancient Hawaiian language had no writing (before the 19th century). At present, the oldest preserved surfboard dates back to the 18th century, and is now in the Bishop museum of Honolulu.

Although the Spaniards were the first navigators to cross the Pacific Ocean, and thus the heart of Polynesia during the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, there are no accounts about surfing in any of the surviving diaries³. The first surviving reference to surfing belongs to the first of James Cook’s voyage. Joseph Banks (2006, 92-3), in 1769, was the first to write in his diary about that “estranged diversion” of the natives of Tahiti. Although he mentioned canoes, it is apparent that they were in fact surfboards. The second recorded reference (up to the present) comes from James King (1789, 145-7), in 1779, during the third expedition of Cook, when they discovered the Sandwich Islands (the Hawaiian Islands).

At a later point, in the last quarter of the 18th century (Morrison, 1935), and the first half of the 19th century (Ellis, 1823 and 1832), additional travelers wrote about surfing in their voyages to the Pacific. Thanks to their accounts, it is possible to reconstruct the geographical area in which surfing (prone, drop knee or stand up) was practiced when Europeans first arrived in Polynesia (Society Islands, Marquesas, Rapa Nui, Cook Islands, Hawaii, Tahiti and New Zealand). It was in Hawaii, however, where the surfing technique and the surfboard technology reached the highest level.

In other parts of the Pacific (outside Polynesia), such as northern Peru, there is evidence of playful activity on the waves, although they surfed sitting in one-person boats for fishing, which in Peru is called: *caballitos de totora*. This activity dates back to the Mochica culture during the first millennium. The first written reference in history to this activity is from José Acosta (1792, 150), when he witnessed one of these fishermen scenes in Callao, in the 16th century.

Additional references to this ancient activity are recorded in certain *huacos* (a human pottery artifact characteristic of the Mochica culture) dating from the first millennium, where fishermen sitting in their *caballitos de totora*, presumably pushed by a wave, are represented.

³ Further information about Spanish explorations in the Pacific in Esparza (2013, 26-43).

The surfing of today in Peru is not a result of the evolution of this old activity, but as shall be seen later, the influence of surfing in Hawaii.

There are also prone surfing accounts from European travellers in Western Africa in the Nineteenth century (Alexander, 1837, 192). The first graphic representation in history of a surfer on a surfboard is by John Webber, the official artist for James Cook's third voyage of discovery around the Pacific (1776-80), when he painted a general view of Kealakekua Bay, in 1779, on Hawaii Island. Numerous canoes, swimmers and one native paddling on his surfboard surround the Discovery and Resolution, the two vessels of the voyage.

U.S. and Australia

Surfing (*he'e nalu*, as it was called in the Hawaiian language) began its expansion to the rest of the world at the beginning of the Twentieth century, several years after the annexation of Hawaii by the U.S. (in 1898). Although surfing in Hawaii declined during the 19th century due to losses to the native population (90%), and the strong influence of missionaries, surfing never disappeared at all, and Waikiki (in Honolulu) was one of its most important centres. In the beginning of the 20th century, there was a major relationship between tourism and surfing, since all the hotels of Waikiki, Moana Hotel among them, introduced surfing lessons and free surfboards for all their guests. One of the most famous guests was the Prince of Wales, who visited Oahu in 1920 and learned to surf with Duke Kahanamoku, gold medal winner in 1912 and 1920 in the 100 m. freestyle⁴.

There is evidence that three brothers from the royal Hawaiian family who were studying at St Matthew's Military School in San Mateo, surfed with redwood surfboards in Santa Cruz (California) in 1885, but this was an isolated case, an oasis of surfing without continuity, and "their feats were mostly forgotten" (Nendel, 2009, 2437). This is why it is almost universally agreed upon that surfing was introduced to the continent in 1907 by the Hawaiian George Freeth when he gave an exhibition in Southern California. A few years later he worked in California as a lifeguard, introducing surfboards as rescue equipment, something which gave more popularity to the new sport when the front pages in newspapers praised lifeguards as heroes when they saved lives. Duke Kahanamoku, from Honolulu, also introduced surfing to the East Coast, in Atlantic City, when he gave some exhibitions in 1912, waiting to join up with the rest of the American team for the boat to Helsinki (where he would break the 100 m. world record and win the gold medal at the Olympics Games).

Surfing was popularised by Kahanamoku in Australia (Sydney) at the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, when he was invited by the New South Wales Swimming Association to give swimming exhibitions, being the celebrated gold medal winner in the 1912 Olympic Games and the world record holder. This inspired the local population to create new replicas of the same surfboard. However, surfing in Australia was introduced by other locals before him, like Tommy Walker, Isma Amor, Albert Berry, Basil Kirke, Steve McKelvey, Fred Notting, Jack Reynolds and others related to the surf lifesaving clubs in Sydney. The first surfboard was introduced by Tommy Walker in 1909, who bought it in Hawaii (Osmond, 2011).

