The Plurality of Europe

Identities and Spaces

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Time, space, and tourism

Tourist consumption in the long 19th century; between localisation, nationalisation and Europeanisation

Hasso Spode

Blaise Pascal once remarked: All misfortune comes from the fact that people can't peacefully stay in their room. In his time the people on the move along the dusty roads were chiefly soldiers, pilgrims, traders and vagrants. Nowadays, however, the mass of travellers are tourists. Their contribution to the world's misfortunes is undoubtedly smaller than that of soldiers. And the money they spend keeps the world's biggest industry going. Why do they do it? And what are the consequences? As this conference was unable to accommodate a panel discussion devoted to tourism, let me go into some detail in an effort to explain the special nature and the dynamics of the way tourism has appropriated the world.

Tourism is the word we now give to a combination of travel and consumption. The simplest brief definition would be leisure travel, or leisure migration.[1] It is a form of travel that has been and still is the favoured object of cultural criticism, though in Pascal's day it was, at most, in an embryonic phase.[2] In the pre-tourism history of mankind, travel served certain clearly defined purposes: the expansion of various forms of capital, whether money, power, health, salvation, contacts or knowledge. The sums spent on or during travel, for transport, board and lodging, etc., were therefore meant to be – and, ideally at least, were in fact – investments. This applies also to a flourishing 18th century institution, the *Grand Tour*

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1 Spode, Hasso: Reisen und Tourismus. Stichpunkte zur Terminologie in Forschung und Statistik. In: Cestování včera a dnes 4/2 (2007), 35–41.

2 Historical overviews: Löfgren, Orvar: On Holiday. A History of Vacationing. Berkeley et al. 1999. – Hachtmann, Rüdiger: Tourismusgeschichte. Göttingen 2007. – Spode, Hasso: Wie die Deutschen 'Reiseweltmeister' wurden. Einführung in die Tourismusgeschichte. Wiesbaden 2010 [in preparation]. – On this field of research: Idem: Tourismusgeschichte als Forschungsgegenstand. In: Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum. Ed. by Andrea Leonardi and Hans Heiss. Innsbruck et al. 2003, 83–100. – Idem: Zur Geschichte der Tourismusgeschichte. In: Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 8 (2009), 9–22.

undertaken by young noblemen, which – no doubt because of the terminological similarity – is sometimes confused with tourism. Apart from the reinforcement of various networks, it was a form of training or preparation for future holders of positions of power, just as the years of learning and apprenticeship for artisans, artists and scholars were a structured career training phase – which left a great deal of room for the unexpected. Such travel by young men (the curtailment of pilgrimages increasingly confined women to the domestic hearth) laid the foundations for a space in which Europeans could communicate and gain experience. The same is true of the bourgeois educational journeys of the 18th century, the *Petit Grand Tour*. They were no longer tied into purpose-related, career-oriented training; the vague idea behind them was "*humanitas*". But here too the functional aspect of travel predominated.

Non-functional travel and its paradoxes

Tourist travel, which started to burgeon at about the same time, was quite different. It came to be "travel without obvious purpose", the self-centred "consumption of space and experience" (Hans-Joachim Knebel). As with the pilgrimage, the experience gained is structured on the basis of symbols, the aim being to acquire a share of the authentic. Tourist travel is based on the oft-described temporalising of knowledge which came to the fore as part of the acceleration of progress that took place during the 18th century. It gave spatial accessibility to the "contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous" that it generated. Nature and history are lined up on a time arrow: taxonomy becomes genealogy, heterotopy turns into chronotopy. All that is natural, free and genuine is sought and found in a journey through time into a better, though mortally threatened, past. The view that the tourist took was a romantic, nostalgic, if not melancholy view.[3] Tourism only began to have a powerful economic and social impact towards the end of the long 19th century. At the same time the original, emotionally motivated consumer function was concealed under a coating of rational motives borrowed from the earlier forms of private travel, namely health and education. The latter could mean the general expansion of the "mental horizon", but what the discourse directed at legitimising leisure

3 Spode, Hasso: "Reif für die Insel". Prolegomena zu einer historischen Anthropologie des Tourismus. In: Arbeit, Freizeit, Reisen. Ed. by Christiane Cantauw. Münster-New York 1995. – Idem 2010 (cf. n. 2). – The underlying new conception of nature and history took a long time to develop during the early modern period; it was not a sudden break in consequence of the French Revolution, as claimed by Peter Fritzsche. See Fritzsche, Peter: Stranded in the Present: Time and the Melancholy of History. Cambridge-London 2004. – Cf. my criticism of this in: Journal of Social History (2007), 186–188. – For further possible interpretations of tourism see the brief study by Christoph Henning in: Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 1 (1997) and Kristiane Klemm in: Fundiert 1 (2007).

