

The History of Tourism: Structures on the Path to Modernity

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Various academic disciplines have repeatedly sought to re-evaluate the significance of tourism. Globalised tourism's socio-economic place within the framework of the leisure and holidaying opportunities on offer today has attracted particular attention. Such accounts often leave out the fact that this also has a history. The present article aims to overcome this shortcoming: it seeks to present an overview of the important structures, processes, types and trends of tourism against the background of historical developments. It deals with early forms of travel in the classical world and the Middle Ages, as well as the precursors of modern tourism, Bildungsreisen ("educational journeys") and the middle-class culture of travel. It then examines the boom in mass tourism in the 19th century and the unique expansion of tourism in the 1960s characterised by new forms of holidaying and experience shaped by globalisation.

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Tourism as a Globalised System

Tourism is often seen as a global phenomenon with an almost incomprehensibly massive infrastructure. Its importance is evident from the fact that its influence thoroughly penetrates society, politics, culture and, above all, the economy. Indeed, this is the branch of the global economy with the most vigorous growth: the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) estimates that in 2007 it encompassed 903 million tourists who spent 625 billion US dollars.¹ They thereby supported a global system with roughly 100 million employees in the modern leisure and experience industry. There exists a complex, interwoven world-wide structure dedicated to satisfying the specific touristic needs of mobile individuals, groups and masses. Since its inception, tourism has polarised: it reveals numerous views ranging from the total approval of its potential for enriching self-realisation combined with recreation to critical rejection due to the belief that it causes harm through the systematic dumbing down of entertainment and avoidable environmental destruction.

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Beginning in the early 1920s, an early theory of *Fremdenverkehr* – a now obsolete term for tourism – emerged in the German-speaking world that dealt mainly with business and economic problems; since the 1960s, it has been replaced by the ever-expanding field of tourism studies. This gives many disciplines the space to approach the subject of tourism, or at least aspects of it, from their own particular academic perspective. Today, tourism studies means the multi-disciplinary bundle of academic approaches in the sense of an undisguised "transdiscipline",² which can find different applications. However, tourism studies does not exist as an integrated field of study. Instead, there are countless empirical accounts, case studies, approaches, theories and perspectives in individual disciplines, including economy, geography, psychology, architecture, ecology, sociology, political science and medicine.

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At first, the fields of business studies and economics dominated a study of tourism that was grounded in an institutional approach;³ general accounts,⁴ analyses from the cultural sciences and historical surveys⁵ came conspicuously late. Admittedly, cultural and social history, as well as historical anthropology,⁶ have been opening up to the questions surround-

ing tourism for some time.⁷ However, these are perceived differently to those studies undertaken by economists and social scientists. At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the historical prerequisites and development of travelling habits and holidaying styles if one wants to understand the nature of tourism today. This is true not only of concepts and ideas associated with the topic, but also the specific insights which the disciplines employed aim to provide. Conducting historical research on tourism within the context of the discipline of history is not synonymous with the task of writing a history of tourism (or parts of it).⁸

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This article takes the second approach. It is a conscious attempt to give an overview that picks up on the classic processes, stages, types and trends of modern tourism in order to place them in the context of their historical development. In general, there is a consensus that one should understand tourism as a phenomenon of modernity and place its appearance in the context of middle-class society from about the middle of the eighteenth century. However, this does not exclude historically older, "related" forms of travel, which should at least be remembered here. Not every journey is a touristic journey; mobility has many modalities. It is sensible to separate travelling as a means to an end (for example, expulsion, migration, war, religion, trade) and travelling as an end in itself in the encoded sense of tourism (education, relaxation, leisure, free time, sociability, entertainment).

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Early Forms of Travel and Types of Journey

Recreational and educational travel already existed in the classical world and, even earlier, in Egypt under the pharaohs. In the latter, there is evidence of journeys emanating from a luxury lifestyle and the search for amusement, experience and relaxation. The privileged groups of the population cultivated the first journeys for pleasure. Their writings tell us that they visited famous monuments and relics of ancient Egyptian culture, including, for example, the step pyramid of Sakkara, the Sphinx and the great pyramids of Gizeh – buildings that had been constructed a good thousand years earlier. The Greeks had similar traditions. They travelled to Delphi in order to question the Oracle, participated in the Pythian Games (musical and sporting competitions) or the early Olympic Games. Herodot (485–424 B.C.) (→ Media Link #ab), the well-travelled writer with an interest in both history and ethnology who visited Egypt, North Africa, the Black Sea, Mesopotamia and Italy, pioneered a new type of research trip.¹⁰

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Classical Rome also gave impetus to travelling and particular forms of holiday. Holiday travel became increasingly important due to the development of infrastructure. Around 300 A.D., there existed a road network with 90,000 kilometres of major thoroughfares and 200,000 kilometres of smaller rural roads. These facilitated not only the transport of soldiers and goods, but also private travel. Above all, wealthy travellers seeking edification and pleasure benefited from this system. In the first century after Christ, there was a veritable touristic economy which organised travel for individuals and groups, provided information and dealt with both accommodation and meals.¹¹ The well-off Romans sought relaxation in the seaside resorts in the South or passed time on the beaches of Egypt and Greece. The classical world did not only have the "bathing holiday", but also developed an early form of "summer health retreat" in swanky thermal baths and luxury locations visited by rich urban citizens during the hot months. Something that had its origins primarily in healthcare soon mutated into holidays for pleasure and entertainment, which could also include gambling and prostitution. The decline of the Roman Empire caused the degeneration of many roads. Travel became more difficult, more dangerous and more complicated.