The beginnings of surfing in Europe

Surfing is a millenarian activity which emerged in Polynesia. Over the course of the first half of the Twentieth century, the expansion of surfing was limited due to surfboards being extremely big and heavy. In the 1950s, with the arrival of new materials and new ways of

⁴ Further information about Duke Kahanamoku in: Crowe and Waldrep (2007), and Hall (1996).

designing, surfboards became lighter and easy to transport. According to Irwin (1973, 44), the numbers increased in Southern California from around 500 surfers in 1945 to 150,000 in 1964. Surfing soon began to break barriers and started to fascinate the rest of society, with films such as *Gidget*, *Blue Hawaii* (Elvis Presley), *For Those Who Think Young* (Nancy Sinatra) or *Beach Party* (Frankie Avalon), with surf music or t.v. series such as *Hawaiian Eye*. These paved the way for the surfing boom in the U.S. and Australia in the 1960s, but what do we know about surfing genesis in Europe?

The genesis of surfing in Europe

After a revision of bibliographical sources and press, these are the main results concerning the beginnings or first steps of surfing in Europe. For now, the first historical reference related to surfing in Europe belongs to Ignacio de Arana (1880-1918), Spanish consul in Hawaii (1911-1914), who (according to one of his descendant) brought the first two surfboards to Europe (to Vitoria, Spain), although there is no evidence that he was able to use them in Europe. The surfboards remained in his hometown until they disappeared forever two decades later, when they were burnt in a hard winter during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). He also brought to Spain in 1914 the first edited surfing book in history, *The Surf Riders of Hawaii*, which survived generation by generation in the family library of Vitoria up until the present day⁵. If we know about Ignacio Arana is thanks to a one of his descendants, who contacted in 2002 the editor of the Spanish surfing journal *3sesenta*, to let him know about his ancestor and his relationship with surfing. In order to contrast the information of Ignacio Arana, I have investigated through the historical press, and I have found more than 20 references about him in the Spanish, American, British and Brazilian press between 1907 and 1918. It is especially relevant those news related to Hawaii, since it give us information about the life of the consul. In this sense, we know that he at least organised every Wednesday at the Moana Hotel, a meeting of “tea and tennis” with dignitaries and authorities of the island (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28.6.1913, p. 12). This is relevant since it was probably there where the consul discovered surfing, because the Moana Hotel, in front of the Waikiki beach, was the seat of the *Hui Nalu* surfing club (the second surfing club in history, founded in 1911 by Duke Kahanamoku among others). All the guests of the hotel could take surfboards for free. However, for now, there is no confirmation that Ignacio Arana surfed there. Arana left Honolulu in 1914, and four years later, as it shows the Spanish newspaper *La Libertad* (9.12.1918), he died in Newcastle in November 19, 1918 at the age of 38 (as a Spanish consul in Britain). The Arana case was an exception, a surfing oasis in the European history, since there is no evidence anyone used any of his surfboards and it is certain that no one initiated the surfing way of life in Spain (despite his surfboards) until half a century later.

In the 1920s, in England, it was quite usual to see people in the summer using small planks in order to play (prone) with the white water (bellyboarding) at the beach, but this was not surfing. The first image of actual surfing (stand-up) in Britain is connected with a private film by Lewis Rosenberg from 1929. This movie was “discovered” for the surfing community in 2011. Rosenberg shaped a surfboard on his own from balsa wood, inspired by a documentary about Australia, where surfing images appeared. He travelled from London to Newquay to practice.

There is additional evidence of surfing in 1941 with a photo of Pip Staffieri standing-up on a surfboard (Mansfield, 2009, 24). Staffieri also shaped a surfboard inspired from the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (about Hawaii). These two activities were sporadic

⁵ Javier Amezaga, email message to author (25.3.2014).

and without continuity. The first surfing clubs were established in two different places in the U.K. in the mid 1950s: in Newquay and on Jersey island (Mansfield, 2009).

On the continent, the starting point (admitted by almost everyone) is the summer of 1956 in Biarritz, (France), when Peter Viertel (scriptwriter) introduced illegally from Spain one surfboard (brought from California to Pamplona by Dick Zanuck to the filming of the movie *Sun also Rises*). In Biarritz, Peter Viertel inspired a bunch of French beach boys, such as George Hennebutte, Joel de Rosnay, Michel Barland and Jack Rott. The first surfing club was founded three years later in 1959, and that very year was also founded the first surfboard mark in Europe, the prestigious Barland-Rott (Gardinier, 2004).