travel increasingly focused on was the "elevation of the national ethos".[4] Simply travel for pleasure – that ran counter to the protestant ethic, as analysed and caricatured by Max Weber at the time.[5]

As mentioned, the long process of creating a cultural space called "Europe" is only conceivable on the basis of frameworks and networks of communication, such as were brought into being by the horizontal mobility of the Grand Tour, the pilgrimage, the bathing trip and the educational tour, and then the consumption of space by modern tourism. The latter had a particularly important role – through both its consumer function and its sheer quantitative extent – in shaping social and physical space to match its ideals and requirements. Here we can see two contrary effects working against each other, both of them the offshoots of the appropriation – or rather creation – of its own world by tourism, which now invariably also meant commercialism:

- the homogenising of space through growing demands for comfort, safety and aesthetic design; and
- the differentiating of space through the symbolic marking of places and regions as mnemotopes or contrasting spaces, in each case establishing and representing the singular and the special.

Let us begin with the latter effect. Among historians, the quest for the specific, the differences, has always been more popular than that for the totality, the features in common, given the ideographic traditions of the discipline and the effort needed to contextualise, compare and develop syntheses.[6] And so we now have an extensive literature on an enormous variety of places of popular memory and (other) tourist destinations, each of which is attested, implicitly or explicitly, as being unique. The effect is to perpetuate – often unintentionally – both the knowledge tourists already have and the marketing strategies in frequent use. The attribution of authenticity to such spaces in practice means adopting the basal binary coding for better or for worse, and it has a history that in many cases goes back to the 18th century, when the western Alps and Tahiti were declared to be the prototypes of a distant paradise. In Germany, the Harz region, the Rhine and the Thuringian Forest are memory landscapes which are imbued with an extraordinarily high emotional charge and were thus selected as places of popular memory.

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4 See for example the travel advice offered by the successful publisher and author of travel guides, Woerl, Leo: Die Touristik. Leipzig 1902, which, like all the other sources cited here, can be found in the Berlin Historisches Archiv zum Tourismus (HAT) (here: Sig. RANL/902/WOE).

5 Pleasures were, for the citizen, "as a waste of time […] morally absolutely reprehensible", cited by Hasso Spode in Fundiert 1 (2006), 22.

6 Idem: Was ist Mentalitätsgeschichte? In: Kulturunterschiede. Ed. by Heinz Hahn. Frankfurt/Main 1999, 9–62.

German mnemotopes

The first of these was the Harz. Like many heavily wooded mountainous regions it used to be regarded as aesthetically repellent. But in the second half of the 18th-century – thus at about the same time as the Alps, the Scottish Highlands and the Lake District – the Harz was reassessed as a romantic idyll. It became a chronotopy.[7] Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock discovered, or invented, a quintessential German landscape here, at once the stuff of poetry, fairy tales and patriotism. Like the Alps for Rousseau, for him the Harz was a bastion of national self-assertion and of political and personal liberty. He even placed the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, which he commemorated with a play in 1769, in the Harz. Goethe, on the other hand, who was guided up the Brocken mountain by a woodsman in 1777, was impressed by the archaic local mythology, which in due course made its way into "Faust". A viewing platform was erected at the peak in 1800. The Harz became an established tourist destination, especially for Germans and the British, a "Gothic" or – what was almost a synonym – "romantic" never-never land. For Germans, the panoramic view from the summit was a solemn reminder of the wretched political condition of their fatherland: at every point of the compass they could see different sovereign territory.

The fermenting resentment of the *Kleinstaaterei* and the arbitrary power of princes in the German Confederation was also one of the driving forces behind the rise of the Middle Rhine to what was, at times, the world's top tourist destination, with a million passengers using the ships that sailed along it in the mid-19th century. The start was made in the late 18th century, with the discovery by English tourists of a landscape adorned with ruined castles. After 1800 they were followed by German intellectuals and no less a personage than the Prussian Crown Prince, who ascended the throne as Frederick William IV in 1840. In the same year Max Schneckenburger wrote the poem "Wacht am Rhein" as an appeal to be on guard against the eternally covetous French. It was later put to music and in the German Reich after 1871 had the status of a second national anthem. Since the Napoleonic wars the Rhine had been a perpetually precarious frontier and become an anchor for the identity of the nation, given its legitimising value as an historical symbol and an obvious line of continuity stretching back over the eastward expansionism of French kings to Roman times. It was clear enough to people like Friedrich Schiller and, later, Walter Rathenau that to equate modern Germans with the contemporaries of Arminius or Luther was no better than an historical construct, but the narrative was plausible, propagandist and vigorously promoted by educators,