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The mobility of mediaeval corporate society was shaped by its own forms and understandings of travel tailored to diverse groups, including merchants, students, soldiers, pilgrims, journeymen, beggars and robbers. From the twelfth century, the movement of errant scholars became increasingly important. Journeys to famous educational institutions in France (Paris, Montpellier), England (Oxford) and Italy (Bologna) became both a custom and a component of education. The desire to experience the world emerged as an individual, unique guiding principle. Travelling tuned from a means into an end: now, one travelled in order to learn on the road and developed in doing so a love of travel and life that not infrequently crossed over into licentiousness and the abandonment of mores. With regard to the motivation for travel, one can see here an important process with long-term repercussions – travelling and wandering has, since then, been seen as a means of confronting oneself and achieving self-realisation."Das subjektive Reiseerlebnis wird zu einem

Kennzeichen der beginnenden Neuzeit: auf Reisen erlebt das eigene Ich seine Befreiung."¹²

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The journeyman years of trainee craftsmen can be seen as a counterpart to those errant students "studying" at the "university of life". The travels of journeymen were part of the highly traditional world of artisan and guild structures, for which documentation exists from the middle of the 14th century. Beginning in the 16th century, the guilds prescribed the common European practice of journeying as an obligatory element of training, often lasting three to four years. This survived as an institution with a rich and highly regimented set of codes well into the 18th century. The fundamental idea was that one could mature and learn while travelling, experience the world and improve one's craft in order to grow through a test and return as an accomplished man. The fact that not all journeymen were successful and often suffered terrible fates is evident from reports of an "epidemic of journeymen" that circulated in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹³

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Precursors of Modern Tourism

An early form and precursor of modern tourism was the grand tour undertaken by young nobles between the 16th and 18th centuries. (→ Media Link #ad) This possessed its own, new structures that were clearly defined by corporate status: the original goal was to broaden one's education, mark the end of childhood and acquire and hone social graces; however, over time, leisure and pleasure became increasingly important. On the one hand, this created the differentiated paradigm of travel "as an art".¹⁴ On the other, the search for amusement and enjoyment implied an element of travelling as an end in itself.¹⁵ The classic grand tour lasted between one and three years. Route, sequence and contacts, not to mention the educational programme, were planned down to the last detail. The aristocrats travelled with an entourage of equerries, tutors, mentors, protégés, domestic servants, coachmen and other staff. These provided for safety, comfort, education, supervision and pleasure in accordance with their specialised area of responsibility.

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From England, the tours went on to, for example, France and Italy. Trips to the classical sites of Italy represented the highpoint of the journey, but large cities in other countries were visited: London, Paris, Amsterdam, Madrid, Munich, Vienna and Prague had considerable drawing power. During the tour, the young aristocrats visited royal courts and aristocratic estates for, after all, one goal was to teach them the appropriate etiquette and social graces through practice.¹⁶ The nobles attended princely audiences, learned how to behave themselves at court and took part in parties and festivals:

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Ausbildung in Tanz, Reiten und Fechten, Erwerb und Verbessern von Sprachkenntnissen, Besuch von Universitätskursen, Anknüpfen gesellschaftlicher und wirtschaftlicher Verbindungen, Praxis im standesgemäßen Auftreten und in gewandten Umgangsformen – all das stand auf dem Programm der Adligen während der Reise.¹⁷

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Therefore, the aristocrats' political, social and professional concerns determined the destinations, but these also catered to their interest in art, pleasure and leisure. The nobles barely came into contact with other classes and social groups – the social supervision of the entourage ensured this. (→ Media Link #ae) This was a specific form of *dirigisme* that followed strong social norms, was exclusive and elitist, and aimed to preserve the rule of the aristocracy. Two aspects are of importance for the history of touristic travel: the destination and the encounter with foreign countries and sights, interestingly at the interface of a supposed cultural gap between North and South:

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Sie [die Adligen] bereisen Italien im Bewusstsein der eigenen politischen Stärke und organisatorischen Effektivität, des wirtschaftlichen Erfolges und des technischen Fortschritts. Zugleich aber in Bewunderung der kulturellen und künstlerischen Leistungen Italiens und dessen sublimen und kultivierten gesellschaftlichen Umgangsformen. Die Reise nach Italien wird zum Blick zurück in eine als niveauller bewertete Kultur, an deren Grundwerten sie sich noch orientieren. Die neue Welt zollt der alten Welt ihren Respekt – ein Grundmuster des Tourismus, das auch in den Reisen von Römern nach Griechenland oder in der Europa-Reise von Amerikanern wiederzufinden ist.¹⁸

From the Enlightenment into the 19th century, *Bildungsreisen* ("educational journeys") undertaken by the (upper) middle class were an important stage in the development of tourism. The travels of the educated middle classes imitated those of prominent poets and philosophers, for example Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) (→ Media Link #af), Charles Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) (→ Media Link #ag), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) (→ Media Link #ah), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) (→ Media Link #ai), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) (→ Media Link #aj) and many others. They all travelled to Italy or France in search of edification and discussed the knowledge acquired abroad and their experiences in literary works, travelogues and travel novels. Educational travel expanded with the inclusion of other strata of the population and shorter trips. People journeyed in coaches, explored the countryside and cities, visited landmarks in order to experience nature, culture and art directly on the spot and deepen one's understanding of them. Alongside middle-class travels in search of education and art, there developed a form of travelling oriented towards culture, industry and technology. These were information-gathering journeys driven by professional interests and economic motivations. The representatives of a middle-class entrepreneurial strata travelled to France, Britain and Germany with the express goal of learning about the technological progress and innovations of industrialisation. (→ Media Link #al) They were interested in current developments in trade, agriculture, industry, technology and manufacturing, which they explored through direct contact with individuals.