In Portugal we have found an isolated attempt at surfing in the 1940s by Nuno Fernandes in Figueira da Foz, where he built a surfboard based on a model from an American magazine. He used it, but he did not go on surfing. Pedro Martins de Lima is considered the pioneer of surfing in Portugal, having introduced surfing in 1959, in Estoril, when he brought a surfboard from Biarritz. He actually discovered surfing in the 1940s, on the Azores Islands, in an American magazine found on a U.S. Naval base⁶. He practised bellyboarding for more than a decade, with a small wooden plank and fins, until 1959 when he bought that surfboard in France and become surfer until today (Molina-Torn, 2013).

Spanish Pioneers and Foreign Influence

It is understood by foreign influence the same as is provided by mass-media (movies, serials, music, magazines, and so on), and the same who provided the foreigners in person⁷.

Surfing began at almost the same time in several pioneer centres along the long Spanish coast, and without a knowledge of one other during the first months, even years, of the genesis of surfing in Spain. The first pioneer centres began in northern Spain (San Sebastian, Sopelana, Santander and Salinas) circa 1964, and in Southern Spain (Cadiz) circa 1964. Other centres begun some years later, as Zarautz (1967), Coruña (1967), Canary Islands (circa 1968) and the last relevant pioneer centre, Malaga, the first Mediterranean surfing centre of Spain, that began in 1970. Who were the pioneers and how did they “discover” surfing, and thus, how, when and where did they obtain their surfboards?

The first discovered visual surfing reference in Spain from a surfer is from José Luis Elejoste, who at the cinema *Actualidades* in Bilbao watched in the 1940s a documentary about Polynesia where images of surfing appeared. He consequently read in an issue of *Reader's Digest* in 1944 that there were two surfing clubs in California and Hawaii. He wrote them a letter in order to obtain a surfboard (how to buy it, transport it and pay for it), but he did not receive any answer. He practised bellyboarding over a 20 years period and even made dozens of little planks for other people. He finally bought his first surfboard in Biarritz (France), in 1964, and took it to in Vizcaya, where he inspired others to surf, like Juan Carlos Pradera, Estanis Escauriaza, Raúl Dourdil, Chema Elexpuru or Jon Susaeta, who years later became relevant surfers at the Spanish competition (Elejoste, 1990).

Enrique García-Agulló (born in 1947) in Cadiz, “discovered” surfing in an issue of National Geographic magazine when he was a teenager (at the end of the 1950s or beginning of the 1960s). He thinks that the issue came from the US naval base of Rota, located in the province

⁶ Another recent academic source of interesting compilation of stories about the beginnings of surfing in Portugal, see: Nunes, Mendes and Jorge (2015).

⁷ Further information about the influence of foreigners and genesis of various sports in Spain in: Almeida (2014); Arranz (2014); Torreadella (2012); Torreadella-Flix & Ticó-Camí (2014); Pujadas & Santacana (2003).

of Cadiz since 1956. That image was crucial to shape the first two rustic surfboards in Cadiz circa 1964⁸. The pioneers were a small group of adolescents who lived in front of the beach (playa de Cortadura). They were the siblings Gutiérrez Ozamiz (Salud, Víctor and Enrique) and Enrique García-Agulló.

In Asturias (Salinas), Félix Cueto (1946-2008), designed in 1963 his first surfboard inspired by the front-cover of Surfing USA (the Beach Boys), with a spectacular image of surfing. This record was released in March 1963 in U.S. and was impossible to buy in Spain at that time. Cueto obtained it from his sister (stewardess for a Spanish airline), who brought it for him from the U.S. Several months later he obtained an issue of the magazine *Mecánica Popular* (the Spanish version of the Popular Mechanics), where he found instructions about how to make a surfboard. He shaped two surfboards. Only in the second one he started surfing, probably in the summer of 1964 (with Amador Rodríguez), in Salinas, Asturias⁹. After this starting point, other people began to surf in Asturias inspired by them. Moreover, in 1967, as he was studying in Coruña, he introduced surfing in this Galician province.

Iñaki Arteche was the first surfer in the province of Guipuzcoa (Basque Country). In the way of designing his first surfboard in 1964 (in San Sebastian), he was influenced by two magazines: *Reader's Digest*, and the front page of *Life* (October 25, 1963) where it appeared a red surfboard. Even prior to this he recalls seeing some images of natives surfing in the background in an Errol Flynn movie (Captain Blood). His brothers started surfing with him in San Sebastian, and inspired other people to surf. Javier Arteche, his brother, became the first winner in a competition in Spain, in 1969, in Zarautz¹⁰.