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7 For what follows, see n. 2 above. In contrast to Pierre Nora, a place of popular memory is here understood to have a spatial dimension too. For the creation of tourist spaces see Urry, John: Consuming Places. London-New York 1995 and the relevant material in Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 2 (1998) and 7 (2005).

so that it fell on fertile soil, particularly as the foundation of the German Reich gave it the aura of triumphant success. In addition to stirring patriotic emotions, and probably earlier, the Rhine touched the hearts of tourists through its sheer romanticism: as the fount of past greatness and beauty, "linked with many of the most important events in the history of mankind", as Coghlan's Rhine travel guide put it in 1853.[8]

In view of its variety and its historical and present status as a cultural landscape – apart from the modern tourist infrastructure of hotels, excursion steamers, coach routes and, as from 1856, railway lines – the Rhine outshone even the Arcadias of the Gulf of Naples and Tuscany. Saga and history, nature and culture from the widest range of epochs: the river cruise becomes a veritable journey through time, with, according to Coghlan, the sites of the victories and defeats of the Romans, the knights and the emperors, and the wars of the modern period passing before the outer and the inner eye.

The British were more interested in the Rhine and the Harz than in the Thuringian Forest, the third early memory-landscape in Germany. At its centre stood Wartburg castle: the saga of the *Sängerkrieg* and the story of Luther's hiding-place fired the imagination and put it on a patriotic course. It was here that in 1817, on the third centenary of Reformation day, members of student fraternities formally demanded national unity and civil rights. Even after many of them had been arrested as demagogues, the ruined castle remained a place where national identity symbolically achieved concentrated form. As from 1838 it was rebuilt and extended on the orders of the Grand Duke. Weimar, not far away, acquired the status of the Parnassus of German classicism: as the cradle of the nation's cultural identity it became the target of pilgrimages by scholars from all over Europe and then the German middle classes.

It was soon followed by further peripheral mountain regions, whose local mythology or history established them as unrivalled mnemotopes, such the Teutoburg Forest, the Black Forest and the Karkonosze (Giant Mountains). Many towns and cities turned into objects of historical memory which had preserved the old, real Germany, like the romantic town of Heidelberg, where, in the wake of Rhine tourism, enthusiasm for the Neckar blossomed out, or Nuremberg and Frankfurt. In the case of Rothenburg, the town was transformed, in the Wilhelmine period, into a museum preserving the essence of Germany.

8 Coghlan, Francis: The Miniature Guide to the Rhine … London et al. 1853, 155f. (Sig. X1/00/853/GAG).

Identities

The discovery of such sites – in the sense of the attribution to them of developed authenticity and thus unrivalled status – frequently started in the decades before and after 1800, but in some cases long after. The next step was to turn them into tourist destinations that would be effective and attractive in social, constructional and economic respects. In Wilhelmine Germany a crucial role was played by associations of civil society and those with commercial interests: clubs and societies representing mountain regions and other localities, tourist and travel boards which, though their interests were often at odds, worked together to develop, prepare and market sites and areas as representations of the *Heimat* idea, i.e. the sense of belonging to and of having roots in a specific place. The diversity of small, tangible *Heimat* areas with their (re)constructed customs, dialects, landscapes, architecture and cuisine increasingly lent authenticity to the notion of the unity of the nation as the great, intangible *Heimat*, or fatherland.[9]

The nation, or people, is primarily, in this context, a cross-section of localities, a variegated entity held together by sharing in a common language, culture and, where possible, a state as the expression and instrument of a general will, in the sense intended by Rousseau. The decisionist idea, according to which the concept of the nation is based on a "subjective sense" of sharing and belonging together, as the ethnic psychologist Moritz Lazarus put it in 1880,[10] increasingly came to be found intellectually and emotionally unsatisfying, especially in the German Reich. The moral and intellectual authority of the liberal and enlightened bourgeoisie gradually crumbled, and an essentialist concept, which equated people and nation with certain unvarying essences of historical and even biological nature, gained in strength. From then on the attempt was made to resolve the tension between multiplicity and unity – given concise expression in the motto on