The "early", "pre-" or "developmental" phase¹⁹ of modern tourism is generally considered to have lasted from the 18th century to the first third of the 19th century. During this stage, touristic travel remained confined to a minority of wealthy nobles and educated professionals. For them, travelling was a demonstrative expression of their social class which communicated power, status, money and leisure. Two characteristics stand out: on the one hand, the search for pleasure increasingly supplanted the educational aspects; on the other, wealthy members of the middle classes sought to imitate the travelling behaviour of the nobles and the upper middle classes. Consequently,²⁰ aristocrats who wanted to avoid mixing with the parvenu bourgeoisie sought more exclusive destinations and pastimes. This is evident in the fact that they found renewed enthusiasm for bathing holidays and took up residence in luxurious spa towns with newly built casinos. These included Baden-Baden, Karlsbad, Vichy and Cheltenham, where life centred around social occasions, receptions, balls, horse races, adventures and gambling. Here, too, the nobles were "swamped" by entrepreneurs and factory owners. In response, they created a socially appropriate form of holidaying in coastal resorts. The British aristocracy enjoyed Brighton and the Côte d'Azur, or wintered in Malta, Madeira or Egypt.

The Foundations of Modern Tourism

In the context of the history of tourism, the term "introductory phase" refers to all the developments, structures and innovations of modern tourism between the first third of the 19th century and around 1950.²¹ This had its own "starting phase", which lasted until 1915.²² This period witnessed the beginning of a comprehensive process characterised by a prototypical upsurge in a middle-class culture of travel and its formation, popularisation and diversification. It prepared the way for a mass tourism recognisable to modern concepts of spending leisure time. The development progressed episodically and built upon a number of changing social conditions and factors. The most important undoubtedly include not only the advance of industrialisation, demographic changes, urbanisation and the revolution in transportation, but also the improvement of social and labour rights, the rise in real income and the resulting changes in consumer demand.²³

As early as the beginning of the 19th century, the opening up of the Central European system of transport brought about enormous change that genuinely deserves the designation as a "revolutionary development". It also improved the mobility of tourists and created new trends. Short-stay and day trips became popular and made use of the modern advances in transport technology. Steam navigation began in Scotland in 1812; the continuous use of steam ships on German watercourses followed in 1820 and, in 1823, Switzerland received its first steam ship on Lake Geneva. Railways also created greater mobility. The first sections of track were opened in England in 1825, in France in 1828, in Germany in 1835, in Switzerland in 1844/1847 and in Italy in 1839. However, the railway's use and popularisation of touristic routes and destinations only began somewhat later with the introduction of mountain railways towards the end of the

19th century. (→ Media Link #an) The Vitznau-Rigi railway in Switzerland was Europe's first mountain railway in 1871. The new means of transport enabled not only an increase in transport carrying capacity, but also reduced the cost of travelling. Moreover, ship and rail travel extend tourists' field of vision, bringing about a distinct form of "panoramatised" perception (i.e. the background replacing the foreground as the centre of attention) and encouraging an interest in travel writing.²⁴

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It is true that the railway was not created to promote tourism. However, from mid-19th century, the latter employed the convenience of rail transport for its own purposes. The railway therefore is rightly considered to be the midwife at the birth of modern mass tourism.²⁵ One must still keep in mind that touristic travel remained the preserve of privileged parts of the population.²⁶ This travelling acted as a form of middle-class self-therapy, the removal of the middle-class self from its existence in the shadow of the old aristocratic world in order to learn about modernity via a paradigmatic experience.²⁷ It was another century before the lower middle and working classes could go on holiday. At first, they had to make do with day trips by train and ship in order to escape the city briefly. (→ Media Link #ao) The foremost practitioners of middle-class tourism were the manufacturing and trading families, educated professionals working in the state bureaucracy, schools and universities, as well as the new 'freelance professions', including writers, journalists, lawyers, artists, who were able to take the first steps out of the corporate society.²⁸ From the 1860s, there were portentous indications of a popularisation. Travelling became a form of popular movement and an answer to the desire to relax among large sections of the population following the advance of industrialisation and urbanisation.