Jesús Fiochi is the first known surfer in Cantabria. Before surfing he practised bellyboarding and familiarised himself with the sea and waves. He was also a good swimmer since he was a member of the team of the city of Santander. He saw a documentary in Kostka cinema (Santander) in approximately 1964, where he saw surfing images of Waikiki and was impressed by them, thinking that he could do the same (surfing) in the *Sardinero*, the main beach of Santander. Somewhat later, he found by chance an issue of the French nautical magazine *Bauteaux*, where he found an advertisement for *Barland-Rott surfboards* in France. Thanks to this advertisement he was able to buy his first surfboard in France, in March 1965, and therefore inspire other young people in the city of Santander to do the same, like José Manuel Gutiérrez Mecolay, Juan Giribet, Antonio Sáez or Maruri, who shaped rustic surfboards (like Giribet), or later on drove to France to buy them¹¹. Jesús Fiochi, his brothers (Manel and Rafael) and other friends like Carlos Beraza, José Manuel Merodio and Leo Ibáñez, founded the first surfing club in Cantabria (in 1967), and probably the first in Spain, the *Surf Club España*.

The Canary Islands were visited from the beginning of the 1960s by American and Australian surfers, and later on by French and British as well. After interviewing three pioneers of Gran Canaria and other witnesses who practised surfing in the 1960s (but did not continue with surfing), and after gathering information from secondary sources, the starting point for surfing

⁸ Sources: Enrique García-Agulló in discussion with the author (15.8. 2013); Salud Gutiérrez Ozámiz in discussion with the author (10.11.2013); Víctor Gutiérrez Ozámiz in discussion with the author (19.11.2013), Enrique Gutiérrez Ozámiz in discussion with the author (27.11.2013).

⁹ Sources: Amador Rodríguez, email message to author (21.3.2015).

¹⁰ Javier Arteche, email message to author (21.3.2015).

¹¹ Sources: Jesús Fiochi email message to author (8.3.2015), Manel Fiochi email message to author (9.8.2013), Gonzalo Campa in discussion with the author (3.7.2011), Carlos Beraza in discussion with the author (2.7.2011).

by the natives is uncertain¹². There are testimonies that before 1965 certain locals practiced it under the direct influence of foreigners who gave the surfboards to the local surfers¹³. The starting point, however, for a group of local surfers who began to organise themselves and who surfed over the long term, was around 1968. All of them began under the influence of foreigners who came to the beach. The locals were amused by the new sport and would wait on the shore until the foreigners finished surfing to ask to borrow the surfboards. At some point before the foreigners left the islands, they lent or sold the surfboards to the locals.

In Tapia de Casariego (Asturias) the surf activity began in 1968 due to the Gulley brothers from Australia, who spent that summer there, with their caravan and had long stays there over several years. Many locals began to surf because of them, like Pepe and Toño Alonso, Alexi and Tony Farelli or Javier de Pura (Bas, 2011). There is currently a statue in the village in memory of these two brothers and in honour of surfing.

In Spain is still less known that Peter Viertel (in the beginning and mid 1960s), spent his holidays in San Vicente de la Barquera (Cantabria) and surfed there. There is at least one testimony which affirms that Viertel inspired others to surf, including José Miguel Serrano, who began surfing as a child, thanks to Peter Viertel, who taught him to surf. But, he couldn't specified the exactly date of the starting point (Serrano, 2009).

In Malaga (Mediterranean), Pepe Almoguera (1953-2014) was the pioneer, starting in 1970 at the age of 16. He lived in the fishing neighbourhood of Pedregalejo, right next to the sea, so was consequently familiar with various sea sports. Surfing, however, was still unknown to him, until he discovered it after watching an American film in cinema Albeniz, where he saw certain images of people surfing in California. The important thing is that after the film he wanted to immediately try surfing and asked about it in all the sport shops of Malaga. No one, however, knew about a surfboard. He consequently had no other choice but to design a surfboard by himself, with the help of others in the Nereo shipyard, near his house where his father worked as carpenter. He inspired other people to surf like Javier Gabernet, the brothers Antonio and Paco Gutiérrez-Espejo, Rafael García, Carlos Sauco, Francisco Soria, and the sister of Pepe Almoguera, Pepa, who is (with the information we have) the first known woman to surf in the Spanish Mediterranean. All of them founded in 1974 the first surfing club of the Spanish Mediterranean, the Malaga Surfing Club¹⁴.