9 The German Reich, which around the year 1900 alone had over 300 travel boards and mountain clubs, led the way in this respect, but other countries, like France, were quick to follow. The ubiquity of *Heimat* narratives in the context of identity-building has not often been noticed in studies of cultural history. Such studies make use of national stereotypes (which they seek to criticise) by, for example, reducing the romanticism-*Heimat*-tourism syndrome to the level of a German invention, which would then perhaps issue, at precisely the right moment, in National Socialism. See Confino, Alon: The Nation as a Local Metaphor. In: History and Memory 5 (1993), 42–86. – Bausinger, Hermann: Regional and National Orientations in 19th-century Tourism. In: Regional and National Identities in Europe in the XIXth and XXth Centuries. Ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt et al. Den Haag et al. 1998, 25–66. – Petri, Rolf: Deutsche Heimat. 1850–1950. In: Comparativ 11/1 (2001), 77–127. – Corbin, Alain et al.: L'avènement des loisirs. 1850–1960. Paris-Rom 1995. – Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 2 (1998) and 5 (2002).

10 Cited in: Selbstzeugnisse des deutschen Judentums. 1870–1945. Ed. by Achim v. Borries. Frankfurt/Main 1962, 20.

the Seal of the United States, *e pluribus unum* – in favour of the latter: unity.[11] In the discourse on the *Heimat* concept, the elements that were held in common by the tribes of Germany came into prominence as a homogenising identity construct which sought rationally to explain and also modify particularism, if not do away with it. The banal and paradoxical nature of such a homogenised diversity remained a closed book to contemporaries. It is still alive today in the cherished public relations phrase "land of contrasts"[12]. The suggestion is that tourism is capable of acting as a counter to the "spirit of the age, […] which flattens out all differences" and "no longer knows or is prepared to tolerate the concepts of tribe, fatherland and Heimat".[13]

The superseding of the ruling dynasty as a source of statehood, social cohesion, continuity and identity by the sovereign but depersonalised people left behind an emotional vacuum. It was a very long process, marked by repudiations and breaks in contemporaneity, and it has still not been completed. The gap was not, at first, filled, either by the new, essentialist and organicist fiction of a homogeneous body of people, seen as an agent whose product and implement was the nation state, or by the older, decisionist, recursive if not circular definition, according to which the nation was a state-organised "solidarity community" based on a "daily plebiscite", as Ernest Renan famously put it in 1882.

The cognitive and affective meanings of tribe, fatherland and *Heimat* continued to be vague and contradictory, especially in Central Europe, which was marked by growing ethnic tensions inside an empire still held together by the Habsburg dynasty, whereas, to the North, Prussia was in fact gradually starting to be subsumed in Germany. A regionally limited concept of *Heimat* could most consistently be grasped and substantiated: notably, for example, the Eastern Alps. In the eyes of both tourists and inhabitants the region continued to be a cultural unit – and gradually also *Heimat* to a people – which had only been partitioned de jure by the establishment of the "lesser German" Reich. A travel guide definition was: "Tyrol is here generally and consistently understood to be the German-Austrian Alp lands, i.e. upper Bavaria and Tyrol plus the neighbouring mountainous areas." That was also the geographical basis for the German and Austrian Alpine Union, which gave expression less to a chauvinist "greater German claim"[14] than to a

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11 Spode, Hasso: Ressource Zukunft. Opladen 2008, 139. – For the dualism of the "rational" and "romantic" concepts of the people, see Lemberg, Eugen: Nationalismus. 2 vols. Reinbek 1964. – For its development here see only Hobsbawm, Eric: Nationen und Nationalismus. Mythos und Realität seit 1780. Frankfurt/Main-New York 1991.

12 A Google search for "land of contrasts" produced 75,000 hits, ranging from Guinea to Idaho.

13 Woerl (cf. n. 4), 30, very much the same idea as Riehl's. – Löfgren (cf. n. 2), 48f.

14 Thus Amstädter, Rainer: Der Alpinismus. Kultur, Organisation, Politik. Wien 1996. – But cf. Kinzel, Karl: Wie reist man in Oberbayern und Tirol. 11th edn. Schwerin 1914, here 11 (Sig. X1/03/911/KIN). – Spode, Hasso: Deutsch-österreichischer Tourismus und nationale Identi-

mental map of the Eastern Alps, where political frontiers were of little account and which sought to compete with Switzerland as the first choice for tourists.