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A number of instructional materials, steering mechanisms, innovations and forms of holiday of the 19th century were developed for middle-class travelling and holidaying needs. Guidebooks and travelogues in the form of travel literature acquired increasing importance; this type of text²⁹ should not be underestimated – they had their precursors in the 18th century and created touristic destinations and perceptions. The *Briefe über die Schweiz* (1784–1785) by the Göttingen professor Christoph Meiners (1747–1810) (→ Media Link #ap)³⁰ and Heinrich Heidegger's (1738–1823) (→ Media Link #aq) *Handbuch für Reisende durch die Schweiz* (1787) set a pattern.³¹ In terms of production and sales, Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) (→ Media Link #ar) achieved the greatest success as a writer of 19th-century German guidebooks. (→ Media Link #as) He founded his publishing house in 1827 and produced a series of guidebooks with reliable, well-researched content. Their standardised format allowed the reader to find guidance and advice quickly and easily; the books developed their own way of conveying information.³² "The Baedeker", however, contained more than information and recommendations; the publisher defined a style of travel and which tourist attractions were worth visiting: Indeed, tourist attractions soon became touristic obligations; sightseeing became a must.³³ John Murray's (1808–1892) (→ Media Link #at) publishing house in London had a similar goal; in 1836, it successfully brought out the "Red Book" – the first guidebook to Holland, Belgium and the Rhineland. Guidebooks, with their own, prominently normative didacticism occupy a place in the interesting history of functional writing.³⁴

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The Boom in Mass Tourism in the 19th Century

Organised group holidays offering an all-inclusive price that reduced the travellers' costs were an innovation of the 1840s. Thomas Cook (1808-1892) (→ Media Link #au), a brilliant entrepreneur from England, is seen as their inventor³⁵ and thus the pioneer of commercialised mass tourism. His first all-inclusive holiday in 1841 took 571 people from Leicester to Loughborough and supplied both meals and brass music. From 1855, Cook offered guided holidays abroad, for example in 1863 to Switzerland. These catered to a mixed clientele, from heads of state and princes to average representatives of the middle, lower middle and working classes. Cook, inspired by clear socio-political motives, wanted to use Sunday excursions to tempt workers out of the misery and alcoholism of the cities into the green of the countryside. He had more success with inexpensive all-inclusive holidays, often to foreign destinations, for the middle class. His introduction of vouchers for hotels and tourist brochures was highly innovative.³⁶

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Cook's pioneering role in the emergence of mass tourism is widely recognised. He influenced the travel agencies later opened in Germany, above all those associated with the names of Rominger (Stuttgart, 1842), Schenker & Co. (München, 1889) and the Stangen Brothers (Breslau, 1863). Carl Stangen (1833–1911) (→ Media Link #av) organised

holidays through Europe, then from 1873 to Palestine and Egypt, before extending them to the whole world in 1878. Over this period, the travel agency was able to establish itself as a specialised institution. It channelled ever greater demands for relaxation and variety among broadening social strata: from the 1860s, travelling became a type of "popular movement" that spread throughout society. The German writer Theodor Fontane (1819–1898) (→ Media Link #aw) remarked in 1877: "Zu den Eigentümlichkeiten unserer Zeit gehört das Massenreisen. Sonst reisten bevorzugte Individuen, jetzt reist jeder und jede ... Alle Welt reist ... Der moderne Mensch, angestrongter, wie er wird, bedarf auch größerer Erholung".³⁷

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The opening of the Alps (→ Media Link #ax) to tourists was an equally important development of the 19th century. It was preceded by an affinity for nature acquired under the influence of the Enlightenment and Romanticism that sentimentalised the mountains. This created a flock of what would soon be called tourists made up of researchers, nobles, artists, painters, writers and other members of the educated classes, as well as the upwardly mobile middle classes, who followed Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) (→ Media Link #ay), Horace-Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799) (→ Media Link #az) (→ Media Link #b0) and Rousseau in their search for natural beauty and the mountains. This romanticisation of alpine harmony replaced the mediaeval fear of the mountains and underwent a "touristisation" over the 19th century. Two groups propelled this process – the aristocracy and the new middle class. The pioneers were enthusiastic British mountaineers who pursued the exclusive sport in Switzerland, charging up the summit and encouraging the development of infrastructure (the construction of hotels, Alpine huts, mountain railways, Anglican chapels and so on) through their continued presence, as well as leaving behind the traces of a cultural transfer. One interpretation of this is that "die als Eroberungen ausgegebenen Bergbesteigungen nichts anderes als die Fortführung imperialer Politik mit anderen Mitteln darstellten, zunächst in den westlichen Teilen, dann ... in den östlichen Teilen der Alpen, danach zunehmend in Hochgebirgsregionen außerhalb Europa, vor allem in Asien"³⁸

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Mountaineering associations founded across the continent led the way. Significantly, the first was the Alpine Club (1857) in London, followed by the Austrian *Alpenverein* (1862), the Swiss *Alpenclub* (1863), the *Club Alpino Italiano* (1863) and the German *Alpenverein* (1869). Most of these subsequent associations set themselves broader goals than the British club, which chose to remain an aristocratic sports body. The mountaineering associations soon acquired popularity, although they were somewhat conservative, and their impact was enormous. They produced club reports, almanacs and guidebooks to routes, while membership increased considerably and the infrastructure (hotels, bread and breakfasts, huts, guide, paths and cable cars) was extended. The mountaineering associations and their branches soon stimulated a mass middle-class mountaineering movement that initially centred on Switzerland.³⁹ A tendency developed whereby the movement increasingly encompassed lower social classes, at the turn of the century finally including proletarian tourist associations such as the *Naturfreunde* ("The Friends of Nature" – Vienna, 1895) and later the loosely associated organisations of *Der Wandervogel* ("The Migratory Bird" – Berlin, 1905). (→ Media Link #b1) Thus, the enthusiasm for mountaineering underwent first a "bourgeoisification" and then a "proletarianisation". This early social tourism was characterised by a new collective ethos mixed with non-commercial elements that have been understood as the precursors of "soft tourism".⁴⁰ These intermingled with distinct forms of sociability, the conscious appreciation of the environment and consideration for the local population, countryside and cultural assets.