Table 1. Scheme of genesis/pioneers of surfing in Spain

Pioneer	Where	When	Inspired by	Surfboards: How did they get them?
Cortadura group	Cadiz	1962-4	Magazine	Made by themselves
Félix Cueto	Salinas (Asturias)	1963-64	Beach Boys Cover	Made by himself
Arteche's	San Sebastian	1964	Magazine	Made by I. Arteche
Elejoste	Vizcaya	1964	Documentary	Bought it in France
Fiochi	Santander	1965	Documentary	Bought it in France

¹² Miguel Ángel Ortega in discussion with the author (17.1.2010 and 22.1.2015), Federico Romero in discussion with the author (9.1.2011), Octavio Suárez in discussion with the author (10.1.2011).

¹³ Rogelio Martín in discussion with the author (15.1.2011).

¹⁴ Pepe Almoguera, in discussion with the author (21.6.2008 and 22.12. 2009), Carlos Sauco, Francisco Gutiérrez-Espejo, Josefa Almoguera, Francisco Soria and Javier Gabernet in discussion with the author (6.8.2014).

L.M. Serrano	San Vicente Barquera Cantabria)	mid 1960s	Peter Viertel	Loan by Peter Viertel
Tapia's group	Tapia de Casariego	1968	Gulley's brothers	Loaned
Group	Gran Canaria	Circa 1968	Foreigners (surfers)	Loan, bought
José Almoquera	Malaga	1970	Movie	Made by himself

Table: author

Subsequent contacts with foreigners

There were numerous encounters in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of them were extremely relevant. The press of Cantabria wrote in October 1968 that eight foreign surfers (six British, one Australian and one from South Africa) were travelling around Europe and stopped in Santander. The press included a photo of an encounter between local surfers and the foreigners (*Diario Alerta*, 22 October 1968, p. 12). For Zalo Campa, a witness to that moment (in the 1980s he will become President of the Spanish Surfing Federation), it was very important for all local surfers because they talked about surfing abroad, and also improved their style by observing how the foreigners surfed¹⁵.

Two Americans from California arrived in Santander in 1970 and brought with them a surf movie ("The innermost limits of pure fun") which Jesús Fiochi was able to show in the cinema *Acción Católica*. The cinema was full of local surfers who watched their first surf movie ever, images from California and Australia, and not only enjoyed it a great deal, but also learned a new style and ways to ride the waves¹⁶.

In 1971, the SNS (the first Spanish federative organization of surfing) signed up John Manning, an English surfer, with the aim of improving the surfing style, how to judge in championships and how to improve the art of designing surfboards¹⁷.

Guillermo Morillo bought a surfboard from a Mexican in Cadiz, in 1968, who was in the harbour and needed money to pay the ticket for the boat to Morocco. With this surfboard Morillo began to surf, although his improvement was extremely slow. Two years later, in 1970, he made the acquaintance of an Australian who spent several days in Cadiz waiting for the ship to the Canary Islands. He put him up in his house for several days until the boat weighed anchor under the condition that he would teach him to improve his poor level of surfing (Morillo, 2006). Two years later, in 1972, Guillermo Morillo, Carlos Calvo and other young people of Cádiz founded the first surfing club of southern Spain: Cadiz Surf Club.

According to Enrique García-Agulló (one of the pioneers of Cadiz), he met Reginald McQuilkin "Tracky", son of a Captain in the American Navy at the American Naval base of Rota, in the province of Cadiz around 1969-1970. McQuilkin brought new surfboards from the U.S. which were crucial for surfing in Cadiz, since the surf industry at that time in southern Spain was non-existent. "Tracky" also had a convertible Volkswagen in which they travelled through the province of Cadiz to discover new waves, such as *El Palmar*, today one of the most popular places for surfing in southern Spain. Similarly, several years before, the three sons of a French worker of the Harbour of Cadiz (Harold, Michel and Brun) used to go

¹⁵ Gonzalo Campa in discussion with the author, 3.7.2011.

¹⁶ Gonzalo Campa in discussion with the author, 3.7.2011.

¹⁷ Gonzalo Campa in discussion with the author, 3.7.2011.

to Cadiz every summer and bring their surfboards from Biarritz. They were friends of García-Agulló and the Gutiérrez Ozámiz siblings (Salud, Víctor and Enrique), and together formed the first surf pioneer core of southern Spain¹⁸.

In Malaga, as we saw before, surfing began in 1970 when Pepe Almoguera designed two surfboards with the help of others. He surfed alone for two years, in a primitive style without feedback from the rest of the world. The turning point for the development of surfing in Malaga came about, however, in the spring of 1972, when a Californian suddenly appeared and spent several days in Pedregalejo (Malaga). Pepe was impressed when he saw him surfing and observed new ways of riding waves. He in fact finally understood how to surf properly. The Californian talked to Pepe in more detail explaining how surfing worked in the U.S. and how to make a modern surfboard. He gave Pepe an issue of Surfer Magazine, where he found some addresses in the U.S. in order to get information on how to make a surfboard. He wrote to the U.S. and they sent him back further information on how to make a modern surfboard. This unexpected encounter between Pepe Almoguera and the Californian was crucial for the development of surfing in Malaga, since it reinforced the wishes and desire of this young pioneer to go further, to create a little surf industry (he established the production of Acacias surfboards), which was essential to increase the number of surfers. Two years later, in 1974, Pepe Almoguera established with other young people (cited before), the first active surfing club in the history of the Spanish Mediterranean: Malaga Surfing Club.