In any case the allocation of a patriotic function to travel is of secondary importance compared with the basal temporalisation of differences, which is what turns heterotopy into chronotopy. It is done by pushing what is old, and therefore genuine, free, heroic, idyllic, etc., out to the periphery. Germany, which had for a long time been a "highly civilised" but politically backward region, was, in the 19th century, a tourist destination par excellence. The Rhine had pride of place, and not only for the British. Writing in Bingen, Victor Hugo declared himself inspired by the sight of history, and, even after the loss of Strasbourg, Conty's Blue Guide to the Rhine continued to appear in Paris. It does not have a single bad thing to say about the Germans – except that the hotel beds "laissent en géneral beaucoup à desirer".[15] Inbound tourists took to the great mnemotope as a region that belonged less to the nations than to "mankind" (Coghlan), though the Rhine took until 1954 to become a listed World Heritage Site. Any possible gain in national or local pride for the inhabitants is only a secondary product of the tourist experience.[16]

Such spaces in popular memory saw the creation or further development of distinctive markers which referred back to nature and/or the past and thus served as reliable beacons of identity, whether in relation to the region, the nation or mankind. But sight-seeing tourism – channelled and shaped by the number of stars Baedeker awarded for sights as from 1846 – was by no means the only form tourism took.[17]

The pan-European leisure network

In addition – and with the ascent of the middle classes into the tourist stratum – travel was supposed to bring rest and recovery. Justifying participation in tourism by reference to the "regeneration of energy for work" implied that guests remained basically at their destination and made excursions from there. This ap-

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tät. In: Verfreundete Nachbarn. Deutschland – Österreich. Ed. by Hermann Schäfer. Bielefeld 2005, 144–154.

15 Conty, [H.-A. de]: Les bords du Rhin en poche. 4th edn. Paris 1896 (Sig. *CONTY/RHIN-4). The first edition of this guide, modelled on Baedeker, Murray and Coghlan, appeared in 1864.

16 As a rule this was something they had to learn from the tourists. The process of subjection to tourism was therefore marked by conflicts over the correct use of sites, including the Rhine. Particularly in the case of Egypt and Italy – but not Germany – many tourists took the view that a great heritage had been left in the hands of unworthy administrators.

17 Koshar, Rudy: German Travel Cultures. Oxford-New York 2000. For the distinction between mobile and stationary tourism, see Urbain, Jean-Didier: Sur la plage. Moeurs et coutumes. Paris 1994. – For the rest and recovery motive in the latter, see Corbin (cf. n. 9). – Spode 2010 (cf. n. 2).

plied to the health and seaside resorts and also – often as a preliminary to their being developed for tourism – the cheaper summer resorts.

All three types of destination were chronotopes. Life on holiday was experienced as being different from "real life": more than that, it was different in a specific way, more original and therefore more authentic.[18] Common to seaside and summer resorts was that they were the destination of choice for family holidays: places for women and children. But only the summer resorts could also function, to some extent, as mnemotopes. As there was little evidence of the provision of social amenities, buildings and landscape infrastructure for tourist needs, the resorts seemed to the tourists to be countryside idylls under threat from progress and thus a *Heimat* or chosen home, each one shaped to its locality. Meanwhile, by the turn of the century, demand for greater convenience and better transport connections led to the summer resorts becoming increasingly interchangeable, at least when there were no personal ties to the landlord.

This applied even more to the health and seaside resorts with their commercial lodgings and offers of leisure activities. Here too, nature, in the guise of mineral springs and the sea, was the launchpad for tourist development. But it was not long before spaces were shaped and created, ambitious in design and construction, places for the non-authentic, aimed at providing various forms of diversion: dances and costume balls, gambling and prostitution, sport and games, open-air concerts and fireworks. Naturalness now needed a new home and found it in relations between the tourists: the class barriers imposed by birth were blurred, and an egalitarian, good-natured manner was the ideal. A middle-class visitor wrote enthusiastically about Heiligendamm in 1823: "All bathers […] are equal in the wet element, and all differences of class vanish."[19] In the early days the tourist world of the health and seaside resorts served as a laboratory for a middle-class, democratic society.

Increasingly, however, this world came to be sealed off against the local inhabitants, whose only contact with the guests was required to be as service personnel, and it also developed its own internal barriers of taste and social class. A glance at German seaside resorts on the Baltic around 1900, for example, shows us that in Zoppot it was Poles and Russians who set the tone, in Swinemünde Prussian of-

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18 Theodor Fontane noted: "For eleven months you have to live, in the twelfth you want to live", cited in Spode 2010 (cf. n. 2), ch. II. – For what follows, see n. 2 above and Fuhs, Burkhard: Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft. Kultur und Geschichte der Kurstädte. 1700–1900. Hildesheim et al. 1992.