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Holidaying Practices in the Interwar Period

The development of tourism in the 20th century can be divided using a number of different periodisations. It is common, and plausible, to identify a "developmental phase" between 1915 and 1945.⁴¹ This covers the stagnation in tourism as a result of the First World War, but also transitional developments that steadily acquired importance. It was preceded by a period of growth in which, for example, the number of stays in a hotel or other form of holiday accommodation in Germany rose about 471 percent between 1871 and 1913, a good seven times faster than the level of growth in the population.⁴² The bulk of these belonged to the upper middle class, and soon the entire middle class, who made their way to the newly opened coastal resorts on the North and Baltic Seas, as well as to the spa, health and gambling resorts. (→ Media Link #b2) Germans took to bathing holidays relatively late in comparison to the pioneering British and, at first, for health reasons, with socialising and recreation coming later. However, they became increasingly popular, as evident in the development of famous locations, coastal resorts and beaches. (→ Media Link #b3) The loss of their former exclusivity and the shift towards entertainment and distraction signified an increase in social accessibility,⁴³ whereas, for ex-

ample, the new ski and winter tourism retained its chic clientele at the turn of the century. (→ Media Link #b4)

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The dominant motif of travelling and holidaying after 1900 was recuperation. However, only those involved in intellectual work had an established right to relaxation; this right was extended from nobles, the middle-class professions and high-ranking bureaucrats to entrepreneurs, merchants, mid-ranking bureaucrats, white-collar workers and teachers.⁴⁴ Without doubt, this was connected to the regulation of holidays as part of legal agreements on pay. Most European countries lacked strict holiday rights before 1900: with the exception of a few pioneering cases, paid time off work for more than a day only became established in law after the First World War. In Germany, the *Reichsbeamtengesetz* of 1873, which outlined the employment conditions of state employees (*Beamte*), was the beginning. At first, it was only relevant to state employees, and holidays for other employees remained the exception before the First World War, only becoming possible after it, for example in Austria through the *Arbeiterurlaubsgesetz* (Law on Workers' Holidays) of 1919. Similar developments took place in Switzerland: holidays for the civil servants of the federal administration were first subject to regulation in 1879, but only established as a legal right in 1923. In industry, holiday rights were only granted much later. Among 100 Swiss factories, for example, in 1910 only 11.9 percent gave their employees paid holidays; by 1944, this figure had risen to 87.9 percent.⁴⁵ The right to holiday enshrined in normal work contracts today is an achievement of the 20th century. In Switzerland, this right was not regulated uniformly. In different cantons, the situation developed independently, although from the 1930s collective work contracts became important; one paid week off was usual. Only after 1945 did most cantons extend their laws on holidays to the entire labour force. Germany did not pass a general law on holiday rights until 1963.

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One innovative new form of holidaying that also came to include families with children was the "summer retreat". (→ Media Link #b5) From the 1870s, the term, first used in 1836, referred to a middle-class holidaying practice whose practitioners sought relaxation in the countryside as an alternative to the seaside during the summer. The summer retreat can be understood "als eine über einige Wochen ausgedehnte Serie von Tagesausflügen ..., bei denen für diese Zeit die Wohnung in der Stadt mit einem einfachen Gasthof oder Privatzimmer in ländlicher Gegend vertauscht wird, oft nur wenige Bahnstunden vom Wohnsitz entfernt. Sie dient vor allem der Erholung der Familie, insbesondere der Kinder, nicht der Teilnahme an einem kostspieligen Vergnügungsbetrieb oder an gesellschaftlichen Veranstaltungen".⁴⁶ At first, the lower middle and working classes could not afford a summer retreat with the family, while Sunday excursions became a custom for middle-class families before 1914 – these slowly extended to the whole weekend and then several days.⁴⁷

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After the crisis of the First World War, the summer retreat offered a simple, healthy and economical holiday, which from the 1920s was accessible to employees and workers on low incomes. Love of the countryside and a desire for the simplicity of rural life inspired by a critical view of the city, preferably in the beauty of low mountain ranges, seem to indicate a particularly German variety of the summer retreat, which differed from trips to Scandinavian or Russian holiday cottages or *dachas*. The behaviour of Germans on summer retreat created a repertoire that came to define the practice:

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Anhänglichkeit an den einmal gewählten Erholungsort, Familienanschluss mit echter Sozialbeziehung zwischen dem Städter und den Landleuten, familienähnliche Beziehungen zwischen den Wirtsleuten und den Sommerfrischlern im Gasthaus; kaum vorhandenes Verdienststreben oder konkurrenzengenes Denken der Gastgeber; zuvorkommend-dienendes Verhalten des Gastgebers gegenüber dem als überlegen angesehenen vornehmen Städter; im Tagesablauf viele Ausflüge; je nach finanzieller Möglichkeit war man bestrebt, ein Sommerhaus zu kaufen.⁴⁸

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The presence of people on summer retreat left behind the first traces of a touristic infrastructure, for example the designation of walking trails and the construction of guest houses, bothies, forest restaurants, observation towers and recreational opportunities.