Malaga, despite being in the Mediterranean Sea, with less waves than on the Atlantic Ocean, was on the way to Morocco, a popular international place for waves in the 1970s. Many foreign surfers consequently stopped in Malaga for a rest, and one of the known and suitable places to stop was *Los Baños del Carmen* camping, extremely cheap and right on the shore under a small forest of eucalyptus, in the Pedregalejo neighbourhood. This was another variable which explains why Malaga and why Pedregalejo specifically was the first surfing core of the Spanish Mediterranean, because it provided the local surfers with the opportunity to receive regular feedback on surfing and maintain sufficient intense wave feelings in a place with a lack of regular waves such as the Mediterranean Sea. Moreover, for them, the Atlantic Ocean was closer than in any other part of the Mediterranean coast, and in approximately two hours (at that time), they could be surfing. As far as the *Baños del Carmen* camping is concerned, from 1973 to the beginning of 1980s, the surfers of Malaga passed a great deal of time around the camp site just waiting for a car, van or caravan with surfboards on the roof rack (usually foreign travellers coming back or on the way to Morocco), with the idea of stopping them, to talk to them, try to trade, to buy surfboards, wetsuits, wax, leashes, shirts or magazines¹⁹. The camp site consequently became a kind of supermarket for the surfer pioneers at a time when there were no surf-shops in Malaga and mostly in all of Spain.

A surfer from South-Africa, Darryl, who pretended to sail to the Pacific in a yacht, arrived in A Coruña (Galicia) in 1972. Due to a breakdown he had to remain there longer. Over the two unexpected months which he had to spend in Galicia he met the small group of surfers which existed at that time in A Coruña, especially the siblings Rufino and Tito, the future founders of Rufino's surfboards. Thanks to Darryl, they learned how to make a better surfboard with waxed resin, essential for getting it dry and sanding it down (Busto & Irisarri, 2012, 31).

Many foreign surfers visited the Canary Islands (the Atlantic Ocean) starting in the 1960s due to the suitability of the weather and the quality of the waves. Sometimes they gave the

¹⁸ Enrique García-Agulló in discussion with the author (15.8. 2013).

¹⁹ Sources: Pepe Almoguera in discussion with the author (21.6. 2008); Javier Gabernet, in discussion with the author (19.1.2011; 23.7. 2014).

surfboards to the locals, while others lent their surfboards until they came back the following summer. Others sold their surfboards to the locals, or even some foreign surfboards were stolen by the locals. Other foreign surfers were professional shapers, such as for example Joel Roux, who sold a number of surfboards to the locals in 1970s²⁰.

Spaniards abroad

José Luis Elejoste (from Vizcaya) drove to Biarritz in 1959 and saw surfing with his own eyes. He met three surfers at the beach, who were surfing together: Carlos Dogny, a rich Peruvian and the founder of the first surfing club in Peru and France; Michel Barland and Villalonga (son of exiled Spaniards from the Civil War). He even tried to surf with one of those surfboards, but finally decided not to buy a surfboard, since he thought no one else would surf with him in Vizcaya. Five years later, however, he came back to Biarritz and finally bought a surfboard, being in 1964 the first surfer in the province of Vizcaya (Elejoste, 1990, 12).

Manel Fiochi (from Santander) travelled to England in the summer of 1969, to Newquay, and brought a short surfboard back to Spain, which was a surprise in Cantabria since they were accustomed to long surfboards²¹. They realised that with a small surfboard they could carry out new manoeuvres, new ways of surfing. This was in fact modern surfing, and they began to design shorter surfboards. The surfing in Spain consequently began to develop in accordance with places in France or England, at that time the most developed surfing centres in Europe.