19 Anonym: Reise eines Gesunden in die Seebäder Swinemünde, Putbus und Dobberan. [Reprint] Wismar [no date], 183. – To defuse issues of rank the Grand Duke forbade, in Doberan-Heiligendamm, the lifting of the hat on greeting; also the Mecklenburgers from the surrounding area were given access to gambling tables and the ballroom; the Duke loved chatting with them in north German dialect.

ficers, in Ahlbeck the middle ranks of the Berlin bourgeoisie, and in Heringsdorf the representatives of high finance. At times the setting of distinctions took an anti-Semitic turn, particularly in less established summer and seaside resorts like Borkum, while the elegant resorts like Baden-Baden did their best to attract an affluent Jewish clientèle.[20] In the exclusive seaside resorts it was not ethnic but social groups that were excluded. The less well off could hope to glimpse crowned heads and other celebrities on the promenades, but at the *table d'hôte* and in the ballroom high society kept to itself. Travel guides wrote about the "*fashionable* life at the seaside" – and the world was indeed a guest at the resorts.

Wiesbaden called itself a world cultural centre as early as 1852. By 1900 a network of exclusive leisure resorts had covered the continent, with dependencies in North Africa and North America. They focused on the Central European mountain regions (Karlsbad, Kissingen, Ischl, etc.) and ranged to the Alpine lakes in the South (Lucerne, Meran, Lugano, etc.), the cool coasts in the North (Deauville, Ostend, Nordeney, Travemünde, etc.), the Riviera (Nice, Monte Carlo, San Remo, etc.) and the Adriatic (Abbazia, Brioni, etc.). From the perspective of the period these sophisticated resorts differed considerably, each with its own flair, composed of climate, topography, architecture and the fine distinctions in the social structure of the guests. But from the historical viewpoint they form a unit, a single space for the experience of luxury and high fashion, created for the elite within what was already an elitist tourist class: rulers and other aristocrats, business magnates, high-ranking military, politicians, celebrated artists, writers and scientists – and their wives.

This leisure class was not often inclined to work, and was constantly on the move. It was not just that several trips were made annually, but also that there were frequent changes of venue, as can be seen from the biographies of well-known travellers. Thus we find Bismarck making his summer retreat sometimes Biarritz, sometimes Nordeney, sometimes Kissingen, and on a famous occasion Ems. What developed in the sophisticated health and seaside resorts was, on the one hand, a displaced, frivolous society where Victorian conventions and distinctions of social background could be handled more flexibly than in everyday life. On the other it was a stage on which the serious business of displaying and aggrandising capital in financial, cultural and social form was performed, an arena for the pursuit of corporate, family and even state policy. Sholem Aleichem caricatured this world, bathed in mild and ironic light, on the model of his own mi-

20 Resort anti-Semitism broke out in the USA in the 1870s and spread to parts of Europe, particularly Eastern Europe and Austria, and also Germany, but there was very little in Western Europe otherwise. See Bajohr, Frank: "Unser Hotel ist judenfrei". Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/Main 2003.

lieu[21]: as a Jewish cosmos of Love and Intrigue, with career-obsessed mothers organising the marriage market. Men about town, big merchants and speculators, and particularly their wives and daughters, made up a supranational but hermetically sealed-off society which was continually communicating and travelling great distances. Political boundaries did not mean very much to a polyglot leisure class. The cultural spaces they noticed, if any, were transnational or regional; their mental maps were composed of picturesque costumes, landscapes and climate, and primarily determined by the presence of other tourists.

Thanks to the enormous mobility of their leisure – the prototypes being the German "travelling Kaiser", Wilhelm II, and the Belgian king, Leopold II – the upper classes set up for themselves the "pan-Europe of rail travel" that the Belgian entrepreneur, Georges Nagelmackers, had dreamed of. He established the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lit on the model of American Pullman trains in 1867 and thus ushered in the era of fast, luxurious long-distance travel.[22] A relaxed approach was taken to border controls. Apart from Russia and certain states on its periphery, it was possible on the eve of the First World War to travel across Europe in all directions without a passport or a visa. It was enough to show a P.O. identification card. On request travel organisers like Cook and Stangen accompanied tourists to foreign countries, providing full board and all the extras, such as concert tickets. In 1898 the Kaiser even commissioned Cook to organise and arrange his grandiose state visit to Palestine. The communications network was efficient and comprehensive. It was a simple matter to "wire" Nice from Berlin to say which room one needed two days later. Letters and newspapers were delivered quickly and reliably; the telegraph and the telephone ensured constant accessibility.