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Between 1933 and 1939, the National Socialist regime in Germany brought new impulses, an increasing amount of travel and holidaying practices aimed at the masses. These developments overcame the once essentially middle-class nature of travel by creating a social or popular tourism characterised by the state organisation of holidaying and recreation. It goes without saying that tourism served the political system and the National Socialist ideology. The various stages and graduated pattern of use of the new tourism are conspicuous, providing an object lesson in the inherent potential for a totalitarian regime to exploit tourism politically. Mass tourism emerged in the Third Reich.⁴⁹ For the historian of tourism, this form of holidaying, guided from above, was characterised by its claim to democratisation on behalf of the general workforce, the *Volk*. Hitler wanted to grant the worker a satisfactory holiday and do everything to ensure that this holiday and the rest of his free time would provide true recuperation. "Ich wünsche das, weil ich ein nervenstarkes Volk will, denn nur allein mit einem Volk, das seine Nerven behält, kann man wahrhaft große Politik machen."⁵⁰

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The National Socialists implemented this goal through the creation of a body to organise recreation – the *Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude* ("The National Socialist Association Strength through Joy" – KdF) and a ministry *Reisen, Wandern, Urlaub* ("Travelling, Hiking, Holiday" – RWU), both of which were subordinate to the party. In order to avoid resistance to the social transformation, workers received at first between three and six days holiday per year. From 1937, the majority of wage-earners had from six to twelve days off per year⁵¹ and could benefit from the new, very cheap, opportunities for holidays and travel: walking tours, train journey, cruises with accommodation and meals achieved great popularity. This is evident from record statistics that testify to an unprecedented boom in travel: the 2.3 million journeys undertaken in 1934 rose to five million in 1935, 9.6 million in 1937 and 10.3 million in 1938.⁵² In the six years before the outbreak of war, 43 million journey, cruises and walking tours were sold at cheap prices that could not be competed with, for example seven days in Norway for 60 *Reichsmark* or 18 days in Madeira for 120 *Reichsmark*.⁵³

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The KdF tourists, who travelled en masse as a logical expression of the state's ideology of national community, kept to themselves and were often met with disapproval at exclusive resorts and on cruises. (→ Media Link #b6) On the whole, it is generally true that the KdF movement contributed to the development of mass and repeat tourism and thus, to a certain extent, its democratisation, albeit at the cost of the broad masses and to the benefit of the Nazi regime. The success of the KdF holidays was based on the interaction of three factors: the need to work and lack of money no longer ruled out going on holiday; holidays were offered at the lowest prices possible, and the organisation commanded a closely meshed network that adapted itself to the workers' needs rather than the other way round.⁵⁴ One also should not forget the fact that, at the same time, the German private tourist industry underwent a tremendous boom, for example in the construction of youth hostels and camping sites and in catering to the middle-class holidaymakers who gradually returned to the more upmarket forms of tourism.⁵⁵ One historian summarises the KdF tourism with the words that the Germans had, admittedly, not yet become a "Volk auf Reisen" ("a people on the move"), but the Nazi dictatorship had shown the direction which – delayed by collapse and reconstruction – they would go in the end.⁵⁶

▲ 32

The Expansion of Tourism and Globalisation

The last phase embraces the developments in tourism during the post-war period up to the present. Depending on one's perspective, this is the apex⁵⁷ of tourism or the phase of practice and consolidation⁵⁸ These are justified labels for the period's combination of infrastructural construction and renovation, streams of tourists and holidaying as a common form of recreation: indeed, over the last few decades, tourism has become an important branch of the global economy and is a defining characteristic of modern industrial nations. Tourism crosses borders: spatial, temporal, social and cultural. This is its common denominator.⁵⁹ There is a consensus that the enormous boom during the post-war period was bound up with economic growth, technological progress, a high level of competition and the creation of new destinations and travelling styles.⁶⁰ The increase in recreational mobility among broad strata of society should be seen against this background. Various factors brought about this boom, including rising affluence, urbanisation, the unprecedented construction of transportation and communication networks, and the increase in leisure time as a result of shortening working hours, all of which shaped socialisation.⁶¹

▲ 33

However, this growth in tourism after the war only came slowly and in Germany, Austria and Switzerland remained confined to domestic destinations. In Western Germany, not until 1953 did the capacity for holiday accommodation reach pre-war levels; the considerable increases in the percentage of teenagers and adults going on holiday each year only took place during and after the 1960s: rising from 28 percent (1962) to 58 percent (1980), over 65 percent (1987) and 70.8 percent – meaning the Western German figures were average in comparison to other European countries.⁶² Involved in this were, alongside trade union bodies, the holiday organisations and travel agencies, as well as the large travel companies, which acquired increasing importance. Subsidised "social tourism" for families and young people, which helped those parts of the population on low incomes to go on holiday, was a noticeable trend in several countries. Social policies, holiday funds, subsidies, charities and entire holiday camps and villages for workers and low-income employees can be found in France,⁶³ Austria, Germany⁶⁴ and, above all, in Switzerland.⁶⁵

▲ 34

The apex of European tourism began in the 1960s: in response to the economic situation and strategic innovations in the market economy, commercial tour operators and travel companies transformed the nature of competition through increasingly cheaper offers, propelling it in the direction of mass tourism, introducing new destinations and modes of holidaying. Here, tourism produced its own structures and secondary systems.⁶⁶ Many travel agencies and tourist organisations were set up, while department stores also offered package holidays, for example Neckermann in Germany from 1963 and Jelmoli in Switzerland from 1972. The replacement of bus and rail travel with journeys by car and caravan, and later by air, provided a powerful stimulus. Charter tourism occupied a flourishing market sector and established itself with cheap offers for foreign holidays. Foreign tourism first affected neighbouring countries and then more distant destinations – Austria and Switzerland were popular among German holidaymakers, but Italy and Spain later gained increasing prominence: From about 1970, journeys abroad clearly represented the majority; this trend towards foreign holidays has recently grown even stronger.⁶⁷ In general, the number of teenagers and adults taking foreign holidays rose more than threefold over the 40 years before 1991 – from nine to 32 million.