That year, 1969, the recently founded Spanish Surfing Organization (*Sección Nacional de Surf: SNS*) initiated relations with additional surfing European federations, participating in the European championships every summer, or even in the special competition France-Spain, which was organised in the 1970s every summer. At that time the championships were something like an international congress for Spaniards, a place to find new information, learn how to organise a competition, get to know new surfing materials, get updates on new ways of surfing, new places to surf, learn what were happening beyond Europe (because of accounts from British or French travellers) and even get issues of British surfer magazines or surf movies. These recurrent contacts with British, Irish or French surfers when participating in the European championships were crucial to the consolidation and development of surfing in Spain, thus in 1973 (up until 1977) several surfers from the Basque Country and Cantabria, created a surfboard workshop in a rural house in Loreda called Casa Lola (Cantabria), where they designed surfboards to be sold to Spanish surfers. The economic gap in the 1970s was still deep, however, between Spain and the rest of Western Europe, and thus the surfing industry in Spain was backward until the mid 1980s, when Spain became an EU member (1986) and the economy began a period of major prosperity, which in the surfing sector meant a boom in surf-shops, and the first domestic surfing magazines, such as *Tres Sesenta* (established in 1987) or *Surfer Rule* (established in 1990).

Jesús Fiochi in the beginning of the 1970s met by chance (in Cantabria) the owner of Clark foam, who was travelling through Spain. One of the main problems for Spanish surfers in the 1970s was the lack of foam to shape more surfboards, something which limited the expansion of surfing, since there was a generalised lack of surfboards. This is why, some years later, certain Spanish surfers (Jesús Fiochi, Leo Ibáñez, Manuel Jaúregui and Carlos Beraza) decided to boost the small Spanish surfing industry. The first part of the plan was to send Carlos Beraza to California to work with Clark foam and learn how to make the foam in order

²⁰ Federico Romero in discussion with the author (11.1.2011).

²¹ Manel Fiochi email message to author (9.8. 2013).

to open a factory in Spain. Carlos Beraza lived there several months and learned a great deal, but finally did not open a factory in Spain since it was very risky and expensive at that time to export the materials. The second part of the plan was from the rest of the members of the society, to travel to California in 1976 in order to buy Rubatex (neoprene) to develop the first wetsuits made in Spain firstly known as *Somo wetsuits* and later *Coraza-Beraza* (Jauregui, 2011, 57). Approximately 500 units were sold throughout Spain, the first industry of Spanish wetsuits in history.

Results: towards a Theory of Surfing Expansion

After examining all the information provided in this exploration of surfing genesis in Spain, it is possible now to conceptualize terms as genesis, pioneers or precursors; and to formulate and classify various types of surfing genesis as the first theoretical proposal about surfing diffusion or expansion.

Conceptualization

Genesis can be described as the process (in a concrete place or locality) that culminates in the first practise of surfing (from one person or a group of people at the same time). In case they inspire other people to surf, and thus to foster the practice of this sport in such concrete place or locality (consolidated genesis), we can call them pioneers. This was the case in Spain of Jesús Fiochi in Santander, Pepe Almoguera in Malaga, Félix Cueto in Asturias, Iñaki Arteche in Guipuzoca, José Luis Elejoste in Vizcaya, the Gulley's brothers in Tapia de Casariego (Asturias), or the group of Cortadura in Cadiz. Moreover, it was the case of Pedro Martins de Lima in Estoril (Portugal), or the case of Peter Viertel in Biarritz (France) and San Vicente de la Barquera (Spain). However, if their surfing activities were isolated and disappeared without continuity (non-consolidated genesis), we cannot call them pioneers, but precursors. This was the case of Ignacio Arana (Basque Country), Nuno Fernandes (Figueira da Foz, Portugal), Lewis Rosenberg (Newquay), or Pip Staffieri (Newquay).

Patterns and Types of Genesis

Once the data has been examined and compared, it has been possible to formulate first, and classify later (inductive approach), the level of foreign influence in every pioneer centre studied in this article. It has been observed at least four different types of genesis based on the level of foreign influence, that I have provisionally labelled with the following names until a superior way of classifying it is found: I) endogenous genesis; II) quasi-endogenous genesis; III) mixed genesis; IV) exogenous genesis. These four categories can be grouped inside of the following two: (i) consolidated genesis, and (ii) non-consolidated genesis. As far as the latter is concerned, these types of cases are perhaps the most interesting from a historical point of view since they mostly remain to be discovered. These types of genesis consist of attempts at surfing by one or several individuals, but were interrupted without continuity by these individuals, as it happened in the case of Ignacio Arana, Spanish consul in Hawaii (1911-1914), who took two surfboards to Spain in 1914, the case of Nuno Fernandes in Figueira da Foz (Portugal), in the 1940s, the case of Rosenberg (1929) and Pip Staffieri (1941) in England.

Let us describe and classify all the four examples of consolidated genesis:

1) Endogenous genesis. There is no foreign influence. This type of genesis was related to those places where surfing was born as a natural *longue-durée* process of a relationship between natives and the waves. As far as this research has concluded, this only occurred in Polynesia, where surfing (*he'e nalu* in Hawaiian) was a natural and cultural activity among

the ancient Hawaiians. It is also known that in Tahiti, surfing (in its stand-up style, not prone, as it was usually practised in the rest of Polynesia), was eventually practised by natives.