The middle classes of society, that is to say, the majority of tourists, had mixed feelings about the doings of the pan-European elite. On one hand they tried to emulate them. First, they adopted the methods and outward forms of elite travel. The blessings of progress made their way, one after the other, into even the more modest health and seaside resorts: hotels, paved and well lit streets, spa parks, communications technology, etc. Second, they followed them geographically. Not many of the exclusive leisure resorts remained exclusive. Tourism abroad, initially to neighbouring countries, increased. Germans were attracted to Cisleithanian Austria – which seemed to them more home than abroad – and to the seaside resorts of Belgium, Holland and Denmark; and especially to Switzerland, where they replaced the British as the largest national tourist group. In this case the German

21 Marienbad. Kein Roman in 36 Briefen, 13 Billets-doux und 47 Telegrammen. München 1972 [1911]. – Fuhs (cf. n. 18). – Prein, Philipp: Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert. Freizeit, Kommunikation und soziale Grenzen. Dissertation, Berlin 2002. – Bajohr (cf. n. 20). – Spode 2010 (cf. n. 2).

22 Griep, Wolfgang: Wie das Essen auf Räder kam. In: Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 5 (2002), 123–143.

upper middle classes acted as "pioneers of mass tourism".[23] Notes on Lucerne – a "metropolis of the world of travel" – included: everything is "mirthful wealth and pomp", yet nevertheless everyone finds here "what he is looking for: the man of the world finds luxury and sophistication, the ordinary citizen […] a middle-class home from home, and even the student on the move a modest lodging".[24]

On the other hand people were defiantly critical of cultural trends, an attitude which occurs much more frequently in the writings that have survived – which is of course no guide to the distribution of opinion among the citizenry at large. The tourism discourse that was made public, at any rate, was dominated by those of a down-to-earth disposition. They regarded as morally reprehensible the way people in the "so-called better health and seaside resorts", according to Leo Woerl, paid homage to "fashion, luxurious clothes, intoxicating pleasures", and they bemoaned the social and architectural dislocation that resulted from upper-class recuperative tourism: the deformation of nature by the "gigantic hotels, waiters, motor cars, mountain railways (and) the exaggerated, maddening business sense".[25]

It is certainly true that upper-class recuperative tourism pushed forward the homogenisation of Europe. Small Swiss houses were built on the Baltic, palm trees were planted in Lucerne. The efforts to promote the locally typical – from alphorn players on Mount Rigi to Basque pelote courts in Biarritz – meant the overall picture otherwise was reduced to a few symbols. The process was primarily of value to the souvenir industry, and provided picturesque markers which helped to distinguish tourist destinations from each other, despite their unvarying Grand Hotels with their globalised *Grande Cuisine*. The competition among the leisure resorts blossomed into – to borrow from Sigmund Freud – a "narcissism of little differences"[26]. The real basis of the European leisure network was the emancipation of the spaces not developed for tourism and the people in them, as demanded by the protectors of the natural heritage, together with the lack of interest in the special and distinctive, and finally the call for uniform standards and fashions as a matter of course.

Then came the summer of 1914. After the assassination at Sarajevo, Kaiser Wilhelm made a point of putting out to sea for his annual voyage to Norway. But then a limited punitive action against Serbian terrorists metamorphosed into the Great War. The hazardous configuration of power during the long 19th century, and the combination of nationalism and capitalism, issued in what George F. Ken-

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23 For a retrospective study of tourism in Switzerland, see Gölden, Hubert: Strukturwandlungen des schweizerischen Fremdenverkehrs. 1890–1935. Zürich 1939 (Sig. FV-S/939/GOE).

24 Führer für Luzern, Vierwaldstättersee und Umgebung. Ed. by the Offizielle Verkehrs-Kommission Luzern. 21st edn. Luzern 1912, 6 and 9 (Sig. S20/912/HEE).