▲ 35

However, the researcher must differentiate between the varying levels of intensity that this boom possessed in different European countries. To do this, one must look at the frequency, forms of travel, trends and destinations, as well as countless statistics and market studies, the results of which indicate social and cultural holidaying traditions. In the mid-1970s, 70 to 80 percent of the Scandinavia's adult population went on holiday, while in Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland this figure was 60 percent and in Italy about 25 percent.⁶⁸ Foreign tourism dominated this phase and many resorts and beaches on the Mediterranean and regions in the newly opened up Alpine countries became magnets for holidaymakers that, later, developed into strongholds of tourism. On the supply side, the infrastructure underwent intensive construction: some Alpine villages (St. Moritz, Zermatt, Lech) were entirely transformed into tourist and skiing resorts; rural provinces (Provence, Côte d'Azur, Tirol), cities (Venice, (→ Media Link #b8) Salzburg), coastal areas (→ Media Link #b9) (on the Adriatic Sea, Kenya) and islands (Mallorca, Rhodes, the Maldives, Sylt) increasingly mutated into holiday areas, resorts and complexes.

▲ 36

However, the increase in touristic traffic hints at another social and structural expansion, the impact of which has been gaining strength since the 1990s. Holidays and travel are becoming accessible to ever broader strata of the population; not only "traditional" holidaymakers – i.e. state employees, white-collar workers, graduates and urban workers – have benefited. The rural population and social groups defined by age and gender (women, singles, pensioners) have taken advantage of tourism,⁶⁹ something which is evident from the specific products tailored to their various demands. This picks up on a central characteristic of modern tourism – diversification and specialisation as a result of globalisation. This corresponds to tourism's apparently unbridled potential, regardless of the facts that little structural development has taken place over the last decade and that touristic tastes and behaviour have been reasonably stable since the Second World War, albeit with some changes in emphasis.⁷⁰

▲ 37

On the one hand, this view is contradicted by the institution of "club holidays" such as the "Club Méditerranée" (1955), the "Club Soleil" (1966), the "Robinson Club" (1970), the "Club-Aldiana" (1973) and others, which have very successfully put into practice their own holidaying formulas and philosophies. On the other, artificial holiday worlds in the form of amusement parks and theme parks are becoming increasingly important.⁷¹ Disneyland, (→ Media Link #bb) Europa-Park, Port Aventura, Sun City and many others have annual visitor numbers in the tens of millions and are still

experiencing constant growth. These are made up of post-modern pseudo-events, simulated worlds and hyper-realities which the tourists internalise as adventure, fun, game and competition, despite the fact that the visitors see through their artificiality. Such experiential constructs come and go.⁷² For the historian of tourism, this represents a shift that is noteworthy on account of its systematic nature: the traditional touristic consumption of symbols (sights, other worlds) have been extended or replaced by an experience-laden entertainment culture that is part of a new way of perceiving the world. This has global characteristics; it is breaking down boundaries by mutating and is thus moving towards a globalised system with specific, increasingly interchangeable forms and modes of experience.⁷³ Only time will tell what structures will emerge from this innovative potential.