II) Quasi-endogenous genesis. In this type of genesis the local pioneer surfer does not have any direct contact with the surf, but virtually only through the mass-media (films, magazines, documentaries, etc.), but decided after this virtual contact to shape their own rustic surfboards. This was the case in Salinas (Asturias), where Félix Cueto created a surfboard inspired by the front cover of the Surfing USA L.P., in 1963. The case of San Sebastian (Basque Country), where Iñaki Arteche shaped a surfboard inspired by the cover of Life magazine (issue 25th October, 1963, where a red surfboard appeared). The case of Pepe Almoguera, Malaga (southern Spain, Mediterranean) in 1970, where he designed two surfboards, after watching an American movie at the Albeniz cinema, where background images of people surfing in California appeared.

III) Exogenous genesis. The influence of foreigners is completely direct. Local surfers learned about surfing observing it from the shore and finally borrowed or even bought their own surfboards. This was the general case on the Canary Islands at the end of the 1960s (and the beginning of the 1970s). It was also the case for Tapia de Casariego (Asturias) in 1968, introduced it by the Gullely brothers from Australia; and also the case of San Vicente de la Barquera (Cantabria), where Peter Viertel introduced it.

IV) Mixed genesis. By mixed genesis it means those that share both elements from quasi-endogenous genesis and exogenous genesis. This means that the pioneers became familiar with surfing for the first time through the mass-media (quasi-endogenous), but did not design surfboards, but instead ordered them or bought them abroad (exogenous characteristic), as was the cases with Jesús Fiochi in Santander, who ordered and bought his surfboard in France in 1965; similarly, the case of José Luis Elejoste, from Vizcaya, who in 1964 bought a surfboard in Biarritz (France).

Table 2. Classification of surfing types genesis in Europe and Spain.

Types surfing genesis	Endogenous	Quasi-endogenous	Mixed	Exogenous
Non-consolidated		- Lewis Rosenberg, England, 1929. - Pip Staffieri, England, 1941. - Nuno Fernandes, (Portugal, 1944.	- Ignacio Arana (Spain, 1914).	
Consolidated	Polynesia (Hawaii)	-Félix Cueto, Salinas, Asturias, circa 1963. -Iñaki Arteche, San Sebastian, Spain, 1964. -Pepe Almoguera, Malaga, Spain, 1970.	-Pedro Martins, Estoril, Portugal, 1959. -J.L. Elejoste, Vizcaya, Spain, 1964. -Jesús Fiochi, Santander, Spain, 1965.	- Peter Viertel, Biarritz, France, 1956. -Peter Viertel, S.Vicente Barquera, Spain, 1960s. -Gullely's brothers. Tapia Casariego, Spain, 1968. -Anonymous foreigners in Canary Islands (Spain, 1960s/70s).

Table: author

Conclusions

In Spain surfing began around the mid 1960s when this sport started its boom in the U.S. and Australia. A symptom of this boom was the impact that surfing caused in the World mass-media: surfing images appeared in popular magazines such as Life, Popular Mechanist or National Geographic, documentaries, films and T.V. series spreading the seeds of surfing throughout the World (Western World). The arrival of surfing to Spain in the 1960s was not due to a marketing promotion from international surfing marks. This only happened in the mid 1980s, two decades later. The genesis of surfing in Spain began spontaneously at almost the same time in several pioneer centres along the long Spanish coast, and without a knowledge of one other during the first months, even years. The Spanish pioneers were inspired by a new mass-media phenomenon of the 1960's, and the surfing images from American movies, documentaries and magazines (foreign influence). Similarly, most of the pioneers made their own rustic surfboards (without knowledge of how to make a surfboard), others drove to France to buy them, or in some cases they bought surfboards to foreigners who were travelling in Spain. The fact that surfing began almost a decade earlier in England and France as compared with Spain, was crucial in certain places such as Cantabria and Vizcaya, because those pioneers bought their surfboards in France, where an industry of surfboards (Barland-Rott) already existed. Subsequent contacts with foreigners, not only in Spain but when Spaniards travelled abroad, were crucial for the consolidation of surfing in Spain, these meant the creation of the first surfing clubs, the first National Surfing Organization, the first surfing competitions, the first industry of surfboards, and finally the first Spanish Surf Shops at the end of the 70s.

After comparing and examining all the results, using Spain as a case study, the first steps towards a theory of surfing expansion are possible in this work. There is a need to improve this theory, however, with further information from other parts of the world (additional case studies). There is consequently a need to join forces with other colleagues around the world. This should result in the formation of a more robust theory and a deeper knowledge of surfing expansion.

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