25 Woerl (cf. n. 4), 14f. – Kinzel (cf. n. 14), 20.

26 Freud, Sigmund: Das Unbehagen in der Kultur. Frankfurt/Main 1972, 104.

nan called the "ultimate catastrophe". It extinguished the pan-European brilliance which had had a pilot function for a later, experience-oriented society, and which made a significant contribution to the creation of a European cultural space. The bureaucrats and fiscal experts, however, now erected high barriers against cross-border tourism, justifying their measures with the magic formula "balance of payments". "A wall of scribblings and filing systems is separating nations from each other," complained the travel journalist Victor Auburtin.[27]

Final remarks

The temporalisation of cultural differences and their increasingly commercial use by tourism set in motion a dialectic of the construction of space. The tourist concept of authenticity produced, on the one hand, a conscious effort to differentiate between spaces: places of popular memory provided a special and specific basis for the development of local, regional and – as a cross-total embracing the local diversity – national identities. On the other hand it resulted in a diffusion of the modern. The glamorous leisure resorts went so far towards satisfying the demands of the tourist class for convenience and safety that they formed a purified, unspecific experience space in its own right, for which the surrounding area served as a legitimising background, providing the local colour. Authenticity had to find its primary space in internal relations: relations among tourists. Like the *Grand Tour* in the past, elite tourism around 1900 had the effect of homogenising European space, the more so as the affluent middle classes gradually became able to emulate the elite. Since then the "replaceability of destinations" (as Siegfried Krakauer later put it) has been a red rag for the cultural critics.

Nationalism and the doctrine of self-sufficiency split the peoples of Europe apart after the First World War, but the tourist dialectic of differentiation and homogenisation continued to operate in a national framework. Thus the National Socialist leisure and tourist organisation "Strength Through Joy" promoted the boosting of love of the *Heimat* by travel to the country's periphery, and followed up by building a state-of-the-art seaside resort for the masses on the Baltic coast that repudiated any link with the surrounding cultural landscape. There were similar developments elsewhere, especially in the United Kingdom, where in the same period hundreds of thousands used Butlin's commercially operated summer holiday camps. In practice, however, the state and commercial organisers only managed to break down middle-class privilege in the sphere of travel long after the Second World War. The triumph of mass tourism around 1970 gave the dis-lo-

27 Cited in: Sand und Sachsen. Berlin 2000 [1920], 59. Foreign-exchange restrictions had an even greater prohibitive effect than passport and registration regulations. The former culminated in the 1000-mark limit imposed on Austria by the National Socialist regime. See Schäfer (cf. n. 14).

cation of travel destinations a new dimension, especially in the form of utopian southern beaches and the giant hotels that came with them.[28]

To be set against what George Ritzer calls the "globalisation of nothing", there is still, undiminished, the identity-creating function of tourism on the regional and national levels. In recognition of this Brussels, working at the interface between identity and tourism policy, seeks to create places and landscapes of memory to be shared by all Europe – in the form of culture capitals, pilgrimage routes and the like.[29] A praiseworthy enterprise. But as a rule mnemotopes do not simply owe their existence to an order from above, but develop through the interplay with agents of civil society. In the European Union (EU), however, in contrast to the German Confederation, no general public has developed strongly enough to be the medium for the creation of transnational symbols coming from below. Above all: what is there to talk and argue about? Europe, having taken the form of an economically and geopolitically motivated association of sharply divergent (political) cultures, does not have the will to turn itself into a genuine community. To be more precise: the will is absent in many EU member states. Like the German Confederation in 1815, the EU in 2007 decided, at the instigation of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, to do without a flag and an anthem – the most powerful symbols of a community of states. And finally there is also no consensus on the limits of potential expansion: the "distension"[30] of the Union has left the project of creating specifically pan-European – and not, for example, fully universal – mnemotopes without clear aims and without chance of success, as far as its identity-forming intentions are concerned. The programme can however be re-submitted, if, some day, a core-European "coalition of the willing" should emerge in the EU.

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28 For the tensions between localising and de-limiting in tourism see the relevant material in: Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 7 (2005). – Löfgren (cf. n. 2). – From the perspective of structural design, see: Tourismusarchitektur. Ed. by Felicitas Romeiss-Stracke. Berlin 2008. – For the consumer-history perspective: Siegrist, Hannes: Konsumkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts in regionalgeschichtlicher Perspektive. In: Der lange Weg in den Überfluss. Ed. by Michael Prinz. Paderborn et al. 2003, 491–514.

29 Daheim in Europa. Formen von Europäisierung in der Region. Ed. by Reinhard Johler. Tübingen 2004. – Gostmann, Peter/Wagner, Gerhard: Europa als Mnemotop. Kulturtourismus und die Konstruktion europäischer Identität. In: Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Soziologie 31 (2005), 583–606. – Enser, Stephan: Europa als Mnemotop. Kulturtourismus als Programm europäischer Identitätsbildung. In: Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- & Tourismusforschung 7 (2005), 103–120.

30 Peter Glotz's word was "Zerweiterung", cited in Spode (cf. n. 11), 133.