▲ 38

Ueli Gyr, Zürich

Appendix

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9. ^ Hachtmann, Tourismus-Geschichte 2007, p. 27.
10. ^ Ludwig, Der neue Tourismus 1990, p. 30.
11. ^ Ibid., p. 30f.
12. ^ "The subjective experience of travel is a distinguishing feature of the beginnings of the modern age: by travelling, one's self experienced its liberation" [translated by C.G.]. Opaschowski, Tourismus 1996, p. 65.
13. ^ Ibid., p. 69.
14. ^ Brill, Reisen eine Kunst 1997.
15. ^ Opaschowski, Tourismus 1996, p. 67f.
16. ^ Leibetseder, Die Kavaliertour 2004.
17. ^ "Lessons in dance, riding and fencing, the acquisition and improvement of languages, the attendance of university courses, the establishment of social and economic contacts, practice in socially appropriate conduct and cultivated behaviour – all these were part of the nobles' programme during the tour" [translated by C.G.]. Prahl / Steinecke, Millionen-Urlaub 1979, p. 137f.
18. ^ "They [the nobles] travelled through Italy conscious of their own political strength and organisational efficiency, of their economic success and technological superiority. At the same time, they admired Italy's cultural and artistic achievements and its sublime and cultivated etiquette. The journey to Italy was a glance back at a culture which was seen as sophisticated and whose fundamental values still guided them. The new world owed the old one world its respect – a basic pattern of tourism that can also be found in Roman trips to Greece or American journeys to Europe" [translated by C.G.]. Ibid., p. 139.
19. ^ Freyer, Tourismus 1990, p. 19 and Spode, Historische Tourismusforschung 1993, p. 4.
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35. ^ Knebel, Strukturwandlungen 1960, p. 22ff.
36. ^ Hachtmann, Tourismus-Geschichte 2007, p. 69.
37. ^ "One of the features of our time is mass travel. Once, only the privileged travelled; now everyone does.... The whole world travels.... Modern man, placed under greater strain as he is, also requires more relaxation" [translated by C.G.]. Quoted in Prah / Steinecke, Millionen-Urlaub 1979, p. 151.
38. ^ "mountaineering, which was depicted as a conquest, represented nothing less than the continuation of imperial politics by other means, first in the western... then the eastern Alps, and later increasingly in the mountainous regions beyond Europe, above all in Asia" [translated by C.G.]. Lauterbach, "Als der Berg die Viktorianer rief" 2005, p. 57.
39. ^ Prah / Steinecke, Millionen-Urlaub 1979, p. 49f.
40. ^ Kramer, Der sanfte Tourismus 1983.
41. ^ Freyer, Tourismus 1990, p. 24f.
42. ^ Spode, Historische Tourismusforschung 1993, p. 4f.
43. ^ Hachtmann, Tourismus-Geschichte 2007, p. 84.
44. ^ Spode, Historische Tourismusforschung 1993, p. 5.
45. ^ Handbuch der schweizerischen Volkswirtschaft 1955, vol. I, p. 442.
46. ^ "as a series of day trips extended over several weeks, in the course of which the flat in the town was exchanged for a simple guesthouse or private room in the countryside, often only a few hours away by train from the [family's] place of residence. It catered for the recuperation of the family, above all the children, and not participation in expensive leisure pursuits or social occasions" [translated by C.G.]. Knebel, Strukturwandlungen 1960, p. 39.
47. ^ Hachtmann, Historische Tourismusforschung 2007, p. 95f.
48. ^ "Attachment to the chosen holiday resort; family ties and real social relationships between those from the city and the village; family-like relationships between the landlords and summer visitors in the hostel; the lack of money-making instincts or a competitive attitude among the hoteliers; the almost obsequious behaviour of the hotelier towards the city dwellers, who were seen as superior; a daily programme structured around several excursions; depending on financial means, the desire to buy a summer house" [translated by C.G.]. G. Stadler, zitiert nach Prah / Steinecke, Millionen-Urlaub 1979, p. 159.
49. ^ Spode, "Der deutsche Arbeiter reist" 1982.
50. ^ "I want this because I want a Volk with strong nerves, for only with a Volk that can keep its nerve can one conduct politics on a grand scale" [translated by C.G.]. Quoted in Prah / Steinecke, Millionen-Urlaub 1979, p. 160.
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54. ^ Keitz, Reisen 1997, p. 239f.
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56. ^ Spode, NS-Gemeinschaft 1991, p. 90.
57. ^ Freyer, Tourismus 1990, p. 25.
58. ^ Spode, Historische Tourismusforschung 1993, p. 7.
59. ^ Bausinger, Grenzenlos 1991, p. 344f.
60. ^ Freyer, Tourismus 1990, p. 26f.
61. ^ Krippendorf et al., Freizeit 1987, p. 5f.
62. ^ Hachtmann, Tourismus-Geschichte 2007, p. 155.
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64. ^ Keitz, Reisen 1997, p. 272f.
65. ^ [Schweizer Reisekasse], Sozialtourismus 1965 and Schumacher, Ferien 2002.
66. ^ Knebel, Strukturwandlungen 1960, p. 45f.
67. ^ Wohlmann, Entwicklung des Tourismus 1993, p. 12f.
68. ^ Prah / Steinecke, Millionen-Geschichte 1979, p. 187.
69. ^ Prah, Entwicklungsstadien 1991, p. 106.
70. ^ Spode, Historische Tourismusforschung 1993, p. 7.
71. ^ Hlavin-Schulze, "Man reist ja nicht, um anzukommen" 1998, p. 71f.
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Picture Postcard of the Gotthardbahn near Amsteg, c. 1900

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- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/ausflugslokal-kintschis-schweizerhaeuschen-bei-leipzig-um-1839?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>
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- Horace-Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799) VIAF [↗](#) [↗](#) (<http://viaf.org/viaf/36924377>) DNB [↗](#) (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118804790>)

Link #b0



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/resolveuid/6162ea69726541c945ff3804978551ed?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Horace-Bénédict de Saussure on Montblanc 1790

Link #b1



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/gruppe-des-wandervogels-um-1930?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Members of the Wandervogel around 1930

Link #b2



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/badende-und-badekarren-1913?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Bathers and Bathing Machines 1913

Link #b3



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/urlauber-am-strand-1928?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Holidaymakers on the Beach 1928

Link #b4



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/werbeplakat-fuer-cortina-dampezzo-um-1920?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Advertisement for Cortina d'Ampezzo around 1920

Link #b5



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/resolveuid/ba935296082f1e0f5d9ab75cd5f08e7e?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Siesta during a Summer Retreat 1887

Link #b6



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/kraft-durch-freude-kreuzfahrt-ca.-1934-1937?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
"Kraft durch Freude" cruise, c. 1934–1937

Link #b8



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/resolveuid/fedda6a74dcffc33b3349e52f3b1b9cd?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Tourists on Saint Mark's Square in Venice 2003

Link #b9



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/resolveuid/1bd3efc31e3a960aee51b75309e1bea5?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Tourists on the Spanish Costa Brava, c. 2005

Link #bb



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/phantasieschloss-im-disneyland-resort-paris-2008?mediainfo=1&width=900&height=500>)
Fantasy Castle in Disneyland Resort Paris 2008